ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOKS

The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes

Second Edition

Edited by Andy Kirkpatrick

The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes

The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes constitutes a comprehensive introduction to the study of World Englishes. Split into six sections with 40 contributions, this *Handbook* discusses how English is operating in a wide range of fields from business to popular culture and from education to new literatures in English and its increasing role as an international lingua franca.

Bringing together more than 40 of the world's leading scholars in World Englishes, the sections cover historical perspectives, regional varieties of English from across the world, recent and emerging trends and the pedagogical implications and the future of Englishes. The *Handbook* provides a thorough and updated overview of the field, taking into account the new directions in which the discipline is heading. This second edition includes up-to-date descriptions of a wide range of varieties of English and how these reflect the cultures of their new users, including new chapters on varieties in Bangladesh, Uganda, the Maldives and South Africa, as well as covering hot topics such as translanguaging and English after Brexit.

With a new substantial introduction from the editor, the *Handbook* is an ideal resource for students of applied linguistics, as well as those in related degrees such as applied English language and TESOL/TEFL.

Andy Kirkpatrick is Professor of Linguistics at Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia, and a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. Recent publications include the 2019 *Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia* (co-editor with Anthony J. Liddicoat); *World Englishes: Research and Practice* (2020), and *Is English an Asian Language*? (2020).

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Contents

SECTION 2
Regional varieties 163

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Introduction

Andy Kirkpatrick

Welcome to the second edition of the *Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*. This comes ten years after the publication of the first edition, ten years which have seen further growth in the use of English worldwide, perhaps most remarkably in the new roles English is now playing in many of the countries Kachru originally classified as of the 'Expanding Circle' and where English was seen as a foreign language confined to language classrooms. Now, in stark contrast to being simply a foreign language, in many expanding circle countries, English is being increasingly used as a language of education from the primary through to the tertiary level (Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat 2019), it is being increasingly used as a lingua franca and it is being reshaped and adapted by its new users as it comes into contact with the other languages its new users also speak (Proshina 2019). China provides an excellent example of a country traditionally classified as expanding circle but where these new developments can be seen (as documented in the chapters in this volume by Xu and by Lee and Li Wei). English is now the major language of education in China after *Putonghua* itself, and the most reliable estimate has some 276 million current users of English in China (Bolton and Bacon-Shone 2020).

I have tried to capture these new developments in this new edition in two major ways. First, the majority of the authors who contributed chapters to the first edition have revised and updated their chapters for this edition to take into account recent developments. Second, seven new chapters have been written especially for the second edition to describe and document new developments. The new chapters in Section 2, where regional and new varieties of English are described, include Christiane Meierkord's discussion on how English is being used at the 'grassroots' in two countries that were protectorates of Britain, namely Uganda and the Maldives. Chapters on English in Bangladesh (Hamid and Jahan) and on the Englishes of South Africa (Coetzee-Van Rooy) are also new to Section 2.

Section 3 on emerging trends and themes sees a new chapter by Ahmar Mahboob entitled 'World Englishes, Social Disharmonisation, and Environmental Destruction'. He investigates the impact on local languages and people that the arrival of English can have and how a change in the eco-linguistic environment of a region can have lasting and ongoing impact on the peoples and the environment of the region.

Three new chapters are included in Section 4, ‘Contemporary Contexts, Functions and Variables’. In Chapter 30, Macaro reviews the extraordinary increase in the use of English as a medium of instruction in higher education throughout the world, and he raises a series of pertinent questions discussed further in the following:

In Chapter 33, ‘Translanguaging and Multilingual Creativity with English in the Sinophone World’, Tong King Lee and Li Wei look at the creative and critical uses of English in three Sinophone contexts: new Chinglish as used in the written vernacular discourses of internet users in Mainland China; Singlish as used in subversive writings, text-based artefacts, and government communications in Singapore; and Kongish as used in the Facebook-based *Kongish Daily* and in social movements in Hong Kong.

A potentially significant development for the role of English since the publication of the first edition of this Handbook has been the withdrawal of Britain from the European Union. In the third new chapter in Section 4, ‘“Brexit” and the Postnational Dimension of English in Europe’, Saraceni, Schneider and Bélanger argue that English will continue to play a major role across Europe, as ‘the roots of the English language reach deeply in the European sociocultural soil and are immune to Britain’s status within or outside the European Union’, and that English is ‘simply part of the shared linguistic resource’ that is available to many Europeans.

As indicated previously, in addition to these new chapters, the authors have also all revised and updated their original chapters. Section 1, ‘Historical Perspectives and Traditional Englishes’, begins with Daniel Davis’ chapter on the history of English from the perspective of Kachru’s three circles model. Davis uses comparative reconstruction, analysis of loanwords, grammatical analysis of texts and evaluation of sociolinguistic factors affecting standardisation, to trace major developments in Old, Middle and Early Modern English. He argues that the standardised metropolitan varieties of the inner circle are also world Englishes. Chapters 2 and 3 by Britain and Docherty, respectively, describe grammatical and phonological variation among the Englishes of contemporary England. In a wide-ranging review of grammatical variation, Britain concludes by saying that ‘diversity reigns’, and every corner of the country (i.e. England) ‘demonstrates a wide range of grammatically non-standard forms, reminding us that such forms are the rule rather than the exception in the spoken language’. Docherty notes that, even for native speakers of widely spoken varieties of English, ongoing phonological change can lead to significant issues regarding intelligibility. The aim of his chapter is to paint in broad strokes some of the key dimensions of innovation and change in patterns of pronunciation of British English. Both these chapters show that variation is characteristic of the native Englishes spoken across the United Kingdom.

In Chapter 4, Ray Hickey notes that it was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that the heritage language Irish had declined radically so that under 10% of the population spoke it as a native language. The forms of English which arose during the language shift period were consolidated in the twentieth century into varieties with unique profiles. English in Ireland was also the source of many transported dialects of English, first to the Caribbean and North America and later to the Southern Hemisphere, above all to Australia and New Zealand. Irish English today continues to develop along lines defined by both internal and external forces, for instance, in new modes of pronunciation and in its pragmatics, both of which are closely linked to Irish customs and culture.

Chapters 5 and 6 take us to North America. In Chapter 5, Kretzschmar first discusses the emergence of American English as a variety in its own right and then discusses how Standard

American English differs from other varieties of American English and from other world varieties. He shows that American English, as a national variety, can be distinguished from British English and other world varieties of English not just by pronunciation but by subtle variations in grammar and the meaning of words. In Chapter 6, Levey characterises the roots of Canadian English and traces its subsequent evolution before describing major patterns of phonological, (morpho-)syntactic and discourse-pragmatic variation and change in contemporary mainstream vernaculars. He also discusses the possible emergence of ethnolectal variation in major urban centres such as Toronto and Montreal.

In Chapter 7, Burridge explores the development of standard Australian English, together with distinctive varieties such as Aboriginal English. She notes that separation of urban and rural communities is inspiring notable regional diversity, and contact with languages other than English is also seeing the rise, particularly in recent years, of migrant ethnolects. In their discussion of New Zealand English in Chapter 8, Warren and Maclagan point out that New Zealand English (NZE) is unique among inner circle varieties of English in that recorded evidence is available for its entire history. Their chapter provides background on the settlement and population of New Zealand and the development of New Zealand English. The chapter concludes with examples of the ways in which NZ authors try to capture distinctive features of NZ speech and language in literature.

Section 2 provides descriptions of a selection of what are, following Kachru's original classification, outer circle and expanding circle varieties of English and illustrates how Englishes in the expanding circle have taken on new roles. It would be impossible to include all current varieties of these Englishes here, but I hope the selection that has been included can give the reader an idea of how widespread the varieties of English are in today's world and of the many diverse contexts in which they function. The chapters here include descriptions of Englishes of South, East and Southeast Asia; Africa; the Caribbean and South America. In Chapter 9, Mukherjee and Bernaisch offer a multitude of perspectives on standard educated Indian English, framing it in Schneider's (this volume) model of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes. They also argue that Indian English is the linguistic epicenter for other South Asian Englishes. In Chapter 10, Mendis and Rambukwella show that the history of English in Sri Lanka dates back more than 200 years and that its position in Sri Lanka today is complex and evolving. They argue that Sri Lankan English is a distinctive South Asian variety in terms of phonology, syntax, grammar and the lexicon. They conclude by illustrating the increasing use of features of Sri Lankan English(es) in codified genres such as poetry and fiction. Hamid and Jahan describe the third South Asian variety, Bangladeshi English, in Chapter 11 but do so by deploying a situated language use perspective to examine how English is used in locally produced English language textbooks for Bangladesh's national school curriculum. The situated examination of English suggests that, regardless of how local varieties of English are characterised, such varieties are likely to be an assemblage of Englishes of local and metropolitan origins. This repertoire of Englishes was also found to utilise Bangla, the national language, in a strategic manner.

The Englishes of Africa are represented in the next three chapters. Chapter 12 compares East and West African English as two distinct regional varieties of African English. Hans-Georg Wolf first recounts the historical development of English in these two regions, arguing that British colonial policy contributed significantly to the sociolinguistic and, indirectly, even to the structural differences that these varieties exhibit. He then moves on to give a short overview of the national sub-varieties and shows that, although united by common linguistic features, West African English is far more heterogeneous than East African English.

In Chapter 13, Meierkord adopts a novel approach and discusses the spread of English at the grassroots level in two former British protectorates: Maldives and Uganda. Moving beyond the academic, business and political elites of these societies, she looks at the uses of English among citizens from lower social class backgrounds and with low or no formal levels of education. In doing so, she departs from most traditional research in the World Englishes paradigm, which has tended to focus on those with formal education.

Chapter 14, on South African Englishes, is a new chapter in which Coetzee-Van Rooy argues that South Africa is a unique environment for the study of World Englishes because of the co-existence of significant populations using inner and outer (and in specific cases expanding) circle Englishes in the same environment over long periods of time in the presence of sizable African mother tongues and Afrikaans (or Dutch in earlier times). After summarising historical developments and briefly exemplifying a selection of distinctive linguistic features of the varieties of English that make up the plurality of South African Englishes, she focuses on the attitudes of people towards the inner and outer circle varieties of South African Englishes. She shows how the attitudes of South Africans towards their varieties of English are related to their multilingual environment, the role of English in multilingual repertoires and the potential of convergence or divergence of the varieties.

The increase in the roles of English in China was given as an example of how English has developed new roles in the countries of Kachru's expanding circle, where English traditionally functioned solely as a foreign language taught in the classroom. In Chapter 15, Xu quotes Kirkpatrick and Zhichang's earlier prediction that since the great majority of the Chinese who have been learning English are likely to use it with other speakers of world Englishes, the development of Chinese English 'with Chinese characteristics' will be 'an inevitable result' (2002: 278). Xu reviews the definitions of Chinese English and identifies a selection of lexical, syntactic, discourse and pragmatic features of Chinese English based on an analysis of a variety of data including interviews, newspaper articles and literary works. The chapter concludes by considering the likelihood of Chinese English becoming a powerful variety of English.

Following Hamid's and Jahan's approach to the study of Bangladeshi English, in Chapter 16, Martin situates the study of English in the Philippines from the perspective of English language teaching (ELT). She contends that the history of English in the Philippines cannot be mapped out without having scrutinised the ELT agenda. In doing so, she challenges four present-day myths about the English language. These myths are (1) American English is the only correct English, (2) English is the only cure to all economic ailments, (3) English and Filipino are languages in opposition and (4) English is the only language of knowledge.

In Chapter 17, Low compares two well-established outer-circle varieties of English, Malaysian and Singaporean. She begins by briefly tracing the historical development of English in Singapore and Malaysia, from its birth to the point when it evolved into two distinct varieties. She compares the main linguistic features of each variety. The different language policies adopted by each country after Singapore gained independence are surveyed in an attempt to understand when and how the different varieties emerged.

In her treatment of the role of English in Japan, Takeshita investigates the current situation of the English language and its use in Japan from sociolinguistic, educational and practical points of view. Although English remains an international, rather than an intranational, language in Japan, Takeshita argues that the Japanese are becoming more attuned to the notion of linguistic diversity and the increasingly multilingual nature of Japanese society, primarily brought about by increased immigration. A similar argument is made by Proshina in Chapter 19, 'Slavic Englishes: Education or Culture?' The chapter discusses the status, history, features and functions of Russian English as one of the Slavic varieties and highlights some common characteristics of Slavic Englishes. The question raised in the chapter title is motivated by the fact that English in the countries under discussion is learnt (artificially) through a system of education rather than acquired naturally with the family and social culture. However, the author stresses the gradual expansion of the functional range in the Slavic varieties of English, including creative functions manifested in popular culture, fiction and many other fields. She concludes by suggesting that English has moved far beyond a traditional expanding-circle English, as it is now growing into the secondary means through which Slavs express cultural identity.

Chapter 20 takes us to the Caribbean. Simmons-McDonald presents an overview of West Indian English, with special focus on the development of Creole English varieties. The discussion refers to varieties from Jamaica in the North Caribbean, the emerging English Lexicon Vernacular of St. Lucia in the Windward Islands and the circumstances that led to their emergence. The chapter uses selections from these varieties to examine the use of Creole English in literature, and it refers to examples from other varieties where appropriate. The discussion of the selected samples foregrounds the linguistic features of the variety, as well as cultural and creative aspects of the literary texts. In Chapter 21, González presents a general picture of the current status of English in Colombia. Along with many expanding circle nations, Colombia is experiencing a growth in terms of the presence and roles of English. The interest from the population to learn it, the need to have teachers prepared to teach it, the establishment of language education policies to regulate its practices and the academic debates around all these issues reflect the new relationships between the English language and Colombian society.

Section 3, ‘Emerging Trends and Themes’, opens with the chapter by Seidlhofer, which looks at the role(s) of English as a lingua franca within a European context. She shows that English has become the *de facto* ‘extraterritorial’ lingua franca throughout Europe. This has, however, brought about resistance and controversy, due to the continued symbolic significance of national languages that European policy-makers are still insisting on. In contrast with the other (national) languages of Europe, where regional lingua francas also exist, the role of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is not a national one, as it fulfils different roles from national languages. ELF is quite literally an emerging theme in the European context in that there is a marked discrepancy between the EU’s discourse about language and communication on the one hand and the reality on the ground on the other. She concludes by arguing that a genuine (re-)conceptualisation of ‘English’ in Europe as ‘ELF’ is both necessary and desirable. In Chapter 23, Schneider surveys and explains similarities and differences between World Englishes which have evolved in different historical and geographical settings. Models to explain these phenomena are surveyed, including static approaches (Kachru’s ‘Three Circles’ and other categorisations) and dynamic ones, including the author’s own highly influential ‘Dynamic Model’.

McLellan’s chapter, Chapter 24, through an analysis of texts in Brunei public online discussion forums, investigates the consequences of patterns of multilingual overlaying in contexts where new varieties of English develop and the hypothesis that World Englishes are by definition code-mixed varieties. Speakers and writers of World Englishes have access to other languages in the linguistic ecosystem of their national or local community, and these languages contribute to the variety of English used for their intranational communication. McLellan illustrates that the Bruneian text producers are highly proficient multilinguals who have access to a continuum of code choices, including the equal mixing of Malay and English. The implications of this for the World Englishes field are also considered. Sharifian looks at a different type of code mixing in Chapter 25, where he presents a semantic-pragmatic account of Persian English, an emerging variety of English among Persian speakers, from the perspective of *cultural conceptualisations*. Cultural conceptualisations are conceptual structures such as schemas, categories and metaphors that emerge from the interactions between members of a cultural group. The chapter elaborates on a number of significant Persian cultural schemas, such as *âberu* and *târof*, and explores how they underlie the semantic and pragmatic aspects of certain words and expressions in Persian English in contexts both of intercultural and intracultural communication.

Chapter 26 is a reprint of Ha Jin's original chapter, 'In Defence of Foreignness', which was written for the first edition. Ha Jin is an internationally renowned author of Chinese ethnicity who now resides in the United States. He has written novels and short stories based on lived experiences in both his original and adopted home. In discussing his adaptation of Chinese idioms in his English writing, he is careful to point out that he does not directly translate Chinese idioms into English but rather paraphrases them. For example, instead of using the direct translation of the Chinese idiom referring to an ill-advised business venture which would be 'to hit a dog with a pork bun', he uses 'to hit a dog with a meatball'. He makes these changes in order 'to suit the context, the drama and the narrative flow'.

In Chapter 27, the final chapter of Section 3, Mahboob investigates the impact of English on local languages and people. In doing so, the chapter introduces four interrelated ways of defining language. He then illustrates how a change in the eco-linguistic environment of a region can have lasting and ongoing impact on the peoples and the environment of the region. To do this, Mahboob focuses on the grammatical system of English, as well as an analysis of three concepts/words: 'religion', 'language', and 'family', that influence how people look at and engage with others.

'Contemporary Contexts, Functions and Variables' is the sub-heading for Section 4. In the opening chapter of this section, Warschauer, Jacob and Maamuujav report how the internet has emerged as the world's major source of international contact and communication. Their chapter reviews the use of Englishes and other languages and dialects in the online realm. From e-mail and text messaging to social media and YouTube, the authors examine the presence of diverse languages and dialects, the use of non-standard language conventions, new forms of global translanguaging and code-switching and contestations over voice and power in online communication. In Chapter 29, Nickerson reviews the contexts in which English is used as the language of business and shows how English transcends national and cultural barriers. It is used as a first language for some speakers in business, but for millions (perhaps billions) more, it is used as an additional language as a business lingua franca. Although Business English within all three of Kachru's circles has been well documented and discussed as a separate entity in each case, all three situations may in fact occur simultaneously. Nickerson argues that, as the world continues to look to the emerging nations around the globe for new and innovative economic solutions, it seems plausible that lingua franca Business English will continue to take centre stage, posing a new set of challenges for all those involved with teaching, researching and writing about the Englishes of business.

Chapter 30 by Macaro is a new chapter which considers the worldwide growth of English as a medium of instruction, where academic subjects are taught in English in non-Anglophone countries. After discussing definitions of EMI and their implications, Macaro documents the growth of EMI, along with the drivers that are leading to its global expansion. He argues that these drivers raise a number of difficult questions, including, 'Who makes the decision to implement and expand EMI?' 'Does EMI restrict access to higher education for some social groups?' 'Which variety of English should be promoted in EMI classrooms?'

'What challenges do teachers and students face when embarking on an EMI course?' And, most importantly, 'What evidence is there that EMI is effective in improving English language learning whilst having no detrimental impact on the learning of content?'

In Chapter 31, 'The English of Popular Cultures', Moody outlines a methodological framework (and justification) for treating 'popular culture' as multimodal and multilingual sites for linguistic analysis. The framework offers two dimensions of analysis of popular culture: (1) a horizontal analysis that examines influences across different cultures, languages, nations and regions and (2) a vertical analysis that examines influence across different popular culture genres, including, but not limited to, television/radio, cinema, music, art (e.g. comics), advertising and so on. Moody also examines various uses of English within popular cultures of societies that are not monolingual English-speaking societies.

Call centres (or telephone 'contact centres') are the topic of Chapter 32, and Kingsley Bolton shows how they have become a ubiquitous feature of business communications and service encounters for the general public in Europe and North America. Since the early 2000s, large numbers of call centre operations and other business process outsourcing (BPO) work have been outsourced to companies located in India and the Philippines. In his chapter, Bolton focuses on call centre operations in the Philippines and examines the intersection between call centre interactions and world Englishes while also discussing how some call centre agents are able to transcend not only linguistic but also gender and geographical boundaries in their call centre lives.

In Chapter 33, Lee and Li Wei look at creative and critical uses of English in three Sinophone spaces: New Chinglish as used in the written vernacular discourses of internet users in Mainland China; Singlish as used in subversive writings, text-based artefacts and government communications in Singapore; and Kongish as used in the Facebook-based *Kongish Daily* and in social movement contexts in Hong Kong. Based on a translanguaging approach, the authors offer a different analytical perspective on the notion of 'varieties of English' by focusing on the transgressive, subversive and turbulent qualities of heteroglossic, performative discourses. They highlight the spontaneous and dynamic nature of language use in the Sinophone world, with an eye on how resources from English are strategically appropriated and blended with Sinitic-language resources in various locales.

In Chapter 34, the final chapter of Section 4, Saraceni, Schneider and Bélanger argue that the uses of English in Europe are such that the position of Britain within or outside the EU is irrelevant for the future of English in intercontinental Europe. In their chapter, echoing the arguments put forward by Seidlhofer (this volume), they offer a perspective of English in Europe that is beyond a naturalised concept of nation as the sole dimension of social identity. They illustrate how English is the language of cosmopolitan communities and how such communities are not only transnational in a physical sense but also represent sociocultural identities that are alternative to those that run along national lines.

Chapter 35, 'Variation across Englishes: Phonology', by Deterding is the opening chapter of Section 5. There is substantial variation in the pronunciation of Englishes around the world, but, at the same time, varieties of the outer circle which originated in colonial settings often share a range of features of pronunciation, including the absence of dental fricatives, monophthongal realisation of the FACE and GOAT vowels, a relative absence of reduced vowels, syllable-based rhythm and widespread occurrence of spelling pronunciation. In this chapter, short recordings of one speaker of English from each of Singapore, Nigeria and India illustrate these features of pronunciation. While their pronunciation is quite distinct, reflecting their national variety of English, they all exhibit these features of pronunciation, thereby setting such outer-circle styles of speech apart from inner-circle accents typically found in the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia. It is suggested that none of these outer-circle shared features of pronunciation interfere with successful international communication, and they may even enhance intelligibility in English as a lingua franca settings, and outer-circle Englishes may be at the forefront in developing trends in the ways English is spoken around the world. In Chapter 36, 'English Language Teachers in Context: Who Teaches What, Where and Why?', Dewey explores the impact of global Englishes on our understanding of the professional suitability of English language teachers, examining this in relation to notions of teacher identity, level and kind of experience, professional preparation and the concept of expertise. In their chapter on the distinction of innovations and errors, Li and He note that the line between error and innovation in English is fuzzy. Much of that fuzziness is rooted in the linguistic inconsistency of Standard English as a semiotic system, as reflected in tremendous phonetic and lexico-grammatical variation, making it very untidy and learner-unfriendly. The authors argue that, to make meaning locally, English as additional language (EAL) learners and users have no choice but to indigenise English to meet their locally relevant lingua-cultural needs. Apparent deviations from Standard English norms can no longer be held as a dictum for indiscriminately dismissing EAL meaning-making acts as 'errors'. On the contrary, such deviations must be seen as a legitimate voice, or 'innovations'.

Chapter 38, 'Which Test of English and Why', focuses on testing the ability of users of English as a lingua franca to communicate effectively with other users of English. Tomlinson takes the position that such users do not need to attain native speaker accuracy, but they do need to achieve international intelligibility and to develop such vital communication skills as accommodation, collaboration and gaining clarification. Tomlinson argues that ELF users should be assessed on their ability to interact effectively in spoken and written discourse in order to achieve intended outcomes in the lifelike contexts they are likely to find themselves in rather than on their declarative knowledge of a standard English and their ability to interact accurately with native speakers. He evaluates standard approaches to testing in relation to this purpose and proposes assessment activities for ELF users.

Chapter 39, 'Academic English: A Standardised Knowledge?' is the final chapter of Section 5. In this chapter, the authors, Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada and Swales, describe the socio-historic contexts academic discourse is ascribed to in order to highlight the rapid changes that are taking place in academic practices, above all the way the technological affordances of the internet enable multimodal text composing, prompting the emergence of hybrid genres. They also discuss the widespread use and extremely complex variation of academic Englishes, or second-order language contact varieties that reflect preferences beyond lexicogrammatical correctness and instantiate the influence of different writing cultures. Finally, they critically assess how the rich diversity of academic Englishes varieties not only resists but also contests discourse homogenisation and standardisation both in the written and the spoken mode.

As with the first edition, the last chapter of the Handbook, Chapter 40, on the future of English, goes to Pennycook. He argues that whether the future of English should be seen in terms of its continuation as a global language, a plurality of varieties or its ultimate demise depends equally on global economic and political changes and theoretical and ideological approaches to how we think about language. To argue for one, many or no Englishes is to operate not only from a set of assumptions about how language and political economy are interdependent but also from perspectives that construe languages along particular lines (as nationally defined, countable entities, for example). It is important, therefore, to think about English and globalisation outside the frameworks that gave rise to contemporary models of language and the world. In dealing with English in an uneven world, we need to understand its historical formation within forms of nationalism and imperialism; its contemporary roles in the inequitable distribution of resources and the threat it may pose to other languages, cultures and ways of being. We also need to appreciate, however, how English is locally positioned, not only its appropriation and relocalisation by diverse users but also its ideological reconfiguration in different contexts. This requires detailed understandings of the local entanglements of English in linguistic, cultural, material and ideological terms.

To this I would add a major reason commonly cited for the increasing global use and roles of English has been American power, but that this power may now be weakening. Under the presidency of Trump, American moral authority has been damaged, possibly mortally, and Trump's inward-looking focus has undermined America's political status in many parts of the world. The extent to which China is able to replace America in these contexts will have a significant influence of the future roles of English. China's own lack of moral authority may undermine its drive to fill the vacuum caused by America's departure, but it is inevitable that the worldwide roles of Chinese will increase. Yet the growth of world Englishes, the role of English as the international lingua franca and, above all, the fact that its new users have taken ownership of English suggest that it will remain the world's most spoken language, both intranationally and internationally as a lingua franca for some time to come.

To conclude this introduction, I reiterate that it is impossible for a Handbook such as this to encompass all varieties of World Englishes and all the developments and debates that surround the use of English in today's world. I hope, however, that the chapters in this second edition of the Handbook prove both informative and stimulating and provide food for thought. In closing, I would like to thank all the authors here represented for their happy willingness to contribute to the Handbook and hope they feel that their hard work has been worthwhile. I would also to place on record my thanks to the editors at Routledge for their expertise and help in producing the final product.

Finally, the time between the publication of the first and second editions has seen the untimely passing of two contributors to these editions, 'tope Omoniyi and Farzad Sharifian. It is to their memory that this Handbook is dedicated.

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Section 1

Historical perspectives and traditional Englishes

1

Standardized English

The history of the earlier circles

Daniel R. Davis

Introduction

Before the Three Circles

Kachru (1992: 356) describes the Three Circles model of the sociolinguistic profile of English as consisting of "three concentric circles," representing "the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts." McArthur (1998: 97), substituting the description "contiguous ovals" for "concentric circles," draws attention to the "smaller unlabelled ovals belonging presumably to the past." The purpose of this chapter is to give a brief history of those earlier ovals or circles, bearing in mind that Kachru's model enables a contextualization that has both historical and present-day sociolinguistic significance (Kachru 2008: 568). The smaller unlabelled circles signify earlier forms of English in time, or they signify sociolinguistic profiles or ideologies of English inspired by those earlier forms but written on today's map (see Milroy 2002: 9–12 on language history as a legitimizing ideology). As Kachru states:

> The Inner Circle is *inner* with reference to the origin and spread of the language, and the Outer is *outer* with reference to geographical expansion of the language – the historical stages in the initiatives to locate the English language beyond the traditional English-speaking Britain; the motivations, strategies, and agencies involved in the spread of English; the methodologies involved in the acquisition of the language; and the *depth* in terms of social penetration of the English language to expand its functional range in various domains, including those of administration, education, political discourses, literary creativity, and media.
>
> *(Kachru 2008: 568)*

It is fundamental to Kachru's model that the historical contexts of the movement of English have an effect on the sociolinguistic manifestation of world Englishes today.

Periodization

A useful periodization of English, based on Hogg et al. (1992–2001) and Ringe (2006), is given in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Periodization of the history of the English language

Date	*Period Initiated*	*Defining Event*
3000 BCE	Proto-Germanic	Grimm's Law (sound change)
449 CE	Old English	Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain
1066 CE	Middle English	Norman conquest of England
1476 CE	Early Modern English	First printing press in England
1776 CE	Modern English	First colonial transfer of sovereignty (USA)
1997 CE	?	Last colonial transfer of sovereignty (Hong Kong)

Source: based on Hogg et al. 1992–2001

The periodization adopted in the *Cambridge History* is based loosely on external events which held significance for the later development of the language.

Proto-Germanic period

Grimm's Law (the first consonant shift)

Old English, in common with Gothic, Old Norse, and Old High German, descends from Proto-Germanic, which itself descends from Proto-Indo-European. The Indo-European language family includes not only the Germanic languages but also Sanskrit and the Indic languages, Persian, Greek, Latin and the Romance languages, the Celtic languages, Armenian, Albanian, Lithuanian, and the Slavic languages (useful charts appear in Morris 1969; Arlotto 1972: 107; Mallory 1989: 15). Proto-Germanic is the hypothetical parent language reconstructed on the basis of the earliest surviving texts in the Germanic daughter languages; Proto-Indo-European is the hypothetical parent language reconstructed on the basis of the earliest surviving texts in all of the Indo-European languages. Grimm's Law (the first Germanic sound shift) separates the Germanic languages from the other branches of Indo-European. It was identified by Rasmus Rask as early as 1810 and given popular form by Jakob Grimm in 1822 (Collinge 1995: 203). A set of regular correspondences, one of which occurred between /p/ in Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit; an absence ("zero") in Old Irish; and a fricative /f/ in Gothic, Old English, and Old High German, was identified. For example, Sanskrit *pitár*, Greek *πατήρ* [pɑter], and Latin *pater* have a /p/ where Old Irish *athir* lacks the /p/ and where /f/ occurs in Gothic *fadar*, Old English *fæder*, Old High German *fater*, and Old Norse *faðir* (all related or cognate words for 'father,' Buck 1933: 121; Bammesberger 1992: 35; Ringe 2006: 79). The correspondence p : f is regular in that it can be expected to occur in more than one example, so, taking the word meaning 'foot,' we see Sanskrit *pāt*, Greek *πούς* [pous], Latin *pēs* (Old Irish is left out, as the word for 'foot' is not related; see Buck 1949: 243–244), Gothic *fôtus*, Old English *fōt*, Old High German *fuoz*, and Old Norse *fótr* (Buck 1933: 121; Robinson 1992: 6; Ringe 2006: 94). By hypothesizing a parent language from which all of these languages descended and by suggesting that all p's become f's (p > f) within one dialect area of that parent language, a linguistic history can be told, tracing the development of one parent language, Proto- (meaning: hypothetical) Indo-European, through different sound changes in different regions to result in differentiated daughter languages. When p > f, the daughter language Proto-Germanic came into being. Other sound changes within the Proto-Germanic language gave rise to the daughter Germanic languages (Gothic, Old English, etc.) in turn. These “granddaughter” languages (and their daughters following on) still show evidence of the p > f change that separated their mother, Proto-Germanic, from her mother, Proto-Indo-European. Nearly all of the consonants of non-loanwords in all of the older and present-day Germanic languages are the output of Grimm’s Law and so show its effect. In Modern English, these include voiceless fricatives /f, θ, h, h^w/ (and also, in special cases covered by Verner’s Law, voiced fricatives /v, ð/), voiceless stops /p, t, k, k^w/, and voiced stops /b, d, g/. The history of how a language breaks up into a family of related languages can be told in terms of a sequence of regular sound changes, and the sound changes involved in Grimm’s Law mark the divergence of the Germanic languages from the rest of the Indo-European family.

The concept of regular sound change enables historians of the language to comment on the direction and in some cases timing of word borrowing. The sound change p > f in Germanic languages suggests that the word *father* ‘male parent’ has existed in English from the present day back through Early Modern, Middle, and Old English and Proto-Germanic to the time in which the p > f change occurred. By contrast, the word *paternal* ‘pertaining to the male parent’ must have been borrowed from Latin into English some time after the sound change p > f was no longer in operation (otherwise one would expect *paternal* to have undergone p > f to produce *faternal). Borrowing, supported by sound change, can be used as a form of historical evidence for contact between speakers of different languages, placed alongside archaeological and social historical evidence to allow the external or social history of the language to be told.

Language and social contact in the Germanic period

Archaeological and linguistic evidence places the early speakers of Germanic languages in Denmark and southern Sweden as late as 500 BCE and perhaps as early as 2000 BCE. Roman historical records at the beginning of the Christian Era (roughly 100 BCE to 100 CE) locate the Germanic tribes east of the Rhine and south of Denmark (Mallory 1989: 85; Robinson 1992: 16–17), indicating the spread of the Germanic peoples and various types of contact (including trade and warfare) with the Romans. This can be seen in early borrowings from Germanic into Latin and the reverse: Lat *sāpō* ‘soap’ < Gmc *saip(i)ōn (Buck 1949: 453); Gmc *kaup- (seen in OE *ċēap* ‘bargain, price,’ OHG *kouf*, ModE *cheap* ‘inexpensive’) < Lat. *caupō* ‘merchant, small trader, innkeeper’ (Hoad 1986: 72; Serjeantson 1935: 291; Ringe 2006: 296).

Kastovsky (1992: 301–302; using Serjeantson 1935: 271–277) estimates that there are approximately 170 loanwords from Latin to Germanic during this period, showing Roman influence in commerce, agriculture, building, military and legal institutions, and household items. These early loanwords are identified through the existence of corresponding forms in other Germanic languages (implying early borrowing) or by their phonological shape (showing the effect of the earlier sound changes in Old English or not showing the effect of later changes in Vulgar Latin). Further examples (cited in their OE form) include *strǣt* ‘paved road’ (ModE *street*), *coper* ‘copper,’ *purpur* ‘purple,’ *socc* ‘shoe, sock,’ *candel* ‘candle,’ *butere* ‘butter,’ *wīn* ‘wine,’ *cupp(e)* ‘cup,’ *panne* ‘pan,’ *cyċene* ‘kitchen,’ *pipor*, *piper* ‘pepper,’ and *plante* ‘plant’.

Old English 449–1066

Social history and its linguistic effects

The Roman Empire in Britain 43–410 CE

At the time of Julius Caesar's attempted invasion during the Gallic War (55–54 BCE), southern Britain was inhabited by speakers of the Brythonic or Brittonic branch of Celtic, distributed in tribal or ethnic regional kingdoms much like the Celts in Gaul (modern France). Starting in 43 CE, the Romans conquered this area, created fortifications and towns, and ruled Britain as a colony for 360 years. During this time, several hundred loanwords entered into British and Irish from Latin (Lewis 1980: 31, 38, 45; Jackson 1953: 76, 227, 412). Examples include British *pont 'bridge' (seen in Modern Welsh *pont*) < L. *pons, pontis* and British *eclēsia 'church' (seen in ModW *eglwys*, Cornish *eglos*, Old Irish *eclais* [egliʃ], and the British place name *Eccles*) < L. *ecclēsia*.

The settlement of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes 449 CE

As the Roman Empire declined in the fifth century CE, Irish and Scots from Ireland and Picts from present-day Scotland began to raid Romano-British settlements south of Hadrian's Wall. The Romano-British ruler Vortigern (etymologically in British, this name can be analyzed as 'over-lord,' suggesting that it may have been a title) enlisted the help of Germanic mercenaries, who, seeing the weakness of the British, began to occupy lands in the east of Britain, following the river valleys inland and moving from east to west during the next 250 years. The Romano-British town and villa- (rural estate-) based economy collapsed, and the British Celts were subjugated or were pushed to the west. They resisted but ultimately were able to defend only isolated regions in the west: the corners and upland areas of Cornwall, Wales, Cumbria (the northwestern corner of present-day England, that is, the Lakes District), and southern Scotland. Some Britons fled to Gaul, settling in what is now Brittany in modern France. British thus grew into three separate languages, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton (Jackson 1953: 194–219; Russell 2007: 188–189). As the Germanic tribes pushed west, political power coalesced into seven kingdoms known as the Heptarchy: Wessex, Essex, Sussex, Kent, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. Of these, Kent, Northumbria (625–75 CE), Mercia (650–825 CE), and Wessex (800–1050 CE) held varying and successively greater degrees of prominence and influence throughout the Old English period (Toon 1992: 416), and this had an indirect effect on the development, recognition, and literary productivity of the dialects of Old English.

Contact with the British Celts

English place name evidence shows that there was some contact between the Britons and the Germanic invaders. Jackson divides Britain into four areas with progressively greater survival of Celtic river names, reflecting the extent to which the British-speaking population survived at the time of conquest (Jackson 1953: 228–230). Earlier theories of genocide or total depopulation are no longer supported (Jackson 1953: 229; Filppula et al. 2008: 14). Nevertheless, less than ten words were borrowed from British into Old English, and the only four uncontested are: *binn* 'manger,' *brocc* 'badger,' *cumb* 'valley,' and *luh* 'sea, pool' (Coates 2007: 177; Kastovsky 1992: 318). Schrijver (2007) argues that the borrowings from

Latin into British occurred in the Highland areas during Roman rule and that southeastern Britain was populated by Latin speakers by the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion. This hypothesis explains the larger number of Latin as opposed to Celtic loanwords, as the Germanic settlers moving from east to west came into contact with Romano-British Latin speakers in the first instance. Tristram (2004) re-examines the evidence for contact between the British and the Anglo-Saxons and, following White (2002, 2003), suggests that significant numbers of British speakers may have survived in the southwest and north and over generations acquired a grammatically modified, low-prestige form of Old English. This would not have appeared in the written record, for which more conservative, high-prestige dialects were used. When the high-prestige form of Old English was submerged after the Norman conquest, some of these British Celtic-derived (the progressive aspect in the southwest) or Celtic-influenced features (invariable case and gender inflection of nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and the definite article, starting in the north) survived and spread in the various regional dialects of Middle English. Filppula (2008) considers the history of this question and identifies four syntactic features present in the Celtic languages, in Celtic Englishes, and in English in general, which are not present in other Germanic languages: The internal possessor construction (*He's got a nasty wound on* ***his*** *head*), the periphrastic use of *do*, the progressive *-ing* aspect, and cleft constructions (*It's father who did it*). The body of evidence and the debate over it is reviewed extensively in Filppula et al. (2008); a polemical version is popularized in McWhorter (2008).

Latin loanwords in Old English

Old English continued the Germanic tradition of adopting loanwords from Latin.

Those borrowed during the period of settlement (450–650 CE) show the influence of early Old English sound changes. Sound changes are not always able to provide a basis for clearly dating these terms and distinguishing them from the first group. Serjeantson's list gives 112 loanwords from this period, including some words from the semantic field or discourse area of religion (Serjeantson 1935: 277–281). Examples are: *pæġel* 'pail,' *pere* 'pear,' *trūht* 'trout,' *nunne* 'nun,' and *sætern-(dæġ)* 'Saturday.'

After St Augustine's mission to the English in 597 CE, English kings, followed by their subjects, converted to Christianity. Latin was the language of the Roman Catholic Church and was used as the language of religious services and in the administration of church affairs. Monasteries were founded, and the schools attached to them promoted the study and copying of biblical and other Latin texts (Baugh and Cable 2002: 84). The British and Irish Celts had converted earlier, and the influence of Irish missionaries can be seen in the insular half-uncial script adopted in the English monasteries and in the linguistic form of the word *cross*, which, though subject to debate, shows the effect of the Irish sound change ks > s (Hogg 1992a: 11; Kastovsky 1992: 319). This led to a fairly large number of borrowings into English from Latin, often influenced by written forms and thus closer to classical Latin when compared with earlier loanwords. This tendency was reinforced by the monastic reforms of the tenth century (Kastovsky 1992: 307; Baugh and Cable 2002: 87–90). The important economic role of the monasteries as major landholders and as introducers of agricultural improvements is also seen in these words. Serjeantson (1935: 281–288) lists 244 terms in discourse fields similar to earlier borrowing but with a greater number relating to religion. Some of the words borrowed in this third period are: *spendan* 'spend,' *purs* 'purse,' *cōc*, *cōcere* 'cook,' *crēda* 'creed,' *paradīs* 'paradise,' and *scōl* 'school.'

Contact with Old Norse

From the eighth through tenth centuries CE, social and political conditions in Scandinavia encouraged sea raiders or Vikings to set out on long voyages in search of wealth and power (Loyn 1977: 9–30). The Vikings attacked and eventually settled in numerous coastal, island, and river locations in the Baltic, the North Sea, and the Atlantic, including Russia, the British Isles, France, Iceland, and Greenland (Baugh and Cable 2002: 92). They appeared in England in 787 CE and sacked Lindisfarne monastery in 793 CE. During the ninth century, Danes began settling in the east and Norwegians in the west. A Danish army threatened to conquer the entire country but was defeated by the English king Alfred at Eddington in Wiltshire. In the Treaty of Wedmore (reported variously as 878 or 886 CE), Alfred and the Danish leader Guthrum established the Danelaw: an area in the north and east of England in which the Danes and Norwegians could settle and within which the law had a Scandinavian basis. Danish settlers took up unoccupied land in the midst of the earlier Anglian population in this area. (See Strang 1970: 319; Wakelin 1988: 69–70.) Later attacks ultimately led to a period of Danish rule in all of England under Canute and his son from 1016–1042 (Kastovsky 1992: 325).

Lexical borrowing from Old Norse began during the Old English period, with 30 words appearing before 1020 CE (*hūsbōnda* ‘householder, husband,’ *feolaga* ‘fellow,’ *lagu* ‘law,’ *ūtlaga* ‘outlaw,’ *wrang* ‘wrong’) and another 30 by 1150 CE (*cnīf* ‘knife,’ *dīegan* ‘to die,’ *hittan* ‘to meet with’ [ModE *hit*], *tacan* ‘touch, take’). Many of these pertain to the law and the sea (Serjeantson 1935: 63–70). A large number of loanwords from Old Norse (between 400 and 1000) appeared during the Middle English period: *anger*, *bag*, *cake*, *dirt*, *flat*, *fog*, *happy*, *ill*, *leg*, *low*, *neck*, *odd*, *raise*, *seem*, *silver*, *skin*, *sky*, *want*, *window* (Burnley 1992: 421). Kastovsky (1992: 327–328) points out that, “Borrowings of the type encountered here normally presuppose either a fair amount of mutual intelligibility or relatively widespread bilingualism, and a considerable period of coexistence of the two languages involved.” Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 274) draw attention to a “sizable but lesser amount of grammatical influence.” These dialects later played a key role in the development of a standardized form of English, accounting for the third plural personal pronoun *they, them,* and *their* replacing the Old English forms, and possibly involved in the development and spread of present third singular verbal inflection *-s* replacing *-eth* (Nielsen 1998: 183–184). Modern non-standard dialects of English in these areas show even greater influence, retaining Scandinavian forms such as *kirk* ‘church’ < ON *kirkja*, *laik* ‘play’ < ON *leika*, and *lop* ‘flea’ < ON *hloppa* (Wakelin 1988: 77–84).

Grammatical features

Old English was still to some extent a case-inflected language. Readers who have experience of Sanskrit, Greek, or Latin will understand this, as will those who have studied Modern German. In a case-inflected language, number and the grammatical function of the noun phrase in the sentence is indicated by some form of morphological marking, such as an inflectional ending, on the noun or associated adjectives or determiners. The names of the cases are drawn from Latin and include nominative (the ending typically used for the subject function), accusative (typically for the direct object function), genitive (typically for the possessor), and dative (typically for the indirect object and for the object of most prepositions in Old English). Individual cases frequently identify more than one grammatical function in a language, and the functions identified by a particular case vary from language to language.

For example, accusative case marks the direct object (*hē ofslōg **þone aldorman*** 'He killed **the mayor**') but also an adverb denoting extent of space or time (*þā sǣton hīē **þone winter** æt Cwātbrycge* 'they then stayed **that winter** at Bridgenorth') and the object of a preposition implying movement (Quirk, Wrenn and Deskis 1994: 60–61). A further challenge for learners is that a particular noun belongs to a specific declension; that is, it exhibits a patterned set of endings. For example, the nouns *stān* 'stone' and *cyning* 'king' have the inflection *-as* in nominative and accusative plural, whereas *luf**u*** 'love' and *tal**u*** 'tale' have the forms *luf**a*** and *tal**a*** in nominative and accusative plural.

Within a declension, there are overlaps in the patterning: the nominative and accusative singular are frequently identical. When this happens, the accompanying determiner (masculine accusative singular demonstrative *þone* in the previous two examples) may help to identify the grammatical function of the noun phrase. However, as Hogg (1992b: 133) states, the increasing similarity of various case endings throughout the Old English period emphasizes the extent to which late Old English was dependent on other means (word order and prepositions) to indicate subject and object. The overall structure of the Old English case system strongly resembles Modern German: determiners and pronouns rather than noun markers seem to bear the functional load of identifying case (Hogg 2002: 18). In addition, certain inflectional forms (such as plural *-as* declension) began to expand at the expense of forms in other declensions. Remnants of the displaced declensions survive in Middle and Modern English, as can be seen in the plural forms of Modern English irregular nouns (*child*/*children*, *sheep*/*sheep*, *foot*/*feet*). Most grammatical survivals from Old English undergo regularization in later forms of English (both standardized and non-standardized varieties, with regularization more advanced in non-standard varieties). The survivors become grammatical peeves or sticking points within the ideology of the prescriptive grammatical tradition.

Middle English 1066–1476

Social history and its linguistic effects

English submerged

The Norman Conquest of Britain in 1066 CE is the traditional date for the beginning of the Middle English period. William, Duke of Normandy (in modern France), took advantage of a period of social chaos following the death of Edward the Confessor and the election of Harold to the English throne to advance his own claim. He and his followers invaded England, defeated Harold at the Battle of Hastings in Sussex, and reestablished the feudal hierarchy with a predominance of Anglo Norman (French) speakers in the upper classes. Stenton (1943: 548–549, 618) attributes the Norman success to their ability to fight on horseback, to their rapid construction of motte-and-bailey earthwork fortifications to secure territory against revolt, and to William's insistence that his followers observe the pre-existing framework of feudal rights and obligations in the lands with which he rewarded their service. Berndt (1969: 370–377) states that there was no mass immigration from France, estimating that at most 10 per cent of the population of England was of French origin. In some towns, there were sizeable communities of Normans, but this was nowhere greater than 50 per cent in any community. There were more French in the clergy and in the land-holding nobility, particularly among the most powerful.

As a result of the conquest, England became a trilingual society, with Latin as the language of official records (displacing Old English); French as the language of royalty and the upper nobility; and English as the language of the lower classes, particularly the peasants. All three languages were used in the Roman Catholic Church, with French spoken by many clergymen, Latin used as the language of the liturgy, and English used to communicate with the mass of worshippers. The growing towns and cities were also multilingual, with the number of French speakers varying but not greater than half of the speakers. During the twelfth century CE, French was used in literature, but at the same time, there are indications that English was becoming a household language for some members of the upper classes. By the thirteenth century, this seems to have been the norm. At this time, a central dialect of French enjoyed prestige as an additional language amongst the nobility, and Norman French (or "Anglo-Norman") acquired a provincial reputation (Smith 1992: 48–52; Burnley 1992: 423–428). Kibbee (1991) gives an authoritative and detailed discussion of the role of French and the distribution of French speakers at different periods.

The reemergence of English

Traditionally, the reemergence of English is treated in the context of social developments of the 1300s. However, it might be revealing in the context of world Englishes to see that this reemergence took place after more than 200 years of Norman attempts to control the marginalised Celtic societies of the British Isles. Having achieved the conquest of England in 1066 and the enumeration of this conquest in the Domesday Book of 1086, the Normans extended their field of operation to Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. In each of these operations, soldiers and settlers were drawn from England, Wales, and Flanders in Belgium. Each resulted in diglossic societies with English and Celtic languages in some kind of equilibrium. The central events of the fourteenth century no doubt influenced the status of the English language on the Celtic periphery, but the reverse, that events on the periphery may well have influenced the status of the English language in England, deserves further attention.

During the fourteenth century, the status of French and English changed. John Trevisa's commentary suggests that, following first outbreak of the bubonic plague (in 1348–1350), French lost prestige and English gained prestige in education and in the upper classes (Smith 1992: 52–53, citing Leith 1983: 30; Sisam 1921: 149). The Black Death caused the death of up to one third of the population and created a labour shortage, leading to the gradual emancipation of serfs, the development of paid labour, and the growth of a middle class populated by increasing numbers of English speakers. At the same time, the experience of fighting in France against the French during Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) made the Anglo-Norman nobility more aware of their Englishness. This process had begun earlier, when Anglo-Norman lords were forced to choose between their English and French lands owing to the English king John's refusal to swear fealty (as Duke of Normandy) to Philip, King of France. Parliament opened in English in 1362. (Baugh and Cable 2002: 128, 141–148; Kibbee 1991: 58–62).

French loanwords into Middle English

There are at least 1000 loanwords from French into Middle English. As was the case with Scandinavian loanwords, there is a small trickle of words at first during a lag period of several centuries, followed by a flood of loanwords. The difference is that the social domain of Old Norse loanwords, that of everyday life, suggests a degree of social equality between Old English and Old Norse, whereas the French loanwords in Middle English are associated with institutional power and high culture. *Castle* was borrowed before the conquest; others that follow have to do with politics (*were* 'war,' *pais* 'peace,' *iustise* 'justice') and religion (*miracle*, *messe* 'mass,' *clerc* 'educated person, cleric'; see Burnley 1992: 429–430). In the early loanwords, Norman French *c* appears where later borrowings from Central French have *ch (catch* versus *chase)*; *w* appears for later *gu* (*warrant* versus *guarantee*). Textbooks (Brinton and Arnovick 2006: 237; Millward 1996: 199–200) follow Serjeantson (1935) in dividing these into semantic fields including social relationships and ranks (*parentage*, *aunt*, *cousin*, *duke*), household and furnishings (*chair*, *table*, *lamp*, *couch*, *mirror*, *towel*, *blanket*), food and eating (*dinner*, *supper*, *fry*, *plate*, *salad*, *fruit*, *beef*, *pork*), fashion (*fashion*, *dress*, *button*, *jewel*), sports and entertainment (*tournament*, *dance*, *chess*, *fool*, *prize*, *tennis*, *audience*, *entertain*, *recreation*), the arts (*art*, *painting*, *color*, *music*, *poet*, *story*), education (*study*, *science*, *university*, *grammar*, *test*, *pen*, *pencil*, *paper*), medicine (*medicine*, *surgeon*, *pain*, *disease*, *cure*, *poison*), government (*government*, *city*, *village*, *office*, *rule*, *court*, *police*, *tax*, *mayor*, *citizen*), law (*judge*, *jury*, *appeal*, *punish*, *prison*, *crime*, *innocent*, *just*), religion (*chapel*, *religion*, *confession*, *pray*, *faith*, *divine*, *salvation*), the military (*enemy*, *battle*, *peace*, *force*, *capture*, *attack*, *army*, *navy*, *soldier*, *captain*, *march*), and economic organization and trades (*grocer*, *tailor*, *mason*). Everyday or general words borrowed include *age*, *catch*, *chance*, *change*, *close*, *enter*, *face*, *flower*, *fresh*, *hello*, *hurt*, *large*, *letter*, *move*, *pay*, *people*, *please*, *poor*, *rock*, *save*, *search*, *sign*, *square*, *sure*, *touch*, *try*, *turn*, and *use*. These semantic fields reflect those sociolinguistic domains in which French was used and in which, when the shift to English came, French vocabulary was borrowed because of its prestige and other identity associations within those domains. The situation is in some respects comparable to code mixing of English-origin words in Cantonese in informal situations in Hong Kong during the period preceding the return to Chinese sovereignty: as Luke (1998: 157) states, "Cantonese-English language mixing in Hong Kong is not merely a way of talking about new experiences, but, perhaps more importantly, the linguistic reflection of how different groups in society respond to these new objects, institutions, and experiences." Li (2002: 84) elaborates on Luke's model, "orientational mixing allows for dynamic manipulation, or 'display', of the speaker's social identities and distance vis-à-vis the interlocutor(s)."

Loss of inflectional endings in Middle English

The most striking grammatical feature of Middle English is the loss of inflectional cases. This happened during the early part of Middle English period when the sound change termed "reduction" occurred. Unstressed /a/, /o/, /u/, and /e/ merged and were "reduced" to /ə/; then word-final and medial /ə/ were lost. As a result, most noun endings were reduced to those of the modern system (singular zero, possessive *-(e)s*, and plural *-(e)s*), and these were generalized to nouns from other declensions, with some competition from the *-en* plural from the Old English weak declension, seen in *children*, *oxen*, but also *shoon* or *shoen* 'shoes'. A more fixed word order and extensive use of prepositional constructions developed with these changes. The subject came to occupy the first position in the sentence (making nominative case marking redundant), the direct object came to occupy the position after the verb (in place of accusative case marking), and the preposition *to* came to mark the indirect object, in place of dative marking. The preposition *of* marked non-possessive genitive relationships (Brinton and Arnovick 2006: 266–269, 271–272, 286–289; Lass 1992: 103–116). Adjective marking was greatly simplified, and the definite article was reduced to a single invariable form.

Strong verbs began to undergo regularization to weak endings and thus appear with strong and weak forms (*halp* beside *helped*) (Millward 1996: 175–178). The inflectional endings for verbs were reorganized differently in different dialects, as can be seen in the present indicative plural *-es* in northern dialects, *-e(n)* or *-es* in Midland dialects, and *-eth* (as expected from OE) in southern dialects (Brinton and Arnovick 2006: 284). Compared to this level of variation, modern English variability in third singular present *-s* seems much less significant but must be viewed in the light of the normativity that has accompanied standardization. The same holds true for the surviving irregular forms, which often undergo some form of levelling in non-standardized dialects and varieties.

Early Modern English 1476–1776

Social history and its linguistic effects

Centralization of political power

The early modern period of the English language can be assigned to certain events marking the end of the Middle Ages in England and the British Isles. In politics, the Tudor dynasty emerged from the Wars of the Roses, marked by the defeat of Richard III by the Welsh-descended Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field in 1485. In general, the Tudors favoured and strengthened the central authority of the monarchy and supporting institutions at the expense of the feudal nobility; this led to increased power for the House of Commons in parliament, representing the urban merchants and rural gentry (smaller landowners).

Printing

While the strength of the Tudors clearly led to political centralization, the more important event, from a linguistic perspective, was the establishment of the printing press in England in 1476 CE. William Caxton set up his press in Chancery Lane, in the City of Westminster (next to London), in close proximity to Chancery (later the Public Records Office). Texts, which up to this point had been copied by hand, could be produced quickly and in much larger numbers. This increased the potential audience for books, but forced printers, translators, and authors to confront the problem of dialect variation. In order to sell the largest possible number of books, printers tended to choose the most common or understandable of several variant forms. This form was then reproduced in hundreds of copies of a book. Over time, this contributed to the standardization of the written form of English (Harris and Taylor 1997: 87–92; Graddol, Leith and Swann 1996: 139–141; Bex 1996: 32–34).

Chancery, law, and administration

The location of Caxton's press on Chancery Lane suggests a link between the forms he adopted and the standardizing practices of the scribes recording government records. Samuels (1969: 407) identifies four "types of language that are less obviously dialectal, and . . . thus cast light on the probable sources of the written standard English that appears in the fifteenth century." The fourth of these is the "Chancery Standard" found in "a flood of government documents that starts in the years following 1430" (411). Nielsen (2005: 131–150) explains that clerks were carefully trained and that Chancery documents were sent throughout England in large numbers. There are disagreements over the details: the role of Chancery is amplified in a series of papers by Fisher (1996) to an extent that is questioned by Benskin (2004). Rissanen (2000), tracing four variables in the Helsinki Corpus, finds that in the case of future modal auxiliaries (*shall* vs. *will*), the legal records' preference for *shall* is outweighed by increasing preference for *will* in the speech-like genres. A preference for compound adverbs (hereby, therefore) in legal and administrative texts is eventually overturned in favour of prepositional phrases more generally. On the other hand, *provided that* seems to have spread from law texts to other genres, and legal texts led the way in relying on *not . . . any* as opposed to double negative *not . . . no*.

The city of London

Keene (2000) reviews the role played by the city of London in the development of standard English from 1100–1700. Though geographically on the margins of Europe, London was by far the largest city in the British Isles and was a centre of local, regional, and international commerce, manufacture, and immigration from other parts of Britain.

> London is likely to have had an influence on the emergence of Standard English not primarily as a site of government and power but rather as an engine of communication and exchange. . . . Key processes to consider would include the establishment of fellowship, trust and norms which fostered understanding and an ability quickly to conclude deals in acknowledged and repeatable ways.
>
> *(Keene 2000: 111)*

The wealth generated in these exchanges led to the further growth of the middle class. On the one hand, immigration from other parts of Britain enabled dialect items to enter the feature pool of standardizing English. On the other, competition within and insecurity about the social hierarchy encouraged selection and codification (Knowles 1997: 128–29).

The Reformation

In the Protestant Reformation (1517 CE), factions (later denominations) broke off from the Roman Catholic Church in Germany, England, and other countries while in most cases retaining an official monopoly of religious practice under the authority of local and national leaders. Barber (1976: 71) explains that, in England, the debate between advocates and opponents of the Reformation occurred in English, as authors wanted to reach the widest possible audience. Vernacular translations of the bible and the liturgy were authorized and used at home and in religious services. The language of these translations had prestige and exposure, providing a consistent prose model and source of idiom and style (Millward 1996: 225; Knowles 1997: 94–100).

Expansion of vocabulary

Nevalainen (1999: 350–352, citing Wermser 1976: 40) indicates that, "borrowing is by far the most common method of enriching the lexicon in Early Modern English." Thousands of words were borrowed during this time, ranging between 40 per cent and 53 per cent of all new words. By contrast, Cannon (1987) shows that borrowing is less than 10 per cent of the new words in American English from 1963–1981.

Latin is the primary source language for loans into Early Modern English, ranging from 45 per cent to 60 per cent, except during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, when the percentage dropped to 37.9 per cent (Görlach 1991: 166, citing Wermser 1976: 45). Over half of the loanwords from 1560–1670 come from Latin, and these are primarily learned and specialist terminology, reflecting both the Renaissance interest in Roman and Greek culture and the growth of science (Nevalainen 1999: 364–365; Leith et al. 2007: 79–96). Barber (1976: 169–172; with examples supplemented by Serjeantson 1935: 264–265) identifies sciences of medicine (*cadaver*, *delirium*, *virus*), anatomy (*appendix*, *vertebra*), biology (*fungus*, *pollen*, *species*), physics (*spectrum*, *vacuum*), and mathematics (*area*, *multiplicand*, *radius*), as well as religion (*relapse*), grammar (*copula*), rhetoric (*caesura*), logic (*data*, *tenet*), philosophy (*crux*, *query*, *transcendental*), fine arts (*literati*), classical civilization (*gorgon*, *rostrum*, *toga*), public affairs (*militia*, *veto*), and geography (*aborigines*, *peninsula*) as major fields for Latin loanwords. Glosses are omitted to save space, and there is some overlap that can only be decided by careful examination of the initial borrowing context (for example, *virus* could be medicine or biology). More general loanwords given in Barber (1976: 172) include *relaxation*, *invitation*, *relevant*, *investigate*, *commemorate*, and *officiate*.

Görlach (1991: 166, citing Wermser 1976: 45) states that French loanwords range between 20 per cent and 40 per cent of the loanwords in any given 15-year period from 1510–1724, second only to Latin. Italian (1–14 per cent), Spanish (1–3 per cent), and Dutch (1–3 per cent) each contribute small percentages, while the rest of the European languages (2–7 per cent) are comparable to overseas loans (0.3–7 per cent). Görlach (1991: 167–168) characterizes the social context of the French loanwords: French occurred commonly in certain documents until the seventeenth century, knowledge of French was common among the nobility and even more common in Scotland, large numbers of French and Flemish Protestants emigrated to England after the Edict of Nantes (protecting French Protestants) was revoked in 1685, and there was a surge of popularity for French when English royalists returned to England at the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. The loanwords reflect the status of French as a marker of membership in an educated elite. The phonology of these loanwords bears greater resemblance to the source forms in comparison to earlier borrowings from French: Earlier *fine*, now [fɑɪn], shows the effect of the Great Vowel Shift (discussed further subsequently), while later *machine* [məʃin] does not. Other more Anglicized loans nevertheless reflect changes that had occurred in French at the time of borrowing (Nevalainen 1999: 369, citing Skeat 1970: 12–13). The loanwords fall into the domains of military (*colonel*, *cartridge*, *platoon*, *terrain*, *espionage*), navy (*pilot*), diplomacy (*envoy*), commerce (*indigo*, *gauze*), social terms (*bourgeois*, *naïve*, *class*, *etiquette*), arts (*crayon*, *memoir*, *nuance*), fashion (*dishabille*, *rouge*, *corduroy*), games, dancing (*ballet*), food (*fricassee*, *casserole*, *liqueur*), medicine (*migraine*), and geography (*glacier*, *avalanche*). Most of these examples are from Serjeantson (1935: 160–165), supplemented by Nevalainen 1999: 370).

Greek loans, often via Latin, pertain to classical civilization (*alphabet*, *bathos*) and scientific terminology (*crisis*, *meteorology*, *coma*). Italian loans are for the most part via French and include domains of trade (*traffic*, *bankrupt*), literature, music, architecture, and other arts (*carnival*, *cupola*, *sonnet*, *piano*). Spanish loanwords include trade (*anchovy*, *lime*, *cargo*), military (*armada*), and some cultural loans (*sierra*, *guitar*), particularly those connected with the Americas (*cannibal*, *potato*, *alligator*, *tobacco*, *vanilla*). Dutch loans fall within the domains of seafaring (*yacht*, *cruise*, *jib*) and trade (*dock*, *excise*, *dollar*, *snuff*) but include terms from other discourse areas and of more general use (*knapsack*, *easel*, *sketch*, *drill*, *skate*). Portuguese loanwords reflect Portuguese trade and colonization in Asia and Brazil (*banana*, *molasses*, *teak*, *veranda*, *palaver*). German loans include *lobby*, *hamster*, *zinc*, *quartz*, *iceberg*, *nickel*; both *steppe* and *mammoth* are Russian loans. “Overseas” source languages, primarily relating to the expanding trade networks of the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries, include Turkish (*horde*, *jackal*, *yogurt*), Persian (*turban*, *divan*, *bazaar*, *caravan*), and Arabic (*algebra*, *arsenal*, *jar*, *civet*, *tamarind*, *tarragon*, *alcohol*, *albacore*, *couscous*, *sherbet*, *albatross*). Contact with African languages introduced *zebra*, *baobab*, and *chimpanzee*. Hindi, Urdu, and Tamil were the source of words including *typhoon*, *toddy*, *cot*, *bungalow*, *dungaree*, and *shampoo*. Other source languages are Malay, Chinese, Japanese, and native American languages (Nevalainen 1999: 374–376). It can be seen from these brief lists that many of the words from Arabic entered English via other languages, including French, Spanish, Italian, and Turkish (this had been going on since the Old English period but seems to increase in the Early Modern English period). In selecting from others' lists, I have deliberately avoided terms evoking cultural stereotypes (such as *assassin*) and have tried to include everyday words from a wide range of social activities. These lists conceal the method (identifying source forms and sound changes in source and borrowing languages) but also raise the problems of lexical attrition, meaning changes, and most of all borrowing into developing local varieties in new overseas contexts versus related but not identical borrowing into the standardizing metropolitan variety/ies.

The Great Vowel Shift

The most important change demarcating Middle English from Early Modern English was the Great Vowel Shift. Although recent views take the position that this is a number of sound changes taking place during the period 1400–1700, it is convenient to summarize these under the general term Great Vowel Shift. In phonetic terms, the tongue height for long vowels was raised, and high long vowels were diphthongized (see Table 1.2).

The Great Vowel Shift accounts for a number of irregularities and inconsistencies troubling English speakers, learners, and readers to this day. It explains why children learning to read in English have to learn qualitatively different long and short pronunciations of vowel symbols, for example, long *ā* pronounced [eɪ] versus short *ă* pronounced [æ], and rules such as, "The long vowel says its name." It explains some of the haphazardness of English spelling, since this began to assume an increasingly fixed form while the vowel shift was underway. It explains why learners of English have to memorize or ignore morphophonological alternations such as south [sɑʊθ] versus southern [sʌðərn]. It explains some of the regional and social variation encountered throughout the English-speaking world, in forms such as *root* (pronounced with [uː] or [ʊ]) and *route* ([uː] or [aʊ]). Brinton and Arnovick

Table 1.2 The Great Vowel Shift

1400			1550		1640		Later
Bite	iː	→	εi (əi)	→	εi (əi)	→	aɪ [əɪ]
Meet	eː	→	iː	→	iː	→	iː
Meat	εː	→	εː	→	e(ː)	→	iː
Mate	aː	→	aː/æː	→	εː	→	eɪ
Out	uː	→	ɔu (əu)	→	ɔu (əu)	→	aʊ [əʊ]
Boot	oː	→	uː	→	uː	→	uː
Boat	ɔː	→	ɔː	→	oː	→	oʊ/εʊ

X/Y = "X or Y in some dialects or varieties"
X(Y) = "X or Y according to some accounts"
X [Y] = "X with allophone Y in some environments"

Source: Based on Lass 1999b: 85, with additions.

(2006: 309–311) give three examples of varieties in which some aspects of the vowel shift were not realized: Scottish English, which retains [u] in *mouse*; Irish English, which retains [e] in *tea*; and Canadian (and some dialects of the United States) in which ME [i] and [u] are not fully lowered to [ai] and [au] but in some environments are [əɪ] and [əʊ]. Smith (2004) explores Northern versus Southern versions of the vowel shift and clarifies sociolinguistic context and actuation.

In theory, the Great Vowel Shift should permit dating of loanwords, with those words borrowed earlier undergoing the shift (as in the example of *fine* and *machine* previously). In practice, this is not so clear. For example, the word *route* 'way, course' appears as a borrowing from Anglo-Norman in the thirteenth century; the modern British and American pronunciation [ruːt] can only be explained as a re-borrowing from French after the Great Vowel Shift had diphthongized /uː/ to /au/ (Hoad 1986: 409). The currently spreading and standardizing American pronunciation [raʊt] must be either a spelling pronunciation (influenced by *out*, *shout*, etc.) or possibly was borrowed from French into a particular British regional dialect before that dialect had undergone the Great Vowel Shift, the output of which then appeared after transportation to America. It can be seen that the vowel shift is of limited utility in the face of the expansion of literacy and the dialect mixing that must have accompanied standardization, as the survival and standardization of the [eɪ] pronunciation of *great* and *steak* (next to *eat* and *freak* with [iː]) suggest.

Grammatical developments in Early Modern English

Three major grammatical developments listed by Lass (1999a: 11) are: the replacement of third singular present *-(e)th* by *-(e)s*; the loss of the *-(e)n* marker of verb plurals and infinitives; and the displacement of second singular personal pronouns *thou*, *thee*, *thy*, *thine* with the second plural *ye* (later *you*), *you*, *your*, *yours*. In syntax, do-support is gradually restricted to negative, interrogative, and emphatic clauses, and the progressive is developed.

Early Modern English allowed a great deal of grammatical variation that was later proscribed within the grammatical tradition. Brinton and Arnovick (2006: 327–354) give a host of examples drawn from Shakespeare, indicating variation which modern prescriptivists would find unacceptable but which in many cases still occurs in one variety or another. One out of many examples shows pronominal case variation: here object case appearing in the subject: *And damn'd be* ***him*** *that first cries, 'Hold, enough!'* (*Macbeth*).

Conclusion

This chapter emphasizes the earlier periods at the expense of the later periods, committing precisely the error that Jim Milroy (2007: 32–33) warns of. In part, this is necessary, as an introduction to the history of standardized varieties in the context of world Englishes must make clear the multiplicity of linguistic sources, the patchwork nature of language structure, and the political character of ideologies shaping and regularizing language and our perception of it, then as much as now. Also, the comfortable methods of philology, as applied to the earlier periods, cease to give reassurance in the sociolinguistic, cultural, and political complexity of the modern world. It may be that we have too much evidence to generalize away from variation, or it may be that, in their increased size and complexity, modern language communities have outgrown methods that were developed to make sense of language change occurring in societies with a predominance of relatively small and isolated agricultural communities.

At the same time as forces of standardization came into focus and were brought to bear on the language, English entered on the world stage as explorers, fishermen, merchants, pirates, and settlers engaged in a worldwide economic, political, and cultural expansion. The resulting ideologies are examined in Bailey (1991). As imperial expansion transformed those societies drawn or forced into a relationship with Britain, the industrialization which drove it transformed British society itself (Briggs 1983: 158–224). “Standard English” experienced a corresponding redefinition and reinstitutionalization as language ideologies developed, spread, and receded (see Crowley 1989, 1991, 1996; Curzan 2014). New words, including loanwords, reflect the growth of certain areas of life as we have seen them in the earlier periods or circles of English. What is needed for a full historical understanding of world Englishes is an analysis of the centre developing in response to developments on the periphery. This is true in each period of English we have examined and remains true in the modern period. This period is given extensive coverage in Bailey (1996), Beal (2004), Görlach (1990), Mair (2006), Mugglestone (1995), and Romaine (1998).

English has always been heterogeneous and has always involved extensive language contact. As Bailey (2006: 334) says, “English is (and has been) one language among many.” Kirkpatrick (2007: 6) states, “After all, other languages preceded English in England and the British varieties of English have certainly been influenced by local languages and cultures. The same can be said of American and Australian varieties of English.” The language has responded to social conditions and ideologies emerging from economic and technological developments, prompting the adoption of successive cultural identities. This heterogeneity is obscured by the historically inaccurate use of the term *Anglo Englishes* as a shorthand for inner circle Englishes. Reducing the characterization of these multiple identities and sources to this term is to impose homogeneity on these heterogeneous experiences and even to confer a historical legitimacy upon their ideologies. It risks missing the point: the standardized metropolitan varieties of the inner circle are themselves world Englishes. They, their compatriot non-standardized varieties, and the varieties of the outer and expanding circles have been shaped by many of the same social, political, and linguistic processes in the near and distant past. However, the inner circle standardized varieties are accompanied by a set of ideologies which emerged in response to those processes and which serve to control access to privileged varietal functions. The paradigm of world Englishes, and the linguists associated with it, continues to confront a world in which, to paraphrase Orwell, all varieties are created equal, but some varieties are more equal than others.

Summary

This chapter introduces major effects of linguistic change found in standardized forms of the English language and looks at contributing historical circumstances. Language contact is shown to have influenced the lexical development of the language from the earliest period. Loanwords from Latin, Old Norse, and Old French are examined, and the possibility of Celtic influence on grammar is considered. Later changes include the loss of inflectional endings at the beginning of the Middle English period and the sound changes collectively termed the Great Vowel Shift. Historical factors influencing standardization during the Early Modern period are examined. Awareness of the hybrid origins of standardized inner circle Englishes can help speakers and linguists to contextualize and contain the defensive language ideologies of that circle.

Suggestions for further reading

Hogg, R.M., Blake, N.F., Lass, R., Romaine, S., Burchfield, R.W. and Algeo, J. (1992–2001) *The Cambridge history of the English language*, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. Authoritative and thorough, although historical and sociolinguistic context take second place to language description.

Mesthrie, R. (2006) 'World Englishes and the multilingual history of English', *World Englishes*, 25 (3–4): 381–390. A useful application of current sociolinguistic thought to the multilingual origins of English.

Milroy, J. (2007) 'The history of English', in D. Britain (ed.) *Language in the British Isles*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A concise and balanced overview of major structural changes and sociolinguistic considerations in the history of English.

Mufwene, S.S. (2001) *The ecology of language evolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. A valuable theorization of the language change in traditional and non-traditional sociolinguistic contexts, with numerous illustrations from the history of English and other languages.

Smith, J.J. (1996) *An historical study of English: function, form and change*, London: Routledge. Well-referenced and critical consideration of historical linguistic theory and method as it pertains to the sociolinguistic and structural development of English. Benefits from non-traditional examples and an extremely useful annotated bibliography.

Abbreviations

Lat	Latin
Gmc	Germanic
<	comes from
>	becomes
*	reconstructed or unattested form

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Grammatical variation in the contemporary spoken English of England

David Britain

Introduction

Standard English is a minority dialect in England. Surveys of speech communities across the country over the past few decades have consistently found a majority of the population of whichever geographically based speech community is under investigation using at least some non-standard dialect forms. The first person to guesstimate what proportion of the population of the United Kingdom spoke Standard English was Trudgill (1974, and with a detailed explanation for the rationale behind this figure, 2002: 171). He suggested that just 12% of the population spoke it (and therefore around 50 million people didn't). Few have scrutinised this claim in any detail, but the nearest we have to a contemporary figure is a 1995 report by Dick Hudson and Jason Holmes on the use of non-standard grammatical features found in the formal classroom language of school children in four locations across the country (the Southwest, London, Merseyside and Tyneside). (Hudson and Holmes 1995: 3–5). Despite the explicit and elicited formality, and given only five to ten minutes of speech were collected from each child, they found that 61% of the 11-year-olds and 77% of the 15-year-olds used non-standard forms at some point (1995: 10). Given the formal contexts in which the data were being collected and the likelihood that their informal speech is even more likely to contain non-standardness, Trudgill's 1974 figure of 88% non-standard speakers is probably not wildly inaccurate even today. The figures also suggest that exposure to formal education does not necessarily increase levels of Standard English usage – 15-year-olds used *less* Standard English than 11-year-olds in the survey by Hudson and Holmes.

Cheshire et al.'s *Survey of British Dialect Grammar* (1989, 1993), also focussing on school children, found a common set of non-standard forms to be reported in more than four out of every five questionnaires. The suggestion that there is perhaps a core of non-standard forms that are used by a majority of people in the country and which do not appear to be regionally restricted is supported by other work (e.g. Hudson and Holmes 1995; Hughes et al. 2005). This common core appears to include the following:

- *them* as a demonstrative;
- absence of plural marking on nouns of measurement;

- *never* as a past tense negator;
- regularised reflexive pronouns;
- *there's*/*there was* with notional plural subjects;
- present participles using the preterite rather than continuous forms;
- adverbs without *-ly*;
- *ain't/in't*;
- non-standard *was*.

These features will all be discussed in more detail in the following. Surveys such as those of Cheshire et al. (1989) and Hudson and Holmes (1995) have also been useful in shedding some light on the actual geographical distribution of some grammatical non-standard variants. Some, that had been assumed to be common across the country, were, according to these surveys, restricted to certain parts of the country or found in much higher proportions in some areas than others – this set includes, perhaps surprisingly, negative concord (see subsequently), reported at much lower levels in the North than in the South. Similarly, work using the Freiburg Corpus of English Dialects (FRED), a collection of transcripts of oral history recordings from around the country, has also enabled comparative work on grammatical variation and its geographical distribution of that variation across England and the rest of the British Isles (e.g. Anderwald 2009; Hernández et al. 2011; Hernández y Siebold 2010; Kortmann 2004; Kortmann et al. 2004; Szmrecsanyi 2013). More recently, our understanding of the geographical distribution of grammatical variation has been greatly enhanced by the use of internet and smartphone app surveys and social media, for example, Twitter, analyses (e.g. Britain et al. 2020; Leemann et al. 2018; MacKenzie et al 2014; Stevenson 2016).

England is internally diverse and highly variable, and it's probably fair to say that it is a good deal more variable, from a grammatical point of view, than many of the other 'inner circle' Englishes spoken outside of the British Isles. The remainder of this chapter provides a survey of the most well-documented characteristics of this grammatical variability, drawing upon traditional dialectological studies and variationist sociolinguistic research, as well as recent research emanating from social media technologies and sources.

Verbs

Verbs of possession

English has a variety of ways of verbally encoding possession, the two most common of which are using *have* (as in 1) and *have got* (as in 2). Simple *got* (as in 3) has also entered the mix more recently.

1 I *have* an allergy; it's the fish
2 Oh, you'*ve got* a new lover?
3 We *got* the turkey in the fridge (from Graf 2015)

In general, American English tends to use *have* more than England, with the latter using *have got* more than the American version. Graf (2015) provides a useful frame through which to examine regional variability, as he presents an analysis of the young upper- and upper-middle-class adults in the London-based 'structured reality' TV series *Made in Chelsea*, providing a window on something approaching young spoken Standard English. He finds that *have* is used overall 58% of the time and *have got* 37%. Tagliamonte (2013: 149) presents the rates from a number of locations, mostly rural, across England. In Maryport in Cumbria and in York, *have* exceeds *have got*, but in Wheatley Hill in the Northeast and Henfield, Tiverton and Wincanton in the South, *have got/got* exceed *have*. Fanger (2013), investigating the large East Anglian urban centre of Colchester, found *have got* at almost 80%. Interestingly, the pattern for Graf's analysis of spoken upper-class London English almost exactly matches the overall figures for York and does not at all resemble other parts of the South.

A number of studies, especially from the North of England, find that *have got* is becoming more common over time. Buchstaller and Mearns (2018: 224–225), in a real-time study of change in Newcastle, showed that *have got* accounted for 49% of tokens in 1970 and 63% in 2007 (see also Fehringer and Corrigan 2015b). Tagliamonte (2013: 158) shows *have got* becoming more common across apparent time in York. One might deduce from this that *have got* might be on the rise across the country. But Fanger's analysis of Colchester showed that the high levels of *have got* that she found there were nothing new – even her oldest speakers had rates of *have got* at 80% (2013: 73). This, along with Tagliamonte's (2013) finding that Henfield, also in the Southeast, had high levels of *have got*, suggests that this form entered vernacular varieties of English in that region at least a century ago and is now solidly entrenched there.

Verbs of obligation

As with verbs of possession, there is competition between forms with and without *got*, as in 4, 5 and 6. These two forms are joined by *must*, as in 7.

4 You *have to* watch who comes in
5 You *got* to watch them!
6 He'*s got* to do what he is told (from Tagliamonte 2013: 134)
7 We *must* have those who are fit to help (Tagliamonte 2013: 136)

As with verbs of possession, *have to* is more common in the United States than England, and *have got to* is the reverse. This has been subject to a fair amount of empirical scrutiny. Tagliamonte (2004: 41) finds that in York, *have to* and *have got to* are used to equal extents overall and are both slowly becoming more common over time, at the expense of *must*, which was used at very low levels by her youngest speakers. Her extended 2013 study of several other locations across England shows *have got to* common across England, with *got to* dominant in the Southwest (2013: 139). Fehringer and Corrigan (2015c: 365) show *have to* and *have got to* fluctuating over time in Newcastle. While *have got to* dominated in earlier corpora, more recently, in data from 2010, the use of *have to* and *have got to* are balanced evenly. *Must* fares badly everywhere and in most places does not reach 10% of all tokens.

Present tense marking

Perhaps the most commonly found non-standard variability in the present tense verbal system concerns the scope of *-s* marking. In some varieties, predominantly those in the Southwest of England, but also in parts of northern England, *-s* is variably applied across the whole verbal paradigm and is not restricted to third person singular contexts, as in (8) (see Rupp and Britain 2019 for a thorough overview).

8 We *eats* there most Sundays

This generalised *-s* marking appears to be linguistically constrained in two ways. The first is the so-called Northern Subject Rule, according to which *-s* is favoured after noun phrases (NPs) and non-adjacent pronouns but disfavoured after adjacent pronouns. Tagliamonte (2013: 68), for example, shows that *-s* marking on third person *plural* subjects is more common in Maryport, Cumbria, after NPs than after pronouns. The second is the 'following clause constraint' reported by Cheshire and Ouhalla (1997) in their work on the large town of Reading. Here, if a) the subject is *not* third person singular, and b) the complement of the verb is a clause or a heavy NP, *-s* is *not* found, as in (9) and (10):

9 I *bet* the landlord hates it (cf. *I bets the landlord hates it).
10 They *think* he's gone totally mad (cf. *they thinks he's gone totally mad).

This generalised *-s* marking is almost certainly on the decline (cf. Cheshire 1982; Clark and Asprey 2013; Fernández Cuesta 2015; Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999). The latter also report that *-s* marking is most often found in third singular contexts (1999: 100), perhaps indicating a gradual shift towards a more standard-like paradigm (1999: 106).

On the other hand, in East Anglia, present tense verbs traditionally lack any verbal marking at all, even in third person singular contexts (see Rupp and Britain 2019), as in (11):

11 She *love* going up the city.

As in the Southwest with generic *-s*, however, this non-standard form appears to be undergoing attrition. Kingston (2000), Spurling (2004) and Potter (2018) all find zero on the decline across apparent time in rural and urban Suffolk, though the attrition seems to be more marked, perhaps surprisingly, in rural parts of the region. This trend towards obsolescence is confirmed in Britain et al.'s (2020) apparent-time geographical analysis of this feature from their English Dialects smartphone application. Zero marking is also occasionally found in third person singular contexts in the Southwest, since, as mentioned previously, *-s* marking is variable right across the paradigm there (Godfrey and Tagliamonte 1999).

While third person zero appears to be largely restricted to East Anglia (and parts of the Southwest as part of a variable generalized *-s* marking across person and number), it is much more widespread in the negated form of the verb *do*, as in (12) (Beal et al. 2012; Cheshire 1982; Cheshire et al. 1989; Stenström et al. 2002; Anderwald 2003; Szmrecsanyi 2013; Britain and Rupp in preparation):

12 She don't know what to do.

Clark and Asprey (2013: 98) report *day* for negated third person 'do' in the West Midlands, as in (13). For the Northeast, *divnt* is reported as the negated form of present 'do' in Newcastle and *dinnet* in Sunderland, as in (14) and (15) (Beal et al. 2012; Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015: 78–79):

13 It *day* seem fair, giving them all that money (Clark and Asprey 2013: 99)
14 I *divnt* suppose he ever come back (Beal et al. 2012: 64)
15 I'm a Wearsider, but I *dinnet* mind being called Mackem (Beal et al. 2012: 65)

Present tense of BE

Despite the claim by Edwards et al. (1984: 19) that 'virtually all dialects simplify the conjugation of *to be*,' there have been relatively few empirical reports of simplification and no quantitative studies, beyond a wealth of discussion about the use of singular forms in plural existential contexts (see subsequently). Ihalainen (1985: 65) and Piercy (2010) report the use of cliticised non-first person singular '*m* in Somerset and Dorset, respectively, but both show that these forms are only attached to pronoun subjects and not to full NPs [see (16) subsequently]. Clark and Asprey (2013: 93) report the following paradigm for the Black Country to the northwest of Birmingham: *I bin: thee bist: he/her/it is: we bin: you bin: they bin*, but suggest it is now highly recessive. Britain (2015: 430) reports the use of *bes* in the East Anglian Fens signalling habitual durative aspect, as in (17):

16 You put a big notice on your door saying <u>you</u>*'m* a blood donor (Piercy 2010: 238)
17 Stephen says she *bes* in the Wisbech Arms a lot

Piercy (2010) reports invariant *be*, as in (18) from Dorset:

18 And I *be* one of they that didn't have no brains our side of the family (Piercy 2010: 239)

The use of *is*, or much more usually '*s*, in plural existentials is an extremely widely reported phenomenon (e.g. Cheshire et al. 1989; Hudson and Holmes 1995 [who report it as the most-used non-standard grammatical form in their survey]; see Rupp and Britain 2019 for an overview), as in (19). Although common everywhere, Szmrecsanyi (2013: 62) finds this somewhat more common in the North than the South of England:

19 There's crumbs all over the floor

Periphrastic do/did

In the Southwest of England, an unstressed periphrastic *do/did* is found, as in (20) and (21) (Ihalainen 1994; Megan Jones 2002; Klemola 1994; Kortmann 2002; Piercy 2010; Wagner 2004), with Klemola (1994) showing, on the basis of an analysis of the Survey of English Dialects and its fieldworker notebooks, that periphrastic *did* was more geographically restricted that *do*.

20 In autumn, cider becomes too strong and that *do* wake 'ee up a bit (Megan Jones 2002: 120)
21 She *did* jump on the pig's back and he *did* take her to school (Piercy 2010: 237)

Present participles

A number of studies (e.g. Hudson and Holmes 1995: 20, Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015: 71) report the use of the preterite rather than the progressive in present participles, as in (22). The preterite appears to be more common in the Midlands (e.g. Braber and Robinson 2018: 93) and the North:

22 I'm *sat* at a desk all day and I don't even have a window

There is also regional variation in the choice of preterite after *need* and *want* [as in (23)] (Hughes and Trudgill 1979; Beal 2004). Beal, for example, reports the preterite after *need* and *want* in the Northeast (2004: 135). Strelluf's (2020) analysis of tweets confirms that Newcastle has a significantly greater use of the preterite than anywhere else in England (2020: 126).

23 Her hair needs/wants *washing/washed*

Past tense verbs

General descriptions of regional varieties of English in England always point to the very significant differences between the past tense systems used in the non-standard dialects and that used in standard variety (e.g. Anderwald 2009; Beal 2004; Cheshire 1982; Cheshire et al. 1989, 1993; Edwards 1993; Hudson and Holmes 1995; Hughes et al. 2005; Szmrecsanyi 2013; Stenström et al. 2002; Trudgill 2004; Wagner 2004). There is a wide range of different past tense paradigms used across non-standard varieties spoken in England, but we can point to the following common patterns:

a Past tense forms that are weak in the non-standard variety but strong in Standard English (e.g. I grow, I growed, I've growed; I draw, I drawed, I've drawed);
b Preterite forms that are strong in the non-standard variety but weak in Standard English (e.g. East Anglian *owe*, *snow* becoming /u:/ and /snu:/ [Trudgill 2003: 52–53]);
c Past participle = preterite (e.g. I do, I done, I've done; I write, I writ, I've writ; I fall, I fell, I've fell; I take, I took, I've took, I begin, I begun, I've begun);
d Present = preterite = past participle (e.g. I come, I come, I've come).

A number of studies (Hughes and Trudgill 1979; Cheshire 1982; Cheshire et al. 1989) point to the difference in non-standard varieties between the past tense of full verb and auxiliary *do* as in (24):

24 You *done* it, *did* you?

Past tense BE

Non-standard paradigms of past BE are well reported in England (see Rupp and Britain 2019 for an overview). Despite the dominant pattern of non-standard past BE marking *outside* England showing a system favouring *was* across the paradigm, studies in England, however, have largely found one of two different constellations of past BE forms. The first, and the system that is perhaps dominant in the southern half of the country, levels to *was* in the positive paradigm and *weren't* in the negative (Anderwald 2002, 2003; Britain 2002; Cheshire 1982; Cheshire and Fox 2009; Khan 2006; Levey 2007; Tagliamonte 1998; Vasko 2011), as in (25) and (26):

25 She *weren't* very steady on her feet, *was* she?
26 The youngsters *was* drinking outside the shop, *weren't* they?

A number of these studies from the South of England (e.g. Britain 2002; Levey 2007) find levelling to *weren't* at higher levels than levelling to *was*. Tagliamonte (1998), Anderwald

(2002) and Cheshire and Fox (2009) all find that *weren't* levelling seems to be more common in tags than in main clauses.

The other pattern common in England shows levelling to *were* in positive contexts (Anderwald 2002, 2003; Beal 2004; Braber and Robinson 2018; Britain 2002; Moore 2010; Petyt 1985; Richards 2010; Shorrocks 1999; Vasko 2011). Many of these show that levelled *were* is found in an area concentrated in the Midlands and Northwest (parts of southern and western Yorkshire, Derbyshire, the Midlands and southern Lancashire). Moore (2010) finds *were* most common of all in tags. Both Britain (2002) and Vasko (2011) find *were* levelling among older speakers in Cambridgeshire and the Fens in the East of England, though it is now becoming much rarer.

The use of *was* after plural existentials, as in (27), is reported widely (see Rupp and Britain 2019 for an overview), as it is in most (all?) L1 Anglophone speech communities:

27 There *was* piles of rotten apples everywhere

Other past tense verbs

Across England, standard past tense of COME, namely *came*, alternates with a commonly used non-standard form, *come*, as in 28 and 29:

28 Dad never *came* because he was working
29 Lou *come* to my wedding (Levey et al. 2017: 191)

Relatively little is known about the regional distribution of this variability, but both Anderwald (2009: 164) and Szmrecsanyi (2013) find the non-standard form more common in the South and Midlands than the North. In their analysis of past COME in London English, Levey et al. (2017) found *come* to be used more than half the time among the adolescents sampled, but it was much more common among Anglo than non-Anglo Londoners, especially Londoners of Bangladeshi and Black African descent. Tagliamonte (2001) examined it in York and found overall lower levels of non-standard *come* use, with higher levels among the old and the less well-educated younger speakers.

The most comprehensive regional analysis of other past tense verb forms is presented by Anderwald (2009) on the basis of data from the traditional dialect speakers in the FRED corpus. She finds:

- For SEE [as in (30)], *seen* is the dominant non-standard form in the Midlands and Southwest and *see* in the Southeast, though *saw* is the majority form, and in the North, there were few non-standard tokens of any kind.

30 That was the first time I *see/seen* the sea (2009: 120)

- For DO, past tense form *done* (as in 31) was the majority form in the South, especially the Southeast, but used rarely elsewhere, especially in the North.

31 I *done* it for the love of animals (2009: 126)

- For GIVE, past tense *give* (as in 32) was far and away the majority form in the Southeast but also common elsewhere in England.

32 He took out his wallet and *give* me a ten-shilling note (2009: 141)

- For RUN, Anderwald finds that past tense *run*, as in (33), is the majority form everywhere except the Southwest, and even there it is very common

33 He *run* away from home when he were a lad (2009: 168)

Perfective aspect

Standard English uses auxiliary *have* to construct the perfect tense, as in (34), but in the East Midlands and western parts of East Anglia, it is still possible to hear forms of *be* used as the auxiliary instead (see Britain 2003: 205, 2015: 431; Ojanen 1982: 118–119, 143, 164; Peitsara and Vasko 2002), as in (35):

34 They'*ve heard* all sorts of rumours about him
35 I used to say to them 'I'm give you some bloody good hidings'

Future tense verbs

Robust variation exists between *will* and *be going to* to mark future tense in English, as in (36):

36 I don't think I'll get taken on there . . . my odds are that I'm not going to get taken on there (Fehringer and Corrigan 2015a: 203)

This is variable across the English-speaking world, but evidence suggests that the inroads made by *be going to* vary from place to place (see, for example, Hess 2019). Tagliamonte (2013:126) investigated future tense forms across a range of locations in England. While *be going to* was more advanced in urban York than the other more rural locations, there appeared to be no coherent geographical distribution, and this was confirmed by Szmrecsanyi (2013: 50) in a dialectometric analysis of English dialects. Tagliamonte also found that *be going to* was twice as common among the younger speakers in her York sample than the oldest. In a real-time investigation of Tyneside English, Fehringer and Corrigan (2015a) find that the rate of use of *be going to* almost doubles when comparing data from the 1960s with data collected in 2010. As in all of Tagliamonte's English locations, however, *will* remains more likely in first person contexts than in second or third.

Modal verbs

The little research here on non-standard varieties concerns either the distribution of double modals (usually in the form of reports rather than detailed empirical investigations – e.g. Beal 2004; Milroy and Milroy 1993) or comparisons between the functions of the modals in different varieties. Trousdale (2003) demonstrates that in the Northeast of England, unlike in Standard English, each modal verb tends to carry either epistemic modality or root modality but not both. So, for example, epistemic possibility in Tyneside is expressed with *might* and root possibility and permission with *can* (2003: 275; see also Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015: 81). *Must* tends to carry epistemic modality in Tyneside rather than root necessity, for which *have got to* or *should* are used.

Quotative verbs

The system by which reported speech is marked in English dialect grammars has been in considerable flux in the past few decades. The rapid rise of *BE like* [as in (37)] as a global English quotative has been demonstrated in most Anglophone countries, and England is no exception (see Buchstaller 2006, 2015; Levey 2006; Robles 2007; Stenström et al. 2002; Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999).

37 And she *was like* 'no way, get out of here!'

The speed at which *BE like* has spread and the variable geographical patterns in its use across England are demonstrated by a comparison of studies at different times over the past 20 years. Stenström et al. (2002), on the basis of the Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language (COLT) corpus of London teenage speech collected in the early 1990s, find very low levels of *BE like* (accounting for less than 1% of their quotatives). Buchstaller's work on corpora from Derby and Newcastle, collected in the early to mid-90s, finds *BE like* somewhat higher, at 4.5% (Buchstaller 2006: 8); Tagliamonte and Hudson's (1999: 158) York corpus collected in the mid to late 90s showed 18% *BE like*; Richards's (2008) work on a suburb of Leeds found 23% of tokens in data collected in 2005 were realised as *BE like*; and Buchstaller (2015: 463) found that 21% of tokens were *BE like* in Newcastle in 2011. Cheshire et al. (2011: 173) find *BE like* accounts for 24% of the quotatives of teenagers in Inner London (and 21% in Outer London). Robles (2007), investigating a corpus of data collected in Colchester in Southeast England from the late 1990s to 2005, finds *BE like* accounting for a third of all examples of quotatives. Quotative *go*, as in (38), too, appears to be a feature in flux, appearing at higher levels among young people in Buchstaller's (2006: 12) earlier analyses of Derby and Newcastle and in Cheshire et al.'s (2011) investigations of London but at lower levels in Newcastle in 2010 than in the 1960s (Buchstaller 2015: 463).

38 And Helen *went* 'aaaaarrrgh'

While much of the literature is focussing on the diffusion and the social and linguistic embedding of the global variants *BE like* and *go*, Cheshire and Fox (2007; see also Cheshire et al. 2011) unearthed a new local variant in London, namely *this is* SUBJECT, as in (39) and (40):

39 *This is them* 'What area are you from? What part?'
40 *This is my mum* 'What are you doing? I was in the queue before you'

Imperatives

Few studies report variation in imperatives. Trudgill (2004) and Peitsara (1996) note that in East Anglia, the second person pronoun is usually explicit in imperative forms [see (41)], even when strengthened by the verb *do* (42):

41 Sit *you* down!
42 Do *you* shut up!

Negation

Negative concord

The use of two or more negatives in a clause (as in 43) where Standard English requires just one is such a frequently occurring feature of the world's Englishes that Chambers (2004) labels it a 'vernacular universal.'

43 I *didn't* do *nothing*!

It is reported in studies from across England (Anderwald 2002, 2004b; Beal 2004; Beal and Corrigan 2005a; Britain 2015; Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015; Cheshire 1982; Childs 2017; Edwards 1993; Hughes and Trudgill 1979; Milroy and Milroy 1993; Moore 2003; Palacios Martínez 2017; Shorrocks 1999; Stenström et al. 2002; Trudgill 2004; Wagner 2004). Cheshire et al. (1989: 205) found, in their Survey of British Dialect Grammar, that multiple negation was reported more in the South than in the North of England, a geographical distribution largely confirmed by Anderwald (2002: 105, 2004b: 187) on the basis of an analysis of data from the British National Corpus (BNC). Buchstaller and Corrigan (2015: 78) confirm this, though they remind us that, although less common, they are nevertheless still present in northern Englishes.

Negation of auxiliaries and modals

This is one of the more substantially studied features of the dialect grammar of England and a site of considerable diversity, given that:

a negation can lead the auxiliary to be contracted ['auxiliary (AUX) contraction'], as in (44):

44 He'*s not* been feeling very well

b the negator itself can be contracted ['negator (NEG) contraction'], as in (45):

45 She *isn't* feeling very well

c there is a wide range of regional variants of negated forms, as in (46) and (47):

46 He *canna* run any more
47 She *divn't* do it

d a number of types of 'secondary contraction' exist, as in (48) and (49):

48 The band *ain't* [æɪnʔ] gonna come
49 They *in't* [ɪnʔ] gonna come either

e) there is variation in the negation of *do*, that is, *doesn't* and *don't* (50):

50 It *don't* seem to matter

A number of studies (Cheshire 1982; Tagliamonte and Smith 2002; Szmrecsanyi 2013) of AUX versus NEG contraction of *BE* and *HAVE* have drawn attention to Hughes and Trudgill's (1979) claim that AUX contraction, as in (44), is more common 'the further north one goes' (1979: 20).

Hughes and Trudgill's claim (1979: 21), however, referred solely to speakers of *standard* English and did not include negation of *BE*. For negated *BE*, there is common agreement that AUX contraction is substantially more common than NEG contraction across the country (Amos et al. 2007; Hughes and Trudgill 1979; Cheshire 1982: 52; Tagliamonte 2013: 88, Tagliamonte and Smith 2002: 270; Anderwald 2002: 76). Both Anderwald (2002: 78) and Tagliamonte and Smith (2002: 272), considering data from the Midlands, find much lower levels of AUX contraction of *BE*, suggesting that perhaps the Midlands form a buffer zone of lower levels of AUX contraction between regions to the north and south with much higher levels.

For negated *HAVE*, both Tagliamonte and Smith (2002: 268; see also Tagliamonte 2013: 88) and Amos et al. (2007) show extremely low levels of AUX contraction across England. For negated *WILL*, AUX contraction is either negligible or, in Tagliamonte and Smith's (2002: 268) work near Durham, very high, approaching levels found in southern Scotland and Northern Ireland (see also Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015: 80). If we put aside other forms, to be discussed below, then, we have a system within which BE and HAVE tend to be negated differently: *she's not feeling well* (AUX contraction with BE) but *she hasn't felt well* (NEG contraction with HAVE).

Secondary contractions of negative contracted forms – variants such as *ain't* [ɐɪnʔ – æɪnʔ], *in't* [ɪnʔ], *een't* [iːnʔ], and so on – disturb this neat pattern, however. *Ain't* (and the other secondary contractions) can be used to negate copula *BE* [as in (51)], auxiliary *BE* [as in (52)] and auxiliary *HAVE* [as in (53)]:

51 It *ain't* my book
52 We *ain't* coming yet
53 They *ain't* seen him for ages

These forms are extremely widely reported (e.g. Amos et al. 2007; Anderwald 2002, 2003, 2004b; Beal 2004; Britain 2015; Cheshire 1982; Cheshire et al. 1989, 1993; Edwards 1993; Hudson and Holmes 1995; Ojanen 1982; Palacios Martínez 2011; Petyt 1985; Shorrocks 1999; Stenström et al. 2002; Trudgill 2004; Viereck 1997), though Tagliamonte and Smith find very few examples in their data from a number of sites in both northern and southern England (2002: 262), and Buchstaller and Corrigan (2015: 75) also state they are rare in the North. Amos et al. (2007) found that East Anglia seemed to be the focal point for high levels of secondary contractions, where they represented over 20% of all tokens of auxiliary HAVE and over 15% of auxiliary and copula BE negation in Ipswich (Suffolk) and Mersea (near Colchester in Essex) and a very high 89% and 96% of all tokens for HAVE and BE, respectively, in Wisbech (Cambridgeshire).

Few studies distinguish between different forms of secondary contraction. Anderwald (2002) shows that *in't* [ɪnʔ] (as opposed to *ain't* [ɐɪnʔ – æɪnʔ]) is concentrated in London, the Midlands and the Northwest. She reports *in't* as being absent in East Anglia (2002: 130, 131), yet Trudgill (2004) claims this to be the dominant East Anglian form, and Amos et al. (2007) show it to be by far the dominant secondary contraction in Wisbech (Cambridgeshire) (where secondary contractions represent the almost categorical negation strategy [Britain 2015]). Viereck (1997: 251) reports *hain't* for East Anglian negated auxiliary *HAVE* and Ojanen (1982) reports *een't* [iːnʔ] for southern Cambridgeshire. Amos et al. (2007) find these, as well as *en't* [ɛnʔ], *heen't* [hiːnʔ] and others. Cheshire (1981) shows evidence of a functional distinction between *ain't* and *in't* in Reading, with *in't* being the form of choice in tag questions, especially what she calls 'aggressive tags,' which demonstrate some sort of hostility or divergence by the speaker towards the hearer.

A number of regional negated forms have been reported, such as *-na* [see (46)] from parts of the west and northwest Midlands (e.g. Viereck 1997: 761, 763), Scottish-type *-nae* forms such as *dinnae* (for *don't*) and *cannae* (for *can't*) reported for Berwick-upon-Tweed in the far Northeast, and *divn't* (for *don't*) reported across the Northeast (Beal 2004; Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015; Pichler and Watt 2004; Rowe 2007) as in (47). Braber and Robinson (2018: 95) report a wide range of different secondary contracted forms in the East Midlands. Anderwald (2004a: 55) reports *amn't* for first person singular negated BE (see also Broadbent 2009) in parts of the northwest Midlands in the Survey of English Dialects (SED) data, but it is not clear if it still survives.

Don't for third person singular *doesn't*, as in (50), is widely reported (e.g. Anderwald 2003, 2004b; Cheshire 1982; Cheshire et al. 1989, 1993; Hudson and Holmes 1995; Kingston 2000; Ojanen 1982; Palacios Martínez 2016; Stenström et al. 2002). Anderwald (2003) compares the geographical distribution of *don't* in the data from the Survey of English Dialects (where she finds *don't* largely restricted to the South and Midlands) and the British National Corpus, in which she finds that *don't* is 'present in practically every dialect area throughout Great Britain' and has been 'spreading from the South over the last few decades' (2003: 515). Kingston (2000: 56), however, finds that whilst *don't* is the dominant form among older and middle-aged people in rural Suffolk, it is being replaced by *doesn't* among younger, especially female, speakers. Palacios Martínez (2016) finds the reverse in London, with *don't* being used by teenagers rather more than by adults.

'Never' as a negator

A number of studies report *never* being used as a negator with definite time reference, as in (54) (Anderwald 2004b; Beal 2004; Cheshire 1982; Cheshire et al. 1989, 1993; Childs 2017; Edwards 1993; Hudson and Holmes 1995; Stenström et al. 2002; Viereck 1997):

54 I met her last week and she *never* told me about that!

Adverbs

Many varieties of English in England show variation with respect to whether adverbs append the inflection *-ly* (Hughes and Trudgill 1979). Inflectionless forms, as in (55) and (56), are reported from right across the country (Anderwald 2004b; Beal 2004; Cheshire 1982; Cheshire et al. 1989, 1993; Edwards 1993; Hudson and Holmes 1995; Ojanen 1982; Shorrocks 1999; Stenström et al. 2002; Tagliamonte and Ito 2002; Tagliamonte 2018; Wagner 2004; Watts 2006):

55 Come quick!
56 It happened real fast

Tagliamonte and Ito (2002), in the most detailed empirical investigation of this phenomenon, showed a sharp decline in York English in the use of inflectionless forms across apparent time, but this decline is almost totally accounted for by the decline in the use of adverbial *real* as opposed to *really* in intensifiers. The use of zero marked adverbs otherwise showed a much shallower decline in apparent time, though there was a strong tendency for all zero marked forms to be found, especially in the speech of male working-class speakers (2002: 252–253). In a comparison of this York corpus with data collected in Cumbria, the Northeast and the Southwest, Tagliamonte (2018) finds uninflected adverbs common across all sites. She also found that some adverbs, such as *awfully* and *terribly*, were much more likely to be suffixless than others, such as *nearly* and *really* (2018: 129).

A number of researchers have investigated adverbial intensification of the kind that Tagliamonte and Ito noted for *real* (Braber and Robinson 2018; Hudson and Holmes 1995; Stenström et al. 2002; Barnfield and Buchstaller 2010; Palacios Martínez and Núñez Pertejo 2012). Hudson and Holmes (1995: 14) note that the use of the adverb *dead* as an intensifier was one of the few grammatical features found predominantly on Merseyside in their survey and Barnfield and Buchstaller (2010: 267) show a dramatic rise in the use both of *dead* and *real(ly)* in their apparent time analysis of Newcastle English, along with a sharp decline in the use of *very*. Stenström et al. (2002: 151) show that *real* as an intensifier, as in (56), is used most by *middle*-class speakers in their London corpus – showing a radically different social stratification of the feature than in York. They also show that intensifiers *right* as in (57) and *well* as in (58) were also predominantly middle-class forms:

57 I was *right* pissed off with that
58 And I thought she was *well* hard, sticking up for herself like that

Palacios Martínez and Núñez Pertejo (2012) examined two corpora of teenagers from London – the COLT data investigated in Stenström et al. (2002), collected in 1993, and a later corpus collected in 2008 – and compare the results with an adult corpus from across the country. They find that the young London teenagers use much less *very* and much more *really* and *so* than the adults, in some respects mirroring the studies from the North of England previously (2012: 780). *Fucking* and *bloody* were also used more by the teenagers than the adults (2012: 783). *Dead* and *well*, however, were barely used at all in London. They also point to some other forms commonly used by the teenagers: *super, mega* and *uber*.

Prepositions

Shorrocks (1999), Clark and Asprey (2013) and Vasko (2005) report a wide range of non-standard prepositional usages in their analyses of Bolton, the West Midlands and southern Cambridgeshire, respectively. Cheshire et al. (1993: 77) report the use of a simple preposition where Standard English has a complex one, as in (59), and the use of a complex preposition where Standard English has a simple one, as in (60) (see also Braber and Robinson 2018: 101):

59 I'm going *up* my friend's house
60 He knocked his hat *off of* his head

Watts (2006) discusses variation in the omission and reduction of *to* in Cheshire and southern Lancashire, contrasting Cheshire, where *to* is often completely omitted by working-class speakers, as in (61) (2006: 322), with neighbouring Lancashire and Greater Manchester, where it is reduced to some form of glottal stricture or devoicing of the final consonant of the preceding word (Shorrocks 1999):

61 My dad needs to go the opticians (Watts 2006: 323)

Despite historical evidence that it was once more grammatically widespread, Watts only finds omission after the verb *go* in her Wilmslow data. In other contexts, reduction or assimilation is found. Ojanen and Vasko (Ojanen 1982: 252; Vasko 2005: 168–174) find similar deletion in southern Cambridgeshire, and Braber and Robinson (2018) find it in the East Midlands.

Plurality

Many non-standard varieties do not overtly mark plurality on a number of (especially measurement) nouns (Anderwald 2004b; Beal 2004; Cheshire et al. 1989, 1993; Edwards 1993; Hughes and Trudgill 1979; Ojanen 1982; Peitsara 1996; Petyt 1985; Shorrocks 1999; Trudgill 2004; Wagner 2004; Watts 2006), as in (62–64):

62 That's five *mile* from the farm
63 I need ten *foot* of rope
64 Three *pound* of potatoes, please!

In inner London, Cheshire (2013) finds a range of new plural forms of the noun 'man', as in (65) and (66):

65 I wanna be with the *mandem*, innit, your friends who you grew up with (2013: 616)
66 if you put all the *mans* together, make them fight a cause together (2013: 616)

Pronouns

Personal pronouns

A number of non-standard forms are considered here: the use of distinct second person plural subject pronouns, as in (67); the use of 'gendered pronouns,' as in (68) and (69); 'pronoun exchange,' as in (70) and (71); the use of dummy *that* instead of *it*, as in (72) and the use of object forms as possessive determiners, as in (73):

67 *Yous'll* have plenty of time for that
68 *He* have been a good *watch*
69 *The little cottage* up here, *he*'s semi detached and *he* was put on the market for 350,000 (Piercy 2010: 239)
70 He wanted *he* to go on milking the cows (Piercy 2010: 239)
71 *Us* don't think naught about things like that (Wagner 2004: 158)
72 Come in quick – *that's* raining
73 We used to go in and have *us* food with his parents (Hernández y Siebold 2010: 248)

A few studies report the use of *youse* as a plural form of *you* in some varieties, such as (67). Beal notes its presence in Tyneside (Beal 2004: 118) (see also Cheshire et al. 1993: 81; Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015: 85–86), Clark and Asprey (2013) for the West Midlands, and Stenström et al. (2002) find it in London. Beal discusses both the possibility that this form may have its origins in Ireland as well as the continued existence in the traditional dialects of many parts of northern England (with the exception of Liverpool and Tyneside) of *thou* and *thee*. Trudgill (2003) shows that in East Anglia, *you . . . together* can be used as the plural form of the second person, as in (74):

74 Come *you* on *together*!

Dialectologists of the Southwest of England have long recognised the existence there of 'pronoun exchange' whereby subject personal pronouns are used in non-subject positions and the reverse (see Ihalainen 1994; Wagner 2004; Piercy 2010; Hernández y Siebold 2010) [see (70–71)]. Wagner (2004: 157–159) claims that 'with a frequency of occurrence of about 1% . . . pronoun exchange seems to be all but dead in its former heartlands' (2004: 159). Piercy (2010) finds pronoun exchange alive but rare in rural south Dorset. Based on an analysis of the FRED corpus, Hernández y Siebold (2010: 107, 122) finds that subject forms in object position, as in (70), are overwhelmingly southwestern, whereas object forms in subject position, as in (71), are found both in the Southwest and the Midlands. The use of the subject pronoun in non-subject position was also once found in Essex (Trudgill 2003, 2004) and is still found in Tyneside (Beal 2004: 117–118; Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015: 84–85).

Gendered pronouns are 'instances of pronouns which are marked for masculine or feminine gender but which refer to inanimate count nouns' (Wagner 2004: 159; see also Ihalainen 1994; Hernández y Siebold 2010; Piercy 2010), as in (68–69) previously. Wagner (2004) and Piercy (2010) concur that these forms are now 'rare' but 'by no means dead' (Wagner 2004: 163). Hernández y Siebold (2010: 98) finds gendered pronouns to be slightly more common in the Southeast than the Southwest but largely absent elsewhere.

In East Anglia, *that* is often found in place of Standard English *it*, as in (72) (Ayers 2000; Peitsara 1996; Trudgill 2003, 2004), a feature that is still robustly in evidence across the social and age spectrum. Hernández y Siebold (2010: 249) finds the use of object forms as possessive adjectives, as in (73), largely restricted to the Midlands (which, in her analysis, includes as far north as Lancashire and West and South Yorkshire).

Possessive pronouns

One obsolescing non-standard form reported in some varieties is the use of *-(e)n* forms, such as *hisn*, *hern*, *ourn* and *yourn*. The Survey of English Dialects showed these forms to be used in parts of the Midlands (e.g. Leicestershire) and the 'mid-South' (from Cambridgeshire across to Herefordshire and down to Hampshire and Sussex, but not including London, East Anglia or the Southwest) (see also Trudgill 1999: 90–91). Such forms are found at low levels among older speakers in the Cambridgeshire Fens. The English Dialects App (Britain, Blaxter and Leemann in preparation), however, found these forms to be almost entirely obsolescent today.

In East Anglia, possessive pronouns can be used to refer to someone's house (Peitsara 1996: 293; Trudgill 2003: 61), as in (75):

75 Do you want to come round *mine* later?

Widely reported is the use of [mi] as the first person singular possessive pronoun – *my* in Standard English. It is not clear if this form is the same grammatical form as the first person object pronoun *me* or simply a distinct phonetic realisation of 'my,' along with [mə] and [ma], also well attested across England. Hollmann and Siewierska (2007) show how, in Lancashire, [mi] is especially common before inalienable nouns. Snell (2010) finds that [ma] is the dominant form among her sample of Teesside primary school children. There is also a very strong effect of following phonological environment – over 98% of the tokens of [mə] and [ma] were found pre-consonantally (pre-vocalic tokens would create a mid/low vowel-vowel hiatus that would need to be resolved) (based on Snell 2010: 637). Snell argues that the uses of [mi] in her data are strategically deployed to signal stances of negative affect or transgression (2010: 647).

Petyt (1985: 190) reports the use of *us* as a possessive pronoun in West Yorkshire (see also Beal 2004), as in (76):

76 We all take *us* cars to work nowadays

Reflexive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are often used to form reflexive ones in non-standard varieties in England, as in (77–78), marking them apart from the Standard system which uses both object and possessive pronouns:

77 John bought *hisself* an iPhone
78 The fans did *theirselves* no good at all

This is reported widely (by, for example, Anderwald 2004b; Beal 2004; Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015; Edwards 1993; Hudson and Holmes 1995; Hughes and Trudgill 1979; Stenström et al. 2002; Trudgill 2003; Wagner 2004). The Survey of English Dialects showed, indeed, that non-standard possessive forms were the majority forms everywhere in England except in and around London and in the Midlands. Evidence from the English Dialects App (Britain, Blaxter and Leemann in preparation) shows that they are now the majority form *nowhere* in England. These forms are still nevertheless not infrequent, especially in West and South Yorkshire, Newcastle and parts of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire.

Relative pronouns

Variation is endemic in the relativization system in English (see, for example, Anderwald 2004b; Beal 2004; Beal and Corrigan 2002, 2005b, Britain 2020; Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015; Cheshire et al. 1989, 1993, 2013; Edwards 1993; Ihalainen 1985; Shorrocks 1999; Stenström et al. 2002; Tagliamonte 2002, 2013; Trudgill 1999, 2004; Wagner 2004). The range of relative pronouns used in Standard English overlaps with those used in the non-standard varieties of England (e.g. *who*, *which*, *that*, *Ø*), but both have forms not used in the other (e.g. *whom*, *what*, *as*), and the forms they share often differ from each other and differ across the non-standard varieties in terms of their relative frequency in different syntactic environments. Important in determining relativizer choice is whether the antecedent noun plays a subject (79a–c) or object (80a–d) role in the relative clause and whether the antecedent is human or non-human but animate or inanimate (see Britain 2020 for a detailed overview of relativization in local dialects of English in England).

79a Becky shouted at the bloke *what* spilt his drink on her coat
79b Becky shouted at the bloke *who* spilt his drink on her coat
79c Becky shouted at the bloke *that* spilt his drink on her coat
80a That's the dog *what* he found injured on the side of the road
80b That's the dog *which* he found injured on the side of the road
80c That's the dog *that* he found injured on the side of the road
80d That's the dog *Ø* he found injured on the side of the road

In subject position, *that* is now the dominant form across the country (see, for example, Tagliamonte's [2013: 100] multilocality study from across England). In East Anglia, it was once *what*, but as Britain (2020) shows, *what* is retreating in the East in favour of *that*. *Ø*, too, although rarely the most frequently occurring subject relativizer, is common in many of the country's dialects, especially in existentials, such as (81), and clefts, such as (82):

81 There's not many people like getting up at stupid o'clock to go to work
82 It's a small bungalow they moved to

Whilst non-standard in subject position, *Ø* is a common form in object position. Cheshire et al. (2013) and Britain (2020), however, both found it to be on the decline in London and East Anglia, respectively, as both a subject and object relative. *That* is also extremely common in object position. Cheshire et al. (2013) and Tagliamonte (2002) both find the use of *that* to be high and getting higher in London and York, respectively. Traditionally, *that* was unusual in East Anglia. Poussa (1994: 424) found very little *that* in traditional Norfolk speech and speculated about whether the area of '*that*lessness' extends beyond East Anglia (see also Peitsara 2002). Britain (2020) found, as in London and York, *that* to be on the rise, though it was less common in the north of the region than the south.

Two relativizers that occur only in non-standard varieties, *what* and *as*, seem to be experiencing somewhat different fates. *As*, once dominant across the Midlands, the lower North of England and parts of the Southwest, appears largely obsolescent. Britain (2020) shows it is all but absent in East Anglia. Although Peitsara (2002: 180) finds it to be quite common in the Southwest, Van den Eynden Morpeth (2002: 182) finds it only at very low levels. In the North, Shorrocks (1999: 98) mentions it as the main relativizer in Bolton near Manchester, though Buchstaller and Corrigan (2015: 89–90) are less optimistic about its vitality in the North.

The fate of *what* appears to be geographically variable. While it accounted for more than 10% of the relativizers in the Southwest and East Anglian corpora in Herrmann's research on older speakers (2003), was a dominant form in both subject and object position in Reading (Cheshire 1982) and was used heavily in East Anglia (Ojanen 1982; Peitsara 2002; Poussa 1994), it appears to be less widely used in the South and East today than it once was. Britain (2020) shows in a multilocality study in East Anglia that *what* is being levelled away rapidly in the south of the region among younger speakers but is more robust in the Fenland and Norfolk. Similarly, Cheshire et al. (2013) find it to be almost absent in their contemporary London corpus, and Piercy et al. (2011) find it only used amongst the over-60s in Dorset and even then at very low rates. Herrmann's (2003: 138) claim that *what* is spreading 'from its southeastern (East Anglia including Essex) heartland' and 'has been radiating out through the adjoining Midlands and the Home Counties, especially London, to the Southwest and, eventually, to the North' appears to have some credence, since some recent work has pointed to an apparent increase in *what* use in the Midlands and North (though as yet not in the Southwest; see Piercy et al. 2011). So while Tagliamonte, in a study of York, claims that '*what* is virtually non-existent' (2002: 154), Beal and Corrigan (2005b) find *what* to be common in Sheffield and Braber and Robinson (2018: 85) suggest that *what* is now more common in the East Midlands than it used to be. MacKenzie et al. (2014), in their internet survey of 'acceptability,' found that relative *what* was more likely to be deemed 'acceptable' in the North and most likely to be considered 'unacceptable' in and around London.

Personal pronoun 'man'

Cheshire's investigations of Multicultural London English unearthed examples of *man* being used as a personal pronoun, as in 83:

83 I got arrested, *man* paid for my own ticket to go Jamaica, you know, but I've never paid to go on no holiday before this time I paid (2013: 609)

Cheshire argues that *man*, still rare in her data, 'allows speakers to present themselves as a member of a contextually defined group, and . . . adds to the communicative force of what they are saying' (2013: 621).

Pronominal word order

Marked regional variation exists in word order in clauses with both a direct and indirect object pronoun, with (84–86) all possible in dialects of England (see Stevenson 2016). Kirk (1985: 135), on the basis of data from non-mobile old rural men, so-called NORMs in the *Survey of English Dialects* from the 1950s and early 1960s, finds that Verb + DO + to IO (84) was reported as the dominant vernacular form only in the Southwest and Verb + DO + IO (85) in the Midlands and Lancashire, with Verb + IO + DO (86) dominant in the far North and Northeast, London and East Anglia.

84 Give it to me
85 Give it me
86 Give me it

Recent examinations of this variable using internet and smartphone surveys, as well as analyses of Twitter feeds, have shed more light on the contemporary regional distribution of this variability. MacKenzie et al. (2014) examined variability through an internet survey with over 8000 responses. They asked users about the extent to which they found the *give it me* form 'acceptable.' The area of acceptability corresponded almost exactly with the SED findings – the Midlands and Northwest. Stevenson (2016) examined this same feature in tweets. His analysis confirmed once again what had been found before – the *give it me* form was the majority or near majority form in Manchester, the Northwest, South Yorkshire and the Midlands. Siewierska and Hollmann (2007) investigated *give it me* specifically in Lancashire in the Northwest and found it to be used twice as much as *give me it*, though *give it to me* was the majority form. Finally, Britain (in press), using the smartphone-based English Dialects App to collect data from over 50,000 users, once more found the same pattern, with *give it me* the majority form in Manchester, south Lancashire, Stoke-on-Trent and North Staffordshire, South Yorkshire and Derbyshire. *Give me it* is only the majority form in the far east of the North, stretching from Grimsby up to Newcastle, the west of Cumbria, and, perhaps unexpectedly, Liverpool, though it competes strongly with *give it to me* in West Yorkshire.

Human pronominal quantifiers

Variation exists across the English-speaking world in the human pronominal quantifiers affixed by any/every/no/some: some*body* or some*one*? Every*body* or every*one*? D'Arcy et al. (2013) examine this question in spoken data from Newcastle, York and Derby in the North of England and a comparison with written and spoken data from the British National Corpus. They show in the BNC data that -*body* is overwhelmingly preferred in the spoken language, while -*one* is preferred in the written. They also show that there is an ongoing trend in their spoken corpora for -*one* to be on the increase. Further research is required, however, to investigate the use of these forms in other parts of England.

Demonstratives

A number of dialects in England show non-standard forms in the demonstrative system. The use of *them* as a distal plural demonstrative is extremely common (Anderwald 2004b; Cheshire 1982; Cheshire et al. 1989, 1993; Clark and Asprey 2013; Edwards 1993; Hernández y Siebold 2010; Hudson and Holmes 1995; Hughes and Trudgill 1979; MacKenzie et al. 2014; Piercy 2010; Shorrocks 1999; Stenström et al. 2002; Wagner 2004), as in (87).

87 Can you see *them* birds sitting in that hedge?

Both Cheshire et al. (1989: 194) and Hudson and Holmes (1995: 14) find that *them* is one of the most commonly found non-standard grammatical features in England. A number of varieties also report *this here*, *these here*, *that there* and *them there* used as demonstratives (e.g. Rupp and Tagliamonte 2019b for York; Shorrocks 1999: 51 for Bolton in the Northwest, Trudgill 2003: 62 for Norfolk; Wagner 2004: 164 for the Southwest).

Wagner (2004) reports that *thik* [ðɪk] as a demonstrative has ‘all but died out’ in the Southwest (2004: 164), and Kortmann (2002) and Hernández y Siebold 2010) report *they* used as the distal plural form in the Southwest. Piercy (2010) finds both present in rural south Dorset among older speakers only, as in (88) and (89), respectively:

88 *Thik* two boys, they got left standing there (Piercy 2010: 238)
89 The one thing about it in *they* days (Piercy 2010: 238)

Comparison

A good number of varieties spoken in England have ‘double comparison’ and use *both* the inflectional ending (*-er* for comparatives and *-est* for superlatives) *and* the appropriate analytic marker (*more* or *most*), as in (90–91), where in Standard English only one would be found (e.g. Edwards 1993: 231; Hudson and Holmes 1995:20; Ojanen 1982: 211; Stenström et al. 2002: 134):

90 It’s more fuller than what it was last week
91 The most wonderfulest holiday she’s ever had

Definite and indefinite articles

A well-known phenomenon from across the North of England is so-called Definite Article Reduction, whereby *the* is reduced to [t] or [ʔ] (see Mark Jones 1999 for a discussion of regional variation in pronunciation and also Mark Jones 2002; Barras 2015; Ihalainen 1994; Lodge 2010; Shorrocks 1999; Rupp and Page-Verhoeff 2005; Rupp 2008; Buchstaller and Corrigan 2015; Petyt 1985; Tagliamonte and Roeder 2009), as in (92):

92 They had a baby, and as soon as ***t’ baby*** arrived he got jealous (Rupp and Page-Verhoeff 2005)

Rupp and Tagliamonte (2019a) demonstrate that in York English, the definite article can be missing altogether, as in (93), especially in discourse-new, hearer-old contexts – where the noun had not been referred to recently in the talk, but was known to both parties in the conversation.

93 I could see it from landing window (Rupp and Tagliamonte 2019a: 2)

This is also reported at low levels in the East Midlands (Braber and Robinson 2018: 79). More research is needed to examine how widespread this is in other varieties of English English.

Fox (2015), in a study of language use among a friendship group of adolescents of White and Bangladeshi ethnicity in the East End of London, finds that allomorphy both of the definite and indefinite articles is being rapidly eroded (see also Britain and Fox 2009). Both articles are sensitive, in standard English, to whether the sound after the article is a vowel or a consonant, as in (94–95). Fox finds, however, that the prevocalic variants are undergoing attrition, as in (96), with *a* being used before vowels in 75% of all possible cases among the Bangladeshi boys in her sample and [ðə] before vowels in 81% of cases (Fox 2015: 161, 167):

94 an apple, a pear
95 the [ði] apple, the [ðə] pear
96 a apple, the [ðəˀ] apple

This phenomenon has been found sporadically in a number of traditional dialects (see, for example, Britain 2003: 203; Ojanen 1982: 126; Peitsara 1996: 288 in East Anglia; Shorrocks 1999: 45 for the Northwest; Wagner 2004: 155; Piercy 2010, for the Southwest), but given that these reports are from areas well away from London, it appears Fox's dramatic findings represent a diffusing innovation, possibly from within the ethnic minority community (see also Britain and Fox 2009; Gabrielatos et al. 2010). Gabrielatos et al. (2010), examining a number of corpora from London, found that prevocalic 'a' was especially common among the inner London non-Anglo young. Britain et al. (2007) found prevocalic 'a' and [ðə] to be especially frequent among older male adolescents of Italian descent in the East Midland town of Bedford.

Conjunctions

A small number of studies report the use of non-standard conjunctions (e.g. Shorrocks 1999; Peitsara 1996; Trudgill 1995). The East Anglian research by both Trudgill and Peitsara discusses what the latter labels 'consecutive conjunctions' (1996: 300), such as (97–98):

97 Don't go near that dog *do* he'll bite you
98 Will you tidy your room *time* I get tea ready?

Conclusion

Diversity reigns, then. In conclusion, we can point to a number of themes that this review of grammatical diversity has raised. First, every corner of the country demonstrates a wide range of grammatically non-standard forms, reminding us that such forms are the rule rather than the exception in the spoken language – research has shown that there appears to be a common core of non-standard elements found very widely across the country alongside more local grammatical forms. Secondly, there do, nevertheless, seem to be some areas of the country that stand out as demonstrating a particularly distinctive constellation of non-standard grammatical forms: the Southwest, East Anglia and the Northeast, for example, have been particularly prominent, though this could partly be because they have been relatively well described from a grammatical point of view. Third, and following on from the previous, there remain huge gaps in our knowledge of the present-day grammars of varieties in England, both from a sociogeographical perspective – which non-standard grammatical forms are used in place X, and by what sort of speakers there? – and from a linguistic one – what is the linguistic conditioning of the grammatical non-standardness? Much of what we do know from some parts of the country comes from rather traditional and now almost certainly outdated sources. Considerable amounts of recent sociolinguistic and variationist work have shed light on phonetic and phonological variation, especially in the North of England (see Docherty in this volume), but our understanding of current grammatical variation has by no means kept up with this phonological work. It is likely that such research, if conducted, would unearth further diversity, as well as providing us with an update on the continued survival (or not) of some of the traditional grammatical variants reported in older dialectological research. Recent work using internet and smartphone technologies has shown how these can contribute towards this endeavour. Fourth, as some traditional grammatical forms have died, or are dying, others have been born – this review has highlighted a number of features which are either relatively recent arrivals to L1 English in England (such as quotative *BE like*, *this is me*, and personal pronoun *man*) and other forms which appear to have been rejuvenated (e.g. lack of allomorphy in the article system). Central to many but not all of these are the innovating role played by the country's minority ethnic communities. Research such as that carried out in London (e.g. Fox 2015; Cheshire et al. 2011) and Birmingham (Khan 2006) has showcased the important role that these communities are playing not just in creating and adopting new grammatical forms but also in diffusing them to the local Anglo populations with whom they have contact. Further research is needed from different parts of the country to enable us to fully understand the scope of these innovating communities. Despite the immediacy and proximity of the hegemonic standard, then, and despite the fact that some non-standard grammatical features appear obsolescent, geography, demography and ethnicity have combined to ensure that robust non-standardness remains pervasive in England.

Suggestions for further reading

Szmrecsanyi, B. (2013). *Grammatical variation in British English dialects: A study in corpus-based dialectometry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This text, using a large corpus of relatively traditional dialect speakers across Great Britain, examines a wide range of different non-standard morphosyntactic features. The approach enables us to witness not only the geographical distributions of individual features but also whether geographical regions emerge when the geographies of all non-standard features are considered as a whole.

Tagliamonte, S. (2013). *Roots of English: Exploring the history of dialects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This book presents a comparative analysis of grammatical and other variation in ten (mostly rural, relatively peripheral) locations across the British Isles. It provides a useful introduction to the methods of the comparative quantitative approach and reiterates the importance for an understanding of the grammar of British English of social and linguistic influences on variability.

Leemann, A., Kolly, M.-J. and Britain, D. (2018). The English dialects app: The creation of a crowd-sourced dialect corpus. *Ampersand* 5: 1–17.

This chapter presents an honest overview of the strengths and weaknesses of using a smartphone application to collect geographical distributions of dialect features, including grammatical ones, across England.

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3

Phonological innovation in contemporary spoken British English

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1 Introduction

Misunderstandings as the result of an erroneous interpretation of the phonetic characteristics of an utterance are commonly discussed in the context of second language learners (e.g. Best and Tyler 2007) but less so where they arise as a result of variation within the native language (Labov 1994; Bond 1999; Tang 2015). An example of the latter is when the present author (a long-time resident of the United Kingdom) misinterpreted as "Cheese Day" a UK undergraduate student's pronunciation of the word "Tuesday" (with the immediate context not providing the necessary disambiguation until about ten seconds after the misinterpretation had been made). The principal cause of this "slip of the ear" was the sheer auditory distance between the front and unrounded vowel quality produced by the speaker in the first syllable of that utterance (as is now regularly the case for speakers of his age – see below) and the author's phonological representation of the same vowel in the target word, such that, in this particular instance, the target vowel /u/ was perceptually assimilated to /i/. The misperception, of course, was enhanced by the realisation of the initial /tj/ consonantal sequence as a palato-alveolar affricate [t͡ʃ] identical to that found at the onset of *cheese*. Thus, even for native speakers of widely spoken varieties of English, ongoing phonological change can lead to significant issues regarding intelligibility, even when the listener is attuned to and has regularly encountered this type of realisational variant in English and is familiar with its association with a relatively younger generation of speakers.

If phonological innovations can lead to misinterpretations such as this for speakers of varieties of English which are in social/geographical proximity, then it is arguably all the more likely that they will be a more significant challenge for speakers of other varieties of English either as an L1 or L2 who have not had exposure to the innovative phonetic realisations of the variety concerned. With this in mind, the aim of this chapter is to paint in broad strokes some of the key dimensions of innovation and change in patterns of pronunciation of British English. By necessity, the coverage is selective, and the chapter does not provide in-depth accounts of the various features discussed. In presenting this overview, I do not focus on one particular variety, nor do I attempt to provide coverage of all of the interesting variability observable within UK varieties of English. Rather, the material is designed to draw readers' attention to a selection of features which are distinctive and in many cases relatively recent innovations present across speakers of a number of UK varieties, particularly so in the speech of the younger generations.

For further details of many of the features described subsequently, readers are referred to the volumes by Britain (2007), Kortmann and Schneider (2004), Hickey (2015); to the somewhat less recent collection by Foulkes and Docherty (1999); and to the descriptions provided by Hughes *et al.* (2012 – especially the overview presented in Chapter 4), as well as to a range of individual studies which are specified below. Readers are also referred to the excellent online resources providing streamable samples of a wide range of contemporary UK English accents, perhaps the most notable of which are the BBC Voices project (www.bbc.co.uk/voices/) and the British Library "Sounds Familiar" archive (www.bl.uk/learning/langlit/sounds/index.html). There is also an instructive selection of recordings of diverse UK speakers available from the International Dialects of English Archive (www.dialectsarchive.com/), and the International Phonetic Association has made available open-access *Illustrations* of three varieties of British English: Liverpool (Watson 2007), Tyneside (Watt and Allen 2003), and Received Pronunciation (Roach 2004).

2 Factors associated with variation and change

Prior to tackling some of the salient phonological innovations within contemporary varieties of UK English, it is instructive to pause on what appear to be the factors associated with the trajectories of change identified in recent studies of UK accents. A key observation is that, across the British Isles, there has been a tangible retreat of a number of localised and strongly marked variants. For example, in the north-east of England, the traditional realisation of /r/ as a voiced uvular fricative or approximant, the so-called Northumbrian "burr", has now almost completely disappeared, being now confined to a geographically constrained subset of elderly speakers (Beal 2004). Likewise, in the realisation of the Tyneside NURSE[1] vowel, the previously frequently encountered [ɔ] variant now appears to be strongly in decline and tied to a relatively restricted set of lexical items (Maguire 2008). The consequence of changes such as these is that across the United Kingdom, there is now, at least in some respects, a greater degree of accentual homogeneity than was historically the case – a process which is typically referred to as "dialect levelling" (Trudgill 1986; Kerswill 2003) and which appears to have built up momentum over the past 30–40 years.[2]

Sociolinguists (e.g. Kerswill 2001; Kerswill and Williams 2002; Kerswill 2003; Britain 2002) converge on the view that dialect levelling has arisen as a result of sharply increased social mobility (in turn driven to a large degree by disruption of traditional patterns of employment and changing social and economic equilibria between urban and rural populations) which has weakened the social ties believed to underpin strongly localised varieties and which has increasingly brought people into contact with others who have different accentual characteristics. While there is some controversy in the literature (e.g. Britain and Trudgill 1999; Kerswill 2002) about the ways in which accents interact when they come into contact in this way, there seems no doubt that one of the likely consequences is a degree of convergence (Britain 2017). A very clear case of this has been tracked within the United Kingdom in relatively recent years through Kerswill *et al.*'s (e.g. Kerswill and Williams 2000, 2005) study of phonological variation in the new town of Milton Keynes, located about 45 miles north of London, which demonstrates the development of new accentual characteristics and norms as the result of co-locating over a relatively short period of time populations of speakers with differing accents and socioeconomic backgrounds.

But it is important to note that greater accentual homogeneity in the UK context does *not* mean that speakers are converging on a single standard and likewise does not mean that accentual innovation has ceased to take place. Evidence from recent studies points to regional differentiation in respect of levelled varieties; for example, Watt and Milroy (1999) and Watt (2002) show that levelling in speakers of Tyneside English can be analysed as the adoption of a levelled variety with distinctively northern characteristics, contrasting in many respects with the features identified by various investigators (Przedlacka 2002; Altendorf 2003) as characteristic of the so-called “Estuary English” levelled variety, which is widely encountered over large parts of the south-east quadrant of England. But note, too, that the extent of levelling is very much a function of speech style, with many investigators reporting a higher frequency of more localised variants being found in more informal styles and contexts (for example, as shown for Newcastle by Docherty *et al.* 1997; Watt 2000; and for Glasgow by Stuart-Smith 1999). And, of course, where the factors which have driven levelling have not been so powerful, marked local varieties and realisational variants still flourish, as shown by Llamas’ (2001) study of Middlesbrough, Williams and Kerswill’s (1999) work on Hull, Watson and Clark’s (2013) study of Liverpool, and Baranowski and Turton’s (2015) account of Manchester, all locations where speakers continue to show significant divergence from neighbouring varieties driven in part by demographic and socioeconomic factors but also by prominent local ideologies which lead traditional accent features to act as strong conveyers of local identity.

Crucially, while it is true to say that some traditional accent features are indeed disappearing, levelling is perhaps best thought of (Trudgill 1986) as a process defined relative to a previous state characterised by the presence of a variety of localised marked forms (some of which had high symbolic value in the definition of local identities). It should not be read as meaning that diversity and innovation are not strongly present within contemporary varieties. Clearly the social and demographic factors which have delivered substantial levelling in recent decades continue to evolve (e.g. Champion 2008, 2009) and in doing so create the conditions conducive to new patterns of phonological innovation and change. For example, recent work by *inter alia* Torgersen *et al.* (2006), Fox (2015), Heselwood and McChrystal (2000), Khan (2007), Khattab (2007), Lambert *et al.* (2007), Cheshire *et al.* (2008), Cheshire *et al.* (2013), McCarthy *et al.* (2013), and Alam and Stuart-Smith (2014) points to the role of the steadily (and in some places rapidly) shifting ethnic mix within the major urban centres in the United Kingdom as a relatively new driver of phonological innovation (and there is clear evidence of this factor shaping other areas of language use – e.g. Rampton 2017; García and Wei 2013).

Finally, in this section, the current status of Received Pronunciation (RP) warrants a mention. While its position as a frame of reference provided in the instruction of English is waning in many parts of the world (Low 2014; Sewell 2016), it remains the variety of UK English which is described in greatest detail, due perhaps to landmark publications such as Gimson (1980) and Roach (1983) but also to smaller-scale but detailed studies such as Bauer (1985), Deterding (1997), Fabricius (2002a, 2002b, 2007, 2018), and Hawkins and Midgley (2005). It seems clear that the social perturbations mentioned previously have also led to a shifting of the ideologies associated with different UK varieties, and, as a consequence, the prestige which for a very long period of time was associated with RP has significantly dissipated (Kerswill 2001, 2006). Of course, one reflection of this is precisely the fact referred to previously that dialect levelling does not involve gravitation to a single prestige variety (i.e. speakers are not abandoning their localised marked variants in order to take up RP-like realisations). More prosaically, this evolution of ideology is reflected in the readiness with which different varieties are now encountered through national media channels such as the BBC and in the almost inevitable resistance to this change evidenced in regular diatribes in the press by writers who appear to be motivated primarily by preserving the prestigious ideology previously associated with RP (e.g. Henderson 2007).

While it is not difficult to find speakers of RP almost anywhere in England (and perhaps more so in the south-east of the country), there is no doubt that it is undergoing changes, some of which are discussed below, and in its own way appears to be participating in the levelling process described previously, albeit from a very different starting point than the traditional, localised accent features. An interesting perspective on this can be gained from Harrington and colleagues' analysis of the phonetic characteristics of the UK monarch over 50 years' recordings of the annual Christmas Day Queen's Speech (Harrington *et al.* 2000, 2005). Not only did this study provide a unique real-time account of variation in an individual's speech performance, it also shed light on how even a particularly conservative variety of RP had evolved over five decades (focusing in particular on shifts in vowel quality), albeit given that the Queen's phonological patterning remains somewhat conservative, not evincing to any significant extent the key innovative features described below (unlike the speech of younger members of the UK Royal Family).

3 English in the United Kingdom

In the following section of this chapter, I now draw attention to key innovative aspects of phonological patterning within British varieties of English. As mentioned previously, this section does not attempt to give full descriptions of specific varieties (the references which are cited provide ample descriptions of this sort) but focuses instead on features that are particularly characteristic *across* many (but by no means *all*) contemporary spoken varieties, particularly for younger generations of speakers. I deal in the first instance with consonantal variation before moving on to discuss vowels and some aspects of prosody.

3.1 Realisation of /t/

A remarkable number of the interesting innovations in consonantal realisation in UK varieties of English are focused on /t/. Perhaps most notably, many studies over recent decades have tracked the spread of glottal variants of /t/ and have clarified the social, geographical, and linguistic factors which govern their occurrence. Docherty and Foulkes (2005) provide a full list of references, including Andrésen (1968), Roach (1973), Trudgill (1974), Wells (1982), Docherty *et al.* (1997), Docherty and Foulkes (1999), Fabricius (2002b), Przedlacka (2002); more recent studies include Drummond (2011), Schleef (2013), and Baranowski and Turton (2015). There are two types of glottal variant identifiable in contemporary varieties; glottal replacement (referred to by some authors as glottaling), where a glottal stop is produced in contexts where a [t] would be expected to occur in a citation form realisation, and glottal reinforcement (also referred to as glottalisation), where a glottal stop is produced as a double-articulation at the same time as the [t] oral occlusion. While both variants are usually referred to as involving the production of a glottal stop, in fact, the little instrumental phonetic research that has been carried out on these realisations (e.g. Docherty and Foulkes 1999 on speakers from Newcastle and Derby) suggests that the glottal articulation often involves little more than a momentary interval of laryngealised voice quality[3] as a result of a momentary adjustment of the tension of the vocal folds, and it is not unusual for a complete and sustained glottal occlusion to be absent.

The studies referred to previously provide a thorough analysis of the conditions in which the two different types of glottal variant can be found across a number of different varieties of UK English. But for the purposes of the present chapter, it is perhaps most valuable to draw attention to the findings which point to a significant increase in the extent to which speakers across many parts of the United Kingdom are deploying the glottaled [ʔ] variant in two particular environments; in word-final pre-consonantal position (e.g. *get this*) and perhaps most strikingly in intervocalic position both word-medially (as in *water*) and word-finally (as in *get off*), a key condition for both cases being a *strong_weak* prominence contour across the two syllables concerned. For example, in a study comparing Reading, Milton Keynes, and Hull carried out in the mid-1990s, Williams and Kerswill (1999) note that "glottal replacement of non-initial /t/ is the norm among young working class people in all three towns" and that the frequency of occurrence is overall greater in younger than in older speakers. In a study of Derby carried out at approximately the same time, Docherty and Foulkes (1999) noted substantial use of glottal variants by younger speakers and much less by their sample of older speakers (but with no class or gender differences), and in a recent study, Earnshaw and Gold (2019) report abundant use of glottaled variants of /t/ by young adult speakers from West Yorkshire. And glottaling of word-medial /t/ is regularly cited as a key characteristic of the so-called "Estuary English" varieties of English (e.g. Altendorf 2003; Przedlacka 2002). Fabricius' (2002b) study of /t/-glottaling in RP brings out another aspect of this ongoing development, namely its sensitivity to speech style, finding that there were much lower frequencies of occurrence in a reading passage as opposed to an unscripted interview.

Of all of the innovations in UK varieties of English, the glottaling of /t/ in intervocalic position, especially word-medially, is arguably the most salient. This salience is partly phonetic in origin (the phonetic distance between a fully occluded [t] and a momentary laryngealisation at the interface of two vowels is, by any measure, quite substantial, lending these variants significant auditory prominence), but it also relates to the social value which is attached to variants concerned. As discussed in detail by Fabricius (2002b), t-glottaling has become almost emblematic of the ideological shifts which have dissipated the status of RP (a variety which is not conventionally associated with intervocalic t-glottaling). Thus, in expressing their resistance to these shifts, commentators regularly alight on t-glottaling as the example of an "undesirable" innovation in the speech of younger people (e.g. Norman 2001 – of course, this negative evaluation is not necessarily shared by the younger generation of speakers, in whose speech performance t-glottaling abounds). Another dimension to this is the interpretation given in the media to the use of t-glottaling by certain public personae that, in doing so, they are somehow trying to reach out to or display solidarity with the large part of the (especially younger) population, for whom this is an increasingly typical and (as mentioned previously) prominent speech characteristic; the former prime minister, Tony Blair, was often discussed in this respect – see, for example, Lyall (1998), de Burgh (2008).

But variation in /t/ is not restricted to the occurrence of glottal variants. Recent studies suggest that there is now fairly widespread use of voiced variants. In the survey of regional varieties in Foulkes and Docherty (1999), this was reported in overviews from Newcastle (Watt and Milroy 1999), Glasgow (Stuart-Smith 1999), London (Tollfree 1999), and Sandwell in the West Midlands (Mathison 1999). In some cases, this is described as being a tap articulation ([ɾ]), but in others, the description given suggests [d] or [t̬]. Stuart-Smith (1999) notes that in Glasgow, the environment which is most regularly associated with this variant (as an alternative to glottaling) is word-final intervocalic position with a preceding short vowel as in *lot of* or *get off*, and a similar environment was found to be a productive locus for voiced variants of /t/ in Newcastle by Docherty *et al.* (1997). There are parallels between the environments identified for this voiced /t/ variant and those which trigger the so-called "t-to-r rule" applying to some speakers of a number of regional varieties of UK English where /t/ is realised as a voiced approximant [ɹ] (Carr 1991; Docherty *et al.* 1997; Watson 2002; Broadbent 2008; Asprey 2008; Clark and Watson 2011). But, as with t-to-r, what remains to be investigated more systematically is the extent to which the occurrence of voiced /t/ is constrained to certain high frequency lexical items such as *got, lot, let, get, not, what, that, bit, it*, and to what extent it is subject to social, stylistic, and prosodic factors.

A further innovation in the realisation of /t/ which is beginning to come to light as the result of increased research on regional British varieties is the use of lenited or pre-aspirated variants. While fricated and affricated variants of /t/ have for a long time been primarily associated with the Merseyside variety of English (Knowles 1978; Honeybone 2001; Sangster 2001; Watson 2006; Clark and Watson 2016), in recent years, studies on the eastern side of the country have pointed to the existence of a range of other variants which appear to result from either a weakening of the oral occlusion for /t/ or a relatively early abduction of the vocal folds at the end of a preceding vowel or possibly both. In Newcastle, there is evidence (Docherty and Foulkes 1999; Docherty 2008) pointing to a range of realisations of /t/ in word-final pre-pausal position, including pre-aspiration, preceding vowel weakening, pre-affication, and spirantisation. These can be found in combination or in isolation and are most strongly associated with the speech of young female speakers (although not exclusively so). Subsequent work in Middlesbrough (Llamas 2001; Jones and Llamas 2003, 2008) and Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999) and on Welsh English speakers (Hejná 2015) has revealed a similar pattern of realisation. Contrary to the situation for t-glottaling, this is an aspect of /t/ variation which appears to have been established without being explicitly noted by investigators working impressionistically, and, even in the areas where these "weakened" variants are frequently used, they do not appear to carry any of the ideological "baggage" associated with glottaling (in this light, it is also interesting to note the findings of Gordeeva and Scobbie 2004 of what they refer to as "non-normative pre-aspiration" of fricatives in Scottish English).

Other key aspects of the realisation of /t/ which should be factored in to any overview of variation in UK varieties of English include the deletion of /t/ (and /d/ too, of course) in word-final consonant sequences such as *lost boy*, *mist came*, or *walked purposefully* and the palatalisation of /t/ preceding /j/ as in *tune* or *Tuesday.* The factors associated with t/d deletion are amply documented in Tagliamonte and Temple's (2005) study of a corpus of York speakers, which points to differences in the conditioning factors that apply in that variety of English, namely the relatively low influence of the word's morphological class, compared to those which are typically invoked for -t/-d deletion in USA English (e.g. Guy 1991).[4] The realisation of /t/ as [t͡ʃ] (and of /d/as [d͡ʒ]) before a /j/ (in fact, most likely the coalescence of /t/ and /j/ into a single complex segment) has been long recognised as a feature of less conservative UK varieties of English (Wells 1982) but in recent years has been highlighted as one of the features most characteristic of Estuary English (although this is a feature which is a well-established and widespread feature of informal and formal speech throughout the United Kingdom).

3.2 TH-Fronting

A close second to t-glotalling as the most frequent object of topical comment regarding UK English pronunciation is TH-fronting, that is, the realisation of /θ/ and /ð/ as the corresponding labio-dental fricatives [f] and [v]. While this is a long-standing feature of London vernacular (Kerswill 2003) and has been closely associated with the levelled "Estuary English" varieties prevalent within the south-east quadrant of England, there is now ample evidence (mapped in detail by Kerswill 2003) that TH-fronting is present in many of the urban centres of England and Scotland, most particularly (but not exclusively) in informal speech styles (Wells 1982; Stuart-Smith and Timmins 2006; Schleef and Ramsammy 2013; Baranowski and Turton 2015). It appears to be primarily a feature of younger generations of speakers (outside of the south-east, Kerswill (2003) attributes it to speakers born post-1970, so it remains to be seen whether this age-based difference will continue to be the case). Reports suggest that TH-fronting may not be equally present across male and female speakers; Schleef and Ramsammy (2013) found a higher occurrence in males than in females in their London speakers (but not in their speakers from Edinburgh); likewise, in their study of Milton Keynes, Reading, and Hull, Williams and Kerswill (1999) found quite high levels of TH-fronting in both sexes but higher frequency in boys' realisations. Research has also highlighted a range of factors which are conducive to TH-fronting and that the impact of these factors may vary across different varieties (see Schleef and Ramsammy's 2013 comparison of speakers from London vs Edinburgh). A number of studies report that word-initial /ð/ is resistant to TH-fronting (Wells 1982: 328; Docherty and Foulkes 1999; Williams and Kerswill 1999), that is, in a small set of high-frequency function words such as *this* and *that*. Stuart-Smith and Timmins (2006) found that the highest frequency of TH-fronting occurred word-finally and the lowest word-medially; Clark's (2009) study of TH-fronting in informal conversations of adolescent members of a West Fife pipe band yielded effects of syllable position (TH-fronting more likely in syllable coda position) and lexical category (ordinals and place-names more likely to retain the dental realisation) and found that the presence of a labiodentals earlier in a word seems to predispose a fronted realisation of a subsequent dental.

3.3 Labial /r/ and rhoticity

In the not-too-distant past, the realisation of /r/ as a labiodental approximant [ʋ], when it persisted beyond the age at which it was developmentally typical, was typically characterised as a disorder of speech articulation and would not infrequently lead to a referral for speech and language therapy. However, over the past two or three decades, for younger-generation speakers of many contemporary UK varieties of English, the situation has substantially changed, with labiodental realisations of /r/ now being very common and generally no longer evaluated negatively or as some form of speech production disorder. What is perhaps most striking is that, unlike the situation applying to other changes over the same period, this seems to have happened largely without overt resistance or comment on the part of members of the speech communities concerned. This process of change is described in more detail by Foulkes and Docherty (2000) and is perhaps most strikingly exemplified by Trudgill's observation that in Norwich in the early 1970s, [ʋ] was characteristic of only a small number of 'idiosyncratic' speakers (Trudgill 1974) whereas in a later study (Trudgill 1988), labio-dental variants were found to be present in around a third of the speaker sample born between 1959 and 1973.

More generally, as pointed by Hughes *et al.* (2012), rhoticity (the realisation of /r/ in syllable-coda position either pre-pausally or pre-consonantally) is one of the key dimensions along which varieties of English (across the globe, not just in the United Kingdom) can be distinguished. Within the United Kingdom, rhoticity is most typically associated with the varieties of Scotland and Northern Ireland and with the south-western quadrant of England.

There is also a small enclave of rhotic varieties in the north-west of England around the towns of Blackburn and Burnley (Barras 2015). In general, though, Hughes *et al.* point to a gradual retreat of rhoticity within England, most likely due to the factors underpinning dialect levelling more generally, referred to previously. What may well be the beginnings of a shift of this sort have also been observed in the archetypally rhotic varieties of English spoken in Scotland (Romaine 1978; Stuart-Smith 2007). Recent experimental phonetic studies of the realisation of coda /r/ in speakers of Scottish English (e.g. Stuart-Smith 2007; Lawson *et al.* 2013, 2018) point to a good deal of variability in the realisation of /r/ (including, for some speakers, variants with a very notable uvular or pharyngeal quality) and also highlight a good deal of inter-rater variability in identifying when coda was /r/ was present or not, suggesting that for some speakers of Scottish English, derhoticisation may be further advanced than was previously thought simply because it has been difficult to identify impressionistically.

3.4 Vowels

The configuration of the vowel space and its alignment to the lexical stock of English provides arguably the most important and systematic basis for differentiating varieties of English (Wells 1982; Hughes *et al.* 2012), and the analysis of these differences has been enormously facilitated by referring them to the "lexical sets" devised by Wells (1982) for capturing cross-accent vowel differences. For example, varieties can be classified in multiple dimensions by how they are positioned vis-à-vis the BATH-TRAP lexical sets (a front vowel akin to [a] for both in many, especially, northern varieties, in contrast to an [ɑ]-[a] split in many others), the realisation of the STRUT lexical set (as a central and relatively open [ʌ] vowel or with a quality which overlaps substantially with that for the FOOT set),[5] or by whether they have a single realisation for the FOOT and GOOSE lexical sets (as is typically reported for Scottish varieties), as opposed to differentiating these in some way, most commonly via a [ʊ]-[u] split (although see the following for more on these particular realisations). Many of these differences are deeply rooted, and, no less so today than in the past, many carry very significant social value (e.g. within England, the fusion of the BATH-TRAP sets has strong ideological associations with "northern-ness"), and they are accentual features that speakers will readily demonstrate an awareness of if asked.

Research carried out in more recent years, however, has pointed to a number of innovations in the realisation of vowel contrasts occurring across varieties which would on other grounds be characterised as quite different from a vocalic point of view. While it is not within the remit of this chapter to explore the causes of such changes, they would seem to be, at least in part, a reflex of the more general process of dialect levelling commented on previously, although investigators (e.g. Kerswill *et al.* 2008) are also keen to use these changes as a means of testing the phonology-internal factors which are claimed by Labov (1994) to be strong drivers of changes to vowel systems over time.

Perhaps the most striking of these is the fronting of the GOOSE and GOAT vowels by younger generations of speakers. Putting to one side those varieties where GOOSE is already fused with FOOT (and already has quite a central and close quality, as is generally the case in Scottish varieties), there are widespread reports of moderate to substantial fronting of GOOSE together with the production of much less marked lip-rounding/protrusion; for example, Tollfree (1999) reports [ʉ̟ː] for London, Williams and Kerswill (1999) observe [ʏː] or [yː] for Reading and Milton Keynes, Trudgill (1999) reports a central diphthong [ʉ̟ʉ] for Norwich with gradually increasing lip-rounding, and Docherty and Foulkes (1999) report [ʉː] and [ɨː] for Derby. These findings are confirmed in instrumental studies by Bauer (1985), Deterding (1997), Harrington *et al.* (2008), Hawkins and Midgley (2005), Ferragne and Pellegrino (2010), Haddican *et al.* (2013), and Strycharczuk and Scobbie (2017). And, of course, it is this particular innovation which underpins the misinterpretation cited at the very start of this chapter. With GOAT, the key innovation is found to apply to those varieties which prefer a diphthongal realisation (not Scotland, for example) with a more fronted quality and a lessening or complete absence of lip-rounding during the latter half of the diphthong. For example, Williams and Kerswill (1999) note the use of [əʏ] in Reading and Milton Keynes, and in the latter location, they observe a more open variant [ə̞ʏ] in the speech of younger female speakers; Docherty and Foulkes (1999) report [əʉ], [əɨ], and [ɐʉ] for younger-generation and older middle-class speakers in Derby; and while diphthongal realisations of GOAT in some northern varieties have become more frequent relatively recently, here too there are reports of fronting taking place (see, for example, Haddican *et al.*'s 2013 study of speakers from York).

The STRUT lexical set has received a considerable amount of attention from investigators, particularly for those varieties which retain a STRUT-FOOT split. Bauer's (1985) acoustic study of RP speakers suggested that STRUT was well established as a "central-to-front" vowel, as opposed to the back quality with which it was previously associated, a finding which was confirmed by Hawkins and Midgley (2005) and for Milton Keynes speakers by Williams and Kerswill (1999). In a similar vein, other investigators (Hughes *et al.* 2012; Docherty and Foulkes 1999; Watt and Milroy 1999) note that in northern English varieties, it is not unusual to hear a vowel akin to [ə] or even slightly fronter than this. More recently, however, Torgersen *et al.*'s (2006) study of vowel variation in a range of London speakers notes that younger speakers have "back and raised STRUT vowels", pointing to convergence on this type of realisation across the south-east quadrant of England.

Other vocalic features which reports suggest are widely present across a number of contemporary varieties include the tensing of unstressed /ɪ/ (referred to by Wells 1982 as HAPPY-tensing) by which the unstressed vowels in words such as *happy*, *city*, *pretty* are realised with [i] as opposed to [ɪ] (this change has been commented on as an ongoing change for a number of decades, but it does now appear to be strongly established across the southern half of England),[6] the fronting, centralising, and loss of lip-rounding of the FOOT lexical set (Tollfree 1999 for London, Hawkins and Midgley 2005 for RP, Williams and Kerswill 1999 for Milton Keynes and Reading), and the convergence of the vocalic realisations of the CURE lexical set towards that for NORTH (Tollfree 1999; Williams and Kerswill 1999; Docherty and Foulkes 1999) such that, at least for younger speakers of many varieties in England, the most frequent realisation of words like *cure*, *poor*, *tour* is with a monophthongal [ɔ] vowel as opposed to a diphthong akin to [ʊə] (thus ensuring that pairs like *paw/poor* are homophonous).[7] One vowel feature which does not receive a great deal of detailed discussion in the literature but which seems to be widespread is the realisation of the FLEECE vowel with an onset glide from a slightly centralised starting point (reported by Tollfree 1999 for London; Williams and Kerswill 1999 for Milton Keynes, Reading, and Hull; Trudgill 1999 for Norwich; Mathisen 1999 for Sandwell; Stoddart *et al.* 1999 for Sheffield; and Docherty and Foulkes 1999 for Derby).

While the examples given previously relate to innovations which can be encountered across a number of urban varieties of UK English, it is important to bear in mind that, notwithstanding the factors which are promoting levelling, there is a wealth of more localised vowel features still to be found in different varieties of English and which appear to be well entrenched. For example, alongside the BATH-TRAP realisation referred to, other key indicators of "northern-ness" seem to be monophthongal realisations ([eː] and [oː]) for the GOAT and FACE lexical sets encountered routinely across the northern half of the United Kingdom (Watt and Milroy 1999; Watt 2002). And many geographically more localised varieties are almost defined by specific characteristics of vowel realisations, for example, [ɔː] for GOAT in Hull, [aʊ] or [ɔʊ] for the same set in the West Midlands (Mathisen 1999; Clark and Asprey 2013), and open monophthongs for PRICE and MOUTH in urban centres in Yorkshire (Stoddart *et al.* 1999).

3.5 Aspects of prosody

While over the past couple of decades there has been something of a surge in work focused on segmental variation and change within varieties of British English, the same cannot be said for work on prosody (but the United Kingdom is no exception in this respect). So, for example, while there are sporadic reports of interesting cross-dialectal variation in the rhythmic and temporal properties of speech (e.g. Mees and Collins 1999; Scobbie *et al.* 1999; Torgersen and Szakay 2012), there has been no systematic study of the dimensions along which such variability can be found or about whether the patterns of variability which undoubtedly do exist are stable.

Likewise, while there are well-established and highly informative accounts of the phonetics and phonology of intonation within English (O'Connor and Arnold 1973; Cruttenden 1997), these are largely not drawn from a systematic analysis of large-scale corpora of natural spoken interaction and so (almost inevitably, and avowedly) fall short of capturing the full richness of fundamental frequency realisations within UK varieties of English. That this is the case was amply illustrated in the late 1990s by the Intonational Variation in English (IViE) project (Grabe *et al.* 2000; Grabe 2004; Grabe *et al.* 2005). Focusing on seven varieties of English from the British Isles (London, Cambridge, Leeds, Bradford, Newcastle, Belfast, and Dublin), this project revealed

> extensive variation in the intonation [learners of English] might hear from native speakers, within and across dialects. . . . they need to be aware that variation in the southern "standard" is as high or higher than in northern varieties of English spoken in the British Isles. In other words, the standard variety is no more uniform than non-standard varieties.
>
> *(Grabe et al. 2005: 331)*

Differences across the varieties investigated included the f0 contours associated with statements and questions (e.g. the regular presence of a "nuclear rise-plateau" contour in Newcastle and Belfast speakers but not observed in the Cambridge speakers), but as the quotation indicates, the *intra*-variety variability encountered within this study was substantial. Other studies focusing on variety-specific aspects of intonation are few in number (e.g. Cruttenden's 2001 study of women from Salford in Greater Manchester; Bilton 1982 on Hull; Local, Kelly, and Wells 1986 on Newcastle; Nance *et al.* 2018 on Liverpool), but they do lend weight to the IViE project's key finding of extensive inter- and intra-variety variation.

What none of this work has done, however, is identify any particular trajectories of change with regard to the use of fundamental frequency within UK English (not surprisingly, given that there were very few previous studies capable of providing a benchmark). Nevertheless, one intonational feature which does appear to have established a foothold in the performance of some speakers of British English is the use of a rising fundamental frequency contour in declarative contexts (such as statements and other expressions of certainty) where, for the varieties concerned, a falling contour would be more conventionally deployed (Fletcher *et al.* 2005; Warren 2016; Levon 2016, 2020). This pattern of f0 realisation has been assigned diverse labels, including *High Rising Tone (*or *Tune* or *Terminal*; HRT), *Australian Questioning Intonation*, and *uptalk*, and has been the object of speculative debate in the press regarding its origins (Bradbury 1996; Norman 2001; Warren 2016); as with t-glottaling, it has been treated as something of a symbol of the "decline" of contemporary spoken English by those who are resistant to such changes. With similar phonetic characteristics to analogous patterns found in antipodean varieties of English and in the United States, it has been claimed that this f0 tune is chiefly associated with the speech performance of upwardly-mobile "New Yuppies" (Cruttenden 1997: 130), but since there has been very little systematic study of this (Fletcher *et al.* 2005; Levon 2016), it is difficult to state its distribution with certainty or to gauge whether it is spreading across a broader set of speakers. Very much a feature of informal conversational interaction, Cruttenden (1997) notes that its usage seems to be associated with the conveyance of new information while at the same time being "deliberately non-assertive and checking that you are following me". Levon's (2016) study of HRT in young London speakers points to further complexity in its distribution, yielding variation in its pragmatic function across male and female speakers. It is important to differentiate HRT, as a relatively recent innovation in British English (in the 1990s according to Cruttenden), from the rising f0 tunes which are a longstanding and routine characteristic of declarative utterances in certain varieties of English of such Newcastle, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast.

4. Prospects

As is evident from the references cited, our knowledge and understanding of the evolving phonological characteristics of varieties of British English have developed very substantially over the past 30+ years or so. There is ample scope, however, for further investigation of how the full range of social, discourse, and interactional factors at play within a speech community are associated with phonological variation within that community; for example, there is a need to discover much more about how children become attuned to the sociophonetic properties of their native variety (Foulkes *et al.* 2005; Khattab and Roberts 2011), the extent to which individual identity is a driver for the adoption (or not) of innovative variants, and, as pointed out previously, research is only skimming the surface of the role played by ethnic identity within a country where (at least in the large urban centres) the ethnic mix continues to rapidly evolve and is a strong shaper of the social dynamics characterising communities.

It is also important that more work be carried out on how and to what extent speakers shift their patterns of speech across different speech styles. Differences between word-list style and unscripted conversation have been widely reported, but style-shifting is not only about the degree of formality associated with a sample of speech. More interestingly, perhaps, it is closely related to how individuals orient themselves to particular interactional situations and the extent to which it is a conscious process. And style-shifting is also closely tied to reigning language ideologies and the prestige (either overt or covert) which is associated with particular types of realisation. We do indeed have a good idea of what the key dimensions of style shifting might be (see, for example, papers in Eckert and Rickford 2001), but there have been relatively few studies to show how these translate into the variable performance of individual speakers (examples of such work are studies by Podesva *et al.* 2002; Drager 2009; Holmes-Elliot and Levon 2017).

Finally, the increase in recent years in the application of quantitative instrumental phonetic methods to the analysis of groups of speakers and individuals has provided new insights and is very likely to continue to do so (see contributions to Di Paolo and Yaeger-Dror 2011). One key contribution made by these techniques is that they have brought to light aspects of variation which simply would not have been evident had the researchers been relying on an impressionistic record (e.g. the findings mentioned previously re: derhoticisation, pre-aspirated variants of /t/, and the characteristics of "labial-r"), thereby painting a broader picture of the extent of such innovation and variation across a sample of speakers. Acoustic phonetic analysis is perhaps the method with greatest potential in this respect, as it is non-invasive and can to a large degree be applied automatically to large tagged corpora, thereby quickly generating very substantial datasets. Indeed, the issue for researchers is perhaps now less about how to apply such techniques and more about how to design and annotate corpora of natural speech recordings which are expandable over time and geographical distribution and which provide good coverage of the relevant social and linguistic contextual factors which need to be tracked (Fromont and Hay (2008) McAuliffe *et al.* 2019).

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Notes

1 Note that in describing variation in the phonetic realisation of vowels, use is made here of the lexical sets presented by Wells (1982) as a good basis for capturing the key vocalic features of different accents of English lexical sets. Each lexical set is represented by a keyword in small caps (e.g. NURSE), which stands for a set of lexical items (e.g. *nurse, work, purse, curd,* etc.) which tend to share a particular vowel realization, although the precise quality of vowel realisation may vary across accents.
2 In this chapter, the term *accent* is used to denote specifically the phonological dimensions along which varieties can differ, whereas *dialect* is used to refer to the broader and more inclusive set of dimensions (e.g. lexical, morpho-syntactic, phonological) across which varieties can differ.
3 Laryngealised voice quality is a particular form of vibration of the vocal folds caused by adjusting the tension of the vocal folds such that they vibrate rather more slowly than usual and with higher irregularity. If prolonged, laryngealisation is heard as creaky voice (also known as vocal fry). See Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996) for further details.
4 It is noteworthy that t/d deletion is perhaps the most studied phonological variable of all in variationist work on English; see Temple (2017) for a more recent overview and Baranowski and Turton (2020), who suggest that morphological conditioning is productive in their speakers from Manchester.
5 It is noteworthy that in locations with a variety marked by substantial overlap of STRUT-FOOT, it is possible to discern in some speakers some fine-grained phonetic differentiation across the two lexical sets and of course in those same locations other speakers who do not have such overlap (Baranowski and Turton 2018; Strycharczuk *et al.* 2019).
6 But note recent work (Baranowski and Turton 2015; Braber and Flynn 2015) demonstrating more open and retracted realisations from speakers of some northern varieties.
7 Note that the realisation of these vowel in rhotic varieties will be quite different as a result of the retention of the coda /r/ and that in the northern half of England, strong diphthongal forms are still well established, albeit subject to quite a bit of social variation.

Suggestions for further reading

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4

The Englishes of Ireland

Emergence, transportation and current trends

Raymond Hickey

Introduction

Despite its small size, the island of Ireland is home to a wide range of varieties of English. There are varieties on the east coast which go back to the late 12th century. In the north of Ireland, there was a significant Scots input in the 17th century. In the south-west and west of the country, there are largely rural varieties which still show the effect of structural transfer from Irish during the period of the main language shift between the 17th and 19th centuries. The different forms of English in Ireland can be considered from the point of view of the structural characteristics which they share and through which they form a linguistic area across the island of Ireland (Hickey 2012, 2004a). They can also be considered in terms of their distinguishing features which derive from their different historical sources and the particular demographic circumstances under which they took root in Ireland. The latter view is what justifies the term ‘Englishes’ in the title of this chapter. And in the context of the present volume, the plural form of English has additional justification. This book is about the different forms of English which are found throughout the world, and so the primary standpoint is one of diversity. There is a further reason for stressing differences among the varieties of English in Ireland: these diverse varieties were transported during the colonial period between the early 17th and the late 19th centuries (Hickey [ed.] 2004d) and so provided specific input to emerging English at a number of overseas locations as far apart as Newfoundland (Hickey 2002b) and Australia (Hickey 2007: 414–417).

The coming of English to Ireland

The most cursory glance at the history of Irish English reveals that it is divided into two periods. The first period starts in the late 12th century with the arrival of the first English-speaking settlers and finishes around 1600 when the second period opens. The main event which justifies this periodisation is the renewed and vigorous planting of English in Ireland at the beginning of the 17th century. During the first period, the Old English – as this group is called in the Irish context – came increasingly under the influence of the Irish. The Anglo-Normans who were the military leaders during the initial settlement had been completely absorbed by the Irish by the end of the 15th century. The progressive Gaelicisation led the English to attempt planting the Irish countryside in order to reinforce the English presence there (Palmer 2000). This was by and large a failure, and it was only with James I that successful planting of (Lowland Scottish and English) settlers in the north of the country tipped the linguistic balance in favour of English in the north. The south of the country was subject to further plantations, along with the banishment of the native Irish to the west during the Cromwellian period so that by the end of the 17th century, Irish was in a weak position from which it was never to recover. During the 17th century, new forms of English were brought to Ireland, Scots in the north and West/North Midland varieties in the south (where there had been a predominantly West Midland and South-West input in the first period). The renewed Anglicisation in the 17th century led to the view, held above all by Alan Bliss (see Bliss 1977), that the forms of English from the first period were completely supplanted by the varieties introduced at the beginning of the modern period. However, this is not true. On the east coast, in Dublin and other locations down to Waterford in the south-east, there is a definite continuation of south-west English features which stem from the imported varieties of the first period (Hickey 2001).

The medieval period

The documentary record of medieval Irish English is confined for all intents and purposes to the collection of 16 poems of Irish provenance in BM Harley 913 which are known collectively as the *Kildare Poems* (Heuser 1904; Lucas 1995), after one of the poems in which the author identifies himself as from the county of Kildare to the south-west of Dublin. The collection probably dates from the early 14th century. The language of these poems is of a general West Midland to southern character. There are many features which can be traced to the influence of Irish phonology (Hickey 1993). It is a moot point whether the *Kildare Poems* were written by native speakers of Irish using English as a H-language in a diglossic situation and whether indeed the set was written by one or more individuals.

The early modern period

Apart from the *Kildare Poems* and other minor pieces of verse (see McIntosh and Samuels 1968 for a detailed list), there are attestations of English in the first period among the municipal records of various towns in Ireland (Kallen 1994: 150–156), especially along the east coast from Waterford through Dublin and up as far as Carrickfergus, north of present-day Belfast. But such documents are not linguistically revealing. However, at the end of the 16th century, attestations of Irish English begin to appear which are deliberate representations of the variety of the time. These are frequently in the guise of literary parody of the Irish by English authors. The anonymous play *Captain Thomas Stukeley* (1596/1605) is the first in a long line of plays in which the Irish are parodied. Later a figure of fun – the stage Irishman – was to be added, establishing a tradition of literary parody that lasted well into the 20th century (Bliss 1979). The value of these written representations of Irish English for reconstructing the language of the time has been much questioned, and it is true that little if any detail can be extracted from these sources. In addition, most of the satirical pieces were written by Englishmen so that one is dealing with an external perception of Irish English at the time. Nonetheless, this material can be useful in determining what features at the beginning of the early modern period were salient and hence picked up on by non-Irish writers.

Satirical writings are not the only source of Irish English, however. There are some writers, especially in the 19th century, who seriously attempt to indicate the colloquial speech of their time. The first of these is probably Maria Edgeworth, whose novel *Castle Rackrent* (1801) is generally regarded as the first regional novel in English and was much admired by Sir Walter Scott. Other writers one could mention in this context are William Carlton and the Banim brothers (see the collection and discussion in Hickey 2003a).

Scots input to Northern Ireland

The succession of James VI of Scotland (1566–1625) as James I (1603–1625) to the English throne led to the establishment of the Stuart monarchy. After 1607, he initiated the plantation of Ulster, where land was reserved for Scots settlers together with Englishmen, mostly from the North Midlands and north of England (Adams 1958, 1967). The plantation settlements were to form the basis for the demographic split of the country. Due to the Scottish and English background of these immigrants, the division of Ireland came to be as much linguistic as political and confessional. Additional factors played a role here: in 1610, many landless Irish received tenancies because these were willing to pay higher rents, and this led to competition between Irish, English and Scottish settlers.

The plantation of Ulster is regarded in works on Irish history, for example, Canny (2001) and Foster (1988), as the major event at the beginning of the early modern period. The uneven spread of the Scots across Ulster meant that the regions where Ulster Scots was spoken did not encompass the entire province, and nowadays these are no longer contiguous because of a reduction of their size. The remaining areas are, however, regions of historical settlement. Three are located on the northern periphery from the north-west through the north-east to the south-east of Ulster, hence the term ‘Coastal Crescent’ or ‘Northern Crescent’ (Map 4.1).

The number of speakers of Ulster Scots today is difficult to estimate, especially because there is no clear demarcation between Ulster Scots and English-based varieties. The optimistic figure of 100,000 which is offered, not uncritically, by Montgomery and Gregg (1997: 213) may serve as a general orientation, but nothing more precise is available.

The lexicography of Ulster Scots has been served by a large number of academic articles dealing with specific lexical items or word fields (see relevant section in Hickey 2002a). A dictionary in popular style is available in James Fenton’s *The Hamely Tongue*. *A Personal Record of Ulster-Scots in County Antrim* (2014 [1995]). Loreto Todd’s *Words Apart. A Dictionary of Northern Irish English* (1990) is medium in size and coverage. A more academic work – with a broader brief – is the *Concise Ulster Dictionary* (1996) edited by Caroline Macafee. Most of the items concern farming and rural life in general, but regional vocabulary for parts of the body, clothing and terms for individuals is also recorded. Dolan (2012 [1998]) also contains many items of northern provenance.

In present-day Northern Ireland, Ulster Scots has a clear political dimension to it, given that it is nearly exclusively associated with the Protestant community. For a discussion and assessment of this dimension of Ulster Scots, see Hickey (2011a).

Map 4.1 Dialect divisions in the north of Ireland showing the 'Coastal Crescent' of Ulster Scots

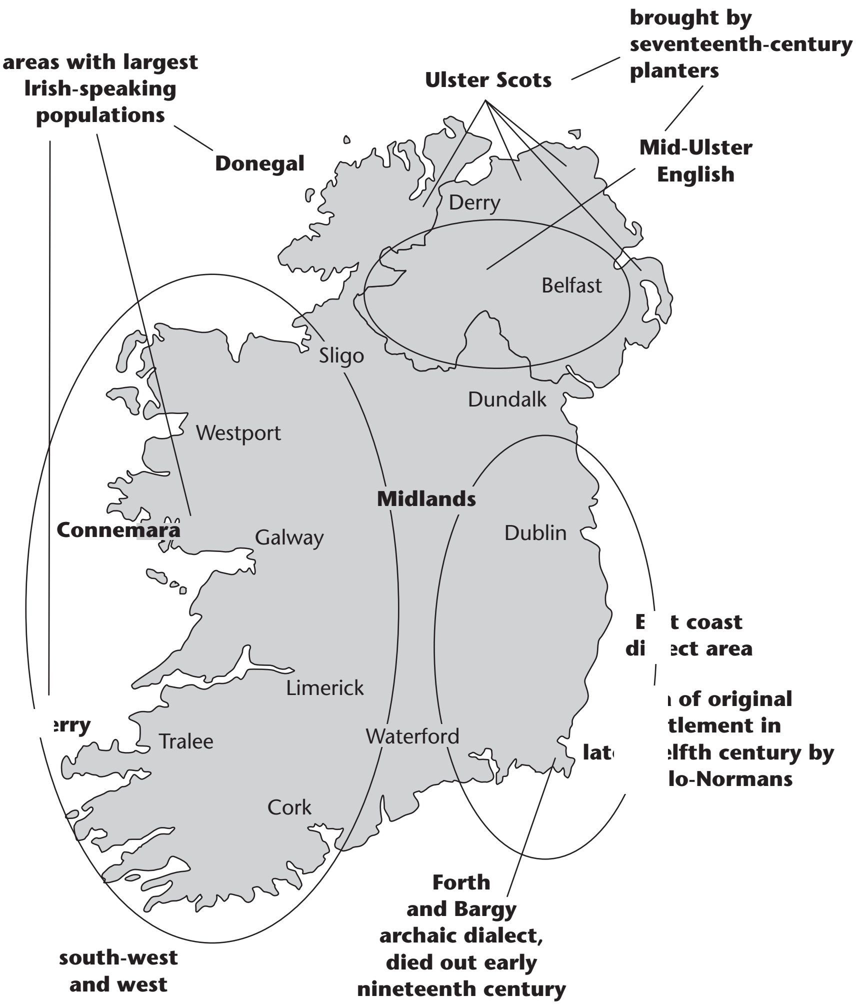
Language shift in Ireland

No censuses before 1851 gave data on speakers of Irish and English, which means that there is no reliable data on the language shift which began in earnest in the early 17th century and which had been all but completed by the late 19th century. In rural areas, there was little or no education for the native Irish. So it is clear that the Irish learned English from other Irish who already knew some, perhaps through contact with those urban Irish who were English speakers, especially on the east coast and through contact with the English planters and their employees. What one can assume for the 17th and 18th centuries in rural Ireland is a functional bilingualism in which the Irish learned some English as adults from their dealings with English speakers. By the early 19th century, the importance of English for advancement in social life was being pointed out repeatedly. The fact that the majority of the Irish acquired English in an unguided manner as adults had consequences for the nature of Irish English. Bliss (1977) pointed out that this fact is responsible for both the common malapropisms and the unconventional word stress found in Irish English. However, the stress pattern in verbs with final long vowels, for example, *distribute* [dɪstrɪ'bju:t], *educate* [ɛdjʊ'ke:t], can also be due to English input, particularly as non-initial stress is only a feature of southern Irish, and so influence due to contact with Irish could only be posited for the south of Ireland.

Another point concerning the language shift in Ireland is that it was relatively long, spanning at least three centuries, from 1600 to 1900, for most of the country. The scenario for language shift is one where lexical transfer into English is unlikely or at least unlikely to become established in any nascent supraregional variety of English in Ireland. After all, English was the prestige language, and the use of Irish words would not have been desirable, given the high awareness of the lexicon as an open class.

For phonology and syntax, the matter is quite different. Speakers who learn a language as adults retain the pronunciation of their native language and have difficulty with segments which are unknown to them. A simple case of this would be the use of stops (dental or sometimes alveolar, depending on region) in the THIN and THIS lexical sets in Irish English. A more subtle case would be the lenition of stops in Irish English, for example, *cat* [kæt̞], which while systemically different from lenition in Irish (Hickey 2014) could be the result of a phonological directive applied by the Irish learning English to lenite elements in positions of maximal sonority.

In syntax, there are many features which either have a single source in Irish or at least have converged with English regional input to produce stable structures in later Irish English. Adult speakers learning a second language, especially in an unguided situation, search for equivalents to the grammatical categories they know from their native language. The less they know and use the second language, the more obvious this search is. A case in point is the habitual in Irish, a prominent aspectual category and generally available by using a special form of the verb 'be' and a non-finite form of a lexical verb *Bíonn sí ag léamh (gach maidin)* [is she at reading (every morning)]. There is no one-to-one correspondence to this in English, formally and semantically, so what appears to have happened (Hickey 1995, 1997) is that the Irish availed themselves of the afunctional *do* of declarative sentences, still present in English at the time of renewed plantation in the early 17th century, to produce an equivalent to the habitual in Irish. This use of an English structure to reach an equivalent to an existing grammatical category in Irish depends on a distinction between a category and its exponence. The difference in exponence (the actual form used) between the habitual in Irish and Irish English has often led scholars to either dismiss Irish as a source for this in Irish English or to produce unlikely equations to link up the category in both languages formally. But if one separates the presence of a category in a grammar from its exponence, then one can recognise more clearly the search for equivalence which the Irish must have undertaken in acquiring English and can understand the process of using means in English, present but afunctional, that is, declarative *do*, to realise an existing category in the outset language (Irish). This habitual category in Irish English, usually expressed by *do* + *be* + V-*ing*, as



Map 4.2 Dialect divisions within the island of Ireland

in *She does be worrying about the children*, may well have been carried to the anglophone Caribbean by Irish deportees and indentured labourers in the 17th century (see the arguments for and against this in Hickey 2004b, 2004c).

The transportation of Irish English

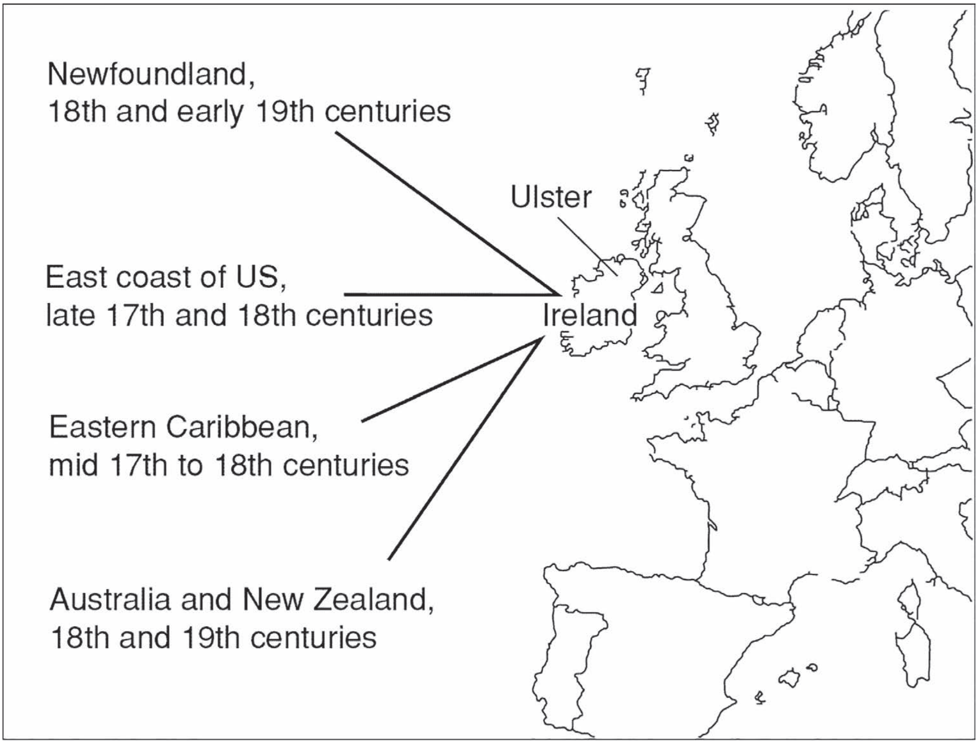
The emigration from Ireland which took place during the colonial period (1600–1900) was generally motivated by the desire to escape unfavourable circumstances, or the emigration was orchestrated by the English authorities; the latter was the case with deportation. There are two occasions when significant groups of Irish were deported to overseas locations and exercised an influence on a variety during its formative years. The first was in the south-east Caribbean, notably on Barbados (and later on Montserrat), where Irish were deported in the 1650s by Oliver Cromwell. The second was in Australia, where deportations of Irish took place in the early days of the country, that is, in the decades immediately following the initial settlement of 1788 in the Sydney area.

Another type of emigration has to do with religious intolerance, whether perceived or actual. During the 18th century the tension between Presbyterians of Scottish origin in Ulster and the mainstream Anglican church resulted in an increasing desire to emigrate (along with economic pressure), in this case to North America (see subsequently).

A further reason, which one might readily imagine to be the cause of emigration, is economic necessity. This kind of emigration is what later came to characterise the movement of very large numbers of Irish to Britain, Canada and above all to the United States in the 19th century, but it was also a strong contributory factor with the Ulster Scots in the 18th century.

The Irish in Britain

There is a long history of Irish emigrants in Britain, reaching back almost as far as that of the English in Ireland (from the late 12th century onwards). But mass emigration only set in during the 19th century. And similar to the pattern of emigration to the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (see subsequently), the Irish congregated in areas where labour for industries like mining was wanting (MacRaild 1999). It is estimated that by 1841, nearly 2% of the population of England was born in Ireland (Dudley Edwards with Hourican 2005 [1973]: 147). In Wales, the percentage was much less, but there was a concentration in



Map 4.3 Main demographic movements out of Ireland during the colonial period (early 17th to late 19th centuries)

Swansea and Cardiff, cities which have always had connections with counterpart cities on the south coast of Ireland, like Cork (O'Leary 2000). In Scotland, the figures were much higher: 4.8% of the population there was Irish born, and again, these lived chiefly in the large cities – Glasgow and Edinburgh – which have a tradition of accepting migrant labour from Ulster.

The key period for the rise in the Irish population in Britain is the late 1840s. Between the censuses of 1841 and 1851, there was a jump from 49,000 to 734,000 Irish-born in Britain. This increase led to much friction between the English and Irish, especially as the Irish were frequently starving and diseased, and in 1852, for instance, there were anti-Catholic, that is, anti-Irish, riots in Stockport.

Merseyside

The areas of Britain which absorbed most Irish were Merseyside with its hinterland of Cheshire in the south and Lancashire in the north. The obvious reason for this is that the port of Liverpool is directly opposite Dublin, and there was a constant ship service between the two cities.

The local dialect of Liverpool is Scouse, which shows a fricativisation of /p, t, k/ in weakening environments such as in word-final position. This may be a relic of a former situation in Irish English. The Scouse fricativisation is typical of that section of the community which is directly derived from Irish immigrants. If this is the case, then why is general lenition of all stops not a characteristic of modern Irish English? It could be that in the course of the 19th century, the lenition of labials and velars declined. However, the situation in Scouse could have resulted from a generalisation of Irish English lenition to all voiceless stops (see Hickey 2009 for a fuller discussion).

Tyneside

This area of England falls outside the common pattern of poor rural immigration. Here the Irish were more affluent, and the influence of their speech has been general in Newcastle as opposed to Liverpool, where it was largely restricted to the Catholic working-class population. The possible convergent influence of Irish English in Tyneside is noticeable in a number of grammatical parallels; for instance, it is the only variety of British English which shows *ye* as the second person pronoun in England (Upton and Widdowson 1996: 66–67), an obvious parallel with Irish English (though conceivably a survival from older forms of English, as it is present in Scotland as well). Other parallels are the use of epistemic *must* in the negative (Beal 1993: 197). The use of singular inflection with third person plural verbs: *Her sisters is quite near* (Beal 1993: 194) is both a feature of northern English in general and of colloquial Irish English of the east coast, including Dublin. Failure of negative attraction is also attested for Tyneside English, for example, *Everyone didn't want to hear them* for *Nobody wanted to hear them*, as is *never* as a negative with singular time reference (Beal 1993: 198).

Some of the features are reminiscent of northern Irish English, for example, the use of double modals (not found in the south of Ireland and only very rarely in the north nowadays), especially in the negative in urban Tyneside, for example, . . . *they mustn't could have made any today* (Beal 1993: 195). This is also true of the use of a past participle after *need*, such as *My hair needs washed* for *My hair needs washing* (Beal 1993: 200). With these features, one may be dealing with a geographical continuum including Tyneside and Scotland north of it. Indeed, the use of a past participle after *need* would seem to have been taken to northern Ireland by Scots settlers.

Not all the specific features of Tyneside speech point to possible Irish influence, for example, the use of *for to* + infinitive is a common dialectal feature in the British Isles, as is the use of *them* as a demonstrative pronoun (*I like them books*, Beal 1993: 207) and of course the use of singular nouns after numerals (*I lived there for ten year*, Beal 1993: 209) (Britain in this volume). Items from phonology where convergence with Irish English input may have been operative are the following: (i) retention of word-initial /h-/ and (ii) retention of /hw/, [w], for example, *which* [ʍɪʧ].

Ulster Scots in the United States

The situation in Ulster of the early 17th century was characterised by a combination of economic and religious factors. There is consensus among historians today (Miller 1985; Foster 1988: 215–216; Bardon 1996: 94) that economic reasons were probably more important: the increase in rents and tithes, along with the prospect of paying little rent and no tithes or taxes in America. Added to this were food shortages due to failures of crops, resulting in famine in 1728/9 and most severely in 1741. Foster (1988: 216) stresses that the nature of Ulster trade facilitated emigration: the ships which carried flax seed from America were able to carry emigrants on the outward journey. Up to 1720, the prime destination was New England, and this then shifted somewhat southwards, to Pennsylvania (from where the Irish frequently pushed further south, Algeo 2001: 13–14; Montgomery 2001: 126) and later to South Carolina. The rate of emigration depended on the situation in Ireland. In the late 1720s, in the 1760s and in the early 1770s there were peaks of emigration which coincided with economic difficulties triggered by crop failure or destruction in Ireland (Montgomery 2000: 244–245).

The overwhelming majority of 18th-century emigrants were Protestants, given that the Catholics lacked the financial means for a move to the New World. However, the Protestants who left were not necessarily in a financially better position; indeed, many were indentured labourers who thus obtained a free passage. Foster (1988 *loc. Cit.*) assumes that the Protestants were more ready to move and subdue new land (as their forefathers, who came from Scotland, had done in Ulster to begin with). The Protestant communities were separate from the Catholics and more closely knit. They were furthermore involved in linen production, so that the cargo boats used for emigration would have been in Protestant hands. Estimates suggest that throughout the 18th century, emigration ran at about 4,000 a year and totalled over a quarter of a million in this century alone (Duffy et al. (ed.) 1997: 90–91).

The Catholic dimension to Irish emigration

Parallel to economically motivated emigration, there was Catholic missionary activity overseas. This began in Africa – in Liberia at the behest of the then Pope Gregory XVI – in 1842, along with missionaries from the major European colonising nations (both Catholic and Protestant) in the scramble for Africa: France, Belgium, Holland and Germany. Despite the obvious Irish presence in this phase of African settlement, there is no discernible influence of Irish speech on any form of English in Africa. In South Africa, the numbers of immigrants from Ireland was under 1% (mainly in the area of Grahamstown, north-east of Port Elizabeth) and hence insignificant for the development of English there.

Of all countries which absorbed Irish immigrants, it was the United States which bore the lion's share. The figure for the entire period of emigration to America is likely to be something in the region of 6–7 million (Montgomery 2001: 90) with two peaks, one in the 18th century with Ulster Scots settlers (see previously) and the second in the mid-19th century, the latter continuing at least to the end of that century. The greatest numbers of Irish emigrants went in the years of the Great Famine (at its height in 1848–9) and immediately afterwards, with a reduction towards the end of the century (Dudley-Edwards 2005 [1973]: 149).

For the years 1847 to 1854, there were more than 100,000 immigrants per year. Whereas the 18th-century Ulster Scots settled in Pennsylvania and South Carolina, the Catholic Irish, from the mid-19th century onwards, stayed in the urban centres of the eastern United States, accounting for the sizeable Irish populations in cities like New York and Boston (Algeo 2001: 27; Montgomery 2000: 245). The memories of rural poverty and deprivation and the fear of a repetition of famine were so strong as to deter the Irish from pushing further into the rural mid-west, as opposed to, say, the Scandinavian or Ukrainian immigrants of the 19th century or the Germans in Pennsylvania in the 18th century.

For the emigrants, the Irish language was associated with backwardness and distress, and even in Ireland, the leaders of the Catholics – such as Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847) – were advocating by the beginning of the 19th century that the Irish switch to English, as only with this language was there any hope of social betterment (Ó Tuathaigh 1974/75).

Diminished tolerance and their own desire to assimilate rapidly meant that virtually no trace of 19th-century Irish English was left in the English spoken in the eastern United States where the later Irish immigrants settled (but see Laferriere 1986 for possible traces in Boston English). In addition, this emigration was quite late and further removed from the formative years of American English than the earlier Ulster Scots movement to the New World. Nonetheless, there may be some lexical elements from Irish in American English, such as *dig* 'grasp' < Irish *tuigim* 'understand', *phoney* 'bogus' < Irish *fáinne* 'ring' (putatively traced to the Irish practice of selling false jewellery) or *so long* 'goodbye' < Irish *slán* ditto, where the transition from [s] to a velarised [ɫ̪] would suggest an extra syllable to English speakers.

Canada

The Irish emigration to Canada is divided into two sections. The first concerns those Irish who settled in Newfoundland and the second those who moved to mainland Canada, chiefly to the province of Ontario, the southern part of which was contained in what was then called Upper Canada.

The oldest emigration is that to Newfoundland, which goes back to seasonal migration for fishing with later settlement in the 18th and early 19th centuries (Hickey 2002b). The second layer is that of 19th century immigrants who travelled up the St Lawrence river to reach inland Canada. There was further diffusion from there into the northern United States. The number of these immigrants is much less for Canada, only a fifth (upwards of 300,000 for the entire 19th century) of the numbers which went to the United States, but seen relatively, this is nonetheless significant.

Newfoundland

The initial impetus for the Newfoundland settlement of Canada was the discovery of the abundant fishing grounds off its shores, the continental shelf known as the Grand Banks. Irish and West Country English fisherman began plying across the Atlantic in the 17th century in a pattern of seasonal migration which took them to Newfoundland to fish in the summer months. The English ships traditionally put in at southern Irish ports such Waterford, Dungarvan, Youghal and Cork to collect supplies for the long transatlantic journey.

Knowledge of this movement by the Irish led to their participation in the seasonal migration. Later in the 18th century, and up to the third decade of the 19th century, several thousand Irish (Mannion (ed.) 1977) settled permanently in Newfoundland and thus founded the Irish community there (Clarke 2010), which together with the West Country community forms the two anglophone sections of the island to this day. Newfoundland became a largely self-governing colony in 1855 and as late as 1949 joined the Canadian Confederation as its tenth province.

Features found in Newfoundland English can be traced to Ireland, for example, *ye* for 'you'-PL (which could be a case of convergence with dialectal English); the perfective construction with *after* and present participle, as in *He's after spilling the beer* and the use of an habitual with an uninflected form of *do* plus *be*. Although Clarke (1997: 287) notes that the positive use of this is unusual in general Newfoundland English today – her example is *That place do be really busy* – it is found in areas settled by southeastern Irish. This observation correlates with usage in conservative vernacular forms of southeastern Irish English today (Hickey 2001: 13) and is suggestive of an historical link.

There are also phonological items from Irish-based Newfoundland English which parallel features in southeastern Irish English, such as the use of stops for dental fricatives; syllable-final /r/; the weakening of word-final, post-vocalic *t*; the low degree of distinctiveness between /aɪ/ and /ɒɪ/ (cf. *bile* vs. *boil*) and the use of an epenthetic vowel to break a cluster of liquid and nasal, as in *film* [fɪləm]. There are also lexical items of putative Irish origin such as *sleeveen* 'rascal', *pishogue* 'superstition', *crubeen* 'cooked pig's foot', and so on (Kirwin 1993: 76–77, 2001). For a detailed discussion of these and similar features of Newfoundland English, see Clarke (2004, 2010) and Hickey (2002).

Mainland Canada

Mainland Canada was also settled by Irish. Here they were among the earliest immigrants and so formed a 'charter group' and enjoyed a relatively privileged status in early Canadian society. By the 1860s, the Irish were the largest section of the English-speaking population in Canada and constituted some 40% of the British Isles immigrants in the newly founded Canadian Confederation. In mainland Canada, the Irish came both from the north and south of the country, but there was a preponderance of Protestants (some two thirds in the 19th and 20th centuries), as opposed to the situation in Newfoundland, where the Irish community was almost entirely Catholic.

The Protestants in Canada had a considerable impact on public life. They bolstered the loyalist tradition which formed the base of anglophone Canada. In the Canadian context, the term 'loyalist' refers to that section of the American population which left the Thirteen Colonies after the American Revolution of 1776, moving northwards to Canadian territory, beyond American influence, where they were free to demonstrate their loyalty to the English crown. As these Irish Protestants were of Ulster origin, they also maintained their tradition of organisation in the Orange Order, which was an important voluntary organisation in Canada.

In mainland Canada, the Irish dispersed fairly evenly throughout the country, even if there is a preponderence in Ontario and in the Ottawa Valley. There is nothing like the heavy concentration of Scotch-Irish in Appalachia (Montgomery 1989) or that of later, post-Famine Irish in the urban centres of the north-eastern United States such as New York and Boston.

The influence of 19th-century immigration on general Canadian English is not as evident as in Newfoundland. Nonetheless, one should mention one feature of Canadian English which has been considered the result of dialect input by immigrants (Gregg 1973), that is, 'Canadian Raising' (Chambers 1973) (Levey this volume). The essence of this phenomenon is a more central starting point for the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/ before a voiceless consonant than before the corresponding voiced one: *house, lout* [həʊs, ləʊt] but *houses, loud* [haʊzɪz, laʊd]. However, the regular raised onset for the Canadian diphthongs before voiceless consonants was not present in this binary form in input varieties from either Ireland or England.

The Caribbean

The initial anglophone settlement of the Caribbean, the so-called 'Homestead Phase', involved Irish input. The island of Barbados was the earliest to be settled by the British (Holm 1994), as of 1627, and Cromwell in the early 1650s had a sizeable number of Irish deported as indentured labourers. This early input to Barbados is important to later Caribbean English because it happened before the large-scale importation of slaves from West Africa. Furthermore, the island of Barbados quickly became overpopulated, and speakers of Barbadian English moved to other locations, including coastal South Carolina and Georgia, that is, to the region where Gullah was later spoken (Hancock 1980).

Views on possible Irish influence on the early Caribbean Englishes vary considerably. Wells (1980) is dismissive of Irish influence on the pronunciation of English on Montserrat. Rickford (1986) postulates that southern Irish input to the Caribbean had an influence on the expression of habitual aspect in varieties of English there, especially because *do* + *be* is the preferred mode for the habitual in the south of Ireland. This matter is actually quite complex, and Rickford's view has been challenged by Montgomery and Kirk (1996).

Australia and New Zealand

Anglophone settlement in Australia began in 1788, and in the following 80 years, various individuals were deported there from both Britain and Ireland. The Irish section of the population ranged somewhere between 20% and 30%. Given the sizeable number of Irish among the original settlers of Australia, one would expect an influence on the formation of Australian English commensurate with their numbers. But the features traceable to Irish input are few and tenuous, for instance, the use of shwa for a short unstressed vowel in inflectional endings, for example, *naked* British Eng: [ˈneɪkɪd], Australian Eng: [ˈneɪkəd] or the use of epistemic *must* in the negative, for example, *He mustn't be in the office today,* 'He can't be in the office today' (possibly due to Scottish influence as well). Irish influence might have been operative in the retention of initial /h/, for example, *hat, humour, home*, all with [h-] (in urban vernaculars in Britain, initial /h/ has all but disappeared). See Burridge and Musgrave (2014) for a relevant discussion.

The low prestige of the Irish sector of the early Australian community is probably the chief reason for the lack of influence on later Australian English (the same holds for New Zealand). This lack of influence presupposes that the Irish community was easily identifiable and so easily avoidable in speech. It can be assumed that the language of rural immigrants from Ireland in the later 18th and during the 19th century was a clearly identifiable contact variety of Irish English, and so its features would have been avoided by the remainder of the English-speaking Australian (or New Zealand) population. A feature of Australian English like negative epistemic *must* resulted from regularisation across the positive and negative, which the Irish had already carried out, and could have been adopted easily by the Australians they were in contact with.

Another fact which may be indicative of the status of early Irish settlers in Australia is that the inflected form of *you* for the plural, *youse*, is found in vernacular usage in Australia

(Burridge this volume). This form is definitely of Irish origin (see Hickey 2003b for a detailed discussion) and was probably adopted by the English in Australia through contact with the Irish, but on a level outside formal usage, which was characteristic of Irish English in the early years of this country.

English in present-day Ireland

Ireland today encompasses many more languages than just English and Irish. The new languages have been introduced by immigration in recent years, especially after the accession of several East European countries to the European Union in 2004. This allowed the free movement of citizens of the new member states in the enlarged union, a fact which contributed to the surge of foreign labour into Ireland in the so-called Celtic Tiger years (late 1990s to 2008). The country which contributed most to the swelling population of non-Irish-born people in Ireland was Poland. Before the financial crisis of 2008, male Poles were largely employed in the then-booming construction industry, and female Poles worked in service industries. Recent figures show that now there are approximately 125,000 present in the Republic of Ireland (Census 2016). This means that many Poles are still living in the country and a new, Irish-born, Polish-heritage generation (Diskin 2016) is growing up in Ireland which, if not linguistically, will at least culturally leave their mark on Ireland in the coming years.

Languages in present-day Ireland (2019)
1 Irish
2 English, including Ulster Scots in Northern Ireland
3 Several mainland European languages, above all Polish
4 Non-European languages spoken by small ethnic groups.

The order of this list reflects the constitutional position of the languages, or their lack of it. Irish is the first language of the nation, as specified in the constitution of 1937. English is a second language, in the words of the constitution ‘accepted as a second official language’ (*Bunreacht na hÉireann* ‘Constitution of Ireland’, Article 8). But in practical terms, Ireland is a completely English-speaking country. Those who can speak Irish are also bilingual, with the exception of very few older speakers in the rural *Gaeltacht*, a collective term for Irish-speaking regions.

The Irish successfully transferred their linguistic identity from the Irish language of their forebears to forms of English which they now speak and which are sufficiently distinct from other varieties of the language to function as the bearers of an Irish linguistic identity.

The languages listed under 3 and 4 are not constitutionally recognised in the Republic of Ireland. All of them have arrived in the country far too recently for that to have happened. But their numbers have resulted in an interesting situation. Going on the assumption that not more than half of the 53,000 individuals who in the 2006 census stated that they used Irish on a daily basis outside education (Hickey 2011b: 12) are native speakers of the language, the 125,000+ Poles in Ireland constitute a group four to five times greater than that of first-language speakers of Irish.

The sociolinguistics of Irish English

In present-day Ireland, the major instances of socially motivated language change (see the contributions in Hickey [ed.] 2016) lie in pronunciation, an area which has seen much development throughout the 20th century (Hickey 2017a). The grammar of Irish English contains established non-standard features, and these are neither increasing nor decreasing, although some general features of present-day varieties of English are to be found in Ireland, for example, quotative *like*, as in *And he was like, 'let's go to my place'*; the lack of restrictions on augmentative *so*, as in *That's so not happening these days* or the use of *you guys* as a gender-independent second person plural pronoun as in *Are you guys going to the party tonight?*

All changes in pronunciation in (southern) Irish English, which have become general across the entire country, derive from the speech of non-local Dubliners and have done so in the past. These speakers are those who speak with a recognisably Irish English accent but without the defining features of local Dublin English. This variety is what can be termed 'supraregional Irish English' (Hickey 2013). It is subject to continual change, often determined by generation and gender, and many changes in non-local Dublin English usage of the past three decades or so have now become part of supraregional Irish English and can be found in the speech of younger individuals around the country who do not have an accent typical of their locality. Examples of such features would be a dark *l* in syllable codas, for example, *deal* [diːɫ]; the homophony of the formerly distinct /ɔː/ and /oː/ vowels, for example, *horse* [hɔːrs] and *hoarse* [hoːrs], now both [hoːrs] for younger speakers of supraregional Irish English or the absence of a voiceless labio-velar approximant [ʍ] leading to homophony in word pairs like *which* and *witch*, *whale* and *wail*, *whet* and *wet*, and so on.

Given the unidirectional influence of Dublin English on varieties throughout the remainder of the Republic of Ireland, the new features found today in non-local Irish English are taken to have derived from recent sociolinguistically motivated changes in Dublin English. Here the media have played a central role; see O'Sullivan (2020). There have also been studies of Irish English as found in film (Walshe 2009).

Short front vowel lowering

For the instances of changes in non-local Dublin English just mentioned, external influence was not favoured as an explanation. With the present set of changes, the opposite seems to be the case. The lowering of short front vowels, which is so apparent in the recent speech of young non-local females, does not appear to be an internal development within Dublin English but an imported feature from North America (the United States, possibly along with

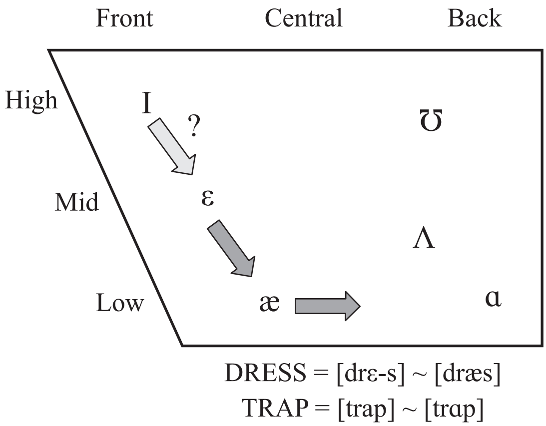


Figure 4.1 Short front vowel lowering in recent Dublin English

Canada). From a number of investigations in the past two decades, it is known that the KIT, DRESS and TRAP vowels are lowered in both Canada (see Clarke, Elms and Amani 1995; Boberg 2005, 2012), in California (see Kennedy and Grama 2012) and increasingly in other parts of the United States and the anglophone world in general, for example, in South Africa and in Australia. This lowering of vowels would appear to have been adopted in Dublin by young, non-local females as part of what is unconsciously perceived as a cool and trendy way of speaking.

The lowering is not identical to that found in North America. In particular, the KIT vowel is not lowered appreciably (only in the environment of /r-/, for example, *rid* [red]), and the DRESS vowel, when it occurs before nasals as in *friend*, *bend, ten*, and so on does not show any noticeable lowering, probably due to the tendency for nasals to raise vowels. The greatest lowering is found for the DRESS vowel in pre-sibilant position, for example, *address, best, fresh, yes*, and so on with a realisation near [æ]. Those speakers who have this lowering also have a lowering and retraction of the TRAP vowel to a centralised [a] so that the vowels in the two lexical sets are kept distinct (Hickey 2018).

Vowel movements are frequently interpreted (when internally motivated) as triggered by shifts in phonological space which lead to a re-alignment of vowel distinctions. For instance, the short front vowel lowering found in Canada is regarded as connected to the reduction of phonological distinctions in the low back region due to the *Don ~ dawn* merger in Canadian English (Boberg 2012: 174–175). The lowering in Dublin English would seem to only concern the DRESS and TRAP vowels; the LOT and STRUT vowels are, as yet, unaffected by this lowering. In addition, Dublin English, and Irish English in general, does not show any signs of a collapse of the distinction between the LOT and THOUGHT vowels (the *Don ~ dawn* merger).

New directions in research

In the field of Irish English studies, many new avenues of research have appeared, often on the basis of new data. For instance, the University of Limerick has a research team working on the pragmatics of Irish English using their *Limerick Corpus of Irish English* (Vaughan and Clancy 2016). Another case of corpus-based research is that by John Kirk and Jeffrey Kallen based on the *International Corpus of English – Ireland* in which the authors have concerned themselves with the questions of standardness and ‘Celticity’ (see Kirk and Kallen 2011, for example). Other sets of data have also been compiled, for instance, the CORIECOR corpus of emigrant letters (Amador Moreno and McCafferty 2012), which has been used for the book-length study by Amador Moreno (2019) and the volume on emigrant letters by Hickey (ed.) 2019).

The most active area of research in current Irish English studies is that of pragmatics. Beginning with the overview volume by Barron and Schneider (eds 2005), the field has progressed steadily with many individual studies, such as the use of *now* in Irish English (Vaughan and Clancy 2011) or that of *grand* (Hickey 2017b). A major recent publication is Amador-Moreno, McCafferty and Vaughan (eds. 2015). Issues of pragmatics are also discussed in volumes such as Migge and Ní Chiosáin (eds. 2012) and Hickey and Vaughan (eds. 2017).

Conclusion

The history of English in the south of Ireland has provided material for linguistic discussion and continues to do so due to the long-term interaction between Irish and English. It is a measure of the maturity of the field that recently all linguistic levels have been covered by significant publications and that the arguments for various standpoints, especially the relative weight accorded to contact versus retention (Filppula 1999, 2003), are based on strictly linguistic arguments and show a balanced consideration of both sources. Avenues which remain to be explored do exist, most noticeably contemporary urban Irish English and non-native varieties used by immigrants (Diskin 2016; Regan, Diskin and Martyn [eds.] 2016), a likely locus of linguistic change in years to come. Finally, one can mention issues of language and identity which can appear on a local level (see the study of English in Galway by Peters 2016), on an ethnic level (Kirk and O'Baoill [eds.] 2002) or on a broader level, involving attitudes to the heritage language Irish and to contemporary customs and culture (Hickey and Amador Moreno [eds.] 2020).

Suggestions for further reading

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5
The development of Standard American English

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The emergence of American English

North American settlement by English speakers began in the seventeenth century, amounting at that time to about 150,000 migrants from all parts of Britain (Bailyn 1986). Earlier European incursions in the New World were not without consequences: the Spanish had brought European diseases for which the Native Americans had no resistance, and the native population had seriously declined before the English arrived; no doubt English germs contributed further (e.g. Smith 1994: 259). Dobyns (1983) has estimated that up to 95 per cent of the aboriginal population in the Eastern region was lost by these means, a loss rate of 20:1. More conservative estimates suggest loss rates on the order of 6.47:1 and 4.86:1 in the Southeast (Smith 1994: 269), but even these indicate that about 80 per cent or more of the aboriginal population was lost. The survivors were displaced as they fled in attempts to avoid epidemic disease, and this involved the abandonment of some traditional settlement areas (Smith 1994: 265–267, 271–272). The American poet William Carlos Williams has imaginatively treated another effect of European settlement in North America – its violence – in his book *In the American Grain* (1925; see also Smith 1994: 264). These two characteristics of European settlement – disease and violence – created the pattern of replacement of the native population, rather than integration with it, that would continue long thereafter, even when Europeans encountered substantial populations of Native Americans (see Schneider 2007 and this volume for the contextualization of this tendency with regard to other new Englishes).

The settlers themselves were not immune to disease or other pathways to mortality. Sir Walter Raleigh's first North American colony, Roanoke, disappeared without trace. The Jamestown and Mayflower colonists suffered tremendous mortality rates. Half of the Pilgrims died during the first winter in Plymouth Plantation (pilgrims.net/plymouth/history), and two-thirds of Jamestown settlers died during the bad winter of 1609 (jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vcdh/jamestown/). During the seventeenth century, child mortality in the Chesapeake region was 50 per cent before the age of twenty (Bailyn 1986: 100). Many of these people had already migrated to London before taking ship for America. Keene reports that "Most adult Londoners were born outside the city: in the eighteenth century the outsiders may have been as many as two-thirds of the total" (Keene 2000: 109). Mortality there, too, was high, owing to poor sanitation practices. When we combine the massive migration to London with emigration to North America, we find that North American emigration accounted for as much as 70 per cent of English population increase during the seventeenth century, and a majority of those people came to North America through London (Bailyn 1986: 40).

Despite the high mortality rates, English settlers continued to flood to the colonies, whether willingly or not (about 50,000 English criminals were transported to North America in the eighteenth century). And other Europeans came, too, including large numbers of Germans from the Palatinate starting in 1709. Thousands of Africans were brought involuntarily to the colonies after 1680. These non-English groups were not spread randomly through the English-speaking population. A mixture of populations was the rule during early settlement, not the creation of large separate-language communities. Philadelphia and New York City were major ports of entry, and new immigrants often spent considerable time there before leaving for the interior (Bailyn 1986: 53). The delay was not always good for them: as in London, poor sanitation and crowded conditions led to high mortality rates. Bailyn (1986: 59–60) notes that Philadelphia hosted a large number of German immigrants, while New York City hosted more Scots and Scotch-Irish, yet overall, he reports that:

> The population that spread inland from coastal nodes to form new communities was a composite of ethnic and religious groups – Germans, French, Swiss, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, English, Caribbean islanders, Africans, Afro-Americans – carrying with them different cultural baggage. . . . There was no single "American" pattern of family and community organization. There were many patterns, reflecting the variety of human sources from which the population had been recruited and the swiftly changing, fluid situations in which the people lived.

Bailyn's account contrasts sharply with David Fischer's influential book, *Albion's Seed* (1989), whose section titles like "East Anglia to Massachusetts" and "The South of England to Virginia" give the impression that British regional culture was transplanted whole to North America. Fischer's statement that "On Smith and Tangier islands . . . immigrants from the far southwest of Britain founded a culture which still preserves the dialect of seventeenth century Cornwall and Devon" (784) is simply wrong. No Americans anywhere today preserve in its entirety Shakespeare's English or any other regional British variety from the seventeenth century, because no language fails to change over time (unless, like Classical Latin, it remains fossilized in books without a living population of speakers). While there were certainly cultural influences from Old World regions, mortality and continuing immigration during early settlement created a dynamic demographic situation out of which American culture, and American English, would eventually emerge. These were not just continuations of Old World culture.

The effect of early general replacement of the native population by English settlers, and of the continuous change in the immigrant population owing to mortality and new migrants, was to create a new "complex system" of speech interactions. Such complex systems were originally described in the physical and biological sciences, but they also occur in the social sciences, for instance, in economics. Kretzschmar (2009, 2015; Burkette and Kretzschmar 2018) demonstrates how complex systems constitute speech. In brief, complexity science shows how order, here American speech, emerges from massive numbers of random interactions among the elements in the complex system rather than from simple causes. For our purposes, we know that there were massive numbers of exchanges of linguistic tokens – whether words or pronunciation or grammar – deployed by human agents, the speakers thrown together in America. In the early American environment, the immigrants all contributed their own resources of speech as they tried to talk to their neighbors. Given the preponderance of early English settlement, it is no surprise that English words and pronunciation and grammar came to constitute the majority of the tokens in the new order that emerged. It is also no surprise that substantial numbers of tokens, whether words or pronunciation and grammatical influences, also emerged in the new order from non-English sources, whether Native American languages or the languages of foreign places (see Marckwardt 1958 for contributions from various languages to American English, particularly the lexicon). Moreover, since complex systems by their nature have the property of scaling, somewhat different words, pronunciation, and grammar emerged in the new order in different colonies and in different settlements.

Right from the beginning, it was also possible to see differences between the speech of different colonies but also to make generalizations about how American English at the "national" level of scale might differ from British English. The common explanation by linguists for what happened to language in America is "language contact," and the words "language contact" can lead us to expect that somehow languages came into contact with each other, in the same way that Fischer proposed that whole cultures came to the New World. However, again, it is speakers as individuals who came into contact, and in terms of complex systems, they acted as human agents who used the linguistic features that worked best for them and, over time, features self-organized out of these interactions into what we recognize as a new American variety. The order that emerged at the national level of scale was not exactly the same as what emerged in any single locality or colony, and yet, owing to the scaling property of complex systems, neither was it just an abstraction that avoided any special characteristics of any individual colony, nor was it just a kind of average of speech from lower levels of scale, often called "colonial leveling" or "koinéization." An American English distinct from anything found in Britain began to emerge almost immediately from the speech interactions in the new and fluid populations of speakers.

Schneider's 2007 *Postcolonial English* discusses the emergence of new varieties of English in former colonies worldwide. His description of the histories of English in a number of places, including the United States, shows that the emergence of these postcolonial varieties does seem to follow a similar trajectory. His "Dynamic Model" suggests five phases in the evolution of such varieties: foundation of the colony, stabilization around the outside norm, nativization, formation of an internal norm, and diversification. American English began to form by self-organization out of the complex system of linguistic interactions in the new colonies, a process that continues to this day and explains how we can have different, changing American English voices in different places and social settings. "Stabilization around the outside norm" represents the fact that, in every colony, a variety of English emerged as the everyday language of the founding population of settlers (see McDavid 1958: 483; Zelinsky 1993; Mufwene 2001: Chapter 2 and 3, for the influence of original settlement populations, the Doctrine of First Effective Settlement, and the Founder Principle, respectively). In Zelinsky's words, "the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been" (1993: 13–14). "Nativization" began immediately in one sense, as settlers in every locality had to adopt words to describe local flora, fauna, and places. These were often terms taken from Native Americans, as recorded, for example, in Thomas Harriot's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588, cited in Bailey 2004: 4–5), which was based on Raleigh's failed Roanoke colony. The perception of nativization began in the eighteenth century, as British and American writers noted differences between the English of the Old and New World. John Witherspoon, for instance, commented in 1781 that (cited in Mathews 1931: 16)

> the vulgar in America speak much better than the vulgar in Great-Britain, for a very obvious reason, viz. that being much more unsettled, and moving frequently from place to place, they are not so liable to local peculiarities either in accent or phraseology. There is a greater difference in dialect between one county and another in Britain, than there is between one state and another in America.

Schneider cites no fewer than four other eighteenth-century writers who comment on the uniformity of American English (2007: 269–270). He says elsewhere that (2007: 35)

> in the course of time speakers will mutually adjust their pronunciation and lexical usage to facilitate understanding – a process generally known as "koinéization," the emergence of a relatively homogeneous "middle-of-the-road" variety.

However, the period comments he cited do more to distinguish American English from British English than they testify to any actual koinéization. The strongly marked regional dialects of Britain were not maintained in America (pace Fischer), and the population mixture noted by Witherspoon did not so much create a uniform koiné as it limited the degree of noticeable difference from locality to locality and from state to state. Still, the American situation was clearly different from Britain, as all the commentators tell us.

Schneider's "diversification" was already underway, if not yet strongly marked. Witherspoon also noted verbal differences in different regions, such as the word *chunks* for 'firewood' in the middle colonies, and *tote* for 'carry' in the southern states. Emergent regionalisms also appear in the writing of Anne Royall, a travel and society writer. Already in 1831, she illustrated spoken differences between Tennessee, Virginia (modern West Virginia), Pennsylvania, and "Yankee" territory (cited in Mathews 1931: 95). Some features that we associate yet today with those regions were present then, such as r-lessness and other matters of pronunciation, lexical choices like *chunks* and *tote*, and also grammatical choices like *hadn't ought*. As predicted by Hans Kurath (1949: 2) and Raven McDavid (1958: 499), controlled experiments on survey research data have demonstrated that migration patterns spread local features inland from focal cities on the coast (Kretzschmar 1996). Such east-to-west migration created the regional similarities in broad bands across the eastern half of the country, described as the Northern, Midland, and Southern dialect regions (Kurath 1949; Kurath and McDavid 1961). While more recent descriptions by William Labov and others make claims for a Western dialect region (Labov 1991), relatively recent settlement and low population density in the west tend to undercut the consistency and coherence of any regional similarities there. And diversification has never stopped: the complex system of speech in America continues to operate, and new kinds of order in American English continue to emerge. Labov (1991) and Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2005) describe what they consider ongoing sound changes called the Northern Cities Shift and the Southern Shift, along with Western Merger. These large-scale descriptions are accompanied by smaller-scale changes in local and social settings, such that:

> In spite of the intense exposure of the American population to a national media with a convergent network standard of pronunciation, sound change continues actively in all

> urban dialects that have been studied, so that the local accents of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago and San Francisco are more different from each other than at any time in the past.
>
> *(Labov and Ash 1997: 508)*

Continuing diversification is a predictable consequence of the fact that speech, language in use, is a complex system.

The twentieth century brought demographic changes which in turn changed the conditions for diversification. Primary settlement of the country by homesteading was already complete, and demographic change thus occurred by internal migration and immigration to already-settled areas. In the first half of the century, Southerners moved in great numbers to the North and West. In the second half of the century, Northerners often moved away from the Rust Belt for work in new industries in the South. These population movements often created speech islands in the regions to which the migrants traveled, such as African American or Southern White neighborhoods in Northern cities. Similar islands have been created in many cities of twentieth-century immigrants from other countries, so that neighborhoods in many cities may have a strong ethnic flavor and even preserve ancestral languages (such as, stereotypically, Polish in Chicago, Chinese in San Francisco, and many languages in New York City).

More important, however, was an essential change after World War II in the urban demographic pattern from residential neighborhoods within cities to the model of an urban core surrounded by suburbs. Suburban housing changed the spoken interactions of the community, because people no longer lived with the people they worked with (see Milroy 1992). Moreover, American suburbs cater to different economic groups because of similar housing prices in different developments, so people of different economic means mingle less on a daily basis than they used to. Weak ties tend to promote the transmission of features from group to group, not the maintenance of strongly marked features within a population group. At the same time, late twentieth-century improvements in transportation (highways, airlines) created a super-regional marketplace for the highly educated. Traditionally, Americans at all levels of society tended to remain in the regions where they were born, so that all social strata could share regional speech habits. Now, the most highly educated segment of the population is mobile nationally, which has led to the idea that highly educated speech should not sound regional. Highly educated speakers in formal settings tend to suppress their regional features (Milroy and Milroy 1999), to the extent that they have them in the first place, owing to suburban housing patterns that separate them from less-mobile economic groups. The typical speech of national news broadcasters is a symptom, not a cause, of this situation.

Labov and Ash (1997) highlight a twentieth-century change in the conditions for the American complex system of speech, in that speakers not in the highly educated group are better able to maintain different regional and social features in their speech, while the highly educated have less access to local and regional speech and among themselves often tend to suppress whatever such features they have. The term “General American” has sometimes been used as a proxy for the English of highly educated Americans, because the label gives the impression that there is something “general,” or common, or popular, about it. Actually, just the reverse is true. Highly educated speakers remain a small minority of the population, and rather than sharing characteristics of speech as the term “general” implies, their speech actually tends to be more mixed in its characteristics than the more strongly differentiated regional and social varieties of the less-mobile working-class and middle-class speakers described by Labov and Ash.

The emergence of Standard American English

SAE is not a product of the same process that creates and continues to change regional and social varieties of American English and, at a larger scale, American English itself, in that it can be distinguished from British English and other world Englishes. Regional and social varieties and the American variety as a whole derive from the massive number of interactions in English conducted by members of regional and social groups, and, at the top level of scale, by all participants in American culture. SAE, on the other hand, is an institutional construct. It has no native speakers. It is, however, a fact of life for American speakers in formal settings, especially in the educational system.

There is some irony in the fact that James Milroy's lead essay in the excellent volume entitled *The Development of Standard English 1300–1800* (Wright 2000) locates the main impetus behind the idea of Standard English in the nineteenth century, in other words, after the period described in the title. Milroy connects standard ideology with growing nationalism at that time, and the "promotion of the national language as a symbol of national unity and national pride" (2000: 15), not only in England but elsewhere in northern Europe. In consequence, he argues, "historicisation" reflected nineteenth-century (and later modern and contemporary) standard ideology back onto the history of English – all the way back to its origins with Hengest and Horsa c. 449AD and even beyond that to its precursor Germanic languages – so that the contemporary standard language appeared to be an inevitable endpoint of the historical development of the language (Milroy 1992: 125–129; for an alternative view of this process from a complex systems perspective, see Kretzschmar 2018). Milroy recognized the division in Victorian scholarship between the study of rural dialects on the one hand and the development of notions of purism and a focus on educated speech on the other. The latter movement leads to the expectation that the standard language will be uniform in structure and so tends to work against variability and change. It also mainly treats the written language, instead of the more highly variable use of language in speech (2000: 13–14). Standard languages, therefore, can be associated with the language of capital cities not because the speech of the capital city provides a natural model for a national language but because the political and social importance of the capital confers national status to written language originating in the capital. In Britain, "the Queen's English" is another way of designating not the actual speech of the royal family but instead the socially preferred "language of a great empire" (Milroy 2000: 16). Thus, as Laura Wright's introduction to the book in which Milroy's essay appeared states: "Far from answering the questions 'what is Standard English and where did it come from?', this volume demonstrates that Standard English is a complex issue however one looks at it" (2000: 6). Standard English is not to be taken for granted as some sort of default form of the language, and neither should it be brushed aside as unreal. Standard English, in both Britain and America, arises from particular historical circumstances and processes of thought.

SAE began with Noah Webster. Webster was interested in the creation of a specifically American variety of English, a national language for a new country:

> The author wishes to promote the honor and prosperity of the confederated republics of America. . . . This country must in some future time be distinguished by the superiority of her literary improvements, as she is already by the liberality of her civil and ecclesiastical constitutions. Europe is grown old in folly, corruption and tyranny. For America

> in her infancy to adopt the maxims of the Old World would be to stamp the wrinkles of decrepit old age upon the bloom of youth, and to plant the seeds of decay in a vigorous constitution.
>
> *(written in 1783, cited in Commager 1958/1962: 1)*

As clearly expressed in this passage, and neatly characterized by Commager, "The driving force in Webster, the compulsion that explains all particular expressions of his ambitions and his energies, was nationalism" (Commager 1958/1962: 5). Again as Milroy suggested, the uniformity of a standard language was especially desirable in America. Commager explains (1958/1962: 7):

> But if nationalism was to work in the United States – and in 1800 that was still very much an open question – it would have to get along without the Monarchy, the Church, the Military, and the many other institutions that provided common denominators abroad, and work with more democratic ingredients and build on popular support. It would have to frustrate those class and religious and racial divisions which were potentially so dangerous; it would have to overcome differences not merely of accent but of language itself. The United States, dedicated to the unprecedented experiment of republicanism in a vast territory, a heterogeneous population, and a classless society, could not afford differences of accent or of language.

As we have seen, variation in language naturally self-organizes out of a radically mixed population in a complex system. Thus, regional and social varieties of English were inevitable developments in the United States. A uniform standard, however, was then and still remains a politically attractive idea. That there were fewer differences between the speech of American states than there were differences between British counties might well have been taken as evidence at the time that a standard language was actually developing in the speech of America. Such a notion is as much an example of wishful thinking now as it was then and usually promoted by those with some academic or political agenda.

Webster and prescriptive texts

The development of SAE nonetheless took place, if not naturally in the complex system from which American regional varieties emerged, then by Webster's salesmanship. John Adams did lead an unsuccessful attempt to create an American Academy on the model of the Académie Française (see Mathews 1931: 39–43), and Webster himself helped to create a Philological Society, but Commager again states the crucial fact: "The Academy was never born; the Society withered and died; but they were not necessary. Webster's books did their work" (1958/1962: 8). Webster was nothing if not a salesman. A footnote (dated March 1818) in the preface of the 1831 edition of *The American Spelling Book* claimed that sales to that point "amount to more than FIVE MILLIONS of copies, and they are annually increasing" (1831/1962: 15). Webster wrote that his book had become

> the principal elementary book in the United States. In a great part of the northern States, it is the only book of the kind used; it is much used in the middle and southern States; and its annual sales indicate a large and increasing demand.
>
> *(1831/1962: 15)*

The justice of his claim is shown by Mathews' estimate that *The American Spelling Book* had sold 50 million copies by 1865 (1931: 45) and Pyles' estimate that over 100 million copies were sold before it was replaced by other books (1952: 98). More famous than *The American Spelling Book* but less successful in sales was Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language* (1825). Pyles reports that "Unfortunately Webster, who was extremely good at the promotion of his books . . . was not a very good man of business" (1952: 98). Webster had sold the rights to *The American Spelling Book* and thus did not accrue royalties on most of the millions sold, and he had to borrow money to finance both the first and second editions of the *American Dictionary* so that they, in Pyles' words, "did not pile up much of a profit" (1952: 120). Still, the success of Webster's promotional efforts created one of the most successful textbooks of all time and made his name, in America at least, synonymous with the dictionary. Pyles did not like him, as this description shows: "Webster was smug, self-assured, and pugnacious in his pedantry as in his Puritanism and his patriotism: the dour, thin-lipped, jut-jawed righteousness of his later portraits seems always to have been characteristic of him" (1952: 94). But he still offered the following summary assessment (1952: 123):

> It has been remarked that Webster may have taught us how to spell but taught us nothing else. With this it is difficult to agree. Webster was certainly one of the most influential commentators upon language who ever lived. More than any other single person, he shaped the course of American English, for he supplied us with the schoolmaster's authority which we needed for linguistic self-confidence. He was largely responsible for the dissemination in this country of an attitude toward language that prevails to this day, even among the rank and file of our people – an attitude which, while it is by no means exclusively American, is yet notably so.

SAE is Webster's legacy not primarily for the particular features of American spelling he advocated but rather for the association of language with nationalism, uniformity, moral virtues, and authority, especially within the school setting.

An edition from 1880, now called *The Elementary Spelling Book*, can serve to illustrate SAE 100 years after the book's first appearance, to show how a simple textbook became an industry in itself without losing the core values it started with. The book is a revised edition of one first published in 1857 by the G & C Merriam company, which had bought rights to Webster's dictionary and still publish its descendants. This edition was actually published by the American Book Company, a prominent textbook publisher, presumably under license. The title page boasts that the text is "AN IMPROVEMENT ON THE AMERICAN SPELLING BOOK. THE CHEAPEST, THE BEST, AND THE MOST EXTENSIVELY USED SPELLING BOOK EVER PUBLISHED" (caps in the original). The advertising language and the corporate publication history tell us not just about sales but about the institutionalization of the product, not just about SAE as the possession of the socially advanced but about its democratic status. Family ties are still present as well. Its preface is by Webster's son, William (dated as from 1866, fourteen years earlier), and indicates that:

> The pronunciation here given is that which is sanctioned by the most general usage of educated people, both in the United States and England. There are a few words in both countries whose pronunciation is not settled beyond dispute. In cases of this kind, the Editor has leaned to regular analogies as furnishing the best rule of decision.
>
> *(1880: 6)*

This passage marks a change from Noah Webster's undoubted nationalism and also discounts differences between American and British pronunciation. The 1831 edition, itself a revision, had simply referred to "the most accurate rules of pronunciation, and the most general usage of speaking" (1831/1962: 16). At the same time that the 1831 edition headed all of its pages with "An Easy Standard of Pronunciation," its preface further asserted that,

> A perfect standard of pronunciation, in a living language, is not to be expected; and when the best English dictionaries differ from each other . . . where are we to seek for undisputed rules? And how can we arrive at perfect uniformity?
>
> *(ibid)*

What seems clear is that Webster and his revisers through numerous editions were interested in uniformity, authority, and the rules of English, even though they recognized variation in actual practice. It is interesting to note that grammar was not a large part of the system. The 1831 edition tells us that the abridged grammar originally included in the book had been omitted, along with the geographical tables, because "Geography and Grammar are sciences that require distinct treatises" and "It is believed to be more useful to confine this work to its proper objects, the teaching of the first elements of language, spelling and reading" (ibid). The 1880 edition merely says that it will provide "the distinctions of the parts of speech, and thus anticipate, in some degree, the knowledge of grammar" (1880: 5–6). Authoritative treatment of grammar was not yet part of the American paradigm for elementary language teaching in these books.

After the front matter, the pronunciation key (for teachers), and presentation of the alphabet, the main content of the 1880 edition is presented in 152 tables. Many of these consist of words deemed to belong to a "class" (e.g., one syllable, two syllables accented on the first, three syllables accented on the second, etc.), in which the spelling and syllabification of the words is accompanied by diacritical marks to indicate pronunciation. The earliest tables consist of single syllables, some of which are words in their own spelling (*hē, shē*). Others are only syllables (*hī, pī*), considered valuable for later word formation. Many tables also contain example sentences, including very short ones in the early tables and more complex ones later. Their aim was to teach reading and enliven class: "These lessons will serve to substitute variety for the dull monotony of spelling, show the practical use of words in significant sentences, and thus enable the learner the better to understand them" (1880: 6). As the sentences get longer, they begin to have useful content, such as "The world turns round in a day" (Table 25) or "The best paper is made of linen rags" (Table 26). Moral lessons were also popular, such as "A rude girl will romp in the street" and "Bad boys love to rob the nests of birds" (Table 25), or "I love the young lady that shows me how to read" and "The Holy Bible is the book of God" (Table 26). Each sentence for a table tells its own story, as in this miscellany that starts Table 33:

> Strong drink will debase a man.
> Hard shells incase clams and oysters.
> Men inflate balloons with gas, which is lighter than common air.
> Teachers like to see their pupils polite to each other.
> Idle men often delay till to-morrow things that should be done to-day.
> Good men obey the laws of God.

Earlier editions had postponed introducing sentences until later in the book, but when introduced, they were even more explicitly religious and moral (1831/1962: Table 13):

> Lesson I
> No man may put off the law of God:
> My joy is in his law all day.
> O may I not go in the way of sin!
> Let me not go in the way of ill men.
>
> Lesson II
> A bad man is a foe to the law:
> It is his joy to do ill.
> All men go out of the way.
> Who can say he has no sin?

Some of the later lessons in both the early and later editions are Aesop's fables, presented with illustrations and clear morals. Thus Webster and his revisers created SAE out of nationalism and linked it explicitly with moral and religious teachings presented as reading instruction. The legacy in America of *The American Spelling Book* is an ideology of standard spelling and pronunciation, if not complete uniformity in either, as an expression of morality and patriotism.

Characteristics of Standard American English

"Spelling reform was only part of Webster's agenda for perfecting English, but it was to be the most effective part" (Bailey 1991: 189). Webster's spellings clearly differentiate SAE from other world varieties. His successful changes come in four classes (following Pyles 1952: 112):

> dropping of final *k* after *c* in words of more than one syllable (e.g. *music* for *musick*)
> uniform use of *-or* for *-our* in words of more than one syllable (e.g. *honor* for *honour*)
> uniform use of *-er* for *-re* (e.g. *theater* for *theatre*)
> *-se* for *-ce* in *defense, offense, pretense* but not in *fence*

Other prominent changes include replacement of *-que* with *-k* in words like *cheque/check, masque/mask*, and removal of doubled consonants as in *programme/program, waggon/wagon*. Many other of Webster's proposed changes have not succeeded, such as simplification of *-ine, -ive, -ite* to *-in, -iv, -it* (e.g. *definite/definit*). Some changes were partially successful, such as *f* for older *ph* in *fantasy* but not *phantom*. Some were hit and miss: SAE has *draft* for *draught* and *plowman* for *ploughman*, while many other *-augh-* and *-ough-*spellings survive. We still have *island* instead of Webster's *iland*. Some American spelling changes arose after Webster, such as *tho* for *though, thru* for *through*, *catalog* for *catalogue*, and *judgment* for *judgement*, promoted by spelling reformers through educational associations and newspapers in the late nineteenth century. Occasional changes continued to be adopted, such as the 1950s *lite* for *light* (especially as an adjective with food products), and *nite/tonite* for *night/tonight*. Given the relatively small number of characteristic spelling differences like these, and despite the continued emphasis on spelling in American schools and communities (see Kretzschmar 2009: 14–15), Americans are no better spellers in general than speakers of other varieties of English. Winners of American spelling bees are often the children of immigrants who appear to have taken the lessons of American education more to heart than children from families with longer histories in the country.

As for pronunciation, SAE is best defined as the avoidance of pronunciations associated with particular regions or social groups. Hans Kurath and Raven McDavid described the vowels of four regional patterns of American pronunciation (1961, based on data from about two decades earlier):

Type I: Upstate New York, Eastern Pennsylvania, and the South Midland
Type II: Metropolitan New York, the Upper South, and the Lower South
Type III: Eastern New England
Type IV: Western Pennsylvania

These areas mainly recapitulate the Northern, Midland, and Southern dialect regions described by Kurath from lexical evidence (1949). Upstate New York corresponds to what many have called the Inland Northern region (now the area of Labov's Northern Cities Shift), which continues across the northern tier of states as far as the Mississippi River. Eastern Pennsylvania and the South Midland correspond to settlement through Philadelphia and moving south through the Shenandoah River Valley to the Cumberland Gap in Tennessee, spreading westward as far as the Ozark Mountains in Arkansas. The term "Appalachian English" is applied to the eastern portions of this pattern, and the term "Upland Southern" is often used to describe the entire pattern. The inclusion of both Inland Northern and Upland Southern in the same phonological pattern does not support the simple North/South division of American English dialects long assumed by many Americans, a generalization that has always had more to do with cultural differences and the American Civil War than with language. Similarly, by breaking up the North/South division, Metropolitan New York is included in the same phonological pattern with the Upper (Virginia) and Lower (South Carolina/Georgia) South. The lowland southern pattern extended across the southern states in lands suitable for plantation-style agriculture, as opposed to those suitable for small farming, as in the uplands and other marginal agricultural areas. Although it was a major port of entry in the nineteenth century, New York City historically was cut off from early regional extension by the Dutch settlements of downstate New York and northern New Jersey. Like New York City, Eastern New England was cut off from immediate westward extension, this time by mountains. On the other hand, Western Pennsylvania was a gateway to western expansion because it allowed access to the Ohio River at Pittsburgh at a time when cross-country travel was much easier by water than by land.

All of these sets held the high and central front vowels and the high back vowels in common with some variation in the low vowels (Table 5.1).

The vowels of *sun, law, crop, boil* are variable between the major regions. The same patterns exist today, with the American West generally following the pattern for Western Pennsylvania. Discussion of Labov's Northern Cities Shift, the Southern Shift, and Western Merger has focused on working-class and lower-middle-class speakers, and so their relation to SAE is not well established, though some educated speakers, perhaps a great many in the Northern Cities and West, do participate in these patterns. The contemporary situation for SAE pronunciation is that the most highly educated speakers in formal settings tend to suppress any linguistic features that they recognize as regionally or socially identifiable ("marked" features). Educated participants in the Northern Cities Shift and Western Merger most often

Table 5.1 American English vowels (adapted from Kurath and McDavid 1961: six with IPA symbols used in Upton, Kretzschmar, and Konopka 2001)

crib [ɪ]	*wood* [ʊ]	
three [i]	*tooth* [u]	
ten [ɛ]	*sun* [ə]	
eight [ei]	*road* [ou]	
bag [æ]	*crop* [ɑ]	*law* [ɔ]
five [ai]	*down* [au]	*boil* [ɔi]

do not know that their pronunciation is recognizable by speakers from other regions. This is why it is ironic that Northern Cities Shifters often have the highest degree of linguistic self-confidence, as they strongly believe that they are SAE speakers, but people from other regions hear them as having a distinct accent. Because of the common suppression of marked features in formal educated circles, many educated speakers think that language variation in America is decreasing. On the other hand, however, the economically stratified suburban residential pattern promotes the continued existence and even expansion of local varieties, although these varieties retain fewer strongly marked characteristics than were maintained in the previous era of stronger, denser ties in local social networks. The linkage between demographic trends and education remains the most important consideration for SAE: those who go the furthest in the educational system have the greatest investment in SAE. Of course, some educated speakers will deliberately go against the trend and use regional speech characteristics, while others with less education will choose to try to suppress their regional features.

As for particular pronunciation features, the low-back vowels are historically unstable in American English. The *don/dawn* merger is characteristic of Western Pennsylvania and the West but also of Eastern New England, where one also hears the fronted pronunciation of *crop* with [a]. There is evidence that the merger has occurred differently in different areas, so that some may prefer *don/dawn* with [ɑ], while others prefer it with [ɔ]. SAE differs from mainstream British English in that it still has [ə] as the vowel of *love* and does not raise it towards [ʊ] as heard, for instance, in the Beatles' "all you need is love." The vowel in *roof, root* (but not *foot*) alternates between [u, ʊ], with [ʊ] more common in the Northern United States. New England preserves the [a] pronunciation in words of the *half, glass* class, and these pronunciations are sometimes heard from educated speakers in other regions of the country. This may well be a historical consequence of Webster's *Spelling Book*, which offered New England pronunciations as standard. Educated speakers in the South commonly pronounce the diphthong in *five* with a weakened glide, and in many areas, there is gradation in glide reduction by environment, such as increasing reduction in the series *rye, rice, ride*. *Marry, merry, Mary* are homophones for most SAE speakers. The vowels in unstressed final syllables like *-ed, -ness*, and others vary between [ɪ~ə] even though the spelling may not indicate it, as in the promotional rhyme "all in for Michigan." The most noteworthy SAE consonantal practice in contrast to other world varieties is the pronunciation of intervocalic *t* with voicing, so that *latter/ladder* are homonyms for educated Americans. The palatal glide /j/ remains in words like *cure, music*, but is frequently deleted in others like *Tuesday, coupon*. Postvocalic /l/ is often vocalized by educated speakers. These differences are enough to create a distinctive American accent among world varieties of English. Finally, SAE pronunciation has different stress patterns from British English. SAE pronunciation tends to preserve secondary stress, and thus has more fully realized vowels than British English in words like *secretary, laboratory*. SAE therefore has a rhythm different from British and other world English varieties.

SAE grammar and lexicon do differ from those of British English and other world varieties, but the advent of corpus linguistics has made the differences difficult to represent in a list. Typical lexical and grammatical differences are quite familiar, such as American/British *trunk/boot, windshield/windscreen, truck/lorry, elevator/lift, apartment/flat, toilet/loo, traffic circle/roundabout, try to sell/flog, government is/government are*, *in the hospital/in hospital, have gotten/have got, may have done so/may have done*. On the other hand, most real differences travel under the radar. For example, Americans have a *post office* but do not *post* letters as they do in Britain (Americans, however, do *post* things online); then again, Americans *mail* letters and the British do not, while of course the *mail* exists in Britain as well as America, at least as a noun. When Stubbs' corpus analysis of the word *surgery* in British English is replicated for American English, only two of the four possible senses are present, 'medical procedure' and branch of 'medicine' but not 'doctor's office' and 'doctor's office hours' (Kretzschmar 2009: 152). Collocations are present at different frequencies in British and American English: *banks* in British English often have something to do with fishing, but not so much in America (not at all in the 1960s Brown Corpus and the 1990s Frown Corpus consulted for Kretzschmar 2009). It turns out that even homely coordinating conjunctions like *and* occur at statistically significantly different rates in corpus analysis of British English and American English (Kretzschmar 2009: 166). Given a corpus approach, it is fair to say that every word in the language is likely to be different in British English versus American English, and every grammatical construction different as well, because every word and every construction will be used at somewhat different rates and with somewhat different collocations in the two varieties. Thus the problem with a list of differences: it would have to include the entire dictionary and the entire grammar.

Some English words will never be well represented in SAE. Because SAE is an institutional construct typically used by educated people in relatively formal circumstances, words from the street, including terms of abuse, common words regarding sex and sexual behavior, popular words of the moment, or specialized cultural terms, will appear less often in SAE. So, too, will certain real but dispreferred grammatical constructions. Thus, multiple negation, *ain't* and many other verb forms, double modals like *might could*, and regional forms like *y'all* appear much less frequently in SAE than in common everyday speech and writing. Still, a corpus approach would find that all of these forms and constructions are indeed found, although relatively rarely, in the speech or texts of SAE. The same is also true of the pronunciations noted previously; speakers may try to suppress marked features when they are trying to use SAE, but they are never entirely successful, and so even marked features occur at measurable rates of occurrence in spoken SAE.

Instead of noting what people actually say and write in SAE, then, another approach to defining SAE is to consider the lists of prescriptions in usage manuals, such as multiple negation or *ain't*. William Labov defined the standard in just this way (1972: 225): "For many generations, American school teachers have devoted themselves to correcting a small number of nonstandard English rules to their standard equivalents, under the impression that they were teaching logic." In his famous essay called "The Logic of Non-Standard English," Labov was trying to promote the idea that, when African-American children did not produce SAE in school, they did not have a language deficit but instead were using a different variety. Labov was right about the deficit/difference problem, but the real issue is more complex than a simple contrast between parallel systems. Grammatical prescriptions have become an issue in elementary education only relatively recently, as we have seen. Inclusion of prescriptive grammar in the basic curriculum means teaching children to suppress features of their home varieties in favor of an unmarked feature used in SAE. Labov's "correcting a small number of English rules to their standard equivalents" in the school is thus a different problem for children using different varieties, because the kinds and number of "corrections" needed will be different in every school. To demonstrate this point, we need only understand that there have been a very large number of usage prescriptions proposed in usage manuals and that only a small number of prescriptions are the same between all the manuals. Chapman (2009) conducted a survey of such prescriptions in the usage manuals of the last century and found that over 13,000 prescriptions had been proposed over the years. However, more than half were found in only one usage manual, and there were only 1174 "core" prescriptions, with core being classified as having been mentioned in at least half of the usage manuals. This suggests that while there are some popular usage prescriptions that might be taken to define SAE as the set that teachers often "correct," the number of them is quite small in comparison to the number of complaints that usage mavens have leveled against speakers and writers. Chapman found that, in the current century (2000–2007), 3785 new prescriptions had been proposed in usage manuals, while 1470 previous prescriptions did not appear, and that fewer than 20 per cent of the recent entries were "core." SAE grammar is much like SAE pronunciation in that users of SAE actually employ their home varieties but try to suppress those features that they have noticed or have been taught to consider unacceptable. Unfortunately, people who want to use SAE do not have a well-defined set of rules but instead must negotiate suppression of an unpredictable number of usages proscribed by different authorities.

Conclusion

Chapman's survey reminds us that what is really more important about SAE is the perception that it exists, reflecting an attitude toward language and standards that Webster originally sold to Americans and which our schools still promote today. Many educated Americans strongly support the authority of the school and continue Webster's advocacy of SAE uniformity. However, SAE has no fixed relation to any American regional or social variety, other than the article of faith that, for national and moral purposes, the standard variety of the home language of Americans ought to be taught in school. What users of English worldwide recognize as SAE cannot be successfully codified phonologically, lexically, or syntactically. It is not a variety that has emerged from any particular population and then been accepted as a standard. Instead, what users of English worldwide typically recognize as SAE more properly consists of a selection of features of American English at the national level, such as tendencies towards rhoticity and the preservation of secondary stress, features which emerge from the continuing operation of the complex system of speech in America. SAE may be an idealized institutional construct rather than a variety on the same terms as American regional and social varieties, but that does not make it any less real as a problem to be confronted by Americans and other speakers of English.

Suggestions for further reading

The North American volume of *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (Algeo 2001) provides a good reference volume covering many aspects of American English, as does the more recent American (and Caribbean) volume of the Mouton de Gruyter *Varieties of English* (Schneider 2008).

A current textbook on American English is Wolfram and Schilling-Estes' *American English: Dialects and Variation* (1998, 2nd ed 2005), which has a strong sociolinguistic viewpoint and less coverage than some readers may want of the history and current status of American English. Gunnel Tottie has prepared an American English textbook for a non-native readership, *An Introduction to American English* (2002). Richard Bailey has published an entertaining book, *Speaking American* (2012), that describes American English in different locations every fifty years through American history. The classic textbooks in the field are Pyles' *Words and Ways in American English* (1952), Francis' *Structure of American English* (1958), and Marckwardt's *American English* (1958).

Recent American demographic changes are treated in Zelinsky 1993. The linguistic effects on speech in local areas are best described in terms made famous in sociolinguistics by James and Leslie Milroy: suburban social networks are characterized by weak ties as the density and multiplexity of linguistic interactions have decreased. See J. Milroy 1992, and the earlier L. Milroy 1987, which describes the Belfast study in more detail. An alternative account of language in American neighborhoods is offered by Labov 2001. Eckert (2000) provides an account of language relations in an American high school.

Comprehensive recent lexicographical resources for American English can be found in the *New Oxford American Dictionary* (2001) and in Upton, Kretzschmar, and Konopka 2001 (now updated in Upton and Kretzschmar 2017). The third edition (online) of the *Oxford English Dictionary* contains significantly better coverage of North America than earlier editions.

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6
The Englishes of Canada

Stephen Levey

Introduction

Perhaps the most ubiquitous trope that pervades the scholarly literature on Canadian English relates to claims of its relative uniformity over a vast geographical expanse. Bloomfield (1948:63) asserts that "one type of English is spread over Canada's 3,000-mile populated belt." In the same vein, Avis (1973:50–51) maintains that "the speech habits of Canadians, especially educated Canadians, have become remarkably homogenous." This view remains endorsed in the twenty-first century: "[t]o a large extent, a single type of English is spoken . . . from Vancouver, British Columbia, to Ottawa, Ontario" (Labov et al. 2006:217).

Cumulative advances in research on Canadian English since the first edition of this volume appeared provide little cause to retract claims about the homogeneity of this variety. Indeed, a recent comparative investigation (Denis & D'Arcy 2019) of grammatical variation in two geographically very distant locations, southern Ontario and southern Vancouver Island, uncovered remarkable diachronic evidence of parallel development in the case of two grammatical features as well as indications of increased homogeneity during the twentieth century in relation to the use of a third feature. These results, at least with respect to the features examined, would seem to corroborate the view that uniformity is not only emblematic of contemporary (urban, middle-class) usage but that it is also a longstanding trait of General Canadian English (GCE), extending from the Ontario/Quebec border to the west coast but excluding the Canadian Maritimes and the easterly provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador (Walker 2015:88).

Still, claims of uniformity warrant two important qualifications. First, as clearly demonstrated in Boberg's (2010) landmark study, evidence of regional phonetic and lexical variation in GCE is indisputable, as are patterns of social variation (see e.g., Esling 1991; Woods 1991). Second, as Walker (2015:88) cautions, claims about the internal consistency of GCE should be tempered by the fact that the requisite empirical evidence supporting the homogeneity assumption only recently became available via large-scale phonetic analysis (see Labov et al. 2006). By contrast, detailed analyses of (morpho-)syntactic variation in GCE constitute a somewhat newer line of inquiry (see e.g., Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007a; Walker 2007; Tagliamonte et al. 2010; Levey & Hill 2013). Although wide-ranging surveys of grammatical variation, paralleling those available for phonetic or lexical variation, do not yet exist, the current belief is that few (if any) morpho-syntactic properties of Canadian English set it apart from other varieties (see Siemund & Haselow 2008:201). Evidence of regionally distinctive patterns of grammatical variation in mainstream varieties, aside from a handful of apparently recessive constructions, is limited, although this may change in the future with the application of more sophisticated analytical techniques to studies of regional speech varieties. Broader coverage of regional varieties undertaken from a comparative perspective would certainly be a welcome adjunct to the existing literature. There is a burgeoning research tradition targeting English in Ontario, but less is known about the English of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, including their major urban sociolects (see Dollinger 2012:1860).

To some extent, the prevailing consensus on the relative uniformity of GCE is a product of the research tools traditionally employed to investigate that variety, as well as the long-standing focus on examining phonetic and lexical variation to the exclusion of other potential areas of variability. Much of the linguistic research on Canadian English prior to the 1990s was conducted within a dialectological framework (Chambers 1991:90), using questionnaires and surveys of self-reported usage (Dollinger 2012:1864). Since the 1990s, however, detailed sociolinguistic investigations of Canadian English allowing a finer level of analytical granularity have gained considerable traction. With its emphasis not just on forms but their distribution and patterned organization in discourse (Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001:5), it is perhaps the framework of (comparative) variationist sociolinguistics (see Tagliamonte 2013) that currently holds the most promise for identifying and characterizing subtle differences between varieties of mainstream Canadian English, enabling heterogeneity to be detected where alternative methods have largely discerned uniformity.

In the following sections, I illustrate how variationist sociolinguistic research has contributed to more refined characterizations of variation and change in Canadian English, as well as considering findings generated by alternative frameworks where relevant. In addition to the primary focus on GCE, attention is paid to regional and enclave varieties, as well as contact between Canadian English and other languages, notably French.

Sociohistorical context

Key issues in the history of Canadian English

Characterizations of Canadian English as an amalgam of American and British speech patterns, a mixed dialect *par excellence* (Trudgill 2006:272), are relatively uncontroversial. More contentious are the relative contributions of American colonial input and British speech patterns to the formation and subsequent development of a distinctively Canadian variety (Boberg 2010:249). This is a fertile area for further research, not only because diachronic surveys of Canadian English remain sparse (Brinton & Fee 2001:426; Dollinger 2008:1, 2012:1859) but also because the availability of adequate historical databases of regional British dialects and American colonial varieties is limited.

The largely North American character of Canadian English is conventionally explained by appealing to the Loyalist Base Theory (Bloomfield 1948; Avis 1954), according to which the linguistic foundations of Canadian English were laid by American colonists migrating to Canada in the wake of the American Revolution (1765–1783). The generally accepted belief is that the linguistic foundations established by American migrants were subsequently altered – superficially according to some scholars, more profoundly in the opinion of others – by migration from the British Isles, mainly from northern England, Scotland and Ireland (Walker 2015:49). As successive migratory waves constitute the backbone of the external history of Canadian English, these are briefly reviewed in the subsequent sections.

Early migration patterns and the role of the Loyalist base

Hostilities between the American revolutionaries and the British witnessed the influx in 1783 of American colonists loyal to the British crown (the "Loyalists" or the "United Empire Loyalists"), mainly settling initially in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (see Brown and Senior 1984). Those who arrived in Nova Scotia were generally from Massachusetts, whereas those who initially settled in New Brunswick originated from various locations, including New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania (Wynne 1987). The subsequent arrival of the "late Loyalists" after 1791, less motivated perhaps by allegiance to the British crown than by attractive offers of cheap land and British governmental aid (Dollinger 2008:66; Walker 2015:28), swelled the numbers of the original migrant populations and contributed further heterogeneity to the dialect pool. Their arrival was key in augmenting the population of Upper Canada (the predecessor of modern-day Ontario) to an estimated 75,000 to 100,000 by 1812 (see Craig 1963; Knowles 1997).

The precise nature of the speech patterns used by these early settlers remains elusive, but extrapolating from modern sociolinguistic findings (e.g., Kerswill & Williams 2005), it is reasonable to assume that the linguistic state of affairs following early migration was highly conducive to contact, levelling and koinéization. The weight of the available evidence suggests that these early migratory phases can be credited with establishing a founder effect (Mufwene 2000:240), whereby the speech patterns of the original settlers had a strongly determinative influence on the early roots, and subsequent development, of Canadian English.

Migration in the nineteenth century and the emergence of Canadian English

Following the War of 1812, a military conflict between the United States and Great Britain (also involving Canada as a colony of Great Britain), British government policy, fuelled by the spectre of latent pro-American republicanism in Canada, was focused on recruiting British settlers as a means of shoring up allegiance to British political interests. Despite offers of cheap land and, in certain cases, free passage across the Atlantic (Walker 2015:49), incentives to emigrate from Britain have their roots in a combination of unfavourable socio-economic conditions and a series of famines in Britain and Ireland. During the first half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration from Britain, peaking around 1847 at the time of the Great Famine in Ireland, was dominated by immigrants from Ireland (in particular) (Hickey, this volume), Scotland and northern England. These individuals brought with them their own regionally distinctive varieties of English, as well as other languages (i.e. Scots and Irish Gaelic). A further migratory wave towards the end of the nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth witnessed the arrival of additional immigrants from the British Isles, as well as settlers from diverse European countries including Germany, Italy, Scandinavia and the Ukraine (Chambers 1998a:264).

Assessing the impact of British immigration on the formative roots of Canadian English is fraught with difficulty, because the requisite linguistic evidence is challenging to reconstruct. The idea that British immigration might have attenuated the linguistic contribution of the Loyalist population, "swamping the old Loyalist and American communities with

Irishmen and Scotsmen" (Lower 1946:184) and diluting the speech patterns of the founder populations, was briefly explored by Scargill (1957:612). There can be little doubt that in those communities where British immigrants were founding members, such as Cape Breton in Nova Scotia and the Ottawa Valley and Peterborough County in Ontario, British speech patterns left their mark (Chambers 2004:228; see also Pringle & Padolsky 1983). But in established Loyalist settlements where the speech patterns of the founding population were already firmly entrenched, it is less likely that British speech habits were able to exert a transformative influence.

According to Boberg's (2010:82) estimation, local speech patterns in Canada's four original provinces were well established by the 1860s. Moreover, the first use of the term 'Canadian English', widely attributed to one Reverend Geikie, dates from 1857 and points tentatively to the early emergence of a supra-localized variety (albeit one lamented as a 'corrupt dialect' at the time in question). Chambers (1995a:5) nonetheless claims that Canadian English did not become 'a unified, focused dialect' until the early twentieth century. In its present capacity as a bona fide endonormative variety of English, Canadian English is now pursuing its own course of development (Brinton & Fee 2001:422). Over much of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, it is claimed that Canadian English experienced 'a period of fairly intensive change' (Chambers 2004:364).

The following sections review variation and change in contemporary mainstream Canadian English and also address regional variation – where this has been documented – as well as the recurrent issue of the putative 'Americanization' of Canadian English.

Variation and change in contemporary Canadian English

Phonetic differentiation

Canadian English: a distinctive variety?

Of all the phonetic characteristics used to distinguish Inland Canada (from Edmonton to Toronto) as a separate dialect of North American English, the Canadian Shift is the most important (Boberg 2010:147). In its classic formulation by Clarke et al. (1995), the shift involves the retraction and lowering of /æ/ in the direction of the low-central space made available as a result of the low-back merger of /ɒ/ and /ɔː/ (resulting in homophony of the LOT and THOUGHT vowels). As part of the systemic change triggered by the low-back merger, /ɛ/ lowers to the slot vacated by /æ/, and /ɪ/ in turn descends to fill the slot left by /ɛ/. This shift, characterized by lowering and retraction in the acoustic vowel space, is schematized in Figure 6.1 (Clarke et al. 1995:212).

Subsequent studies building on the seminal findings of Clarke et al. (1995) verify that the Canadian Shift is a pan-Canadian development, at least as far as the speech of the younger generation is concerned, although it is not necessarily advancing at the same rate in all regions (Sadlier-Brown & Tamminga 2008), and there is some resistance to it in areas isolated from major urban centres (Boberg 2008:136–38).

Canadian Raising is commonly viewed as the most distinctive feature of Canadian speech (see e.g., Chambers 1998a:262; Brinton & Fee 2001:426), although it is not a completely uniform trait of mainstream varieties (Boberg 2010:150). This signature feature of Canadian English involves the pronunciation of the diphthongs /aw/ and /ai/ with higher nuclei before voiceless codas, resulting in contrasting vowel sounds in pairs such as *house* [NOUN] and *house* [VERB] (i.e. [hʌws] vs. [hawz]). Despite its appellation, Canadian Raising is not

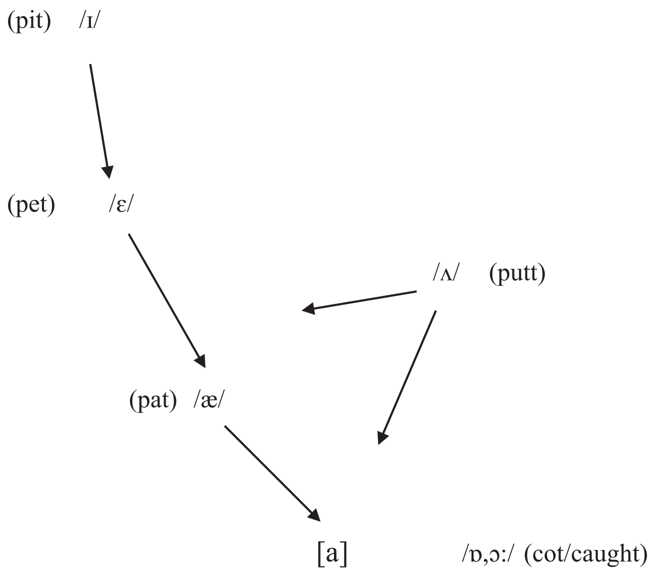

Figure 6.1 Schematization of the Canadian Shift

Source: After Clarke et al. 1995:212.

unique to Canadian English: a similar phenomenon has been documented on Martha's Vineyard off the Massachusetts coast (Labov 1972:1–42), and raising of /aw/ is also recorded in eastern Virginia. The existence of analogous phenomena in other varieties of English means that Canadian Raising cannot be used to define Canada as a separate dialect region (Labov et al. 2006:130).

In earlier studies, sporadic non-raising in contexts believed to be propitious to raising was treated as a harbinger of the possible demise of Canadian Raising, but there is little indication that it has become markedly less productive in recent times. On the contrary, contemporary surveys reveal it to be relatively robust in mainland Canadian English "albeit slightly altered in the phonetics of the onset vowel for the /aw/ diphthong" (Chambers 2006:115).

Regional patterns of phonetic variation

The recently compiled *Atlas of North American English* (Labov et al. 2006) reveals a number of major regional divisions in Canadian English. The largest division comprises a vast geographical expanse stretching from Vancouver in the west to the Anglophone community of Montreal in the east. Atlantic Canada (including the Maritime provinces and Newfoundland) lies outside the confines of this inland zone. Within the inland zone, an inner core extends from Edmonton to Toronto (Boberg 2008:132). These divisions are established on the basis of a number of coinciding phonetic isoglosses derived from acoustic measurements of several vocalic variables, including (but not limited to) the low-back merger of /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/, the Canadian Shift, and Canadian Raising detailed previously.

Within this very broad regional delineation, research has yielded a more refined picture of regional phonetic differentiation. Based on a series of acoustic analyses of vocalic variables in the speech of undergraduate students from across Canada, Boberg (2008) suggests that the tripartite regional division put forward in the *Atlas of North American English* can be decomposed into six major regions: British Columbia, the Prairies, Ontario, Quebec (Montreal), the Maritimes, and Newfoundland. Boberg's (2008:143) investigation builds on earlier findings by showing, for example, that the fronting of /ɑːr/ (e.g., in *start*, *dark*, etc.) is one of the strongest regional indicators of Canadian English, with Ontario and Atlantic Canada exhibiting more advanced values than either the West or Quebec.

While regional phonetic differences may not be of the same magnitude as those encountered within the United States or the British Isles, subtle distinctions in the English spoken in Ottawa or Toronto and in Calgary or Vancouver hint at some degree of regional diversity in urban speech patterns (Boberg 2008:150).

The 'Americanization' of spoken Canadian English?

The perceived encroachment of American norms on Canadian speech patterns is another leitmotif in the literature on Canadian English. Staple examples adduced in support of 'Americanization' include the use of the /iː/ variant in *leisure* as well /sk/ in *schedule*. The variable deletion of the palatal glide in stressed syllables after coronals (*news, tune, dew*), giving rise to competing variants such as [nuːz] versus [njuːz], is reported to be yet another instance of apparent convergence of Canadian speech patterns on contiguous American norms (see Clarke 1993).

Yet closer inspection reveals that such reports, often based on impressionistic or selective evidence, should not be accepted at face value. For one thing, claims of overt American influence on contemporary Canadian English are often diminished by the lack of detailed comparative evidence from American English to bolster external influence (Dollinger 2015:29). Furthermore, such claims are often predicated on invidious comparisons with some ill-defined or idealized variety of Canadian English. As Chambers (1998b:18) points out, the glideless variant in words such as *news* and *student* appears to have been the majority form for at least the past several decades, indicating that it is a long-established feature of Canadian English rather than the product of recent contact-induced change. Even admitting that there has been a decrease in the use of the glided variant over successive generations (Clarke 2006:232), any concomitant increase in the use of the glideless variant may simply represent the expansion of a well-established internal option, consonant with parallel trends that have been reported for other varieties of English (Chambers 1998b). Clarke's (2006) analysis of glide retention in media usage, supplemented by data culled from a number of sociolinguistic studies, points to a complex interplay of social and linguistic constraints governing variant choice in Canadian English. Specifically, Clarke (2006:244) notes that within Canada, glided and glideless pronunciations may index different social meanings for different members of the same speech community, militating against the blanket assumption that in selecting the glideless variant, speakers of Canadian English are simply targeting an external American prestige norm. A vital point to emerge from Clarke's (2006) discussion is that the social meanings of variant usage may be highly localized, indicating that they are not necessarily equivalent across different varieties. In order to build a plausible case of possible American influence on Canadian speech patterns, it is therefore methodologically imperative to establish that the social and linguistic constraints operating on variable usage are the same in both the varieties in question and to rule out the possibility of independent internal development in Canadian English.

Lexical variation and change

Lexical borrowings from Indigenous languages

One of the most evident ways in which the lexical stock of Canadian English has expanded is via the acquisition of new lexical items to designate topographical and biological aspects of the environment (i.e., flora and fauna) in which it is spoken (Trudgill 2006). Borrowing from Indigenous (First Nations) languages has enriched the lexical resources of Canadian English. For example, *kayak, anorak, husky*, and *mukluk* (a type of knee-high boot) come from Inuktitut, whereas *chipmunk, moose*, and *muskeg* (a type of organic bog) derive from other aboriginal languages such as Ojibwe and Cree (Fee 1992:182). Toponyms such as *Quebec* and *Canada* are also of aboriginal provenance, with the latter often (but not exclusively) traced to Iroquoian *kanata* meaning 'settlement' or 'community'. Several such borrowings, such as *Eskimo*, *caribou*, and *toboggan*, have since diffused into worldwide varieties of English (Bailey 1982:138).

Lexical change

Lexical obsolescence and renewal have figured prominently in discussions of change in contemporary Canadian English. A widely cited example involves variation in the terms used to designate a 'long upholstered seat' (Chambers 1995b:157), including forms such as *couch*, *chesterfield*, and *sofa*, as well as additional variants such as *davenport*, *settee*, *lounge*, and *divan*. The term *chesterfield*, a former Canadian shibboleth (Chambers 1998b:7), has been receding in the course of the past several decades to the point where it is now principally associated with older speakers, contrasting with *couch*, which is largely preferred by the younger generation.

Regional lexical variation

Lexical variation in Canadian English is yet another domain where the presumed influence of Americanization looms large. Walker (2015:75) queries whether Canadian English vocabulary is gradually becoming more American, despite the existence of recognized lexical differences between the two varieties such as AmE *candy bar* versus CnE *chocolate bar*, AmE *zee* versus CnE *zed*, and AmE *faucet* versus CnE *tap* (Boberg 2010:111). The results of Boberg's (2005) *North American Regional Vocabulary Survey* reveal that no Canadian region is distinguished as being more 'American' than any other region and that Canadian dialect regions share many more lexical commonalities with one another than they do with the United States (Boberg 2005:53).

Capitalizing on sets of related lexical items known to exhibit regional preferences (e.g., *pop, soda, soft drink*, etc. for a 'carbonated beverage') in order to quantify and calibrate regional lexical distinctiveness, Boberg (2005:40) identifies six major regional divisions in Canada: the West, Ontario, Montreal, New Brunswick-Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. Of these regions, Montreal qualifies as the most lexically distinctive, a finding which is perhaps unsurprising given the relative isolation of the English-speaking community of Montreal within a French-dominant province. Distinctive Montreal lexical items include *trio* for a 'sandwich-fries-drink combo meal', *chalet* for a 'summer cottage', and *dépanneur* or *dep* for a 'convenience store' (Boberg 2005:36). The next most lexically distinctive region is Newfoundland, where regionally specific lexical items, such as *bar* for *candy/chocolate bar* and *exercise book* for *notebook* are encountered (Boberg 2005:37).

Morphosyntactic variation and change

Relying principally on frequency data abstracted from postal surveys, much of the traditional literature addressing grammatical variation in Canadian English is preoccupied with regionally specific (and recessive) constructions such as *he complains a lot anymore* (where 'positive' *anymore*, found sporadically in southern Ontario, can be glossed as 'nowadays'; Brinton and Fee 2001:432; and see Maclagan and Warren on New Zealand English, this volume) or focuses on morphological alternations such as *she has drunk* versus *she has drank*, preterite *sneaked* versus *snuck*, and *dived* versus *dove* (Chambers 1998b; De Wolf 1990).

More recent research on morphosyntactic variation, conducted within the paradigm of variationist sociolinguistics, transcends earlier approaches by focusing not simply on individual variants but the broader grammatical subsystems in which they are embedded. Tagliamonte and D'Arcy's (2007a) investigation of the variable expression of deontic modality in Canadian (specifically, Toronto) English exemplifies this approach. The deontic modal system in Canadian English comprises a number of competing exponents of obligation, including *must*, the oldest variant (now almost obsolete in Toronto English), as well as the more recently evolved variants *have got to/got to*. Yet another (minority) variant which belongs to this system is *need to*, which seems to have experienced a noticeable increase in frequency in North American (and British) English during the late twentieth century (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007a:51). The variant of choice, however, is *have to* (e.g., *you have to leave now*), accounting for more than two thirds (72%) of the variable context (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007a:67). Diachronic evidence of gradient change in the modal system of Early Ontario English testifies to the early rise of *have to* (Dollinger 2006:296). The ascendancy of *have to* in Canadian English is reported to dovetail with the more general North American tendency for *have to* to specialize across the system of deontic modality (Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007a:72). This development aligns with observations that mainstream Canadian varieties tend to be closely allied with American usage as far as grammatical variation is concerned (Boberg 2010:162–63).

Though certain grammatical developments may qualify Canadian and American English as 'sisters under the skin', it is nonetheless important to stress that in other instances, the relevant grammatical usage facts are not always transparent for either variety. A controversial case in point concerns the status of the mandative subjunctive in Canadian and American English (e.g., *she's demanding that he give her the money*). Quantitative studies point to a twentieth-century revival in the use of the mandative subjunctive, with American English apparently spearheading an increase in its use (see Övergaard 1995). According to recent research, it would seem that Canadian English shares with its American neighbour a predilection for the mandative subjunctive (see e.g., Hundt 2018). Other studies, notably Kastronic and Poplack (2014), based on an exhaustive examination of actual *speech* data (as opposed to *written* documents often examined in earlier research), vigorously contest this interpretation and marshal detailed quantitative evidence to demonstrate that the mandative subjunctive is vestigial at best in contemporary spoken Canadian English. As Kastronic and Poplack (2014:78) point out, methodological and analytical differences across studies may conspire in obscuring the nature, extent, and even existence of grammatical change in targeted varieties. This research sounds a cautionary reminder that grammatical 'facts' about Canadian English (and, indeed, any other variety) are severely constrained by the linguistic materials and analytical approaches that are brought to bear on their investigation.

Discourse-pragmatic variation and change

The exploration of discourse-pragmatic variation in Canadian English, though attracting sporadic attention in the past, is an avenue of research that has garnered increasing interest over the past ten years (see e.g., Denis 2015). The following sections privilege features which are either engaged in vigorous change and/or have attracted recurrent interest in the literature on Canadian English.

The quotative system

The quotative system in Canadian English features among the most comprehensively documented variables in this variety (see e.g., Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2007b; Denis et al. 2019). In contemporary Canadian English, as in other varieties, variation in the use of competing forms to introduce reported speech, thought/attitude, or non-lexicalized sound constitutes a vigorous area of change, most notably in the dramatic rise of the innovative *be like* variant over the past three decades (e.g., *she's like*, 'You look really familiar'). Figure 6.2 presents a graphic view of the reorganization of the quotative system in Ottawa English based on a trend study spanning some twenty-two years (Levey *in prep*.). Over this duration, the quotative system has undergone extensive transformation, such that the dominant variant, *say*, accounting for 36% of the variable context in 1995, has been almost entirely supplanted by *be like*, which dominates the variable system in 2017, comprising 73% of the variable context. Concomitant with the aggressive infiltration of *be like* into the system, all other competing variants (e.g., *zero, say, go*) have diminished over time, with the result that no other single competitor accounts for more than 6% of the variable context in 2017. Rate differences for *be like* are greatest between 1995 and 2008–2010 but are less salient between 2008–2010 and 2017, suggesting that by 2017, *be like* had reached an advanced state of change and is possibly beginning to plateau.

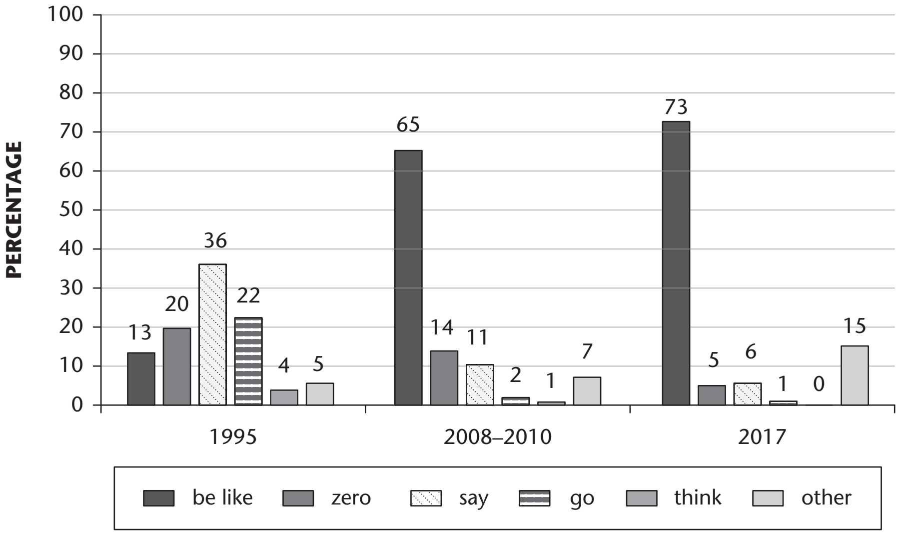

Figure 6.2 Comparison of the distribution of major quotative variants (total *N* = 2621) used by Ottawa youth (18–30 years old) in 1995, 2008–2010, and 2017

Sources: Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999:158; Levey *in prep.*

Discourse LIKE

Discourse like, as in '*like Carrie's like a little like out of it but like she's the funniest*' (D'Arcy 2007:392) is reported to be diffusing in urban centres throughout the English-speaking world. It is a ubiquitous feature of Canadian youth speech, fuelling beliefs that it is a relatively recent innovation, possibly imported from American English owing to its pervasive associations with the 'Valley Girl' stereotype.

These assumptions have come under intense scrutiny, most notably in D'Arcy's (2005, 2017) ground-breaking work on Canadian English, demonstrating that discourse *like* is neither exclusive to younger generations, nor are its origins uniquely traceable to American English. Historical and archival evidence militate against claims that *like* is of recent origin, not least because its diachronic antecedents are instantiated in texts predating the twentieth century (D'Arcy 2017:47–51). Furthermore, though its discourse uses did not emerge simultaneously, the fact that they have a lengthy heritage in the language undermines claims that they represent recent American innovations (D'Arcy 2017:50). Summarizing, D'Arcy (2017:56) argues that the grammar of *like* is 'continuous across time and space,' and that its ultimate origins lie in ancestral British speech patterns exported to the New World.

Canadian EH and utterance final tags

Depicted as characteristic of Canadian speech since at least the 1950s (Avis 1957) and embraced as an icon of national identity (Gold & Tremblay 2006:247; Dollinger 2012:1871), the discourse particle *eh*, as in '*it's a nice day, eh?'* is perhaps the most stereotypical discourse-pragmatic feature of modern Canadian English. Its status as an iconic Canadianism, however, has been subject to some debate, as attestations of the same particle have been documented in American, British, Australian, and South African English (Avis 1972) (see Maclagan and Warren this volume for its use in New Zealand English).

Rather than focusing on the particle itself, as most previous treatments have done, recent sociolinguistic research explicitly contextualizes it with respect to a number of other competing particles/constructions (e.g., *you know, right, yeah, you see*, etc.) which collectively constitute utterance final tags, or UFTs (e.g., *I thought it would be nice to help her, right?*). Denis and Tagliamonte's (2016) empirical analysis of 1938 UFTs in Toronto English challenges the received wisdom that *eh* is ubiquitous in everyday Canadian speech. Their investigation demonstrates that it is remarkably rare in all age groups, accounting for a mere 3.1% of the variable context, despite its widely proclaimed status as a stereotype of Canadian English (Denis & Tagliamonte 2016:98). By contrast, the major variants within the UFT system are *right* and *you know*, with the former increasing in apparent time. Accountable analyses of this type, which situate competing variants within the broader linguistic system in which they are embedded, are instrumental in avoiding the pitfalls of categorical perception, the effects of which may lead the analyst to believe that forms such as *eh* are much more frequent in everyday speech than they actually are.

Relic and enclave varieties

Aside from mainstream Canadian English, a number of regionally distinct, peripheral, or relic varieties have attracted scholarly attention. The interest in such varieties, generated by their unique settlement histories and/or their geographical and social particularities, generally resides in the non-standard phonological and grammatical traits they retain by virtue of their relative isolation from mainstream linguistic developments.

Newfoundland

Of all the distinctive regional varieties documented in Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador English almost certainly enjoys pride of place. Historical, geographical, and social factors have conspired in setting Newfoundland English apart from mainland mainstream varieties and in preserving its distinctiveness.

The union of Newfoundland with the rest of Canada was accomplished only in 1949, prior to which time Newfoundland existed as an independent British dominion. With a settlement history stretching back several centuries, its highly localized founder populations, drawn largely from southwest England and southeast Ireland, remained relatively homogeneous and resistant to extraneous linguistic influence until quite recently (Clarke 2010). Geographical and sociocultural insularity, as well as economic considerations discouraging substantial in-migration, coupled with the persistence of sparsely populated communities bound by dense social networks, have facilitated the preservation of linguistic patterns inherited from ancestral source varieties.

Notable phonological features of Newfoundland Vernacular English include TH-stopping or the variable articulation of interdental fricatives as [t] and [d], yielding pronunciations such as *tin* for *thin*, and *den* for *then*, a longstanding feature attested since the early nineteenth century (Clarke 2010:45). Another noticeable consonantal trait involves the variable realization of word-final /t/ as an alveolar slit fricative [t̞], a variant which has been documented on the Irish-settled Avalon Peninsula, including the capital St. Johns, and which is traceable to Irish English (Clarke 2010:54).

Newfoundland English is also renowned for its myriad non-standard morphosyntactic forms (Clarke 2010:67), many of which appear to have been historically transmitted from its source varieties. As in other varieties, non-standard grammatical features tend to be socially stratified, and they are quantitatively more predominant in the speech of working-class (rural) individuals. Examples of such features include the documented use of the *-s* suffix as a variable inflection of present-tense lexical verbs, regardless of person or number, as in *I always calls him, Joseph, see. You looks like Sarah* (Clarke 2010:73). According to Childs and Van Herk (2014:648), verbal *-s* is declining in frequency, but as an icon of traditional rural varieties of Newfoundland English, it is now being conscripted as a marker of an (urban) provincial identity, shedding some of its former linguistic conditioning in the process and assuming a new social or indexical role.

Other notable morphosyntactic features of Newfoundland English include a rich array of forms to represent the perfect aspect, including the so-called *after*-perfect (1), the *be* perfect (2), the use of the present tense in extended-now contexts (3), and the resultative or medial object perfect (4) (Siemund & Haselow 2008:205), all of which have analogues in Irish English (see Hickey this volume).

(1) *he is after going* (i.e., he has just gone)
(2) *they are already left*
(3) *I'm here for a long time now* (i.e., I have been here for a long time)
(4) *I have the calf slaughtered*

Other distinctive grammatical features include the use of the *for to* construction in infinitival complements (e.g., *no beds for to sleep on;* Clarke 2010:100) and pronoun exchange (i.e., the use of subject pronouns in non-subject position; e.g. *there was a lot of they around;* Clarke 2010:84), as well as subject-verb inversion in embedded questions (e.g., *ask your father did he buy the soap;* Childs & van Herk 2014:636).

In sum, the distinctive pronunciation and grammatical traits of Newfoundland English are reported to display one of the greatest ranges of internal variation found in any variety of English (Clarke 2010:1).

Enclaves of African American English in Nova Scotia

Detailed quantitative investigation of isolated speech communities on the east coast of Nova Scotia populated by the descendants of Black Loyalists and former slaves who fled the United States at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries has been instrumental in illuminating the controversial origins of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Poplack 2000; Poplack & Tagliamonte 2001).

Because of their geographical remoteness and relative isolation from White varieties, these communities have preserved a number of linguistic features such as variable past tense and plural marking (5)–(6), as well as the variable expression of negation (7), all of which are attested in the speech of the oldest community members.

(5) *No. I got a few spankings when I shouldn't have- supposed to do.*
And they spankø me for that, but, nothing serious. (GYE/077/71)

[cited in Poplack 2006:461]

(6) *The man had two trunks. Two trunkø full of all kind of gold and silver and everything. Two trunkø, big trunks. Full of gold and silver*. (ANSE/30/1323)

[cited in Poplack et al. 2000:73]

(7) *Didn't nobody say nothing about it*. (ANSE/038/523)

[cited in Howe & Walker 2000:110]

A key issue central to the genesis debate of AAVE concerns the historical provenance of such features. A stock explanation is that they are vestiges of creole influence on the grammatical evolution of AAVE, an account which is bolstered by the existence of structural analogues of (5)–(7) in contemporary English-lexifier creoles. Arguing against this interpretation, Poplack (2000) and Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001) draw on extensive quantitative and diachronic evidence in order to propose an alternative history of these variants which views them as remnants of Early Modern English (and older) forms, whose retention has been favoured by the sociolinguistic peripherality of the communities in which they are used.

Canadian English in contact with other languages

Contact with French

A defining feature of the sociolinguistic landscape in Canada is its linguistic duality, legislatively enshrined by the Official Languages Acts of 1969 and 1988, resulting in French and English having equal status in the government of Canada and the services it provides. Census statistics from 2016 indicate that 57% of Canadians claim English as their mother tongue, with claimants of French as their mother tongue accounting for 21% of the population

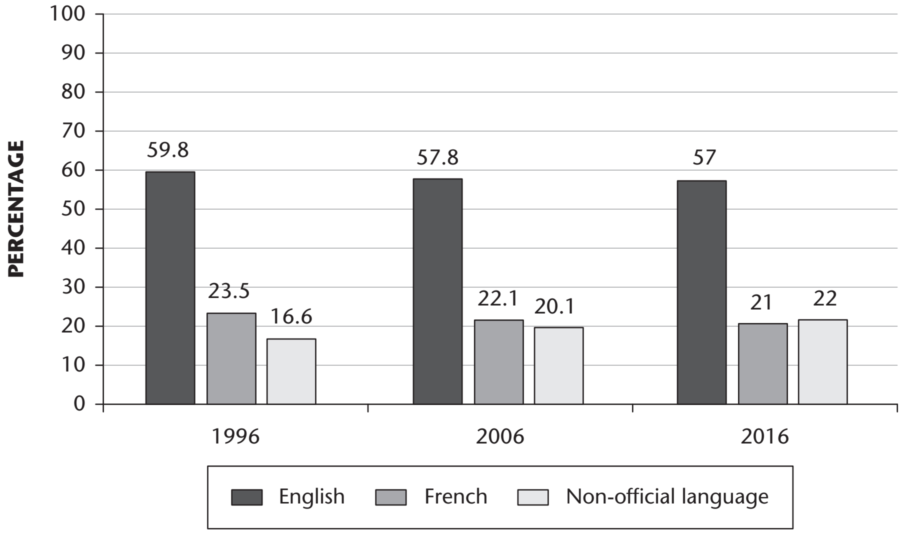

Figure 6.3 Comparison of population by mother tongue (1996–2016)
Source: figures abstracted from Statistics Canada 2017.

(see Figure 6.3). These figures have experienced modest fluctuation over the past three decades, but, as shown in Figure 6.3, there has been a noticeable increase between 1996 and 2016 in the allophone population claiming a primary language other than English or French.

Intense and prolonged interaction between speakers of Canadian English and French has given rise to promiscuous claims that both languages have 'changed' as a result of sustained contact. Much of the early literature on this topic tended to rely on impressionistic or cherry-picked evidence in affirming that Canadian French had been heavily infiltrated by borrowings from English and English-based calques, as well as artefacts of English phonology (e.g., Bailey 1982). Claims of this nature played a pivotal role in fuelling popular stereotypes (and anxiety) about the alleged deleterious effects of English on the structural integrity of Canadian French.

More circumspect assessments, based on empirically accountable research, have since generated a welter of data challenging these assumptions. Despite extracting a massive token count of some 20,000 English-origin lexical items from a corpus of French recorded in the Canadian National Capital Region, Poplack (2018:44) emphasizes that these items represent on average under 1% (0.83%) of the total verbal output in the targeted community. Furthermore, these items correspond to 2,183 English-origin *types*, suggesting that English-origin vocabulary actually plays a relatively minor role in local varieties of French.

Despite the plethora of investigations targeting the influence of Canadian English on French, there have been correspondingly fewer studies of the potential effects of French on Canadian English. A notable exception concerns research on anglophone minority populations in Quebec (specifically in Montreal and Quebec City), where contact with French (the majority language), allegedly resulting in the incursion of numerous 'gallicisms' into Quebec English (e.g., Chambers & Heisler 1999), is believed to have spawned a unique dialect (see Poplack et al. 2006). Inspection of usage facts, however, fails to corroborate this scenario. Although Anglo-Quebecers exhibit very positive affective orientation towards Quebec French, Poplack (2018:207) reports that French-origin items only represent 0.23%

of the vocabulary used by 12% of the speaker sample who made even minimal use of French lexical items. Only four French lexical items (*cégep* 'Quebec secondary school,' *métro* 'subway,' *québécois(e)*, 'Quebecer,' and *stage* 'work term') were used unreflectingly by Anglo-Quebecers (Poplack 2018:208), a finding which belies any inference that Quebec English has been deluged by French vocabulary items.

Since the accomplishment of structural similarity between two languages need not involve the borrowing of any overt lexical material but may be achieved via the progressive convergence of the grammar of one language on that of another, the covert influence of Canadian French on the structure of Quebec English cannot be ruled out *a priori*. But here, too, systematic analysis of a number of grammatical variables (future temporal reference, relativization, deontic modality, etc.) in the 2.8-million-word *Quebec English Corpus* failed to turn up sufficient evidence to substantiate this possibility (Poplack 2008). On the contrary, participation of Anglo-Quebecers in ongoing developments in mainstream Canadian English led Poplack (2008:197) to conclude that notwithstanding a few minor lexical differences, there is no Quebec English distinct from any other mainstream variety of Canadian English.

Ethnicity and linguistic variation in Canadian English

The increasing presence of allophones in major urban centres (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver), occasioned by shifting patterns of immigration involving new arrivals from the Caribbean, the Middle East, South America, and Asia in particular (Walker 2015:55), has stimulated interest in the impact of ethnic communities on the future development of Canadian English and the possible emergence of identifiable 'ethnolects.' There is at present no broad consensus on the extent of ethnolinguistic variation in Canadian English, perhaps reflecting the fact that this constitutes a relatively incipient line of inquiry. The strongest evidence to date in support of ethnic dialect features comes from Montreal. Boberg (2010:218) found that British-, Italian- and Jewish-origin speakers of Montreal English are not differentiated in terms of the Canadian Shift but do manifest differences as regards other phonetic measures, most notably in the application of Canadian Raising. While Jewish raising of /aw/ corresponds to that of British-origin speakers, Montreal Italians do not consistently raise /aw/. By contrast, as far as the raising of /ai/ is concerned, it is the Jewish speakers who are the outliers, as evidenced by possible fronting rather than raising of /ai/, as well as the more retracted position of unraised /ai/ in their speech, approximating a sound closer to /oi/ (Boberg 2010:219–20).

Evidence of ethnic variation in Canada's largest conurbation, Toronto, is less compelling. For example, investigation of *t/d*-deletion (e.g., *tol'* for *told*) in the speech of Chinese- and Italian-heritage individuals, as well as their participation in the Canadian Vowel Shift, indicated that relative to a British-descent comparison group, all speakers shared the same underlying system of Canadian English, regardless of overall differences in usage rates, militating against any inference that Canadian (Toronto) English is fragmenting into different ethnolects (Walker 2015:126).

Future directions and conclusion

Historical investigations of Canadian English would be enhanced by greater attention paid to its formative development in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with a view to developing a more in-depth characterization of its emergence as a focused variety. A more detailed historical perspective would afford key insights into (dis)continuities between contemporary patterns of variation in this variety and their diachronic precursors. Comparative sociohistorical inquiry would similarly enrich the investigation of the links between Canadian English and its American colonial and British source varieties, an endeavour which is central to achieving a clearer understanding of new dialect formation, as well as refining models of change in postcolonial varieties of English.

An important objective for future research on the contemporary language concerns the principled compilation of sociolinguistic corpora of spontaneous speech data representative of different regional varieties of Canadian English. Such corpora exist for Toronto English, Ottawa English, and Quebec English, as well as more peripheral varieties such as Newfoundland English. But extensive corpora representing many other Canadian provinces remain largely unavailable, with some sparsely populated regions of the country such as Nunavut, the Northwest Territories, and Yukon never having been adequately investigated (Boberg 2010:248). Likewise, despite increasing scholarly attention dedicated to Canada's Indigenous population, little systematic information exists on the English used by individuals of First Nations heritage, other than somewhat anecdotal evidence concerning the substrate influence of various Indigenous languages on the English spoken by First Nations populations (Ball & Bernhardt 2008).

Another fruitful line of inquiry concerns the extension of corpus-based approaches to the study of the interplay between urban and rural patterns of variation, an avenue of research recently pursued by Tagliamonte and Denis (2014) in their investigation of the participation of outlying communities in southeastern Ontario in mainstream grammatical developments underway in Toronto.

Large-scale data-driven studies drawing on the scientific framework and analytical tools of sociolinguistics offer the richest prospects for tapping into the inherent variability characterizing present and past Canadian speech varieties, enabling insufficiently explored domains of the Canadian linguistic landscape to be properly documented and extensively described.

Suggestions for further reading

Boberg, C. (2010) *The English Language in Canada: Status, History and Comparative Analysis,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (A landmark study of Canadian English offering one of the most detailed accounts of the history of Canadian English. Reflecting the author's primary research interests, a particular strength of this book lies in its comprehensive discussion of phonetic and lexical variation in mainstream Canadian English.)

Dollinger, S. (2008) *New-Dialect Formation in Canada: Evidence from the English Modal Auxiliares,* Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (A major study of the early history of Canadian English, focusing on grammatical variation and change.)

Walker, J. A. (2015) *Canadian English: A Sociolinguistic Perspective,* London: Longman. (A detailed monograph-length treatment of Canadian English which provides additional coverage of key concepts in linguistics and sociolinguistics.)

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7
English in Australia

Kate Burridge

Introduction

> There are good reasons why most of the world has difficulty in distinguishing between Australian and New Zealand Englishes: they have a great deal in common. They are not, however, identical.
>
> *(Bauer 2015: 17)*

According to traditional nomenclature, transplanted L1 Englishes like those in Australia and New Zealand fall into Kachru's inner circle (see Schneider this volume). Factors such as settlement dates and patterns, contact with Indigenous languages and mix of original dialects have created differences between the two varieties. Their physical separation from other English-speaking regions is allowing this distinctiveness to flourish. They are also distinctive from other native national varieties. Collins and Peters (2004) compare Australian English (AusE) morphosyntax with that of New Zealand English (NZE) and the two northern hemisphere standards and examine the case for endonormativity; in other words, the extent to which AusE is "consolidating its own norms as an independent national standard" (p. 608). They identify "small but significant developments" in AusE grammar that support the notion of an Australian Standard – justified also by a distinctive lexicon and lexical morphology. The existence of Australian style manuals (e.g. Peters 2005, *Cambridge Australian English Style Guide*) and markedly Australian dictionaries (e.g. the *Macquarie* and *Australian National* dictionaries) have also helped to fashion a distinctive standard for Australia. No longer does the country look to British norms and standards for linguistic guidance, as was previously the case.

There have been further alterations that go beyond breaking free of Britain and British norms. In addition to the Australian standard, English in Australia has spawned two other major dialect subgroups. Aboriginal English is a separate dialect that for generations has been developing in Indigenous speech communities in Australia; as the linguistic outcome of long-term contact between English and local traditional languages, it shows distinctive features at all levels of linguistic description. Contact with languages other than English is also seeing the rise, particularly in recent years, of new multicultural identities and a burgeoning of socially defined variation in the form of migrant ethnolects.

The early story of Australian English

> In 1786 the British Government decided to send convicts sentenced to transportation to a new colony to be founded in New South Wales. A little over 50 years later, against the wishes of the colonists, the British government decided that transportation to New South Wales should cease. The ministers who were responsible for this second decision . . . were appalled at the irresponsibility of their predecessors in founding a community composed largely of felons.
>
> *(Hirst 1983: 9)*

The arrival of English in Australia coincided with the establishment of the first British penal settlement in New South Wales in 1788, with later colonies set up in Tasmania (1803) and in Queensland (1824). Isolated coastal settlements then appeared in Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia; while these communities were founded as free colonies, considerable numbers of convicts were later transported to Western Australia (between 1850 and 1868). While exact figures are hard to establish, 1828 census figures for New South Wales confirm that convicts and ex-convicts (emancipists) made up a sizable proportion of the population, at a little over 63% (see tables in Yallop 2003). According to Robson's history of transportation, total convict numbers were around 163,000, with roughly 25,000 of these being women (1994: 4). These convicts came from all over the British Isles, although Nicholas and Shergold's (1988) study of birthplace records of around 20,000 convicts transported to New Sound Wales (1817–40) suggest the majority originated in "the heartland of England" (over-represented were the counties of Middlesex and Warwickshire) and also eastern Ireland (with around a quarter coming from Dublin alone).

When transportation to New South Wales ceased in 1840, free settlers were starting to outnumber convicts and emancipists, although they didn't reach significant numbers until the middle of the century. These immigrants came mainly from Britain and Ireland via government-assisted passage schemes. With a series of gold rushes in the second half of this century came a massive increase in migration. Notable gold finds were initially discovered in Victoria and New South Wales and later in other parts of the country, and they transformed Australia both socially and economically. The gold rush era saw the influx of large numbers from England, Ireland, Scotland and North America; Chinese miners also introduced a significant Asian presence for the first time.

New dialect formation – the linguistic melting pot downunder

> One of the most remarkable alterations came upon me quite unexpectedly when examining a class of boys and girls whom a Hobart teacher kindly picked out for me. It was thoroughly representative, embracing children of English, Irish, Scotch, German and Tasmanian parentage to three generations. All spoke very much in the same way.
>
> *(Samuel McBurney, 'Colonial Pronunciation 11', Argus 24th April 1886: 4)*

The accepted linguistic wisdom is that postcolonial dialects such as AusE emerge via koinéization – the creation of a new and stable dialect via the mixing and subsequent levelling and simplifying of dialect features during the face-to-face interactions of speakers (see Kerswill and Trudgill 2005). Crucial to the koinéization process is the theory of accommodation – speakers of different regional and social backgrounds mutually adjust their language in order to enhance understanding and to reduce the distance between themselves and those they are communicating with (as the polite thing to do). With accommodation comes the levelling out of differences and the emergence of a relatively homogeneous variety (features of strong difference in particular will be avoided).

Trudgill (1986, 2004) elaborates the theory of dialect mixing and new dialect formation, identifying a number of stages in the dialect's formation (each stage roughly equating to a generation):

Stage 1 (contact) – the speech of the first settlers shows rudimentary levelling and elimination, through accommodation, of minority (or socially marked) features;
Stage 2 (variability) – the speech of first generation of native-born settlers shows considerable inter- and intra-speaker variability;
Stage 3 (focusing) – the speech of the second generation of native-born settlers undergoes further mixing and levelling towards majority features to produce an identifiable stable new dialect.

Support for Trudgill's stages comes in the form of a collection of 'verbatim' police-court reports, originally taken down by Charles Adam Corbyn (1854/1970). Corbyn used idiosyncratic phonetic spellings to render the words of Sydney's lawmakers and lawbreakers of the 1850s, and his transcripts reveal mixtures of accent features not encountered anywhere in the dialects of the British Isles of the time (e.g. Cockney [v]-[w] merger in the Irish speakers, as in *wiolence* for *violence* and *vorm* for *worm*) – as predicted by Stage 2, speakers were making idiosyncratic feature selections from the dialects around them (see Taylor 2003; Burridge 2010).

Other accounts of the dialect formation picture focus more on sociocultural factors, among them Kerswill (2002) and Hickey (2003). Extra-linguistic factors are particularly foregrounded in Schneider's theoretical model for analyzing postcolonial varieties of English (2007). His 'Dynamic Model' places the emphasis on individuals, their social identity and its linguistic expression. While it also proposes there are shared underlying processes driving the formation of the postcolonial Englishes, it characterizes these as being variously shaped by the social, cultural and political background at the time. The model identifies a sequence of five stages that characterize the development of transportation varieties such as AusE:

Phase 1 (1788–1830s; foundation – dialect mixture and koinéization);
Phase 2 (1830s–1901; exonormative stabilization – a 'British-plus' identity for the English-speaking residents);
Phase 3 (1901–1942; nativization – the emergence of local patterns);
Phase 4 (1942–1980s; endonormative stablization – 'Australian self-confidence' and codification);
Phase 5 (1980s onwards; differentiation – the birth of new dialects).

Stage 4 of Schneider's model marks the decline of Britishness in Australia and the time when "English in Australia" became "Australian English". Other scholars (such as Moore 2008; Collins and Yao 2018) mark this decline as slightly later than Schneider, identifying a constellation of events in the 1960s/70s as the trigger; for example, Collins and Yao describe (p. 273) "an upsurge of nationalistic fervor in Australia at this time, epitomised most colourfully and infamously in the cult of 'Ockerdom' of the 1970s, and heralding the decline of Britishness in Australia" (*Ocker*, from the name Oscar, originally referred to a TV character played by comedian Ron Frazer – from the 1970s, *ockers* referred generically to the stereotypical rough, uncultivated Australian male).

Despite the vastness of the country, AusE remains a remarkably homogeneous dialect geographically. This uniformity is the predicted fall-out of dialect mixing and levelling, processes that would have been in train well before colonization. British dialect boundaries had been blurring in large urban centres like London, Manchester, Bristol, Portsmouth and Liverpool (the industrial and agrarian revolutions forced people into cities in search of work). Dialects would also have been in contact during the long and cramped journey to Australia. The First Fleet left Spithead on 13 May 1787 with around 1, 500 people crowded onto 11 small ships for over eight months (see Hill 2008 for details) – ideal conditions dialect for levelling.

The uniformity of AusE also arises from the long-term changes underway before the contact situation; in short, seeds of change were sown long before the Englishes were transplanted, causing the colonial Englishes to continue in parallel in different locations (Trudgill 2004: 133). Aiding this uniformity was the transience of settlers in those early years. The mobility of the population was high, especially given the remoteness and distance of settlements (Moore 2008: 88). Travel was largely by sea, and the swift spread kept the language uniform; moreover, the booming wool industry and gold rushes sparked considerable internal migration, which meant any emerging regional distinctiveness was soon diluted by floods of new arrivals (in a letter to the editor of the *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 10 October 1854, gold diggers were described as “wandering tribes”).

The uniformity of AusE is something that has been commented upon and written about since the early 1800s. A number of the early observers of AusE, like Samuel McBurney, quoted previously, remarked on the absence of marked dialectal features (see also discussions in Moore 2008: 73–75; Damousi 2010: 107–108). Often this was described as the ‘purity’ of the speech.

> The children born in those colonies, and now grown up, speak a better language, purer, more harmonious than is generally the case in most parts of England. The amalgamation of such various dialects assembled together, seems to improve the mode of articulating the words. The children are tall and well made.
>
> *(Dixon 1822: 46)*

Early observations like this one tell the story of koinéization – in McBurney’s words, “a new dialect is growing up” (p. 4).

The “unenviable peculiarity” of London English

> [T]he London mode of *pronunciation* has been duly ingrafted on the colloquial dialect of our Currency youths, and even the better sort of them are apt to meet your observation of “A very fine day,” with their *improving* response of “Werry fine indeed!”
>
> *(Cunningham 1827: 60)*

When the dialects of British Isles came in contact, the blending of features produced a new compromise dialect with the features of transported south-east British English figuring prominently. So why did this variety dominate? True, there was a hefty dollop of London English in the original melting pot, but there is more to this story than quantities – also in the brew was a large leaven of societal conditions and identity constructions (both at the level of the individual and the speech community). Certainly commentary of the time emphasized the pull of Cockney speakers. In the quotation given at the start of this section, and in other parts of his 1827 book *Two Years in New South Wales*, Cunningham outlines in very plain terms how “individuals from London . . . stamped the language of the rising generation with their unenviable peculiarity" (p. 60) Even in the sort of "tabula rasa" conditions described by Trudgill (2004: 26ff), where there is no prior existing population speaking the same language, it is difficult to imagine how children in the melting-pot settlements could have escaped being socialized into the values and social views of these rough and extremely macho times. Stage 2 and Stage 3 children must have been selecting linguistic features to create their distinctive linguistic identity. It was an identity that from the beginning closely aligned itself with the vernacular, as evident in numerous eyewitness accounts highlighting the slang and 'bad' language of the time. Quoting Cunningham again:

> A number of the slang phrases current in St. Giles's Greek [underworld cant] bid fair to become legitimatized in the dictionary of this colony . . . the dross passing here as genuine, even among all ranks.
>
> *(Cunningham 1827: 59)*

It clear that slanguage (slang language) became an important way of fitting in and avoiding the condemnation *new chum* (convict slang for a newly arrived prisoner and later any newly arrived immigrant) – and, as Kidd et al. (2016) confirm, it remains an important part of Australian identity.

Australian English today

> Our results substantiate impressionistic comments in the popular literature regarding the relative popularity of colloquialism/informality in AusE. Our comparative figures confirm that grammatical colloquialism is burgeoning in fiction and press reportage in Australia, by comparison with these genres in AmE and BrE.
>
> *(Collins and Yao 2018: 273)*

In AusE, we continue to see both language-internal and language-external forces working in concert, the effect of which is to privilege vernacular phonology, non-standard morphosyntax and lexis. This goes beyond the colloquialization accompanying globalization and the electronic revolution and is a distinctive point of difference for AusE. Collins and Yao (2018), cited previously, describe how the penchant for informality is considerably stronger in AusE compared to British and American English. Similarly, Peters and Burridge (2012), in their study of areal features, highlight the more informal character of Australian culture and its greater willingness to use colloquial styles, noting that that AusE (and NZE) go well beyond the kinds of vernacular and informal grammar and lexis noted for varieties elsewhere (see also Leitner 2004).

Paradoxically, this attachment to the vernacular exists alongside a thriving complaint tradition that also goes beyond what has been observed in other major English-speaking nations. From the letters to the editor collected from across the English-speaking world, Lukač (2018: 8) observes "that the practice of publishing letters on usage is the most popular in Australia and New Zealand, followed by Ireland and the UK, and, finally, it is least established in the US and in Canada". Severin & Burridge (2020) suggest these urges to clean up the language are a hangover of *cultural cringe*, a distinctly Australian phrase referring to the feeling that other (typically Anglophone) countries are better. A convict past, coupled with the nation's beginnings as a British colony, has meant some Australians feel a need to prove that Australia is on a par with other nations around the world – and a high standard of English would demonstrate this.

Lexical features

> The Australian lexicon represents the best and worst of the Australian character: humorous, irreverent, egalitarian but also at times intolerant. Those who decry its demise need not fear. Australians are also creative, and while the Australian lexicon is changing it is most certainly not dying.
>
> *(Manns 2020)*

The lexicon has incorporated little from Indigenous languages, a story often repeated in places where English has taken root (see Schneider 2007: 36). Borrowed expressions have been largely driven by need and include cultural terms (*boomerang, corroboree, waddy*), flora and fauna (*jarrah, kookaburra, mallee*) and around one-third of Australia's place names (see Dixon et al. 2006; Moore 2008).

Many 18th- and 19th-century British regionalisms survived in Australia and are now considered among the quintessential expressions of English 'downunder' (even if they no longer form part of speakers' active vocabulary): *billy* 'makeshift container for boiling water' (Scotland); *fossick* 'to rummage' (Cornwall); *fair dinkum* 'authentic, genuine' (Derbyshire); *stone the crows* 'expression of surprise' (London Cockney); *cobber* 'mate' (Suffolk). Some expressions derive from early contact with American English (in the gold fields): *squatter* 'one who settles upon land without legal title' > 'respectable pastoralist'; *bush* 'woods, forest' > 'the country as distinct from the town'; *bushranger* 'woodsman' > 'criminal who hides in the bush'. Many also originate from underworld cant, or flash language. A number of the entries in convict James Hardy Vaux's 1812 dictionary *A New and Comprehensive Vocabulary of the Flash Language* live on in current AusE:

> *swag* 'stolen goods (>'collection of legitimate belongings, usually rolled in a blanket)'; *spin a yarn* 'a favourite amusement among flash-people; signifying to relate their various adventures, exploits, and escapes' (> 'tell a story'); *grub* 'victuals of any kind'; *plant* 'hide, or conceal any person or thing'.

Vocabulary is linked to culture in obvious ways and often provides windows into a speech community's values and attitudes. AusE has a number of lexical items that have no easy equivalents in national varieties elsewhere (e.g. *cultural cringe* mentioned previously). Many expressions are recognizably symbolic of the Anglo-Australian self-image, showing values such as 'laid-backness', fairness and community spirit: *whinge* 'to complain, gripe'; *battler* 'persistent struggler against heavy odds'; *bludger* 'parasite, hanger-on'; *she's apples/ she'll be right* 'everything is under control' (the female pronoun is typical of male vernacular expressions); *fair-go* 'the fair treatment to which everyone is entitled'; *tall poppy* 'a high achiever or overly ambitious person who generates envy and derision' (tall poppies do not include sporting heroes); *dob in* 'betray, inform against'; *wet blanket* 'person dampening the ardour of others'; *The Yarts* 'high brow culture such as ballet, opera' (see Wierzbicka 1992; Manns 2020).

An earmark of the AusE lexicon is the rich system of nominal derivation that produces forms like: *Telly chef Brian Turner cooks a delicious grilled brekkie* (*The Sun*, 12th February 2009). Other examples include:

> *barbie* (barbecue); *bickie* (biscuit); *blowie* (blow fly); *Chrissie* (Christmas); *compo* (workers' compensation pay); *cozzie* (swimming costume); *demo* (demonstration); *garbo* (garbage or rubbish collector); *metho* (methylated spirits); *mozzie* (mosquito);

mushie (mushroom); *muso* (musician); *pokies* (poker machines or coin operated gambling machines); *rego* (car registration); *rellie*/*rello* (relative); *sickie* (sick day or a day taken off work while pretending to be ill); *sunnies* (sunglasses); *Tassie* (Tasmania); *truckie* (truck driver); *wharfie* (dockworker)

Words are shortened to one syllable (with the exception of *anotherie* 'another one') and either *-i* or *-o* is added. The endings are sometimes described as diminutives; in other words, fondling endings to indicate a warm or simply friendly attitude to something or someone (compare the *-s* ending on pet names like *cuddles* and *Susykins*.). True, some are affectionate endings (e.g. those on proper names lie *Robbo*, *Susy*), but the vast majority are not – *journo* and *polli* are not terms of endearment for journalists and politicians. Wierzbicka (1992) describes the abbreviated words as the linguistic enactment of Anglo-Australian values such as informality, mateship, good humour, egalitarianism and anti-intellectualism (p. 387). Over the years, other functions have also been suggested (cf. Simpson 2004), yet none has satisfactorily accounted for the difference between the *-i* and *-o* suffixes (many *-i* and *-o* words appear in similar contexts; e.g. *wharfies* and *truckies* versus *garbos* and *musos*).

With the standard language now more global in nature, colloquial features such as these hypocoristics have important identity functions – Anglo-Australians today wear their colloquialisms, nicknames and diminutives rather like emblems on a T-shirt. Swearing is an important part of this image; in their account of Antipodean swearing patterns, Allan and Burridge (2009) report on the significant social role of swearwords in the AusE corpora they examined.

Accent features

AusE was first described as a variety of English in the 1940s, at a time when Australia's sense of 'Britishness' was still strong, and the reference accent for the 'best' form of spoken English for Australians was at that time R(eceived) P(ronunciation). Despite promoting AusE as a legitimate variety in its own right, scholar Alexander Mitchell described it using a set of transcription symbols corresponding to Southern Standard British English. Mitchell subsequently collaborated with Arthur Delbridge and published a set of symbols in 1965 based on the concept of an accent 'spectrum' that ranged from 'Cultivated' (that is, most similar to Southern Standard British English) to 'Broad', with 'General' in between (see Mitchell and Delbridge 1965). The Broad variety (known colloquially as 'Strine') is the most distinctly AusE accent and is the one most familiar to other English speakers because it is associated with iconic Australian television and film personalities such as Steve Irwin ('The Crocodile Hunter') and Paul Hogan ('Crocodile Dundee'). The three varieties are distinguished largely on the basis of allophonic variation in the vowel phonemes of words like *beat, bait, boat, bite* and *bout*; the use of one variety over another is governed by factors such as education, gender identification and location (urban versus rural). While many Australian vowels share at least some of the characteristics of their British counterparts, a few (such as the vowels in *boot*, *cup* and *hard*) differ substantially; recently a transcription system has been developed by the Australian linguists Harrington, Cox and Evans to reflect greater phonetic accuracy (see Cox and Fletcher 2017 for details).

The following are just some of the distinctive features of the AusE accent:

- AusE is non-rhotic; in other words, there is no post-vocalic [r]. It shows 'linking [r]' (*beer-in*), as well as 'intrusive [r]' (*idea-r-of it*).

- The vocalization of [l] is widespread and produced by speakers of all accent varieties. With this change, the [l] is pronounced much like [u], often also labialized (*milk* [mɪuk], *pickle* [pɪku], *pill* [pɪu]).
- The general weakening of stops is widespread in the community. Between vowels (e.g. *thirteen, city, get it*), [t] tends to be tapped and also before syllabic nasals and laterals (as in *petal* and *mitten*). Final stops tend to be unreleased (e.g. *bit*, *bid*). There is also a tendency to glottalise [t], especially in pre-consonantal position (e.g. *not now, butler*). Increasingly, fricated [ts] is heard, especially in pre-pausal position (e.g. *That's a beautiful hat* [hætˢ]).
- Yods ([j]) tend to be dropped after alveolars before [u] (although there is variation; e.g. [njud~nud]); a competing change is coalescence (e.g. *assume* [əˈsjum~əˈʃum]), with palatal versions more likely in unstressed syllables (*educate* ([ˈɛdʒəkeɪt]).
- H-deletion is common in unstressed (function) words, such as *him*, but in content words like *helmet*, it remains stigmatized and tends to occur more at the Broad end of the accent spectrum.
- TH-fronting ([fɪŋk] for *think*; [mʌvə] for *mother*) is more widespread than is usually acknowledged.
- The four quantifying pronouns *something, everything, nothing* and *anything* commonly show the substitution of [ŋk] for [ŋ], especially among Broad speakers.
- There is rounding of [ɜ], as in *bird*.
- Schwa [ə] is realized in a range of unstressed contexts; for example, *rabbIT, boxES, commA*.
- One of the most characteristic features of Australian centering diphthongs is the monophthongal [ɔ:] pronunciation for words such as *poor, moor* and *tour* (if the [ʊə] glide occurs, it is generally following [j], as in *cure*.). Broader speakers also produce monophthong variants [ɪ:] and [ɛ:] for *near* and *square*.

These days, many are avoiding the Broad end of the spectrum in favour of the middle-ground General accent. This has the advantage of being a distinctly Australian accent but avoids the stigma that broadness has for some people. At the same time, speakers are also avoiding the Cultivated end. Put simply, talking 'posh' doesn't have the same prestige it once had, and Australian reactions towards RP and cultivated forms of AusE are now often hostile (or amused). As in other parts of the English-speaking world, solidarity and 'down-to-earthness' are winning out over status, and the trend is very clearly towards General Australian, as evident in the accents of international celebrities such as The Wiggles, Nicole Kidman and Kylie Minogue. TV and radio announcers have also moved right away from the BBC-inspired accents that used once to dominate. It is telling that when the new managing director of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, Brian Johns, took over in 1995, he is quoted as saying "[w]e don't want an outdated accent" (i.e. the local 'cultivated' accents closest to RP; Bradley and Bradley 2001: 275). Australianness in an accent is not such a bad thing anymore, and observations like the following are dated:

> the common speech of the Commonwealth of Australia represents the most brutal maltreatment which has ever been inflicted upon the language that is the mother tongue of the great English nations.
>
> *(William Churchill 1911: 17)*

A striking prosodic feature of AusE varieties is the high rising contour on declarative clauses, especially common in narratives and descriptions. It goes by various names, but more usually

High Rising Tone/Terminal (HRT) and Australian Questioning Intonation. Consider the following extract from a transcript of two teenage girls (M and B) talking about movies. The arrow (⥣) in M's speech indicates where the rising tones have occurred.

M: Oh were you there last night when we were watching . . . [MTV] ?
B: [Yeah]
M: and inside the house there's what's called a panic room ⥣
B: [mmm]
M: [so if] anything happens like . . . there's like if someone tries to rob them or something, they run into the panic room ⥣ and lock themselves in the panic room, it's got like cameras all round the house, and . . . no one can get into the panic room once the door's shut and stuff ⥣
B: And so the whole movie is about them . . . being in the panic room \
M: Yeah but the thing is that the robbers that've come in ⥣ what they want is in the panic room with the people ⥣ what they want is in the panic room ⥣
B: oh=
[Thanks to Debbie de Laps for this recording]

Although this sort of questioning intonation is also found in North America and Britain, it has been stereotyped (and often stigmatized) as a distinctive pattern of AusE since the early 1960s when people first became aware of it. Although HRT is used by speakers of all ages and backgrounds, it is more prevalent in younger speakers, especially teenage working-class females (Horvath 2004: 639). Popular image also links HRT to young girls, and this would discourage some males from using it – cultural stereotyping is a powerful influence on linguistic behaviour. HRT appears to be on the increase. Fletcher and Loakes (2006a, 2006b) examine the conversational data of 10 and 17 (respectively) females from Melbourne and surrounding rural districts in the eastern state of Victoria. Their studies confirm that "uptalk" is characteristic of the floor-holding intonational tunes of adolescents, and more abundantly so than Horvath (1985) reported. They find little difference between rural and urban findings in this regard.

Grammatical features

This section focuses on those features that are genuinely AusE and those that are used either more or less frequently in this as opposed to other varieties. Particularly in focus are non-standard vernacular features. (See Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann 2009 for a discussion of grammatical structures common to vernaculars globally.) In Australia, these attributes tend to be more prevalent in rural areas, although it is difficult to talk about regionally defined variation in this case without appealing to social aspects. Basically, the higher up the social scale, the more standard the language, with non-standard traits more characteristic of lower socioeconomic classes.

(a) Pronouns

- Colloquial AusE has the plural second person pronoun forms that have become ubiquitous in the English-speaking world; namely, *yous* and *you guys* (***Yous****'d worked on it*). Significantly, *youse* can refer to singular addressees. This is a type of hypercorrect behaviour, specifically a "hyperdialectalism", where a local symbol expands to signal vernacular identity. When it is important to indicate plurality, additional marking is usually applied: *all youse; youse all, youse guys, youse lot* and *youses*.

- Another striking feature of colloquial AusE is the appearance of gender marking on both animate and inanimate nouns. Pawley (2004) describes the system for the vernacular variety spoken in Tasmania; items of food and drink, for instance, are feminine: *And* [he] *took* ***'er*** [= leg of lamb] *in and put* ***'er*** *on the plate*.
- As elsewhere, *whom* is continuing to decline in favour of *who* in all varieties; it is stylistically highly marked and considered formal.
- AusE shows an overwhelming preference for oblique personal pronouns over the nominative following *than* (*He's bigger than* ***me***). Preference for the accusative also extends to pronouns preceding the gerund participle (*He was angry at* ***me*** *winning*). These features are commonplace for standard speakers.
- There are also non-standard pronoun forms more typical of vernacular varieties; for example, *them* in place of demonstrative *those* (*one of* ***them*** *things*); *me* in place of possessive *my* (*He's* ***me*** *youngest*); object forms in reflexive pronouns (*I thought to* ***meself***); object forms in coordinated pronouns (***Me*** *and Fred/Fred and* ***me*** *are coming too*; ***Me*** *and* ***her*** *were late*); *us* in place of *me*, especially after verbs of giving and receiving (*Give* ***us*** *a light for me pipe*).

(b) Nouns and noun phrases

- A feature of vernacular AusE is the use of the adjective *old ~ ol'* before definite common nouns and personal names to refer to characters that are particularly salient in a narrative (*And on the corner was this* ***ol'*** *mountain duck with some little fellas, y'know*; see Pawley 2004).
- Also commonplace in the vernacular varieties are doubly marked comparatives and superlatives (***most*** *rotten****est***).

(c) Verbs and verb phrases

- AusE is showing the extended uses of the progressive that appear elsewhere; for example, in combination with stative verbs, such as *hear* and *think*.
- Widespread use of the present perfect to simple past contexts of use, where other varieties prefer the simple past (*He has now met with Ayres this morning*; Ritz and Engel 2008).
- Vernacular forms of AusE show *have*-deletion (*I ø only been there a couple of times*).
- The use of the 'mandative subjunctive' is enjoying the same revival evident in America and Britain (*I insist that he* ***be*** *on time*).
- AusE shows an increasing use of *of* in place of *have* after (preterite) modal verb forms *could, should* and *would* (*I would* ***of*** *waited*).
- In Antipodean usage generally, only vestiges of *shall* usage remain, modal *will* increasingly encroaches on its territory, including first person interrogatives (***Will*** *I call a taxi?*).
- AusE follows the worldwide trend for *may* and *might* to be unmarked for tense. Both now indicate past possibility and hypothetical possibility (*I think he* ***might****/****may*** *come*).
- Epistemic *mustn't* is common (*he* ***mustn't*** *have arrived yet* 'he can't have arrived yet').
- AusE mirrors trends reported elsewhere for marginal modals, sharing with American usage a preference for *do*-support for *have (to), need (to), dare (to)* (*He* ***does****n't need to leave*).

- The omission of auxiliary *have* in vernacular varieties has meant that both *better* and *gotta* are showing modal-like behaviour (*we **better** go*; *you **gotta** do it*). This usage is considered colloquial and is rarely encountered in writing.
- Trends suggest a growing use of the *get*-passive in writing and in speech, although it is still judged more informal than the *be* version (*He **got** arrested*).
- As elsewhere, AusE shows the ongoing regularization processes that have been affecting strong verbs since Old English times. This levelling is particularly evident in the shift of strong verbs over to the weak (*show-showed-showed*) and the collapse of the preterite and past participle forms; in particular, past forms such as *came, did* and *saw* are being replaced by participle forms *come, done* and *seen* (e.g. *Me Mum **seen** it*). Occasionally the past form replaces the participle (*Someone might 'a **took** 'em*).
- Vernacular varieties show invariant past tense forms for the verb *be* where *was* is used for all persons and for both singular and plural subjects (*You **was** late again*; *'Course they **was***). The use of invariant *is* (*Things **is** going crook*) appears to be in decline.
- Singular marking in existentials with plural subjects is widespread among all speakers, especially in the contracted form (*There'**s** many reasons*).
- Speech shows an increased use of *gotten*, especially in intransitive constructions (*She's **gotten** really angry*).

(d) Negation

- Vernacular varieties have invariant *don't* in place of standard *doesn't* (*'E **don't** run away with it, y'see*) and also *aint* as an all-purpose negative auxiliary for *be* and *have*.
- Double negation is commonplace in vernacular speech, especially involving indeterminates (*I **never** said **nothing*** 'I didn't say anything'); as in this example, *never* occasionally appears as a general negator.
- Burke (2014) focuses on taboo negation (e.g. *I (don't) know bugger all/fuck all/shit*); her corpus data reveals that *bugger all* has been reanalysed as a negative adverb (. . . *winter you just you work **bugger all***).

(e) Interrogatives

- As elsewhere, AusE speakers can pose *yes-no* questions by rising intonation (*So, you want to become a benthic geologist?*).
- Increasingly in evidence (also for standard speakers) is the invariant negative tag *isn't* (*You're going home soon*, ***isn't it****?*).

(f) Composite Sentences

- Relative clauses with zero marking for subjects is widespread in the vernacular (*I knew a girl **ø** worked down the street*).
- Colloquial versions of AusE also show discourse functions for relative *which*; these relatives elaborate on a stretch of discourse, often reiterating earlier information (*[. . .] unless you get 88 **which** some universities are not going to give those marks*); see Burke (2017) on additional expressive functions for "this black sheep of the relative clause family" (p. 356).

'Americanization' of AusE

Given the global presence of the United States and the inevitable loosening of ties between Britain and its former Antipodean colonies, it would be surprising if there were not an identifiable American influence on AusE. As documented by Damousi (2010), commentary around this influence didn't become disparaging until American cultural products started becoming a way of life in Australia, in particular the "talkies" of the 1920s.

> We should have been spared that influx of nauseous American slang and vile English which regularly appears upon the screen, and threatens to reduce the Australian vernacular to the level of the New York gutter-snipe.
>
> *(Australasian 14 March 1925)*

This 1925 quotation holds just as true today. Australians continue to denounce "this wholesale invasion and exploitation", with vehement objections being made to "American infiltration into our lingo" and "annoying American habits . . . spreading to Australia" – blame is laid squarely on "the invidious impact of American TV" and "the Microsoft spell-checker" (for details on these complaints, see Severin and Burridge 2020).

While all aspects of the structure of English are felt to be under siege, a running theme throughout these complaints is a perceived threat of American influence specifically on spelling, pronunciation and word choice. A number of the named Americanisms simply coincide with people's linguistic bugbears and are not even American – as is typically the case, concerns about language usage reflect deeper and more general social judgments, in this case, fears of US practices putting Australian identity in jeopardy. Highly visible lexical incursions such as *trash* and *math* are viewed as forming the thin end of a very undesirable wedge that will see the decline of Australian values and way of life. Importantly, opposition to AmE usage shows no age watershed – all ages voice their irritation at AmE influence.

As Burridge and Peters (2020) describe the main influence from American English is lexical. Even phonological transfers are largely limited to individual lexical items; Korhonen (2018: 48) gives the example of the pronunciation of *schedule* ['skedjul] (labelled "chiefly US" in the 3rd edition of the *Macquarie Dictionary*; the 5th edition simply lists it an alternative pronunciation alongside ['ʃedjul]). Despite the almost vigilante conduct on the part of speakers, the vast majority of American borrowings have actually gone unnoticed and unrecognized – expressions like *boss, cinch, dago, lay off* ('to dismiss a worker') and *okay* have snuck into AusE under the radar without detection.

The birth of new dialects

> [P]erhaps the most interesting observation concerning Australian English is the ongoing birth of new dialects, a sign of having reached the end of the cycle, Phase 5.
>
> *(Schneider 2007: 125)*

As predicted by Schneider's model, with the final stage of postcolonial dialect maturity comes increasing diversity and fragmentation – all it requires is the combination of time, physical and social separation and the unrelenting processes of linguistic change. Standardizing influences aside, the distances between population centres are considerable, and regional chauvinism, as evident in the sort of strong rivalry between places such as Sydney, Melbourne and Perth, is a major incentive for people to start highlighting their distinctiveness linguistically. The separation of urban and rural communities is also inspiring significant differences in terms of vocabulary and broadness of accent. Additional diversity comes in the form of Indigenous variation (present in earlier phases) and the emerging regional and ethnic dialects of AusE.

Regional differences – lexicon and accent

Differences in words and expression have existed since early times, some the fall-out of the different dialect mixes and also contact. Manns (2020), for example, describes how German migration in the mid- to late 19th century underlies distinctive South Australian regionalisms such as *butcher* '200ml glass of beer' from the German *Becher* 'drinking vessel' (known elsewhere as *seven* or simply *glass*) and *fritz* for a 'large bland sausage' (known elsewhere as *devon, polony* or *Windsor*). *Swimming costume* is used Australia-wide, alongside regionalisms like *bathers* in South Australia and Western Australia, *swimmers* and *cozzies* in New South Wales and *togs* in Queensland and Victoria. There are also expressions that appear confined to specific locations: *hook turn* 'a right-hand turn made from the left side of the road when the green light becomes red' (a Melbourne driving manoeuvre). (For more on regionalisms, see Moore 2008; Manns 2020.)

Accent differences are still not particularly striking; popular claims that people can identify people's place of origin purely on the basis of how they speak are exaggerated. Differences remain a matter of statistical tendency, with a certain pronunciation occurring more in one place than another. For example, speakers from Hobart and Melbourne are more likely to say *graph* with [æ]. Sydney and Brisbane speakers are more likely to pronounce the word with [a] and Adelaide and Perth speakers even more likely. The words that participate in this variation have [nasal + obstruent] or [fricative] following the vowel; however, this is complex variation and the vowels do not occur uniformly across all words which could potentially have the same vowel; for example, many speakers in Melbourne say *c[æ]stle* but *gr[a]sp* and *contr[a]st*. There are complex social and stylistic factors involved here, and these also vary from city to city. The [a] variant tends to be more formal and belongs to a higher sociolect, especially for words with [nasal + obstruent]. Those speakers who attended a private (non-government) school are more likely to say *d[a]nce* and *pl[a]nt* and, if the situation is a more formal one, the likelihood of [a] is even greater. Everyone is likely to sing *adv[a]nce* in the national anthem (*Advance Australia Fair*), even if it is not their normal vowel in this word or in others (Bradley 2004: 647).

The following are examples of changes involving the vowel systems of capital cities (see Cox and Palethorpe 2001, 2004; Horvath 2004; Bradley 2004):

- The vowel in words such as *school* and *pool* tends to be more rounded in Adelaide than in other capitals, but here, too, there is much overlap between regional and social variation.
- There is vowel merging underway in pre-lateral environments. Melbourne and Brisbane share with New Zealand a neutralization of [ɛ] and [æ] before laterals; for many younger speakers, the words *shell* and *shall* are indistinguishable.
- Speakers in Hobart and Sydney are showing a merger of [i] and [ɪ] and also [u] and [ʊ] before laterals, with the tense vowels collapsing into the corresponding lax vowels; hence the words *deal* and *dill; fool* and *full* are not distinguished.
- In Melbourne and Sydney, there is evidence of vowel lowering to [æ] in words like *dress* and vowel lowering and retracting towards [ɑ] in words like *trap*.

There remains much work to be done on the emerging regional variation in AusE pronunciation. To date, only small parts of the country have been surveyed, and only a handful of regional differences have been noted.

Aboriginal English(es)

Around 650,000 Australians are of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander descent, but only a small proportion are fluent in an Indigenous language. Instead, most use English in daily life – varieties are often distinguishable from those used by non-Indigenous Australians yet are still comprehensible (unlike contact languages such as Kriol, which are largely indecipherable to most Australians). (Dixon and Mangi 2020)

The story of Aboriginal English (AbE) is also the story of significant losses to the linguistic diversity that once existed across Australia. Of the original 200–250 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages spoken at the time of early European contact, only a handful continue, and even the remaining robust languages are critically endangered, despite vigorous efforts being made to maintain them (Marmion et al. 2014).

Pidgin varieties based on English appeared not long after the arrival of the Europeans in Australia. These became increasingly important for contact not only between Aboriginal speakers and English speakers but also as a lingua franca between speakers of different Aboriginal languages. The disruption that followed the arrival of the Europeans meant different linguistic groups were thrown together much more. Although there had always been widespread bilingualism among adults, this couldn't cover communicative needs in these new settlements, where children of different linguistic backgrounds were thrown together and where there was continued uneven interaction between Aboriginal and English speakers.

AbE is a variety that grew out of this original contact situation and is now maintained in Indigenous Australian communities across Australia; creoles also evolved from stabilized pidgins in the Kimberley Region, the Roper River area and parts of North Queensland. The label AbE therefore covers varieties encompassing both the "light" (close-to-Australian English) and "heavy" (close-to-creole) varieties along the continuum. It also embraces the varying outputs of individuals and the considerable nationwide variation of a macro speech community and the strong feelings Aboriginal speakers have for their local identity. Hence, AbE shows contributions from traditional languages, as well as from the contact varieties (i.e. pidgin and creole input) and the early British English dialects brought by the colonists (i.e. Southern, Northern, Scottish and Irish English input). Often it is hard to pinpoint a definite source for features, also because many developments (e.g. invariant tags like *innit*; negation with *never*) illustrate well-trodden paths of grammatical change.

AbE differs from mainstream AusE at all linguistic levels, including pragmatics. Lexical differences can be striking: some words are borrowed directly from traditional languages (e.g. *gubba* 'white man'); familiar-looking English words can have quite different meanings (e.g. the future marker *got to/gotta*, *sorry business* 'ceremony associated with death'); some early English words are maintained (*gammon* 'joking, pretending', 18th century cant). The chances of misunderstandings are considerable; for example, Aboriginal speakers' strategies for eliciting information are far more indirect than those of Anglo-Australians; silence also has an important role in Aboriginal communities and is frequently misinterpreted by outsiders (Eades 1994, 2000).

In accent, there is a continuum from a 'heavy' (close to the sound system of traditional Aboriginal languages) to a 'light' accent (close to the sound system of AusE). Butcher (2008) summarizes key features of AbE; to indicate the variation, he uses the following table to show how much closer the light version of AbE is to Standard AusE than the heavy version in terms of phonology. The pronunciation of sibilants as [t̥ᶜ] (a type of voiceless [post]alveolar stop) is a feature of those who speak Indigenous languages as their L1 or those who live in areas where these languages (or creoles) are part of the community but not those living in English-dominated urban environments.

Heavy AbE	*Light AbE*	*Standard AbE*	
[t̥ᵋɛm]	[sæɪm]	[sæɪm]	‘same’
[t̥ᵋɛm]	[sæɪm]	[ʃæɪm]	‘shame’
[pɪt̥ᵋ]	[fɪs]	[fɪʃ]	‘fish’
[pɛt̥ᵋ]	[fæɪs][[fæɪʃ]	[fæɪs]	‘face’
[ˈt̥ᵋɪgɪ]	[ˈʃɪkɪ]	[ˈtʃi:ki]	‘cheeky’
[kɛt̥ᵋ]	[kɛts]	[kʰætʃ]	‘catch’
[ˈpɪt̥ᵋ]	[ˈpɪtsɐ]	[ˈpʰɪtʃe]	‘picture’
[t̥ᵋɐt̥ᵋ]	[dɐs]	[dʒɐst]	‘just’

The differences between the standard and heavy variety forms can be considerable, and when we add grammatical and pragmatic differences into the mix, the challenges for intercultural communication are obviously significant. Grammatical features, for example, show differences in word order (*'E buy muticar, that blue-one Toyota* = ‘He bought a blue Toyota’) and ways of presenting information (e.g. existential ‘there is/are’ constructions, as in *'e got plenty mussels* = ‘there are lots of mussels’). Questions are formed with rising intonation, often with an accompanying tag question (the tag has regional variants such as *inna* in South Australia and *unna* in parts of Western Australia.) *'ou mudder crook, eh?* = ‘Your mother's ill, isn't she?’

Malcolm (2018) addresses the educational implications of this variation, especially the need for a better integration of AbE (and creole varieties) into school learning. The traditional approach to the education of Aboriginal Australians has been one very much oriented towards Standard AusE, but as Malcolm's work stresses, the home language must be positioned well and truly in the development of school literacy.

Finally, it is important to emphasize the complex multilingualism that is typical of Indigenous communities in rural Australia. Meakins (2008: 247) describes language use among Gurindji people in Kalkaringi, a township in Northern Territory of Australia:

> Older people at Kalkaringi continue to speak a traditional language (Gurindji), however younger speakers speak a new youth variety (Gurindji Kriol) which systematically combines elements of Gurindji and Kriol. Some Warlpiri is also spoken; English is the main language of the school, clinic and other government facilities; and Kriol is spoken by Aboriginal visitors. In addition, people rapidly switch between these languages in various ways.

The mixed language Gurinji Kriol described here is different from other contact languages. Speakers are typically fluent in one or both of the source languages and take and adapt lexical and grammatical subsystems from each source language.

Ethnolectal varieties of Australian English

> We are, after all, a microcosm of the world in its cultural diversity.
>
> *(Clyne 2005: 181)*

In recent years, multiculturalism as a governmental policy has brought about significant increases in immigration, especially from Asia and the Middle East. As each of these language groups seeks to assert its own identity, migrant English features become an important means of signalling the group boundaries.

Horvath's 1985 study of Sydney speech indicated that Italian and Greek teenagers were choosing to distance themselves from the linguistic patterns of their parents, presumably because Ethnic Broad had become so highly stigmatized, and these speakers did not want to be typecast as working class and migrant. (For some time, the variety had been providing lampooning fodder for comedians; e.g. media stereotypes like *Con the Fruiterer, Effie* and *Wogboys*.) More recent studies show that second-generation Australians of non-English-speaking background are developing an AusE of their own, different from the Ethnic Broad accented English of their parents but different also from General AusE. Cox and Palethorpe (2006), for example, describe the features of the new ethnolect that is used by Australian born speakers of Lebanese background (so-called Lebanese AusE or Lebspeak). This is variation that is no longer the consequence of second language learning; in other words, these ethnolects cannot be described as foreign-accented AusE – many speakers now have English as their first language.

Conclusion

Australia, like New Zealand, has a comparatively recent history of European settlement and English language development. Yet it is already quite distinct. The different mixes of original dialects that came in during the early years, as well as the physical separation from other English-speaking regions, have allowed this distinctiveness to flourish. Regional variation within Australia is still minor compared to other varieties, although local differences have been increasing. The separation of urban and rural communities is inspiring notable regional diversity, and contact with languages other than English is also seeing the rise, particularly in recent years, of migrant ethnolects. Varieties of AbE and creoles continue to add socially and regionally relevant dimensions to contact Englishes in Australia.

Suggestions for further reading

Australian Voices is a website that explores the different ways English is spoken in Australia; www.mq.edu.au/research/research-centres-groups-and-facilities/healthy-people/centres/centre-for-language-sciences-clas/australian-voices.

Fritz, Clemens W. A (2007) *From English in Australia to Australian English, 1788–1900* (Frankfurt a. Main: Peter Lang) is a corpus-based account of the evolution of English in Australia.

Sydney Speaks is a project that is documenting variation and change in the English spoken in one of Australia's largest and most ethnically and linguistically diverse city; www.dynamicsoflanguage.edu.au/sydney-speaks/.

The Linguistics Roadshow map is an online resource for lexical regionalisms; https://lingroadshow.com/all-about-language/englishes-in-australia[vocabulary/mapping-words-around-australia/; the *Australian Word Map* allows you to search for expressions; www.macquariedictionary.com.au/resources/word/map/.

Willoughby, L. & H. Manns (eds.) (2020) *Australian English Reimagined: Structure, Features and Developments* is devoted to all aspects of English in Australia (London: Routledge); see also the 2003 special issue of *Australian Journal of Linguistics,* 23 (2).

Zion, Lawrie (2007) *The Sounds of Aus* (Australia: Film Finance Corporation Australia and Princess Pictures) is a generally available documentary on the Australian accent, presented by comedian John Clarke.

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8
The English(es) of New Zealand

Margaret Maclagan and Paul Warren

Introduction

New Zealand English (NZE), like the other varieties of English discussed in the first section of this Handbook, falls into Kachru's category of 'Inner Circle' Englishes (Kachru 1992). NZE is the youngest of the inner circle Englishes and is unique in that recorded evidence is available for its entire history. We are thus able to track the paths by which the English dialects brought by the early immigrants coalesced so that speakers born in the 1870s spoke a variety that is recognisable as NZE.

Historical background

New Zealand (NZ)/Aotearoa is one of the most isolated countries in the world, with the closest country, Australia, 1,600 km away. The indigenous people, the Māori, arrived in the country approximately 1,000 years ago from eastern Polynesia. The first Europeans to reach NZ were the Dutch, who arrived under Abel Tasman in 1642, but did not stay and whose chief legacy is the name New Zealand. Contact with the English language came with Captain James Cook, who claimed NZ for the British Crown in 1769. European whalers and sealers started arriving towards the end of the 18th century, followed by a steady stream of European settlers (generally known by the Māori term *Pākehā*), mainly English speakers.

In 1840 the Treaty of Waitangi, signed by representatives of Queen Victoria and many Māori chiefs, gave Britain sovereignty over New Zealand; Māori ownership of land and traditional food resources was recognised, and they were accorded the rights and privileges of British subjects. Although the treaty was not fully honoured, it still provides the basis of Māori/Pākehā relationships today. The signing of the treaty was followed by more organised migration directly from Britain.

After 1840, European settlers arrived in three major waves. The first wave formed five planned settlements organised by the New Zealand Company at Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth, Otago and Canterbury. The next wave arose when gold was discovered in Central Otago. Thousands of miners poured into Otago and Westland, including many Irish and also some Chinese. The third wave, with more than 100,000 settlers, arrived in the 1870s through the government's assisted passage scheme.

According to the 1871 census, most 19th-century immigrants came from the British Isles, with 51% from England, mainly from the southeast. The English migrants settled throughout the country, whereas the Irish (22%) settled mainly in Auckland and on the South Island's West Coast, and most Scots (27%) went to Otago and Southland. Only 6.5% were Australian born, but this figure greatly underestimates the influence of Australia on early NZ, because there was considerable shipping traffic between the two countries, and many immigrants arrived via Australia. Immigration in the 19th century provided the melting pot in which NZE was created, with later immigration having relatively little effect on the accent or dialect.

The rise in the European population of NZ in the 19th century was dramatic: in 1838, there were some 2,000 Europeans; there were 10,000 by 1842 and half a million in 1881, half of whom were New Zealand born. Europeans quickly outnumbered Māori, whose numbers were greatly reduced by new diseases and by the use of muskets in intertribal warfare. By 1900, the Māori population had decreased to 46,000, and many people thought the race was dying out. However, since then, the Māori population has gradually increased, numbering 598,602 in the 2013 census (14.9% of the total NZ population) (Statistics New Zealand 2014).

In the latter part of the 20th century, Pacific Islanders were encouraged to come to New Zealand, mainly to fill low-wage jobs. The term *Pasifika* is used in NZ to describe people of Pacific origins. In the 2013 census, 7.4% of New Zealanders gave their ethnicity as one or another of the Pasifika groups.

The Asian population of NZ has increased sharply in the past 30 years, from 1.6% in 1986 to 11.8% in 2013 (Statistics New Zealand 2014).

For more detailed information on NZ history, see Sinclair (1991) and King (2003); on the origins of early immigrants, see Gordon et al. (2004: Chapter 3).

Development of New Zealand English

New Zealand is unusual in having recordings of people who were born in the country as early as the 1850s, including first-generation European NZers. These recordings were collected 1946–1948 by the Mobile Disc Recording Unit of the New Zealand Broadcasting Service and kept by Radio NZ Sound Archives/ngā taonga kōrero (www.soundarchives.co.nz/). They form the basis of a research project, Origins and Evolution of New Zealand English (ONZE) at the University of Canterbury, studying the development of New Zealand English (see Gordon et al. 2004; Gordon, Maclagan and Hay 2007).

Speakers born in the 1850s and early 1860s preserved the accents of their parents; some sound Scottish or Irish. Some born in the late 1860s have mixed accents with some unusual sound combinations. Mr Malcolm Ritchie, for example, was born in 1866 of parents from Scotland, and grew up in Cromwell on the Otago goldfields. He has Scottish features, including the aspirated [hw] pronunciation for words like *white*, but also has /h/-dropping on content words. This combination of features would not have occurred in British dialects at that time.

Characteristics of a NZ accent start to appear with speakers born in the 1870s. The ONZE project found differences between speakers who lived in towns with mixed populations and people who lived in homogeneous settlements (Gordon et al. 2004). Early instances of the New Zealand accent are found in South Island goldmining towns comprising similar numbers of settlers from England, Scotland, Ireland and Australia, while in nearby places settled primarily by people from Scotland, Scottish features persisted for several generations (see Trudgill, Maclagan and Lewis 2003).

Complaints about an emerging New Zealand accent (or 'colonial twang' as it was called) are found in writings from about 1900, and commentators then (and later) frequently claimed it was a transported form of the London dialect of Cockney (e.g. Wall 1951). This theory, and the later theory that New Zealand English was a variety transported from Australia, can be challenged on linguistic and demographic grounds (see Gordon et al. 2004, Chapter 4). The view of researchers today is that the New Zealand accent was formed within New Zealand in a relatively short space of time between 1870 and 1890.

The earliest references to the New Zealand accent involve children. It is significant that the accent was developing at a time when national free compulsory primary education had been introduced (Education Act of 1877). The mix of children from different backgrounds would have accelerated new dialect development.

The patterns found by the ONZE Project generally fit Trudgill's theories of New Dialect formation (Trudgill 2004). After an initial period of accommodation came a period of great variation, both within individual speakers and between speakers. The final period of focussing occurred when the variation diminished and the eventual form of the dialect emerged, with NZE taking on an important role as an expression of New Zealand identity.

Description of New Zealand English

Phonology

Consonants

The NZE consonant inventory does not differ from that of other inner circle Englishes. NZE is largely non-rhotic, apart from a small area in the south of the South Island settled largely from Scotland, and Manukau City, South Auckland, where non-prevocalic /r/ is heard after the NURSE[1] vowel in younger speakers, possibly under the influence of Pasifika English (Starks and Reffell 2005; Kennedy 2006). This use of non-prevocalic /r/ is currently spreading more widely and is no longer restricted to the Auckland area. Both linking /r/ (*car alarm*) and intrusive /r/ (*law **r** and order*) occur commonly (Hay, Drager and Gibson 2018), the latter after the THOUGHT vowel /oː/, and more recently the MOUTH diphthong, /æʉ/, especially when this has a reduced second target or is monophthongal (e.g., *now and then* as [næɹ ən ðen]).[2]

/l/ is relatively dark, even word-initially. Word-finally and pre-consonantally, /l/ is regularly vocalised. Coda /l/ affects the preceding vowel, and many vowel contrasts are neutralised before /l/, such as DRESS and TRAP (*celery* = *salary, Ellen* = *Alan*) and LOT and GOAT (*doll* = *dole*). KIT and GOOSE are farther back before /l/ so that KIT, FOOT, GOOSE and THOUGHT may be distinguished by vowel length if at all. It is often difficult to distinguish between single-word productions of *fill, full, fool* and *fall* in NZE (see further Bauer and Warren 2004).

Intervocalic /t/ may be flapped in words like *butter* or phrases like *got it*. Final plosives can be glottally reinforced, but intervocalic voiceless plosives are not usually replaced by a glottal stop. TH-fronting, whereby /θ/ and /ð/ are realised as [f] and [v], is common among children and becoming more common among young adults, as is /s/-retraction, whereby /s/ in /str/ and /stj/ sequences becomes more /ʃ/-like, so that *street* is [ʃtɹiːt]. However, the labiodental [ʋ] variant of /r/ common in Britain is not heard in NZ. NZE is an /h/-full variety of English, pronouncing /h/ in all content words (except some from French, like *honour*), including words like *herb* where American English speakers usually do not sound the /h/. Some conservative speakers maintain the aspirated [hw] pronunciation in words like *when*.

Vowels

The NZE accent is carried mainly by the vowels. Early complaints about the 'colonial twang' focussed particularly on the diphthongs MOUTH and PRICE, followed quickly by FACE and GOAT. A diphthong shift has affected FACE, PRICE and CHOICE, which have moved one slot anti-clockwise from their RP equivalents, so that NZE FACE can be misperceived by British listeners as PRICE, and PRICE as CHOICE.

PRICE is usually realised as [ɑe] or [ɒe] in a broader accent, FACE as [æe] or [ɐe] in a broader accent, and GOAT as [ɐʉ] or [ɐɨ] in a broader accent. MOUTH [æʉ] is losing its rounded second element, especially in closed syllables like *loud*, and can be monophthongal [æ] in broader NZE. The broader versions of these diphthongs are socially stigmatised and avoided, especially by higher-social-class women.

Figure 8.1 shows the centroids for monophthongs in F1-F2 space for a total of 73 NZE speakers in three age groups from the New Zealand Spoken English Database (Warren 2002). The older speakers were born in the period 1925–1953, the mid-age 1955–1969, and the younger 1970–1983. As in Australian English, the NZE NURSE vowel is realised as a raised and rounded [ɵː] (Maclagan et al. 2017), START and STRUT are both open and central and are distinguished primarily by length, that is, [ɐː] and [ɐ] (Warren 2018), GOOSE has centralised to [ʉː] (except before /l/), and THOUGHT has raised to [oː]. In addition, THOUGHT often has an off-glide, as in [oə], especially in open syllables like *door, flaw*, but also in closed syllables like *flawed*.

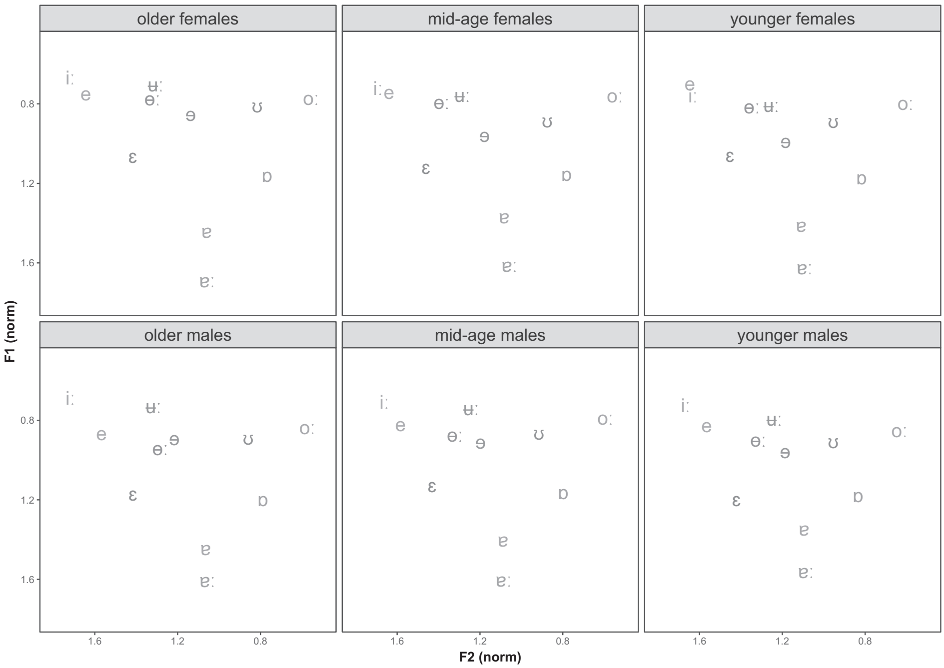

Figure 8.1 NZE vowel plots in speaker-normalised frequency values (normalised following the procedure outlined by Watt and Fabricius 2002) for 12 females (13 in the mid-age group) and 12 males in each of three age groups

Source: Watt and Fabricius 2002.

The short front vowels form shibboleths distinguishing NZE from Australian English. The most distinctive is KIT, which is centralised and lowered to [ɘ], with [ə] or even more open versions from broader NZE speakers. In Australia, this vowel has raised and fronted. The Australian and NZ pronunciations of KIT therefore contrast greatly, with the phrase *fish and chips* being stereotypical. New Zealanders are caricatured as saying *fush and chups* and Australians, *feesh and cheeps*. DRESS and TRAP have raised over the development of NZE (Gordon et al. 2004). For the younger women in Figure 8.1, DRESS is actually higher than FLEECE and has become the high front vowel. FLEECE is, however, becoming more diphthongised (Maclagan and Hay 2007; Warren 2018).

A further distinguishing feature of the NZE vowel system is the ongoing merger of the NEAR /iə/ and SQUARE diphthongs /eə/. Most younger New Zealanders pronounce both with a close start, effectively merging on NEAR. Some older speakers, especially women, use a more open start, and effectively merge the diphthongs on SQUARE (Gordon and Maclagan 2001). Recent research in Auckland has suggested that the merger may be undergoing a process of reversal in some communities (Hazenberg 2017).

Syntax

It used to be believed that New Zealand syntax was indistinguishable from British English syntax. More recent studies suggest that this is not the case. However, the differences are not categorical, and most of the relevant research focuses less on distinctive NZE features and more on the relative incidence of non-standard grammatical features (e.g. Hundt, Hay and Gordon 2004). Non-standard variation found in other mainstream English varieties can also be found in New Zealand syntax – *we seen it; I done it, he rung the bell; they come here yesterday*. Some are very common indeed, with young speakers in the ONZE corpus using *rung* rather than *rang* for the simple past tense 50% of the time.

Bauer (1994: 400; see also 2007) lists some differences between NZE syntax and British syntax, including a preference for *didn't used to* rather than *used not to*, *will* rather than *shall* in phrases like *Will I shut the door*, and the transitive use of some verbs – *they farewelled their friends, we protested the decision*. Other examples include non-epistemic *must* in a negative sentence: *The bus mustn't be on time today* ('the bus is running late'), and the use of *anymore* with positive interrogatives: *Do they brew beer in Timaru anymore*? NZE uses *have* in cases where the simple past could be expected. This feature has been noticed for some time, as the following quote illustrates: 'Sanctions **have been imposed** by the UN thirteen years ago' (*Radio New Zealand News 12/79* – from Bauer 1989). New Zealanders also use an 'intrusive have' in descriptions of things that didn't happen, as in 'If I had **have** put it away properly, I wouldn't be in this mess now', and young people are often criticised for writing *should of* instead of *should have* as in *I should of done it earlier*.

Some American usages heard in NZ include *gotten* for *got, Sunday through Wednesday, we work on the weekend*, the deletion of *and* in numbers over one hundred, and the use of *couple* without *of* as in *I need a couple things*.

Non-standard NZE can include the plural *yous*: *what are yous doing tomorrow?* and the use of *she* as a neutral pronoun: *she'll be right*, though this is usually in a few stereotyped phrases. Bauer (2007) also notes the use of unmarked plural forms in NZE. In the case of the homophony of *woman* and *women* (the latter sounding like the former), this can be attributed to sound changes that have affected NZE (Warren, Gibson and Hay 2017). In the case of Māori loanwords in NZE, the increasing tendency is not to mark these for plurality on the basis that they are not so marked in the Māori language (where plurality is marked on determiners). NZE also shows a tendency to use singular verbs with collective terms such as sports team names where other varieties would use plural, as in *New Zealand is winning the game*. The use of third-person plural pronouns as gender-neutral singular pronouns is common in both speech and writing: *the perpetrator had their getaway car parked outside*.

Lexis

Most NZE vocabulary is common to English worldwide. Deverson (2000) estimates that only 5% of NZE vocabulary is restricted to NZ. When Britain and the United States have different terms for the same item, NZE more often uses the British term. People wear *jerseys* rather than *sweaters* (though *sweatshirts* are common), two weeks are called a *fortnight* and cars run on *petrol* (if cars run on *gas*, it's usually LPG – liquid petroleum gas). However, American terms are used as well as British terms. Cars have British *bonnets* and *boots* but American *mufflers*, and there are American *trucks* and *station wagons* on NZ roads rather than British *lorries* and *estate cars*. Both *lift* and *elevator* or *torch* and *flashlight* are heard together with the pronunciation of *lieutenant* with *loo* in the first syllable and *schedule* with /sk/. Many items are shared with Australia, especially farming terms such as *the bush, paddock, creek* and the ubiquitous *mate*. Visitors often remark on the use of diminutives in *-ie*: *prezzie* for *present*, *cardie* for *cardigan*, *pozzie* for *position*.

The most distinctive feature of NZE vocabulary is the use of words borrowed from Māori. Many words relating to Māori cultural traditions are now used in newspapers and in other media without any gloss, to the initial confusion of visitors, such as *hui* (meeting), *tangi* (funeral), *marae* (meeting place), *waka* (canoe), *kaumātua* (elder), *whakapapa* (genealogy) *whānau* (family) and *iwi* (tribe). *Kia ora* is a common greeting, even among non-Māori. A large number of Māori names relating to NZ flora and fauna are the preferred or only names for these species, including the tree-names *kōwhai*, *pōhutukawa* and *ngaio*; the bird-names *kiwi*, *tūī*, *kākā*, *kererū* and the insect *wētā*. A third area in which Māori words are encountered is in place-names. In some cases, the Māori name is used alongside the English word (such as *New Zealand/Aotearoa* or *Aoraki/Mount Cook*), while in others it has replaced a formerly used English name (e.g., *Mount Taranaki* for *Mount Egmont*). See Macalister (2007) for analysis of changes in the use of Māori words in NZE over the 20th century.

Pronunciations of Māori words in English-language contexts are variably anglicised, with a growing trend towards more Māori-like pronunciations. Similarly, the use of the macron to indicate vowel length is variable; it is often omitted altogether (*Maori*), or vowel length is shown by doubling (*Maaori*).

Discourse

Two notable features of NZE discourse are the use of uptalk (a.k.a. High Rising Terminal intonation contours) and the pragmatic particle *eh*. Non-New Zealanders can find it confusing if their question is answered with a statement with rising intonation. If the response to the question 'Where's the nearest gas station?' is 'There's a garage down the road and round the corner ↑' where ↑ indicates a rising pitch, the questioner is likely to decide that the local doesn't actually know the answer and go off to ask someone else. Uptalk sequences often occur at the start of a narrative, presumably when the narrator is making sure that they have the listener's attention, and again around the resolution and evaluation. They seem to be a way of establishing rapport with the listener (see Warren 2016). Initially it was noticed that young women were the most prolific users of uptalk, but it is now used by both men and women of all ages. Uptalk seems to be especially frequent in Māori English.

The pragmatic particle *eh* is also a feature of Māori English speech, but it is used to some degree by many speakers of NZE. One possible origin is the all-purpose Māori tag question *ne*. NZ linguists tend to spell the particle *eh*, but most young New Zealanders spell it *ay* or *aye*.

Social and regional variation

There is a popular myth that New Zealand is a classless society. However, linguistic research has shown clear social stratification in New Zealand English (e.g., Maclagan, Gordon and Lewis 1999). Social class variation is mainly carried by the closing diphthongs MOUTH, PRICE, FACE and GOAT, with people from the higher social groups avoiding the broader versions. In the past, higher-class New Zealand speakers used variants nearer to (but not the same as) Received British pronunciation; lower-class speakers diverged strongly from RP. In more recent times, the association with RP has been lost, and social class variation is also represented in other ways, such as use of a flapped 't' in *letter*, TH-fronting, affrication of /tr/ or /dr/. Lower-class NZE is also marked by the use of non-standard syntax.

Lay people insist that there is clear regional variation in New Zealand, but linguists have found little evidence of this, apart from Southland in the south of the South Island, where both pronunciation and lexis show the influence of Scottish immigration. NZE is non-rhotic, but the Southland dialect is marked by variable rhoticity. Older rural speakers, especially men, may be rhotic after a range of vowels, but younger speakers are usually only rhotic after the NURSE vowel, as in *work*, and sometimes after the lettER vowel, as in *butter*. Southlanders follow Scottish usage and say *the cat wants fed* or *the plant needs watered*. Older terms like *ashet* for a serving plate, *sulky* for a child's push chair or *soldering-bolt* for soldering iron are seldom heard today, but Southlanders still *lux their carpets* (from the brand name Electrolux), have *super heaters* rather than water heaters and eat *Belgian* (a type of luncheon sausage). The general NZ term for a holiday home is *bach* (from a bachelor's shack); in Southland they are *cribs*.

There are a few words associated with other regions: on the South Island's West Coast, for example, a grey woollen shirt worn in the bush is a *lammy*, and a miner's lunch is his *crib*. The name for 'h' is *haitch*. In the South Island, a small strawberry container is a *pottle* or a *punnet* – in the North Island, it is a *chip*. A rough unpaved road in the North Island is a *metal road*; in the South Island, it is a *gravel road* or a *shingle road*.

A study of playground vocabulary found that the country could be split into three dialect regions. The clearest example was the names used for the chasing game: *tiggy* in the Northern region, *tag* in the Central region and *tig* in the Southern region (Bauer and Bauer 2002).

A recent social dialect survey of NZers (Duhamel and Meyerhoff 2015) confirmed that Southland remains the most readily identified regional variety but also highlighted a perception, at least amongst lay people, of an urban-rural divide, as well as suggesting that distinct speech styles are emerging in certain parts of the Auckland urban sprawl.

The Māori language

Māori is an Eastern Polynesian language, very closely related to Tahitian and the languages of the Cook Islands. Although there were various regional dialects in the 19th century, they were all mutually intelligible. Some few effects of these earlier dialects still linger, but the comparative lack of variation in the Māori language around the country has been an advantage in the current revitalisation efforts.

Until the end of the 19th century, all Māori spoke the Māori language. By the mid 20th century, most Māori still spoke Māori, and most would have been bilingual in Māori and English. Māori was still passed on within the home and actively used on the marae, the tribal meeting place. Between 1950 and 1980, the majority of Māori moved from rural areas to live in cities (Pool 1991), and connections with the home marae were lost. There was a dramatic shift to using English. Over a remarkably short time, the Māori language came close to being lost, with most young Māori in 1980 speaking only English. Benton (1991) carried out surveys in the 1970s and found that there were only approximately 60,000 fluent speakers of Māori, and most of them were middle aged or elderly. Few children were being raised as speakers of the language.

These findings stimulated local efforts at revitalisation, the best known being the *kohanga reo* (language nest), where preschool children are taught by elders in a Māori-only environment. *Kura kaupapa Māori* (Māori immersion primary schools) soon followed, and it is now possible for children to complete their entire education, including tertiary education, in the Māori language, though numbers decrease once children reach secondary school. Programmes were also devised for adult learners, and the number of people who claim to be able to speak 'some' Māori is now increasing, though the number who can hold a fluent conversation has actually remained relatively static over the last three census periods. In the 2013 census, 25.2% of the Māori population indicated that they could hold a conversation about everyday topics, with larger proportions amongst the older population (e.g., 46.6% of Māori aged 80–84).

Māori became an official language of NZ through the Māori Language Act (1987), which also set up the Māori Language Commission, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori. One of the Commission's major strategies for expanding Māori vocabulary is that new words should not be borrowings from English (see Harlow 1993).

Māori has influenced the vocabulary of NZE, as discussed previously, but it has not significantly influenced pronunciation or grammar. Its other major influences are in discourse, with the pragmatic particle *eh*, described previously, and a probable influence on the rhythm of NZE (see subsequently). For more information on the Māori language, see Bauer (1993) and Harlow (2007).

Māori English

Māori English has been commented on since the 1960s, yet even in the early 1990s, Benton (1991: 195) noted that 'the evidence for the existence of Māori English as a distinct and stable . . . variety of New Zealand English is at best tentative and ambiguous.' The main reason for the ongoing difficulties in adequately describing Māori English is that most of its features are shared with mainstream NZE; it is in the proportion of such features that Māori English can be distinguished from Pākehā English. In the 1960s, Māori English was usually spoken by people whose first language was Māori, and its phonology and grammar were clearly affected by features from that language. Most speakers of Māori English today are not fluent speakers of Māori, with many having minimal knowledge of the language. Non-Māori who live and/or work with Māori also often speak Māori English. It is a solidarity marker and is sometimes called 'bro talk' (King 1999). Māori English speakers frequently use kinship terms like *bro, cos* (cousin) and *sis*, which are also spreading into general NZE.

Māori English exhibits a few syntactic features that are characteristic of general vernacular English, such as HAVE deletion (*you got no right being in here*), THERE'S with a plural complement (*there's people at work who can help me*; examples from Bell 2000) and the use of past participles for past tense (e.g., *come* for *came*).

Phonologically, Māori English is marked by very fronted GOOSE vowels, decentralisation of KIT and monophthongisation of diphthongs, especially FACE and GOAT. In the consonant system, there is frequent stopping and/or affrication of /θ/ and /ð/, devoicing of final /z/ and reduction of ING. There is increasing rhoticity, especially with the NURSE vowel, and a lack of linking and intrusive-/r/. Many of these features are also found in general vernacular English, but some have possible explanations in terms of the influence of the Māori language (see Bell 2000).

Māori English speakers tend to be frequent users of uptalk and of the pragmatic particles *y'know* and *eh?* While NZE is less syllable timed than some outer circle Englishes such as Singapore or Indian English, it is more syllable timed than British English, and Māori English is further towards the syllable-timed end of the continuum than Pākehā English (Warren 1998; Szakay 2008), quite likely under the influence of Māori, which has been described as mora timed (Bauer 1981).

For more information on Māori English, see Holmes (2005); Maclagan, King and Gillon (2008); Warren and Bauer (2004).

Pasifika English

In the 2013 census, 7.4% of the population identified themselves as Pasifika. Most are NZ born, and almost two-thirds live in the Auckland region. Samoans form the largest group, followed, in descending order, by people from the Cook Islands, Tonga, Niue, Fiji, Tokelau and Tuvalu. The older generations usually speak their original language, but many of the younger generations do not. Some researchers consider that a distinct Pasifika variety of NZE is developing; others regard it as a variety of Māori English, with which it has many features in common, such as the stopping or fronting of the interdental fricatives and /z/-devoicing (Bell and Gibson 2008; Gibson 2016). As noted previously, non-prevocalic /r/ is frequent in South Auckland, in particular amongst the Pasifika community. In addition, low levels of linking-/r/ have been noted, as well as non-aspiration of initial /p/ and devoicing of final consonants. Starks (2008) found that Samoan, Tongan and Niuean speakers patterned together in terms of front vowel pronunciation, as did NZ Māori and Cook Islands Māori speakers. Pasifika words like *Palagi* (a white or non-Polynesian person), *lava-lava* (wrap-around skirt worn by both men and women), *taro* (a root vegetable, used like potato) and *umu* (an earth oven like a Māori *hāngī*) are now well accepted into NZE and would not need to be glossed in a newspaper.

Written New Zealand English

For many novels written by New Zealanders, it is the content rather than the language that is distinctively New Zealand. Place names or distinctive flora (such as *cabbage trees* or *kauri*) or fauna (birds such as *tui, kiwi* or *kakapo*) immediately mark a written text as coming from or referring to NZ, as does the use of NZ experiences such as *going flatting* (moving away from the family home into shared accommodation) or *the great OE* (overseas experience), both of which are rites of passage for young New Zealanders. Māori authenticity can be similarly added by using Māori concepts. In *Tu* (2004), Patricia Grace uses very few Māori words, but the main character constantly longs to go home to be under his mountain – when Māori introduce themselves, they always name the mountain and river with which their *iwi* (tribe) affiliates. All these features add to the authenticity of a work from the perspective of NZ readers, as in the following example from *The Burning Boy*, where the place names are fictitious (Gee 1990: 54):

> South through Darwood, past the meat-works, round two sides of Schwass's berry farm. The road ran straight through pea fields, then followed the curving south shore of the inlet. She saw plover in the fields and black-backed gulls and herons on the mudflats. Tar-seal gave way to metal. She drove up a valley in low hills, leaving dust as fluffy as whipped egg-whites behind her. John Toft's orchard lay at the head of the valley. Beyond it the road stopped. A padlocked gate and a clay forestry track went into pines.

By contrast, using the names of the two main islands without an article immediately marks the text as inauthentic to NZ readers. Phrases like *he went to North Island* or *they lived in South Island* can sometimes be found in novels not written by New Zealanders. When they are used as nouns, the two islands always take the definite article – *The North Island* and *The South Island* (also known as *the Mainland*, again with the article); they can only be used without the article adjectivally – *North Island towns* or *South Island wineries*.

Sometimes Māori English is represented in novels. In *Encounter* (Hilliard 1971), Paul, who is not Māori, is with a group of Māori in a pub:

> Paul knew things were not going his way. He said, "Can't we just leave it at that then. Can I buy yous all a beer?"
>
> "Why did you say *yous* all?"
>
> "Look, are you having a drink or not?"
>
> "Is it because you think that's a Māori way of talking? Are we supposed to fall in love with you because you suddenly start talking Māori English like we do – or like you suppose we do?"
>
> *(1971: 276)*

In *Once Were Warriors* (1990), Alan Duff's main characters, who live in a very rough State Housing area, do not know Māori, so that Beth is initially angry when speeches are made in Māori at her daughter's funeral. 'Beth not understanding. Not the language, not their insistence that she bring her child home [to the tribal marae] for proper farewell. Beth half resenting the male elders, their privileged position, their secret language that only they and a few others knew' (1990: 120). All the major characters talk Māori English, with the proportion of non-standard features often representing the degree of drunkenness.

> Fear on the associate's face. Real fear. Like he's walked into a nightmare and only just realised it. Nig feeling sorry for him, Okay lettem fight, the scared fulla agreein. The Brown givin im a wicked smile: Thas cool, man. Make it in half an hour; give my boys time ta warm up. Chuckling at the scared dude. C'mon, boys. pulling his three dogs away. Y'c'n have ya suppa in half an hour. Laughing.
>
> *(1990: 144)*

The most distinctive feature of written NZE is the use of Māori words and phrases. Modern novels usually reflect the current prohibition on code-switching. In *Potiki*, Patricia Grace

(1986) uses Māori terms for the *wharenui* (meeting house), the *wharekai* (dining room) and *urupa* (cemetery), and the recurring theme is that the people were not *pohara* (poor), but even the children do not code switch. In *Whale Rider*, Witi Ihimaera (2003) uses Māori words which are now part of general NZE usage within English sentences, as in, '"Kia ora" she breathed as she gave me a hongi [touching noses in greeting]' (2003: 78), but Nanny Flowers uses either English or Māori: 'Enough of the loving! You and me are working girls! Haere mai! [come here] Kia tere! [hurry up]' (2003: 78). Koro addresses the whale totally in Māori – but only the final sentence here is repeated in English: 'Then, in the wind and the rain, Koro Apinana had approached the whale. "E te Tipua," he called, "tena koe" [greetings, Supernatural Being]. Kua tae mai koe ki te mate? Ara, ki te ora.' There had been no reply to his question: 'Have you come to die or to live?' (2003: 113).

This section has necessarily been selective rather than comprehensive. However, it does demonstrate the different ways in which a distinct NZ voice can be heard in literature.

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Notes

1 Wells' (1982) lexical set labels, given in small capitals, are used to refer to vowels in English varieties.
2 The transcription system used in this chapter is that recommended for NZE by Bauer and Warren (2004).

Suggestions for further reading

Bauer (1994) provides a good overview of NZE, while Gordon et al. (2004) provides a full account of the history and development of NZE, including a summary of early research on the variety, and Hay, Maclagan and Gordon (2008) is designed for a more general readership and provides a thorough overview of the current state of NZE together with a chapter on its origins and development. It also contains an annotated bibliography.

For current details on the Māori language, see Statistics New Zealand 2014. The official statistics web site is www.stats.govt.nz. For a careful evaluation of the current health of the Māori language, see Bauer 2008.

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Section 2
Regional varieties

9

The development of the English language in India

Joybrato Mukherjee and Tobias Bernaisch

Introduction

Over the past 400 years, the English language – once transplanted to the Indian subcontinent as the language of the British colonizers – has developed into an integral part of the linguistic repertoire of India, with the pull towards English growing even stronger in the post-Independence period. This process has been marked by the emergence of a distinctly Indian variety of English which fulfils a wide range of communicative functions in present-day India and which is a significant vehicle for Indian identity construction for a relatively small, but substantial and increasing, part of the population. In fact, according to various estimates, the number of speakers of English in India ranges between 50 and 125 million today – which makes Indian English the second-largest variety of English worldwide, outnumbered only by American English. The present chapter describes the development of English in India by (a) sketching out the various stages of the diachronic development of English in India from the early seventeenth century to the twenty-first century, (b) systematizing the characteristic features of present-day Indian English from a synchronic perspective and (c) pointing out some prospects for future research.

Diachronic development: English in India 1600–2010

Describing the formation of Indian English: an evolutionary model

The development of a new variety of English in the Indian context is in many ways a prototypical example of the emergence of what Kachru (1985a) labelled *institutionalized second-language varieties*, that is, varieties of English in postcolonial settings which are based on educated speakers' use of English as an additional language for a wide range of institutionalized contexts (e.g. in administration, in the education system, in newspapers). In the following, the process of institutionalization will therefore be described along the stages of Schneider's (2003, 2007, this volume) dynamic model of the evolution of postcolonial Englishes:

- Phase I – *Foundation*: In this initial phase, the English language is transported to a new (colonial) territory.

- Phase II – *Exonormative stabilization*: There are a growing number of English settlers/speakers in the new territory, but the language standards and norms are still determined by the input variety and are thus usually oriented towards British English.
- Phase III – *Nativization*: The English language becomes an integral part of the local linguistic repertoire, with increasing numbers of competent bilingual L2 speakers of English from the indigenous population and novel linguistic structures in lexis and lexicogrammar.
- Phase IV – *Endonormative stabilization*: After independence, English may be retained as a/an (co-)official language and a medium of communication for a more or less wide range of intranational contexts (e.g. administration and the press, academia and education); in this phase, a new variety of English establishes itself with generally accepted local standards and norms.
- Phase V – *Differentiation*: Once a new English variety has become endonormatively stabilized, it may develop a wide range of regional and social dialects.

Foundation phase

The first Englishman to actually use English in India was Father Thomas Stephens, who came to India in 1579. The letters he sent home from Goa can be seen as the first items of 'Anglo–Indian literature' (Ward and Waller 1916: 331). In 1600, a royal charter was granted to the East India Company, which led to the establishment of trade centres and to a steadily growing influx of English merchants. They began to interact both with the Moghul emperors of various Indian states and with local Indians for reasons of trade. Besides trade, British missions were set up, their educational facilities attracting Indians who were also taught English in the missionary schools. Later, the British army also recruited many Indian soldiers (with a high proportion of Sikhs, a small religious minority based in Punjab). In spite of such pockets of early interaction between settlers and locals, however, for the first 150 years or so, the British colonizers and their descendants certainly continued to feel entirely British, while the local population regarded English as a clearly foreign language. In the mid-eighteenth century, it became clear, however, that the British colonial rule would be in place for a longer period of time – and with it the English language. The use of English in India thus became 'stabilized', but still 'exonormatively', that is, on grounds of external (British) standards.

Exonormative stabilization

In the eighteenth century, the Moghul Empire in India gradually declined, resulting in a century-long struggle for mastery over India, fought between the British, the French, the Hindu Marathas and the Muslim leaders in the North and South of India. Britain became more and more engaged in the rivalries and conflicts on the subcontinent and established footholds in various coastal areas, especially on the West coast (the Bombay area) and the East coast (in Bengal). The victory of the British forces in the Battle of Plassey in 1757 marks the beginning of the British Empire in India as it established British administrative and political power over the provinces of Bengal and Bihar, the starting point for the colonization of the entire subcontinent over the next decades. The Regulating Act (1773), turning the East India Company into a British administrative body, and the East India Bill (1784), passing the control of the East India Company from the British parliament to Her Majesty's government, indicated the consolidation of British supremacy over India. One could thus view the second half of the eighteenth century as the beginning of the second phase in the evolution of Indian English, that is, its exonormative stabilization.

Both the settlers and locals were now fully aware that British presence in India was not to be a transient phenomenon and that, accordingly, the language of the new power would stay and become increasingly important: in the early nineteenth century, Britain controlled almost the entirety of India, either by direct rule or by setting up protectorates over Indian vassal states that were ruled by Indian princes. The growth of British power made more and more British people come to India. From the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, many more missionaries arrived, spreading the English language among Indians, and many more Indians enrolled in the British-Indian army. Naturally, in this phase, a range of local Indian words were absorbed by the English language that referred to items unique to the Indian context (e.g. *curry*, *bamboo*, *mango*, *veranda*). Despite the influx of Indianisms in the English language in India, the standards and norms of the English language in general – as used by the settlers and taught to the indigenous population – remained British and thus exonormatively set.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a relatively small but influential group among Indians became interested in Western and English education, culture and sciences. This was complemented by a growing interest among British linguists, philosophers and scientists in Indian traditions and expertise in their respective fields of research. Against this background, the colonial administration had to decide on what kind of language-educational policy to follow in India: should Indians be taught primarily in their local languages, or should there be an education system with English as the medium of instruction? While the Orientalists suggested that education for Indians should focus on Indian languages, literature and culture, the Anglicists viewed the English language as the more appropriate medium of instruction for two reasons: (a) English language and culture were regarded as more valuable than Indian languages (including Sanskrit) and (b) the establishment of a bilingual élite among the Indians would help the British to stabilize their position as the supreme power over the subcontinent. In his famous *Minute on Indian Education* (1835), Thomas Macauley made a strong plea for an English-medium education system for a new 'class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect'. Macauley's ideas were officially accepted by the colonial administration, so that soon afterwards, an English-medium school system, especially designed for the education of the growing class of Indians to be appointed as members of the Indian civil service, was established. English became the sole language of instruction in secondary schools and also in the first universities in India, which were founded in Bombay (today: Mumbai), Calcutta (today: Kolkata) and Madras (today: Chennai).

Nativization

Macauley's (1835) *Minute on Indian Education* marks the first step towards the beginning of nativization of the English language in India. It is in this phase that both the settlers and locals start constructing a new identity and that the two strands become more and more intertwined in the process of the changing identity construction. However, the creation of a new local identity – feasible as it may become – is not (yet) reflected in all spheres of the linguistic, social and political reality.

As for the indigenous population, English and European literature and culture infiltrated the Indian intelligentsia through the English-medium education system. What Macauley and others had not taken into account was that an 'Anglicist' education would also mean that

Indians became familiar with Western ideas and ideals like democracy, enlightenment and self-determination, fuelling the struggle for Independence (cf. Nehru 1946: 319).

In fact, a major factor in creating a pan-Indian freedom movement in the nineteenth century was the English language itself: against the background of the multilingual setting of India, with its more than 600 local languages, the English language provided a welcome all-Indian communicative device that made it possible for Indian intellectuals from all over the subcontinent to jointly agitate against British rule and thus to form an all-Indian political identity. The growing acceptance of – and the increasingly positive attitude towards – the English language in India has a lot to do with the fact that the 'English language contributed substantially in achieving national integration' (Rao 2003: 1).

Meanwhile, for the British people in India, the subcontinent turned into a more and more Anglophone territory, making them feel less alien and – positively as well as negatively – at home in India. Thus, in the mid-nineteenth century, the settler and the indigenous groups began to become intertwined: a local, partially shared identity emerged both among British settlers and Indian locals, and the English language entered a long and tumultuous process of nativization, lasting for more than a century and marked by various political key events that intensified the ongoing nativization, the two most significant events being (a) the Great Revolt of 1857/58, triggered by the mutiny of the Indian army in Meerut and soon becoming a popular rebellion, and the final victory of the British army, and (b) the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress of India in 1877, with an almost omnipotent viceroy representing the British Crown in India and reigning as an absolute monarch.

Sociolinguistically, these events firmly (re-)confirmed the status of English as the language of power and dominance. More British people came to India, and India turned from a colony *inter alia* to perhaps the most central part – the 'Jewel' – of the British Empire, with the British colonial power in turn viewing itself as an integral part of Indian politics and, more importantly, Indian identity.

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, a growing number of permanent residents of British origin came to stay in India, and many more Indians of the upper class and the higher middle class learned English – the only language that would guarantee access to, for example, highly esteemed university education in England and to the Indian civil service in India. It is in this very period that the English language in India, at least as it was used by well-educated indigenous users, began to change slowly but gradually towards a variety in its own right, marked not only by heavy lexical borrowing but also by phraseological and grammatical innovations (i.e. forms not found in the British English input variety, e.g. *England-returned*, *blessings-message*) and phonological changes (e.g. monophthongization of diphthongs such as /eɪ/ and /əʊ/): thus, the late nineteenth century marks the beginning of the emergence of 'educated' Indian English, that is, a standardizing form of Indian English.

The process of nativization of English in India did not stop when India became independent in 1947. On the contrary, it may be viewed as a historical irony that the Constitution of the Republic of India, which was passed by the Constituent Assembly in 1949 and came into effect in 1950, had been written in English. Although the English language is not listed among the 22 official national and regional languages in the Indian Constitution, it is only the original English version of the Constitution that is legally binding even today (cf. Basu 1999: 391). However, since provisions were made in the Constitution for a replacement of English by Hindi (the mother tongue of approximately 40% of the population of India) for all official purposes after 15 years, one could have expected that nativization would have stopped at some point after Independence and that, as in some other former British colonies, the English language would have entered a process of fossilization or even 'de-nativization' as theoretically envisaged in Moag's (1982) life cycle of non-native Englishes. However, this has not happened. Rather, the English language has been transformed into an endonormatively stabilized variety of English in the post-Independence period in India and in many other postcolonial territories.

Endonormative stabilization

For a variety of English to enter the stage of endonormative stabilization, there must be some sort of inner agreement in a speech community on the status and the usefulness of the English language. Thus, endonormative stabilization is usually a stage that can only be reached at some point after Independence, as it is only then that the status and range of use of English can be (re-)negotiated without the interference of a colonial power.

It is difficult to pinpoint the precise beginning of this phase in the development of English in India. According to Schneider (2003, 2007), an 'Event X' – that is, 'some exceptional, quasi-catastrophic political event' (2003: 250) – usually marks the acceptance of an independent local pan-ethnic identity, the transformation of English from a foreign to an indigenous language and thus the final emancipation from the historical input variety. It seems that the political events of the 1960s played a crucial role in this context. This was the time when, according to the Indian Constitution, English was to be replaced by Hindi altogether. The early 1960s were marked by an unprecedented escalation in the lingering conflict between the northern parts of India, where Hindi was propagated as the only national language, and the southern parts, where many people forcefully rejected the idea of Hindi as the only national language because it was a non-native language for them. The language riots of the 1960s could be regarded as a language-political type of 'Event X', because they made the political parties readjust their stance on language policy and ensure the continuing use of the English language in India: the Official Language Act, passed in 1963 and amended in 1967, laid down that English continued to be used for official purposes alongside Hindi, and in 1976, official language rules were formulated to specify the various official communication situations at federal and state level in which Hindi and/or English were to be used. In the field of English language teaching, a compromise was found between Hindi-only proponents and supporters of English as the only official language of the Union, namely the three-language formula: according to this formula, Hindi, English and a regional language are taught in every state (cf. Biswas 2004). In states with Hindi as the regional mother tongue, a South Indian regional language is taught. Despite major problems and shortcomings, this formula has been at the heart of language policy in India in the education system over the past four decades (cf. Krishnaswami and Sriraman 1995). From the 1960s onwards, neither the status of English as the second official language of India (often labelled as *associate additional language* or *associate official language*, cf. Mehrotra 1998: 7) nor the wide range of communicative functions fulfilled by English has been under serious attack. On the contrary, the English language has steadily gained ground over the last 50 years. From the 1960s onwards, the situation of the English language in India has thus been marked by features and factors typical of the emergence of an endonormatively stabilized variety:

- English has been retained in a wide range of communication situations, including administration and politics, education and academia, the press and book publications, and it has been increasingly used as a pan-Indian link language (cf. Mehrotra 1998: 7ff.).
- Additionally, the English language serves as the only official language in various contexts, even at the federal level (most notably as the language of the Supreme Court)

and as one of the official principal languages of four states and union territories (i.e. Chandigarh, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Pondicherry).

- Many Indian writers have adopted the English language as their communicative vehicle, including the highly esteemed and award-winning works of authors such as Upamanyu Chatterjee, Bharati Mukherjee, Arundhati Roy and Salman Rushdie. This led Rushdie (1997: x) to the conclusion that '"Indo-Anglian" literature represents perhaps the most valuable contribution India has yet made to the world of books.'
- English has undergone a process of *structural nativization*, 'understood as the emergence of locally characteristic linguistic patterns' (Schneider 2007: 5f.). These patternings lead to deviations from the input variety of British English at the levels of pronunciation, lexis, grammar and style, and they have been increasingly accepted as features of a non-native variety of English in its own right, for which various labels have been coined, for example, Indian Varieties of English (IVE) and Educated Indian English (EIE). The most commonly used (and most neutral) label is Indian English (IndE). The linguistic features on the various levels of description of the educated variant of Indian English will be summarized subsequently.
- On the grounds of the emerging acceptance of and positive attitudes towards the local variety of English (cf. Bernaisch and Koch 2016), attempts have been made to describe the Indian variety of English systematically and empirically, including, for example, Kachru's (1983) qualitative work on the Indianization of English, which has exerted an enormous influence on the description of all second-language varieties of English, and a growing body of quantitative analyses on the basis of large and computerized corpora of Indian English (cf. e.g. Shastri 1992; Sedlatschek 2009; Schilk 2011; Lange 2012).
- There have also been early attempts to codify the most salient features of Indian English pronunciation, lexis and grammar, most notably in Nihalani et al.'s (1979) handbook of usage and pronunciation, of which a more recent second edition is also available (cf. Nihalani et al. 2004). In this context, there is also a growing awareness that English language teaching in India can no longer be based on the fiction of a British English target model but should focus on the educated local variant of English (compare, for example, Nihalani et al.'s [1979: 228] suggestion for an Indian Recommended Pronunciation [IRP] as a 'model to be prescribed for speakers of English in India').

Although Indian English can thus be viewed as a largely endonormatively stabilized variety in its own right, the present-day situation is also characterized by some remnants of the nativization phase. For example, one can still find many exponents of what Kachru (2005) has repeatedly labelled *linguistic schizophrenia*, that is, the fact that many competent Indian users of English accept English as an integral part of their linguistic repertoire but at the same time reject the local variant of English at hand once they become aware of the differences between British and Indian English. In this context, the persistence of a 'complaint tradition', that is, the 'stereotypical statement by conservative language observers that linguistic usage keeps deteriorating' (Schneider 2007: 50), should not go unmentioned (cf. e.g. D'souza 1997; Sanyal 2006).

Differentiation?

Although Indian English is sometimes referred to as a network of Englishes with differing degrees of evolutionary progress (cf. Hosali 2008), we cannot observe a systematic and widespread social and regional diversification of the new variety into stable and distinctive subvarieties such as, for example, can be found in present-day American English. It is for this reason that it is often argued that present-day Indian English has not (yet) entered the stage of differentiation (cf. Mukherjee 2007; Schneider 2007; Lange 2012). In fact, it may well be that differentiation is a stage that is bound to postcolonial settings in which English becomes the dominant first language of the majority of the population and does not remain an additional or second language for most speakers. This said, it needs to be stressed that English language use in India is marked by some degree of internal variation – but the variation is related to a much larger extent to different levels of language competence (i.e. to a *cline of bilingualism*, cf. Kachru 1983) and to the influence of different first languages (i.e. L1 interference) rather than to social and regional variables *per se*.

Synchronic manifestations: characteristic features of present-day Indian English

Having sketched out the historical development of the English language in the sociocultural context of India from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century, some of the most salient features of Indian English will be summarized. Brief mention should be made of the two major factors that lead to variation within English usage in India and Indian English, namely the level of competence and the interference from regional L1s.

In India, only a relatively small part of the population in urban areas, from the upper and middle classes and with access to English-medium schools and universities use the educated standard variant of English – it is this variant that is usually referred to as Indian English. It is useful to use the term *acrolect*, which is borrowed from creole studies, to refer to this ‘high’ variety linked to the top of the social and educational scale (as is done, for example, by Fernando 1989 in the Sri Lankan context). Many more people with different backgrounds of class and education have a markedly lower level of competence and proficiency in English and thus use different kinds of substandard varieties of English, which can be subsumed under the category of *mesolects*. The bottom of the gradient of competence is represented by a wide range of reduced and pidginized forms of English, so-called *basilects*, for which different labels have been used, for example, *Baboo English*, *Broken English*, *Butler English* and *Kitchen English* (cf. Hosali 2000, 2008).

The most important factor that leads to variation within the educated variant of Indian English as the standard acrolectal variety is the regional background of the individual speaker and, linked to it, his/her specific first language. As Indian English is a largely non-native variety and thus typically a speaker’s additional second (or third) language, there may be transfer effects from his/her first language on English, either due to general features of certain language families (e.g. Indo-European languages in the North vs. Dravididan languages in the South) or due to specific language features of individual Indian languages (e.g. Hindi vs. Tamil). Regional differences are most prominent at the level of pronunciation; Gargesh (2008) provides a succinct overview of them. For example, while the vowel in *foot* is usually realized with a weakly-rounded [U] in Indian English, in some regions in North India (e.g. Bengal, Orissa, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh), it is also frequently produced as a long back [u:].

Features of standard Indian English

Most innovations in Standard Indian English different from British English (BrE) can be found in vocabulary, and Burnel and Jule’s *Hobson-Jobson* glossary dating back to 1886 (Teltscher 2013) and Nihalani et al.’s (1979, 2004) dictionary, as well as the approximately

850 entries marked as originating from Indian English in the Oxford English Dictionary (e.g. *carcoon*, BrE *clerk*, OED online) document many lexical items that are peculiar to Indian English. Many loanwords have been taken over from local languages, for example, *bandh* (BrE *strike*), *challan* (BrE *bank receipt*), *coolie* (BrE *porter*, *luggage-carrier*), *crore* (BrE *10 million*), *goonda* (BrE *hooligan*), *lakh* (BrE *100,000*), *mela* (BrE *crowd*) and *swadeshi* (BrE *of one's own country*). Indian speakers have also created new lexical items and compounds made up of English material, as it were, for example, *batch-mate* (BrE *class-mate*), *beer-bottle* (BrE *bottle of beer*), *to by-heart* (BrE *to learn by heart*), *inskirt* (BrE *petticoat*), *to off/on* (BrE *to switch off/on*), *to prepone* (BrE *to bring forward in time*), *schoolgoer* (BrE *pupil/student*), *shoebite* (BrE *blister*). Lexical items that belong to the lexicon shared by Indian English and other varieties of English may be used in different ways in Indian English, both grammatically (e.g. *both* is admissible with the negative form of the verb in Indian English [and generally on the increase across various World Englishes]) and semantically (e.g. the use of *boy* for BrE *butler*). Some lexical items that have an archaic flavour in British English (e.g. *thrice*) are still used much more frequently in Indian English.

Indian English also deviates from native varieties at the morphological level, for example, by extending the use of the suffix *-ee* (e.g. *affectee*, *awardee*, *recruitee*), the prefix *de-* (e.g. *de-confirm*, *de-friend*, *de-recognize*) and the zero-derivation of new verbs (e.g. *airline*, *public*, *slogan*).

Unlike vocabulary and word-formation, syntax tends to be quite stable in language change in general, but Indian English grammar also shows localized characteristics. Grammatical differences between Indian and British English are evident, for example, from the countability of nouns (e.g. BrE *a piece of chalk* → IndE also *a chalk*), invariant tag questions and question tags (e.g. BrE *He has left, hasn't he?* → IndE also *He has left, isn't it?/ . . . , no?*), the use of progressive forms with stative verbs (e.g. BrE *I simply don't understand* → IndE also *I am simply not understanding*) and the position of adverbs (e.g. BrE *I always drink coffee* → IndE also *Always I drink coffee*).

Recent corpus-based studies reveal that there are also innovations and new trends at the lexis-grammar interface in Indian English; however, the resulting differences between Indian English and British English are usually quantitative in nature and can therefore only be described by analyzing large amounts of natural data as included in large machine-readable text corpora. Sedlatschek (2009) offers a comprehensive corpus-linguistic study of Indian English based on conversational, newspaper and online texts. In comparison to other South Asian and inner-circle varieties, he identifies structures characteristic of Indian English on the levels of vocabulary (e.g. *timepass* as an Indian English neologism for *pastime* or *entertainment*), lexicogrammar (e.g. unrecorded particle verbs as in *Now it's for Dasmunshi to speak his mind out*) and syntax (e.g. inversion in direct *wh-* questions as in *How many shapes our country has?*). With a narrower focus on the verbs GIVE, SEND and OFFER, Schilk (2011) quantitatively highlights patterns of verb-complementational nativization in Indian English. Using face-to-face conversations from the Indian component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-India), Lange (2012) investigates the syntax of spoken Indian English with regard to a number of non-canonical syntactic structures such as non-initial existential *there* (e.g. *Food is there*) or left-dislocation (e.g. *So Hindi it was compulsory for us*), as well as pragmatic focus marking with *itself* and *only*. Resorting to the metadata available for some texts in ICE-India, Lange (2012) shows that (young) Indian women use structures characteristic of Indian English more often than Indian males. In conjunction with the observation that young Indian women have a markedly more positive attitude towards Indian English than other Indian age-and-gender groups (cf. Bernaisch and Koch 2016: 127), old hands at sociolinguistic research will probably not hesitate to predict further structural nativization of Indian English.

It should be noted that many of the innovations mentioned, for example, the extension of existing morphological rules of word-formation to new lexical items and the emergence of new particle verbs, are not caused by L1 interference. Rather, they are triggered by what has been labelled *nativized semantico-structural analogy* in earlier work (cf. Mukherjee and Hoffmann 2006: 166f.). For example, Indian English speakers draw an analogy between the semantics of the combination of the prefix *de-* and the verbs *stabilize* (leading to *de-stabilize* with the opposite meaning of *stabilize*) and *confirm*, licensing new verbs such as *de-confirm* (with the opposite meaning of *confirm*). Similarly based on nativized semantico-structural analogy, the verb *pre-pone* (as the opposite of *postpone*) is used by Indian English speakers to state that they want to arrange for an event to take place earlier than originally planned. With regard to new ditransitives, Indian users of English draw an analogy between the ditransitive meaning of established ditransitive verbs such as *give* on the one hand and the similar semantics of *gift* on the other, which makes Indian speakers use the same complementation pattern (i.e. *gift someone something*). Similarly, new prepositional verbs can be considered to be licensed by semantic and collocational patterns that already exist in the English language, as in the following example: IndE *discuss about* (verb) ← BrE *talk about* (verb) as a semantic template; *discussion* (noun) *about* as a collocational template (cf. Mukherjee 2009). Generally speaking, then, nativized semantico-structural analogy is a process by means of which non-native speakers of English as a second language introduce new forms and structures into the English language on grounds of semantic and formal templates that already exist in the English language system. These cases provide ample testimony to the fact that Indian English is a norm-developing variety and that new forms and structures are often based on inherently creative and structurally innovative processes which are guided by an inner logic and not necessarily triggered by interference.

Present-day Indian English as a semi-autonomous variety

Present-day Indian English is largely endonormatively stabilized, but some features of ongoing nativization can still be detected (especially the typical complaint tradition and the widespread linguistic schizophrenia; see previously). What is more, while historically the English language has been subject to a process of acculturation and localization in the Indian context (resulting in structural nativization), today many users of English in India view a high competence in English not only as a key to upward social mobility within India but also as a major vehicle to get access to international job markets (e.g. the United States). This international perspective in using English, which can also be found in various other Asian Englishes, has led Bolton (2008: 11) to hypothesize that the globalization of Asian industries and workforce might result in a 'reorientation of linguistic performance away from localized, intranational norms towards a "native-like" performance'. In fact, one could argue that the centrifugal forces that move Indian English further away from native Englishes, on the one hand, and centripetal forces that keep the norms of Indian English close to native Englishes for the sake of international intelligibility, on the other, are in a state of equilibrium, determining a *steady state* of progressive forces of language change and conservative forces of (native) norm persistence (cf. Mukherjee 2007).

It is in this context of the present steady-state situation of Indian English that the concept of Indian English as a *semi-autonomous variety* seems to be very appropriate. The notion of semi-autonomy captures three aspects of Indian English which have been pointed out repeatedly in a multitude of studies and which have, thus, been referred to in the description of Indian English in the preceding sections:

- Indian English is a variety based on – and including – the ‘common core’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 16), which has been largely set by native speakers of English and which is not subject to spontaneous language change (e.g. inventory of function words, the core vocabulary and the core grammar of English).
- Indian English is an ‘interference variety’ (Quirk et al. 1972: 26), since many linguistic peculiarities that are characteristic of Indian English are based on interferences from Indian speakers’ first languages (e.g. certain phoneme replacements and the trend towards syllable-timed rhythm).
- Indian English is a ‘norm-developing’ (Kachru 1985b: 17) variety, characterized by a wide range of linguistic innovations, peculiarities and deviations from other varieties which have developed autonomously within Indian English and are not triggered by interference (e.g. the extension of morphological rules of word-formation and the emergence of new ditransitive verbs).

Indian English as an epicentre for South Asian Englishes?

Particularly in light of increasing degrees of globalization, which have been argued to trigger structural localization processes with Englishes even in foreign-language countries without any colonial connection to the British Empire and English (cf. Buschfeld et al. 2018), it would be futile to present Indian English as a linguistic ecology isolated from the rest of the English-speaking world. While Mair (2013: 261) profiles American English as the ‘hyper-central variety or “hub”’ of the World System of Englishes exerting structural influences globally, more regional lead varieties with transnational appeal have been identified suggestively and referred to as linguistic epicentres; this status was already assigned to Indian English for the South Asian territory almost 30 years ago by Leitner (1992), but systematic research on whether this epicentral status of Indian English can empirically be verified is only now gaining more currency in the World Englishes community. Linguistic epicentres exhibit two central characteristics: they (a) are endornormatively stabilized and (b) ‘have the potential to serve as a model of English for neighbouring countries, i.e. exert an influence on other speech communities in the region’ (Hoffmann et al. 2011: 259). As shown previously, Indian English can certainly be regarded as an endonormatively stabilized postcolonial English, but a gold standard for showcasing that a particular variety (potentially) serves as a model for other neighbouring varieties is yet to emerge – mainly because much-needed diachronic World Englishes corpora are yet to be compiled. For this reason, synchronic datasets – in the case of South Asia, often the South Asian Varieties of English (SAVE) Corpus (Bernaisch et al. 2011) featuring newspaper language – have been consulted as shortcuts to gain first insights into the epicentral status of Indian English and its influence on surrounding varieties such as Bangladeshi English, Pakistani English or Sri Lankan English. Frequency counts of light-verb constructions (cf. Hoffmann et al. 2011) or *itself* as a presentational focus marker (cf. Bernaisch and Lange 2012) showed that Indian English is the South Asian variety with the highest frequencies of the South-Asian-specific variants of said structures. These findings have led, for example, Hoffmann et al. (2011: 276) to the conclusion that ‘most of our results . . . are compatible with the emergence of IndE as a model variety for neighbouring South Asian varieties’, but this status of Indian English was not corroborated in methodologically similar studies on the hypothetical subjunctive

(Hundt et al. 2012) or new ditransitives (Koch and Bernaisch 2013). A more explicit focus on the norm-providing model character of the South Asian linguistic epicentre is evident from studies of syntactic alternations, that is, the dative – *John gave Mary a book*. vs. *John gave a book to Mary*. – and the genitive alternations – *the girl's cat* vs. *the cat of the girl* – (Gries and Bernaisch 2016; Heller et al. 2017). As a first step, a variety-specific statistical model representing how datives and genitives are chosen is established for each South Asian variety. Second, for each of these variety-specific models, it is checked how well they predict the choices in the other South Asian varieties. Ultimately, that variety-specific model with the highest averaged predictive accuracies for the remaining varieties is considered the best model or – in other words – the epicentre for the region. Indian English was shown to be the epicentre for both the dative and genitive alternations. Yet further research into potential epicentral configurations in and outside South Asia is one of the central desiderata in World Englishes.

Conclusion and avenues for future research

In the present chapter, the historical development of English in India has been described from the beginnings of the colonization of the subcontinent to the postcolonial setting in which a new and endonormatively stabilized variety of English in its own right has emerged. It is marked by structural nativization at all linguistic levels, a wide range of communicative functions and an increasing acceptance as a vehicle for Indian identity construction, culminating in a growing and rich body of Indian English fiction writing. Some of the most salient linguistic features of the educated variant of present-day Indian English have been described, with examples from the areas of pronunciation, morphology and word-formation, lexicogrammar and syntax.

Future research needs to address the potential of Indian English as the South Asian epicentre via analyses of more lexicogrammatical and syntactic, but probably also lexical, features to understand pan-South Asian patterns of structural dissemination in a context of global and national influences on individual South Asian Englishes. Also informing epicentral studies, more research into speaker attitudes, issues of standardization and questions of norm development is needed. This is of particular importance for a wide range of practical fields of application, for example, the production of new Indian English dictionaries and grammars and the design of socioculturally appropriate curricula for English language teaching in India.

To fully understand the historical development of Indian English and really of any other variety of English, diachronic corpora are needed. Admittedly, data scarcity, lack of sociobiographic speaker information, illegibility of historical texts and so on are only some of the challenges to grapple with in the compilation of diachronic World Englishes corpora, but particularly in the light of the potential pitfalls of inferring diachronic varietal developments from synchronic analyses (cf. Gries et al. 2018), it is the most promising way forward.

Suggestions for further reading

Kachru, B.B. (2005) *Asian Englishes: Beyond the Canon*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. (A comprehensive account of Asian Englishes with a focus on South Asia)

Mehrotra, R.R. (1998) *Indian English: Texts and Interpretation*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (A wide range of Indian English texts and explanatory comments)

Nihalani, P. Tongue, R.K., Hosali, P. and Crowther, J. (2004) *Indian and British English: A Handbook of Usage and Pronunciation* (2nd edition), New Delhi: Oxford University Press. (The classic dictionary of Indian English)

Sedlatschek, A. (2009) *Contemporary Indian English: Variation and Change*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (The most comprehensive corpus-linguistic account of Indian English to date)

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10
Sri Lankan Englishes

Dushyanthi Mendis and Harshana Rambukwella

Introduction

English in Sri Lanka dates back to British colonization at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1802, Sri Lanka, then known as Ceylon, was declared a Crown Colony with English as its official language. Although Sri Lanka gained independence from the British in 1948, English continued to function as the country's *de facto* official language until 1956, when Sinhala became the sole official language as a result of the Official Language Act No 33. Official recognition was not accorded to English again until 1987, when it was included in the chapter on language in the Constitution of Sri Lanka (Government of Sri Lanka 1978). Attempting a description of English as it is used and spoken in Sri Lanka today is challenging because of the many complexities involved in terms of speakers, status and functions, dialectal variation and recognition and acceptance of the language.

The complex sociolinguistic position English occupies in Sri Lanka also challenges the homogenizing categorization of Sri Lankan English (SLE) as a second-language variety in global scholarship. The use and ownership of SLE are subject to tensions based on class, ethnicity and other sociocultural and ideological factors (Parakrama 1995, 2010, 2012; Kandiah 2010 [1989]; Rambukwella 2018a). As Tupas points out, the ideological neutrality of the World Englishes paradigm can occlude power relations between different varieties of English, and therefore it is necessary to focus on "Unequal Englishes" both on a global and national scale (Tupas 2015; Tupas & Salonga 2016). Ideology is not, however, a self-evident variable in two popular models used for the description and explanation of World Englishes – Kachru's (1985) concentric circles model and Schneider's (2003, 2007) dynamic model for the evolution of postcolonial Englishes – because both these models present an ideologically neutral descriptive analysis of World Englishes. This ideological neutrality underlies at least some of the inadequacies of both models, as neither model is capable of capturing the complex sociopolitical realities of English as day-to-day practice in many postcolonial societies, including Sri Lanka.

According to Kachru's concentric circles model, countries like Sri Lanka, which have a colonial history, are placed in the outer circle; they are seen as norm-enforcing, that is, as drawing on or looking to norms provided by an inner circle variety. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, norms are developing in SLEs that are independent of British English, its input variety. Also, as observed by Bruthiaux (2003), Kachru's model ignores variation within a particular locality – that is, the linguistic variations which result from the effect of sociocultural factors such as age, religion, ethnicity, method of acquisition and so on. Schneider's (2003, 2007, this volume) dynamic model, which attempts to chart an evolutionary path for Englishes in postcolonial settings, fails for the same reason – this model proposes that "a shared underlying process" drives the formation of all postcolonial Englishes and accounts for the many similarities between them (2007, p. 29). Similar to the descriptions of Kachru's inner, outer and expanding circles, Schneider's model adopts a one-size-fits-all approach and thus fails to account for the complex trajectory of the evolution of English in Sri Lanka. In order to be both accurate and valid, any description of SLE as a regional South Asian variety must acknowledge and address innovations in structure and form that arise in a multilingual and multicultural locale as well as differences in use which are the results of changing sociopolitical ideologies and the dictates of official language policy.

In spite of Sri Lanka being a country which explicitly addresses the uses and functions of English, Sinhala and Tamil in its Constitution, there still appears to be confusion about the position of English in Sri Lanka in terms of status and policy. Mukherjee (2012) asserts that English is an official language in Sri Lanka, perhaps because of its strong presence, particularly in the nation's capital, in matters of official and state administration, in education and in the media. However, English is not an official language in Sri Lanka, and neither does it have the status of a national language, as reported by Raheem and Ratwatte (2004). Sinhala and Tamil are the two languages that have both official and national status, as stated in Sri Lanka's Constitution, while English is recognized as a link language. No elaboration is provided as to what English is supposed to link, but one can assume that, given the history of the 30-year conflict between the predominantly Sinhala-speaking majority and sections of the Tamil-speaking minority, English was chosen to be a 'neutral' medium of communication between the two communities.

In terms of use and functions, however, English in Sri Lanka is far more than a mere 'link'. As in many other postcolonial nations, Sri Lanka has a well-developed literary tradition in English. English is still pervasive in many areas of officialdom; it is the language used in Sri Lanka's Supreme Court; it has a strong presence in the media and in advertising; it is making a comeback in the country's education system and it is the undisputed language of choice in the private business and commercial sectors. In other words, its hegemonic grip on the country is still very evident.

Given the often-contradictory tensions between description and use and status and function, it is not surprising that definitions of SLE and its speakers have tended to be vague or simplistic and often skirt a discussion of the complexities that have influenced or shaped the language into what it is today. Adding to the difficulties encountered in attempting a linguistic and functional description are the widely disparate attitudes prevalent about and towards SLE, ranging from outright rejection of its existence, through ambivalence, to the active encouragement of its use and institutionalization in education. Tracing the trajectory of the development of English from the early twentieth century to the present reveals some of these attitudes of rejection, ambivalence and acceptance expressed through choices of language use in different contexts. This demonstrates that to many of its speakers/users, SLE is not by any means a neutral code but one that is vested with a meaning and symbolism that operates at many different conscious and unconscious levels.

In this chapter, we will attempt to deal with each of these complexities as comprehensively as possible. We will problematize hitherto unchallenged assumptions about SLE and discuss its constitutional status, as well as the findings and implications of recent empirical linguistic studies, and point to the difficulty of pigeonholing an emergent and still-evolving code in order to make it fit into externally imposed models or typologies. Most multilingual South Asian societies were linguistically diverse and complex entities before the introduction of English. Its imposition today as the language of power and governance in each of these entities means that unique ethnic and cultural factors, both in conjunction and in opposition, have contributed to postcolonial frameworks that may have several commonalities but are also sufficiently diverse to resist easy categorization.

Speakers of Sri Lankan Englishes

In one of the earliest discussions on the English language in Sri Lanka (1943), Passé observes, "The small percentage of educated Ceylonese are 'English educated'; they know English and for the most part they know it well" (Passé 1979, p. 16). By the middle of the twentieth century, therefore, a small but nevertheless significant minority of Sri Lankans for whom English was the first or at least the more dominant language was established in Sri Lanka.

The argument that English is still spoken as a first language in Sri Lanka today is based on several factors – method of acquisition, environment of acquisition and domains of use (most importantly, the home), level of proficiency and primary language of choice in interpersonal communication. For a majority of speakers in Sri Lanka, however, English is a second or third language, used primarily for functional purposes. Almost all speakers of SLE today are bilingual, and some are trilingual (Kandiah 1981a; Gunesekera 2005; Meyler 2007). This widespread multilingualism should be placed in context beside the fact that, in Sri Lanka, English has been in close contact with Sinhala and Tamil for over two hundred years. This has resulted in the evolution of linguistic features that make SLE distinct from its original input variety – that is, British English – and continues to exert an influence in areas such as phonology, syntax, grammar and the lexicon.

The status and functions of English in Sri Lanka

Administration

The confusion that exists in relation to the constitutional status of English in Sri Lanka warrants some discussion. Article 22 of the Constitution, titled 'Languages of Administration' states:

(2) In any area where Sinhala is used as the language of administration a person other than an official acting in his official capacity shall be entitled:

  (a) to receive communications from, and to communicate and transact business with, any official in his official capacity, in either Tamil or English;
  (b) if the law recognizes his right to inspect or to obtain copies of or extracts from any official register, record, publication or other document, to obtain a copy of, or an extract from such register, record, publication or other document, or a translation thereof, as the case may be, in either Tamil or English;
  (c) where a document is executed by any official for the purpose of being issued to him, to obtain such document or a translation thereof, in either Tamil or English;

(3) In any area where Tamil is used as the language of administration, a person other than an official acting in his official capacity shall be entitled to exercise the rights, and to obtain the services, referred to in sub paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) of paragraph (2) of this Article, in Sinhala or English.

In many respects, Article 22 stands in contrast to Article 18, which merely states that Sinhala and Tamil are the official languages and that English is the link language in Sri Lanka. First, Article 22 elaborates and spells out the functions of English as Article 18 (3) does not. Second, and perhaps more importantly, Article 22 accords English parity of status with Tamil and Sinhala as a language of administration under certain circumstances. It allows for the right of official communication and the obtaining of official documents in English in an area of the country where a language other than a speaker's mother tongue is the language of administration. Whether this actually happens in practice, it can be read as the granting of some degree of official status and recognition to English.

The judiciary

A similar situation is found in Article 23, which specifies the languages of legislation in Sri Lanka: "All laws and subordinate legislation shall be enacted or made and published in Sinhala and Tamil, together with a translation thereof in English". Arguably, this may not accord parity of status to English with Sinhala and Tamil, but it does make an English translation a requirement. Sri Lanka's Constitution also spells out the languages that may be used in the country's courts in Article 24, and this is where the most obvious disparity can be seen between status and function. Article 24 (1) states,

> Sinhala and Tamil shall be the languages of the Courts throughout Sri Lanka and Sinhala shall be used as the language of the courts situated in all areas of Sri Lanka except those in any area where Tamil is the language of administration.

However, the language used in Sri Lanka's highest court – that is, the Supreme Court – as well as quite frequently in the Court of Appeals, is English. What these examples of the *de facto* status of English in administration and the judiciary clearly demonstrate is the strong presence the language has in important areas of governance in Sri Lanka, more than seventy years after independence from the British.

Education

The curriculum pertaining to the teaching of English in Sri Lanka's schools and several language policy decisions taken by universities and higher education institutes in the country reveal a reintroduction of the language as a medium of instruction after about forty years of mother tongue education (Sinhala and Tamil), resulting from the Official Language Act No. 33 of 1956. By the end of the 1960s, English had been phased out of Sri Lanka's education system (C. Fernando 1996). However, the 1980s saw a new phenomenon – the appearance of privately managed "International Schools", which were established as business enterprises and which did not come under the purview and dictates of the Ministry of Education, which would have meant adhering to the stipulation of mother tongue education as specified in the country's Constitution. The medium of instruction in these International Schools is English, and this option has proved so popular that there are now English-medium preschools for children as young as three years.

The 1990s saw the introduction of government-sponsored interventions designed to strengthen the teaching of English in all state and private schools in which the medium of instruction was either Sinhala or Tamil. These interventions applied at all levels of the curriculum, from Grade 1 to Grade 13. A policy of bilingual education came into practice in 2001, when English-medium instruction in science and mathematics subjects was introduced to selected schools at the secondary level (Grades 11 and 12). However, attempts at reintroducing English as a medium of instruction into the school system have met with several difficulties. Raheem and Devendra (2007) report on an initial dearth of teachers competent to teach in English, a lack of training provided for the new English as a Second Language initiatives introduced at the primary level in schools, and urban–rural disparities in terms of facilities and support for the new English language programs. Medawattegedera (2015), drawing on interviews with stakeholders in the education sector, observes that the Sri Lankan government's assumption that all students would have equal access to English has not been realized; on the contrary, English medium instruction has caused further problems by contributing to the emergence of groups of students in schools who see themselves as superior to their peers who are taught in either Sinhala or Tamil (Medawattegedera 2015) – an attitude reflective of the high prestige attached to a proficiency in English in Sri Lanka.

Interpersonal communication

There appears to be an increase in the use of English in interpersonal communication and in the domain of the home among young people in Sri Lanka, and this could very well be the result of a revitalization of English teaching in schools. Raheem's (2006) study of a group of university academics indicates an increase in the use of English among the informants' peers and children. More than half the group also reported that their language of choice would be English when talking to a superior. Although the study does not explain reasons for these choices, it is possible that an instrumental motivation underlies the use of English with children, while the use of English with a superior could be an acknowledgement of the prestige associated with knowing and using English in Sri Lanka. Künstler, Mendis and Mukherjee's (2009) survey of 122 participants, also drawn mostly from Sri Lanka's education sectors, reveals a correlation between age and the use of English in interpersonal communication. The younger the respondents, the more likely they were to use English in general topics with friends. A possible reason for this is the use of English in email and text messaging, the latter having become an extremely popular and widespread method of communication in Sri Lanka. In fact, text messaging appears to have created a linguistic space in which even those who are not very proficient in English are not afraid to communicate (Dahanayake 2015) as the usual prescriptive rules pertaining to correctness of spelling and grammar rarely apply to this type of discourse.

Sri Lankan Englishes: evolution, codification and stability

SLE has been referred to as a language (Gunesekera 2005; Meyler 2007), a dialect (Parakrama 1995; Gunesekera 2005; D. Fernando 2007), both a language and a dialect (S. Fernando 1985, 2008) and "an independent, distinctive and fully formulated linguistic organism" (Kandiah 1981a, p. 102). From a sociolinguistic point of view, SLE is all of these. It is a language in the sense of a superordinate term that can be used without reference to a dialect, whereas the term 'dialect' is meaningless unless it is implied that there is more than one dialect or a language to which a dialect can be said to 'belong', as explained by Haugen (1966); however, as Haugen himself points out, in reality, languages and dialects represent a dichotomy in a situation that is infinitely complex and are thus best represented as a continuum rather than in contrast with or in opposition to each other. This is certainly the case with SLE, which is by no means a 'fixed' or static code with no dialectal variation. The term 'variety' is also applied to SLE, as is to be expected, from a New Englishes, World Englishes or postcolonial Englishes perspective. This multiplicity of terminology, while sometimes confusing, is often necessary to convey all the connotations of a code that displays simultaneously the features of the input variety from which it derives its name as well as features which place it very firmly and without doubt in the sociolinguistic contexts from which it draws its current sustenance and on which it depends for survival.

Much of the available literature on the features of SLE has been largely impressionistic accounts not supported by representative samples of speakers or (in the case of phonology) instrumental acoustic analyses or by corpus data that reflect syntactic and grammatical language in use across a range of genres. In 2007, however, a dictionary of Sri Lankan English was published, the compilation of which shows an attempt at using a corpus-based approach.[1] Second, a corpus of Sri Lankan English (Bernaisch, Mendis & Mukherjee 2019) has been compiled as part of the larger International Corpus of English (ICE) project. Comprising 400,000 words of written SLE and 600,000 words of speech, this corpus is beginning to provide insights into distinctive features of SLE and patterns of use in a number of written and spoken genres.

Results of corpus-based research point to the appearance of innovative features and alternative norms in both written and spoken SLE. However, it is still too early to speculate, and the data are not sufficient to conclude that these are stable forms. Bernaisch (2012, p. 289) observes that "from an attitudinal perspective, the local variety of English in Sri Lanka is perceived positively in the local speech community, which could have a catalyzing function for its future development." Based on a group of acrolectal speakers' judgements related to the acceptability of a selection of innovative lexico-grammatical features in SLE, Keshala (2017) offers a more cautious assessment – that at present, SLE is going through a slow evolutionary process.

Phonology

The phonology of SLE is an area in which a fair amount of research has been published, and there appears to be broad agreement on phonological features that mark SLE (Parakrama 1995; D. Fernando 2007). However, most of these studies have focused on features of a high-prestige variety of SLE – that is, the dialect used by speakers for whom SLE is the first language. S. Fernando (2008), who suggests that at least four different dialects of SLE can be distinguished on the basis of fairly systematic features of pronunciation, is a notable exception, acknowledging the existence of mesolectal and basilectal varieties of SLE. However, empirical evidence is needed from speakers of these varieties before Fernando's observations can be confirmed.

The following list of phonological features is drawn from the early work of S. Fernando (1985) and the more recent observations of Meyler (2007) on the basis that the same or similar features being attested to after twenty years is a reasonable argument for relative stability. Before proceeding, however, a few points must be made. Fernando's 1985 list is much more comprehensive than Meyler's and includes features that Fernando herself refers to as "learner interlanguages" (1985, p. 53). Her differentiation between such features and those of a more 'standard' dialect of SLE is further support for the argument that SLE has more than one dialect. All of Meyler's observations, however, pertain to a high prestige variety of SLE, which he refers to as "standard SLE". The list that follows, therefore, is representative of features discernible in an acrolectal variety of SLE.

1 Replacing of [ɛɪ] and [əʊ] in British English with the long vowels [e:] and [o:].
2 Replacing the voiced fricative [ð] with a voiced dental plosive [d] and the voiceless fricative [θ] with a voiceless dental plosive [t]. Fernando (1985) adds that alveolar plosives in British English take on a slightly retroflex articulation in SLE.
3 The use of a labiodental frictionless continuant [ʋ] for both [v] and [w] in word-initial position.
4 Devoicing of [z] in word initial, word final and intervocalic positions.
5 In the case of the inflectional suffix -ed, SLE uses [əd] instead of the British English [ɪd]. Fernando (1985) describes this as the feature of placing a neutral vowel [ə] in all unstressed vowels in final syllables of words.
6 Primary stress tends to be placed on the first syllable of a word, which Meyler (2007) contrasts with British English, in which he says the stress would typically be placed on the second syllable.

In addition to these features, Meyler (2007) lists many examples of variable (i.e. not systematic) pronunciation, pointing to the unstable nature of SLE phonology. One such example cited is the pronunciation of the syllable containing the letter 'i' in the words 'granite', 'marine', and 'binoculars'. Meyler reports the use of a diphthong [aɪ] in SLE in contrast to [i] or [ɪ] in British English; however, some speakers of SLE use the high front vowel [i] in 'marine'. Similar variation is also found in the pronunciation of words such as 'direct' and 'finance'.

Syntax

A feature of SLE which it possibly shares with other South Asian varieties but, according to Meyler (2007), not with British English, is a marked difference between speech and writing. Several reasons can be posited for this, including an adherence to archaic written norms, even to the extent of seeming "dated and overly formal" (Meyler 2007, p. xiv), or a natural tendency on the part of speakers to maintain a distance between spoken and written codes, as in the case of Sinhala and Tamil, both of which are languages with diglossic features. Unfortunately, this is another characteristic of SLE that has to remain unsubstantiated by data at present due to the lack of representative corpora for the purpose of comparison. However, some preliminary findings on syntactic patterns in speech have begun to appear. For instance, Rajapakse (2008), using a small corpus of speech data recorded in the homes of informants from Sri Lanka's Burgher community – many of whom claim SLE as their first language – has been able to provide support for Kandiah's (1981b) observations of three syntactic structures he claims are characteristic of Sri Lankan English speech – ellipsis, focalization and topicalization.

Rajapakse (2008, p. 52) cites the following examples of ellipsis from the speech of her informants. The words omitted are given in brackets.

1 They hardly know that there's a community called Eurasians. Most of them have migrated. (There is) Just a handful here. (Male speaker, aged 65–90)

2 Where dressing is concerned also (there is) no place at all now. (Female speaker, aged 40–60)

Rajapakse's (2008, p. 53) speech data yields the following examples of focalization:

3 Now a Burgher is not heard of. (Female speaker, 65–90)
4 Today you can't say no who's a burgher and who's a Sinhalese. (Male speaker, 65–90)

Topicalization, interpreted by Rajapakse as the fronting of the topic of an utterance, is evident in the following speech excerpts:

5 Today's Burghers I don't think that fun loving. (Female speaker, 18–35)
6 The British they treat us very shabbily. (Male speaker, 18–35)

(Rajapakse 2008, p. 53)

Since Rajapakse's data is admittedly limited in terms of a relatively small number of speakers from a single Sri Lankan speech community, these findings can only be considered preliminary; they are, however, significant steps taken towards substantiating observations made about SLE before the advent of corpus-based techniques in analyzing and describing language use.

Grammar

In his dictionary, Meyler (2007) lists several grammatical features of SLE which he claims are in contrast with British English either in terms of use, frequency or both. As not all of these features can be addressed in a work of a general nature, we have chosen to discuss phrasal verbs. Meyler highlights two differences between SLE and what he refers to as British Standard English (BSE) in terms of the verb particle – in some cases, a phrasal verb in BSE such as 'throw away' is used without a particle in SLE, as in "Please don't throw my letter" (2007, p. xvii); in other cases, a particle is added in SLE which would not be found in BSE, as in "She couldn't bear up the pain" (2007, p. xvii). A third feature of SLE is the existence of phrasal verbs with meanings not found in BSE, such as 'put on' meaning to gain weight, 'go behind' a person meaning to approach someone with a favour in order to get something done and 'come down' meaning to fail (an examination or test).

Not surprisingly, with such variety, phrasal verbs in SLE have become a topic of pedagogical debate in relation to their syntactic and semantic 'correctness'. In an early study on perceptions of correctness of SLE lexico-grammar, D. Fernando (2007) asked 242 teachers of English from secondary schools in Sri Lanka to rate as correct or incorrect the use of a selection of SLE phrasal verbs in sample sentences. Five of these phrasal verbs, 'bear up', 'come down', 'pass out', 'take it up' and 'go as' received high percentages (over 70%) of correctness judgements from Fernando's respondents. If this is an indication of a collective sense of correctness developing among teachers of English, one can conclude that some parts of the grammar of SLE are evolving in directions that increase its distinctiveness from its input variety.

Morphology and the lexicon

The lexicon of SLE is another area that has been subject to a fair amount of discussion, especially in relation to Sri Lankan creative writing in English (see, for instance, Canagarajah 1994; S. Fernando 1989; D. Fernando 2011). These studies have tended to focus on Sinhala, Tamil or Malay words which have either been borrowed or assimilated into SLE and which writers have used to convey a particular contextual ethos or Sri Lankan ‘flavour’ through their creative work. However, written and spoken SLE reveals processes more complex than straightforward borrowing in the coining or creating of ‘new’ lexical items.

For instance, in addition to phrasal verbs, SLE has many noun compounds which are unique to the Sri Lankan context and can be found in *A Dictionary of Sri Lankan English* (Meyler 2007) along with their meanings. Some of these are ‘agency post office’ (a private post office), ‘border villages’ (Sinhala villages bordering traditional Tamil areas in the Northern, Eastern and North Central Provinces), ‘floor patient’ (a patient in a hospital without a bed, who has to lie on the floor), ‘jump seat’ (a folding seat in the aisle of a bus) and ‘line rooms’ (estate labourers’ accommodation). These compounds are the result of combining two English words, but others are combinations of Sinhala and English words, such as ‘boru part’ (putting on airs) and ‘peduru party’ (an informal party, usually with live traditional eastern music), that also exist in SLE. As observed by Meyler, however, while such compounds are fairly common features of informal SLE, they would not necessarily be considered acceptable in more formal written contexts.

A more creative morphological process is the application of English affixes to Sinhala words to form unusual and unique lexical items. Meyler refers to this process as one where non-English words are “Anglicised” (2007, p. xv). For instance, the affix -fy is added to a Sinhala word/term to create a colloquial verb in SLE, such as ‘rasthiyadufy’ (to go to a lot of trouble and achieve nothing) or ‘gnurugnurufy’ (to moan or whinge). The same process is sometimes applied to an English word in a manner not permitted in British or American English, resulting in a colloquial SLE verb as in ‘stingify’. The affix -ish is also sometimes employed to create ‘new’ words, as in the case of ‘vomitish’. A difficult question to answer is if such lexical items, which are a combination of an English and Sinhala/Tamil word or which have only an English suffix, should be considered part of the vocabulary of SLE. This can only be determined through wide-scale studies of acceptability and use, which have unfortunately not yet been undertaken.

In terms of orthography, SLE favours British spelling in most written contexts (Laskowska 2018). Based on data in a corpus of student essays and personal and business letters, Laskowska suggests that British English “remains a standard variety for schools” (2018, p. 164).

Sri Lankan Englishes: the future

That English occupies a niche in Sri Lanka from which it cannot easily be dislodged is beyond dispute. However, there is far less agreement on what variety of English this is, or should be. The belief that the English spoken in Sri Lanka is British English still exists. Gunesekera (2005) reports that a former president of Sri Lanka, the then-leader of the opposition and several prominent ministers in the government stated in response to a survey that they speak British English. However, as reflected in the responses to D. Fernando’s (2007) study, in which 81% of the respondents agreed that SLE refers to the accent of Sri Lankan speakers, one can argue that an awareness of SLE as a variety distinct from British or American English is not entirely absent.

When SLE is posited as a target or production norm, however, a more complex attitudinal picture emerges. In Künstler, Mendis and Mukherjee’s (2009) study, when asked what kind of English is spoken in Sri Lanka, 62% of the respondents selected the option “Other variety of English”[2] over RP or American English (with 30% specifying this variety as “Standard

Sri Lankan English"), but when asked what kind of English they would like to speak, 50% of the respondents selected RP, while only 40% chose "Other". Similarly, in response to the question "What kind of English do you think should be taught in schools?" 49% said RP, 38% said Other and 6% said RP and Other, pointing to a mismatch between the actual production form and the target norm the informants aim for (Künstler et al.). Clearly, a situation of "linguistic schizophrenia" (Kachru 1992, p. 60), not unusual with postcolonial Englishes, exists to some extent in Sri Lanka.

What does the future hold for English in Sri Lanka? Recent research indicates that the nationalistic ideologies of the 1960s and 1970s which rejected English (especially in education) have weakened (Mendis 2002; Raheem 2006). When asked about interpersonal communication, 97.5% of the respondents of Künstler et al.'s study stated that they would like to speak English, and 75.4% said they would be embarrassed if they had no English language skills. Based on these preliminary findings, Künstler et al. conclude that overall, it seems fair to assume that in the future, English will become even more firmly rooted in Sri Lankan society.

The final section of this chapter will discuss the use of English as a medium of creative expression in Sri Lanka. The discussion will show that some of the attitudes towards SLE described previously can be found, whether stated overtly or merely implicitly, in the history of Sri Lankan literature in English.

Sri Lankan writing in English

Creative writing in English has been a part of Sri Lankan literary culture since the late eighteenth century. In its early phases, this writing was largely limited to the British expatriate community, although a few Sri Lankan writers, such as James de Alwis, wrote and published in the early nineteenth century. A more substantial body of English writing is evident in the first half of the twentieth century, with British writers such as Leonard Woolf and Sri Lankan writers such as R.L. Spittel and Lucian de Zilwa producing novels which received some critical acclaim. However, it is with the increasing output of writing in the post-independence period that Sri Lankan writing in English (SLWE) becomes identifiable as a distinctive postcolonial category. The existence of SLWE also challenges the descriptive inadequacies of World English models in at least two ways. At one level, SLWE demonstrates the existence of English as a first language in a postcolonial society where it is not simply a functional register but a register of cultural and emotional expression. At another level, SLWE is also an arena in which the complex sociopolitics of language play out in postcolonial Sri Lanka – demonstrating the ideological tensions that World English models fail to acknowledge and incorporate.

There has been a steady increase in SLWE from the 1970s onwards, with both resident and non-resident writers contributing to its regional and international profile. The Gratiaen Prize, which is awarded annually for the best creative work in English (irrespective of genre) in Sri Lanka; the State Literary Awards sponsored by the Sri Lankan government, which include a specific award for writing in English and the Godage National Literary Awards, which also has an English category, give creative writing in English institutional recognition. Arguably this recognition has increased further in the last decade with a new annual prize for English writing instituted in 2016: the Fairway National Literary Award for a novel in English. The critical reception of SLWE, however, has remained mixed. The conceptual and ideological debates attending to the choice of English as a medium of representation in non-anglophone cultural contexts such as Africa and India have been largely absent in Sri Lanka. Sri Lankan writers, with the notable exception of Lakdasa Wikkramasinha (1941–1978), have generally not engaged extensively with either the poetics or politics of writing in English. This in turn has led prominent Sri Lankan critics to view most SLWE as lacking a substantial connection to the larger political or cultural ethos it emerges from (Kandiah 1971, 1997; Canagarajah 1994). Both Kandiah and Canagarajah have argued that stylistic, and at times thematic, innovation when it appears has largely failed to capture what are understood to be 'local' realities.

Stylistic analyses have looked at how language use – whether it is the use of metaphor; words borrowed from Sinhala, Tamil or Malay or experimentation with grammar – 'fits' the local reality it attempts to convey. Such analyses also often make a positive or negative evaluation of the writing based on its ability to be faithful to a perceived local reality, that is, how effective the writing has been in using English to authentically convey a non-anglophone ethos. However, such an approach is insufficiently critically self aware of how notions of authenticity are by-products of the politics of decolonization (Rambukwella 2018b). The irony here is how the nativism associated with ideas of "native English" – which was challenged by the World Englishes paradigm – is replicated at a national level where the vernaculars are seen as more authentic registers for representing local realities. Just as non-native Englishes were seen as inauthentic on a global scale, the use of English for local creative purposes is derided for its lack of authenticity. It is within this larger context that one has to understand local English writers' attempts to 'nativize' their writing and the largely negative critical response these early attempts received. Writers like Yasmine Gooneratne, James Goonewardene and Jean Arasanayagam who experimented with thematic and formal aspects of English writing in the 1970s and 1980s did so within a decolonizing framework where there was resentment towards English – precipitating a sense of beleaguerment among English writers.

Prior to the 1990s, when it was used in poetry or prose, SLE was a marker of a lack of education and a source of humour, with a variety of English close to the colonial standard used for the authorial/narrative voice in the text. While it is difficult to sustain a blanket claim that the Sri Lankan sociolinguistic landscape has altered radically, a greater fluidity in the use of SLE in general as a creative medium is evident in a number of recent publications. Also, we see that the inclusion of SLE does not necessarily serve the satirical purposes of earlier writers. Several recent novels suggest that, thematically and linguistically, Sri Lankan writers are relatively more attuned to the sociopolitical complexities of English in the country and at the same time use the language – that is, SLE – unapologetically and with far less self-consciousness.

For instance, Manuka Wijesinghe's *Monsoons and Potholes* (2006) is a satirical text that interweaves a personal and familial coming-of-age narrative with sociopolitical commentary. Most of the dialogue in the novel occurs in SLE, which complements its urban middle-class social setting. But *Monsoons and Potholes* also confronts the hierarchies associated with different varieties of SLE. For instance, the idea of "goday" or rustic or unfashionable pronunciation associated with speakers of English as a second or third language is treated comically, but at the same time such attitudes are also critiqued overtly.

Monsoons and Potholes has two subaltern characters who are accorded a limited register of SLE. One of them is Dasa, a Sinhala boy from a village who works as a domestic for the narrator's family. Predictably, Dasa's attempts at speaking English evoke humour among the narrator's family. However, where an earlier novel would not have gone beyond the humour, Wijesinghe uses a dialogue between herself (as the narrator) and Dasa to critique this attitude.

[Dasa] 'Your friends told me I should come as a DJ to their parties.'

[Manuka] 'Don't talk nonsense, as if they would ask you to come to their parties? You can't even talk English.'

> 'My name is Dasa. I go to village school. I live in village big house where Mr Tissa's mother living [Manuka's paternal grandmother], I am . . . '
>
> 'Not like that. You don't speak English like a person from a Colombo school.' Dasa looked hurt.
>
> 'Okay, your English is good, but it is different to ours,' I tried to pacify him. I realised that what I had said wasn't very nice. We English speaking people had a sense of linguistic superiority. It was an idiotic sense of superiority but it was hard to eliminate.
>
> (Wijesinghe 2006, p. 297)

Elmo Jayawardena's *Sam's Story* (2001) is a text that is less overtly concerned about issues of language than *Monsoons and Potholes*. Its central character, Sammy, is an intellectually challenged Sinhala villager whose quirky first-person perspective on contemporary Sri Lankan life forms the main narrative element of the novel. Seen through Sam's eyes, the lifestyle of his upper-middle-class employers appears pampered and protected. For instance, the socioeconomic realties of war are made explicit in the following excerpt:

> Our Boy [the master's son] knew very little about the war and what was going on. He only came here for holidays. To jump in the river and send his sky rockets, or row the red boat to build his arm muscles. This war had nothing to do with him. He was out of it, protected by who he was.
>
> The sad part is my two little brothers didn't know about the war either. They certainly had nothing to do with it.
>
> But then, they didn't have anyone to protect them . . .
>
> That's why Jaya and Madiya went to this miserable war, one to die, the other to run and hide and be called a coward . . .
>
> (Jayawardena 2001, p. 144)

As is evident, *Sam's Story* does not make a sustained attempt to 'localise' Sam's language but is arguably effective in conveying his perspective. What the text does, however, is mark Sam's non-English speaking identity by introducing some common mispronunciations of English words into his dialogue. Sam consistently pronounces the name of one of the pet dogs in the house, Brutus, as "Bhurus"; his master's favourite drink, Scotch, becomes "is-scotch" and aeroplanes are "aerobblanes". All of these can be used to ridicule 'uneducated' speakers of English. But in the case of *Sam's Story*, because the dominant perspective is Sam's, the 'proper' pronunciation is rendered ironic instead:

> 'No no Sam, it is not Bhurus, it is BRUTUS.'
>
> She [the master's daughter] would make her eyes big and give this funny growling sound; she called it rolling. She would start by tightening her mouth and extending her lips into a small round hole saying 'brrrrouuuuu' and go 'TUS' like breaking a stick . . .
>
> I never could get that funny sounding name. After a while she gave up. She stopped trying to correct me whenever I called my friend. I am not sure but I think she knew I was right. Once or twice I heard her ignoring her round mouth 'ooos' and stick breaking 'tusses' and calling my friend the way I did – Bhurus.
>
> Bhurus of course didn't mind . . .
>
> When I said 'Bhurus, come, come,' he came. I think he liked my name better, Bhurus.
>
> (Jayawardena 2001, p. 8)

Sam's Story illustrates that a non-anglophone perspective can be sympathetically and effectively represented in English without major linguistic innovation. The self-irony built into the narrative facilitates a critical view of the linguistic and social practices of the English speaking and/or affluent classes in the country without explicit concern about using English as the medium for such representation. Another notable text that uses different registers of SLE unapologetically is the critically acclaimed *Chinaman: The Legend of Pradeep Matthew* (Karunatilaka, 2011) by Shehan Karunatilaka. Described as a "crazy ambidextrous delight" by Michael Ondaatje on the cover of the book, this polyphonic novel explores several decades of Sri Lanka's recent history with a cast of characters representing numerous social strata and is linguistically innovative in how it mobilizes a "non-standard" register to represent one of its chief protagonists and freely use multiple SLE registers without positioning them hierarchically. Thus, the choice of English as a medium of creative expression no longer appears to raise the same fraught ideological issues as it did a few decades ago. Syntactic and grammatical structures of SLE which were once stigmatized and used for comic effect are being appropriated by newer writers who use them with a remarkable lack of self-consciousness and sometimes even with pride, giving them a legitimacy that they previously lacked. It remains, however, to be seen whether these recent trends in literature will create more awareness and eventually more acceptance and recognition of SLE as a distinctive South Asian variety among its speakers.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have attempted to provide a description of some of the distinctive features and contemporary uses of English in Sri Lanka. As is the case in most South Asian countries, the use of English is still associated with elitism and prestige in Sri Lanka. Close contact with two local languages, Sinhala and Tamil, has contributed to a richness of cultural and stylistic expression, as well as to dialectal variation. We take the position that the variations seen in phonology, grammar and syntax, as well as morphological and lexico-grammatical innovations, warrant the plural nomenclature Sri Lankan Englishes. In the future, we expect that increases in the number of users and the demands of global connectivity will result in even more intrinsic and extrinsic variation in the Englishes of Sri Lanka.

Notes

1 A word of caution is necessary here. Meyler's data on written SLE is drawn from a corpus of 30 novels. However, one of these is a translation from Sinhala into English, and about one third of the writers represented in the corpus do not live in Sri Lanka. It could be argued, therefore, that Meyler's corpus of creative writing may show the influence of other varieties of English; however, the context of all the books is Sri Lanka, and some authors, such as Shyam Selvadurai, although writing in Canada, use an instantly recognizable colloquial Sri Lankan idiom for the dialogue of their characters.

2 In order to avoid 'priming' the informants, Künstler et al.'s questionnaire did not specify SLE as one of the choices to this question. The category provided as an alternative to RP, American English and Indian English was "some other variety of English" (coded as "Other") and left open so that the respondents could identify the variety they were referring to, if they so wished.

Suggestions for further reading

Salgado, M. (2007). *Writing Sri Lanka: Literature, Resistance and the Politics of Place*. London: Routledge. (Salgado's text looks at a fairly representative selection of Sri Lankan writing in English. Salgado critically interrogates how nationalist boundary-marking operates in SLWE and also provides readings of moments where she believes texts/authors transcend such ethno-nationalist boundaries. This text has a useful and extensive references list that can direct readers to more material on SLWE and demonstrates that SLWE now has a distinct profile within postcolonial writing – one large enough to warrant sustained study.)

Goonetilleke, D. C. R. A. (2005). *Sri Lankan English Literature and the Sri Lankan People, 1917–2003*. Colombo: Vijitha Yapa Publications. (This is possibly the single most 'representative' work on Sri Lankan writing in English currently available. It contains chapters on a fairly extensive range of writers and traces the historical development of English writing in the country. Goonetilleke also attempts to position English writing in the context of writing in local languages, especially Sinhala.)

Coperahewa, S. (2009). The language planning situation in Sri Lanka. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *10*(1), 69–150. (This monograph gives a comprehensive historical introduction to the linguistic situation in Sri Lanka. It provides broad historical coverage on the development of local languages and the later introduction of English. Though the overall perspective is language planning and policy, there are substantial sections devoted to discussing the three main languages (Sinhala, Tamil and English) and their interrelationships. The text also has an extensive references section representing a large body of linguistic studies on Sri Lanka.)

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11

English in education in Bangladesh

World Englishes perspectives

M. Obaidul Hamid and Iffat Jahan

Introduction

This chapter aims to develop an understanding of the use of English in education in Bangladesh. The specific focus on *use* is to be contrasted with a *user* focus, a difference that is thought to exist between communication and identity (Kirkpatrick, 2007; Mahboob, 2018; Mahboob & Szenes, 2010). The chapter is informed by world Englishes (WE) perspectives. World Englishes has been defined in multiple ways, taking broader or narrower views (see Bolton, 2018). Following the former, we use world Englishes to refer to all varieties of English, including "native" and "non-native". While world Englishes has "established" itself as a field achieving increased recognition globally, its potential to describe the ever-increasing complexity of English in the world has come under critical scrutiny (see Bolton, 2018 for an overview of the critique). We therefore rearticulate WE in response to its recent critique and advance a particular perspective on local use of English – English as it is used in various ways and for various purposes in education. We also identify and comment on key features of English in this situated use. We do so not to attribute these features to what might be called "Bangladeshi English" as an emerging variety (see Hamid & Hasan, 2020). Nor do we intend to suggest where Bangladesh English may be located in the evolution of postcolonial Englishes (Schneider, 2007). Instead, we pursue a more descriptive aim to document how English is exploited in the education space, with reference to its nature, purposes and characteristics.

World Englishes and theorising English in the world

World Englishes provides an adept framework for understanding variable uses of English across societies. The basic argument behind the WE paradigm is that English is not a singular entity, as there are multiple Englishes in the world. Kachru's (1990) theory of concentric circles captures this variegated use of English by dividing the world of English into inner circle, outer circle and expanding circle, corresponding to three designations for English: as a native language (ENL), as a second language (ESL), and as a foreign language (EFL). A hierarchical view of English in the world is also clear from his observation that inner circle

English is norm providing, outer circle norm producing and expanding circle norm abiding. The WE paradigm has put forward three key arguments (Kachru, 1988). First, the multiplicity of Englishes means that there are multiple norms for English, not just native speaker norms. Second, local innovations in English must be recognised as features of a new variety. Third, the ownership of English can be claimed by all those who use English, regardless of the context. Underlying these arguments are principles of linguistic equality and justice in the use and ownership of English as a global language. English is used by a speech community to meet their communicative and identificatory needs. This use may not be dictated by norms produced in a distant centre. This is understandable because even native speakers of English had to reinvent English to meet their needs in the new colonies of America, Australia and South Africa. If the development of native varieties of English becomes imperative when their speakers relocate to another part of the world, the development of new varieties of English by its non-native speakers may be seen as equally imperative. Similarly, the process of linguistic creativity demonstrated by non-native speakers of English may not be different from how linguistic creativity is exercised by its native speakers.

These arguments underpinning the WE paradigm can be appreciated by comparing WE with the dominant second language acquisition (SLA) paradigm. Initiated by Sridhar and Sridhar (1986), the SLA-WE comparison has led scholars to work towards bridging the gap between the two paradigms (see Bolton and De Costa for a special issue on the topic in *World Englishes*). As Bolton and De Costa (2018, p. 2) note:

> While world Englishes has often taken a varieties-based approach to multilingual societies, SLA has investigated individual experiences of language learning and bilingualism. While mainstream SLA has focused on the cognitive and structural aspects of language learning, WE has been crucially concerned with the social aspects of language acquisition in multilingual societies.

Traditionally, SLA has claimed universality of ENL norms for English learning and use across ESL and EFL contexts. WE challenges this position on linguistic, sociolinguistic, educational and sociocultural grounds in its arguments for local norms. The SLA paradigm tends to view non-native speakers of English as its passive recipients without the right to linguistic ownership or creativity. Although the SLA requirements of maintaining native standards are motivated by intelligibility and communicative efficiency, such requirements are not necessarily underpinned by a clear understanding of how intelligibility works in communication (see Canagarajah, 2018). On the other hand, the emphasis on native standards may be seen as pursuing hegemonic agendas benefitting inner circle nations (Tupas, 2015).

While WE has been gaining ground relative to SLA, it has also been criticised from various perspectives. First, Kachru's circles have been critiqued for fixing Englishes within national boundaries. This "boundary-drawing and naming" practice may be seen as ideological work that does not correspond to the sociolinguistic reality of English or its dynamic character (Mahboob & Szenes, 2010; Sewell, 2019). The validity of this critique is provided by the growing relevance of WE in inner circle contexts, where new varieties of Englishes are travelling with increased global mobility and migration (Baratta, 2019). However, this linguistic mobility and dynamism do not necessarily undermine the basic arguments of the WE paradigm. English and other languages may be used as mobile rather than static linguistic resources. If we take the perspective of globalisation, multiple norms of English and bilinguals' creativity can be upheld, regardless of the circle.

Second, describing varietal features of new Englishes as the key WE goal has been critiqued. The goal is seen as undermining the situated practice of English, as it focuses on English only on the one hand and prioritises linguistic structures over practices on the other (Horner & Lu, 2012; Pennycook, 2008; Prinsloo, 2012). However, the critique may be responded to by pointing out that identifying linguistic features of new varieties is not the only aim for WE, as consideration is given to "a wide variety of topics ranging from discourse analysis to the sociology of language, from applied linguistics to contact linguistics, and from critical linguistics to bilingual creativity" (Bolton, 2018, p. 8). Similarly, localisation may make English a hybrid rather than a singular entity, reflecting the influence of other languages. Therefore, a local variety of English may not be seen as a monolingual entity. Nevertheless, it may be argued that the new varieties of English do not reflect translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2013; Garcia & Li, 2014; Li, 2018; Li & Tong King Lee, this volume) that seek to deny traditional boundaries of languages. Although the hybridity of non-native varieties of English suggests cross-linguistic potential, the extent to which this happens in reality is an empirical question. Considering this, we have adopted the view of language as a situated practice (Horner & Lu, 2012; Prinsloo, 2012), which allows us to examine English as it is used in various contexts within the education domain. This enables us to examine whether English is used monolingually or whether it is used alongside or together with other languages (Horner & Lu, 2012; Pennycook, 2008).

Finally, it is argued that English as a lingua franca (ELF) as a parallel perspective on global English may have occupied much of the territory belonging to WE (Saraceni, 2015). If Kachruvian WE has its focus on the outer circle, ELF seems to have focused on the expanding circle. The two approaches can also be distinguished by their relative emphasis. While WE demonstrates the divergence of each new variety of English from inner circle norms showing centrifugal tendencies, ELF seems to achieve the convergence of new varieties displaying centripetal tendencies. Therefore, it is possible to consider WE and ELF complementary rather than competitive. The identification of common features of English (ELF focus) across national varieties can follow the identification of the features of a national variety (WE focus). While WE is criticised on the grounds of creating new linguistic nationalisms, there is no denying that WE seeks to identify features of English at subnational and supranational levels as well. Thus, it has been possible to conceive regional varieties such as Asian English and South Asian English along the line of ELF thinking. In this sense, ELF can be subsumed under a more inclusive WE paradigm.

English in Bangladesh

English in South Asia, including present-day Bangladesh, bears the legacy of British colonial rule (1757–1947). However, if the seed of English sprouted during the colonial days, it grew into a mature tree in the postcolonial era. This represents local agency in English (Brutt-Griffler, 2002), although the role played by forces of globalisation, global capital and transnational actors and their agency cannot be denied (Phillipson, 1992).

English language education displayed some noteworthy characteristics during colonial rule. The language was not a clear case of policy imposition because the rulers' reluctance to introduce English encountered advocacy for English by local elites. English emerged as the language of power once it replaced Persian as the language of colonial administration in 1837. However, English was restricted to the tertiary level of education. Although secondary education was available in English in urban settings, local languages dominated the large majority of schools. Thus, the provision of English was limited, turning it into an elitist pursuit and a marker of social, economic and geographical divides. Importantly, English education reflected Western cultural norms, leading to the creation of Babu English and the cultural formation of Brown sahibs (Vittachi, 1962).

Pakistani rule (1947–1971) maintained the colonial legacy. Although the postcolonial rulers were busy establishing Urdu as a national language for the Islamic federation of Pakistan, English served as a key political tool for the linguistically and culturally divided West and East Pakistan. In India, the compromise choice of English as a co-official language was the outcome of political struggles. However, English maintained its silent dominance in Pakistan, which was handling political tensions between the East and the West attributed to other languages, including Urdu and Bangla.

The independence of Bangladesh (1971) led to the assertion of postcolonial agency in the linguistic sphere. Inspired by linguistic nationalism, the new nation recognised Bangla as the national and official language, which was to be used in all domains including higher education. English was almost exiled from the political scene, as there was no need for a lingua franca in a predominantly Bangla-speaking polity. Although English was retained in education, it came to be identified as a foreign language with limited use in the day-to-day life of the nation. However, the policy landscape for English and other languages started to change in the face of the growing recognition of English as a global language on the one hand and the perceived declining standards of English on the other (Chowdhury & Kabir, 2014). The combined forces of globalisation, neoliberalism and post-nationalism have reconfigured the social imaginary in which English learning has been given policy priority (see Hamid & Rahman, 2019).

English in Bangladeshi education

Despite its colonial origin, English in Bangladesh is thought to share the hybrid status of ESL and EFL (Hamid & Baldauf, 2013). The 2019 Education First English Proficiency Index describes Bangladesh as a Very Low Proficiency country, ranked 71 behind Vietnam (52), Indonesia (61) and Nepal (66). English in Bangladesh is strongly associated with indicators of social class (e.g. education and employment) and geographic location (urban and rural) (Hamid & Jahan, 2015). Sociolinguistically, the penetration of English varies across domains such as education, media, politics, government and judiciary. English also marks divides between the public and private sectors (Hamid & Baldauf, 2014).

English is arguably most visible in the education sector, which exhibits significant influence of globalisation, NGO-isation, neoliberalisation and other forms of local and transnational processes (Hamid & Rahman, 2019). There are three major streams of education in Bangladesh: secular (general) education (Bangla medium), religious education (Bangla and Arabic medium) and international education (English medium). The first two streams cater to the largest majority of the student population (approximately 98%), while the third caters to less than 2% of students. English is a compulsory subject from Year 1 until Year 12 in both general and religious (madrasa) education. In order to offset the influence of private English medium international education and its potential for social divides along linguistic lines (Hamid & Jahan, 2015), education authorities have allowed mainstream Bangla medium schools to teach the national curriculum through English. This provision is popularly known as “English Version” and is currently available in over 100 schools across the country. English Version is different from English medium education because the latter teaches a non-local curriculum such as the International Baccalaureate or the General Certificate of Secondary Education (see Hamid & Jahan, 2015).

At the tertiary level, there are no clearly articulated medium of instruction policies for public-sector institutions that include general, technological, engineering and agricultural universities and medical colleges. Academic language practices of these institutions are based on tradition on the one hand and flexibility on the other.

There is a disciplinary divide in terms of medium of instruction in general universities. For example, hard science disciplines use English as the primary medium, although there is a significant presence of Bangla. The fields of humanities and social sciences show the opposite scenario, in which the primary medium is Bangla, although both teachers and students rely on English language resources. Academic language use in tertiary institutions is also mediated by the prestige and location of institutions. For example, a university in the capital, Dhaka, is more likely to reflect more use of English than any university located in a regional city outside Dhaka.

While public-sector higher education shows mixed use of languages for teaching and learning, private-sector universities have uniform use of English as the sole medium of instruction. The Private University Act, 1992, and its revisions in 2010 have not specified the medium of instruction policy for the sector. Nonetheless, each of the 104 universities has adopted the same MOI policy (EMI), attesting to the notion of "macroisation" of micro-level policy initiatives (Hamid & Baldauf, 2014). Although there has been limited research on language use for academic and social purposes within the sector (see Rahman & Singh, 2019; Sultana, 2014), the sectorwide adoption of EMI has given a significant boost to the spread of English in education and society.

The education sector reflects the growing consolidation of English. However, at the policy level, there is no reference to variety questions. WE research in Bangladesh can be described as scanty at best (see Hamid & Baldauf, 2013; Hamid & Hasan, 2020). Although the local use of English in various domains shows unique features, there has not been much research to document these features. Local use of English may share characteristics with Indian and Pakistani English, attesting to the formation of South Asian English as a regional variety.

Local use of English in education

We examine the local use of English in education, focusing on English textbooks used to teach the national curriculum. This means we consider only written English in its role as linguistic input for pedagogy. Nevertheless, this corpus of official language provides a key source for understanding local English.

Textbooks

The National Curriculum and Textbook Board (NCTB) is the government agency responsible for design, production and distribution of textbooks for all subjects for pre-primary, primary, secondary and higher secondary education all over the country. The books are written by subject specialists from school, university and teacher education sectors. As textbooks are strictly controlled by the government, those who are invited to write books must be sympathetic to government ideologies. They have to follow clear guidelines and instructions about the content, format and teaching and learning activities (see Roshid et al., 2018).

We have included textbooks for English called *English for Today* (EFT) from Year 1 to Year 10 in our analysis. The same EFT textbook is used in mainstream secular and madrasa education. Each of the books has a Preface undersigned by the NCTB chairman. This critical one-page document explains the goals and purposes of English language teaching together with the underlying theoretical and pedagogical principles guiding the textbook design. However, there is no reference to varieties of English. Although British Standard English is the default option given the country's colonial history, it may ultimately depend on the agency of the authors and the editors to legitimise a variety of English in the education system.

The Preface is followed by a one-page document called "Instructions" for English teachers for the primary-level textbooks (Year 1 to Year 5). This text is written predominantly in Bangla with English words inserted throughout. While mixing Bangla and English is a politically insensitive issue (Hamid & Rahman, 2019), it seems to have been legitimised in this official text. Thus, although English textbooks have traditionally followed the English-only ideology, translingual possibility can be noted in this example.

We have also included teachers' guides for the English subject in our analysis. Although these guides are not meant for students (but students and parents can download them from the website), these resources are critical for understanding English use, as they address the community of English teachers.

We present findings of our reading and analysis of the textbooks and teachers' guides under three sub-headings: a) the nature of language use, b) functions of language use, and c) features of English as a local language.

Nature of language use

Three major features of language use were identified in the selected corpus. Each feature is discussed in detail subsequently with examples.

An assemblage of varieties of English

The textbooks are an amalgam of varieties of Englishes, both endogenous and exogenous. This potpourri of English appears to be reasonable and practical, because while the majority of texts are written by local writers, some are reproduced from various sources, including local and overseas newspapers, magazines and the internet. The question of which variety of English is to be used as pedagogical input is debated in the field (see Baratta, 2019). Our examination suggests that locally produced textbooks accommodate multiple varieties of Englishes, including British English and American English. Apart from the colonial legacy, English language education in Bangladesh has been significantly influenced by British ELT aid and expertise (Hamid, 2010). For example, when the English textbooks were first written in the 1990s following CLT principles, the writers were provided material writing training in the United Kingdom . Naturally, the textbooks reflect a predilection towards British English (Li et al., 2019; Roshid et al., 2018), although features of American English are available as well. Importantly, the books are dominated by local English.

Multimodality and hybridity of genres

The textbooks indicate that language is not the only way to communicate in the context of teaching and learning. This primary means of meaning-making is complemented by other semiotic resources, including images of people, objects, activities and various processes. Most of these images have been created by the illustrators of the books. Of the three pictures in Figure 11.1 reproduced from the EFT for Year 3, the first one illustrates language functions using conversational language, while the other two communicate meanings by means of pictures (drawing the Bangladeshi flag and doing physical exercise). Tables and graphs are also used for communicating various kinds of data.

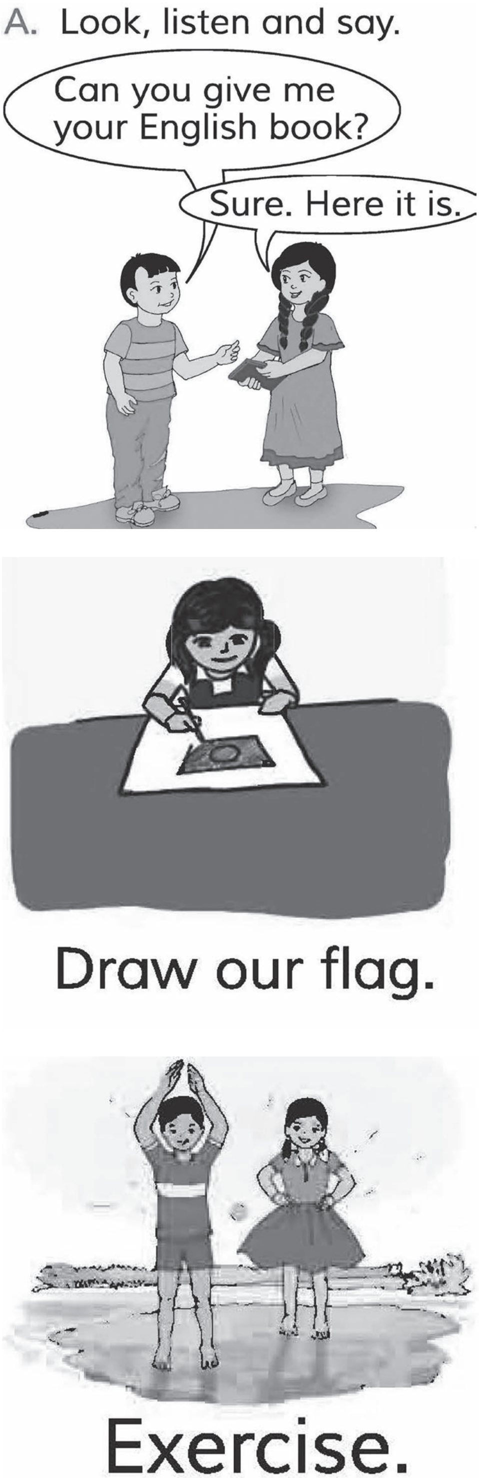


Figure 11.1 English as part of multimodal semiotic resources (EFT, Year 3, p. 22, 10, 11)

However, the multimodality of the materials has minimal contribution from audio or video resources, which have not been utilised much for language teaching and learning. This situation can be related to the limited attention given to teaching and testing of listening and speaking skills compared to reading and writing (Ali et al., 2020). Occasionally, however, the use of external audio resources is indicated at specific lesson points.

As well as multimodality, generic diversity is an essential feature of the textbooks. Language teaching in general is not linked to any specific content. Therefore, textbook writers have the whole world open before them to explore content which may serve as language teaching and learning input. The writers have utilised texts related to students' self, society, the region and the world and presented topics related to the natural and built environment, media, technology, health and local and global developments and challenges. The wide selection of topics and themes means that texts of different types, sizes and purposes, including stories, vignettes, news stories, essays, opinion pieces, emails, dialogues, recounts, travel stories, tourism texts, recipes and transport announcements, have been incorporated into the texts. The textbooks have imitated language use in the classroom, school, family, society, workplace and virtual world.

Strategic translingualism

Maintaining linguistic purity is a social and political requirement in Bangladesh, where linguistic nationalism is dominant. However, the English language materials analysed in this chapter have allowed for mixing English and Bangla in important ways. For example, the teachers' guides constantly shuttle between the two languages in order to instruct teachers about how to teach the lessons included in the textbooks. Following is a typical example from the teachers' guide for Year 2 (p. 106):

শিখন-শেখানো কার্যাবলি

- শিক্ষার্থীদের "Good morning, students" বলে শুভেচ্ছা জানান। শিক্ষার্থীদেরও "Good morning, teacher." বলতে উৎসাহিত করুন। শিক্ষার্থীদের জিজ্ঞেস করুন, How are you? শিক্ষার্থীদের Fine, thank you বলতে সাহায্য করুন। সম্ভব হলে, একটি Greeting song গান বা প্লে করুন।
- শিক্ষার্থীদের page 37, Activity A দেখতে বলুন। জিজ্ঞেস করুন, What are the pictures are there? (কী কী ছবি দেখা যাচ্ছে)। যেমন, ant, bag, hut, dog।

Figure 11.2 Mixing of Bangla and English in teachers' guide

The main language used for instruction is Bangla. However, English words, phrases and expressions are frequently woven into the Bangla text. Although the boundaries of the two languages are not blurred given their distinct script, writing English words into Bangla script is not uncommon in these translingual practices.

This kind of mixing is also found in the one-page "Instructions" for teachers Bangla text included in the primary-level textbooks (p. iv):

English For Today পাঠ্যপুস্তকের পাঠভিত্তিক শিখন-শেখানো কার্যাবলি শ্রেণিকক্ষে কার্যকর করার সময় শিক্ষার্থীরা যেন পরস্পর বিভিন্নভাবে interact করতে পারে, শিক্ষক তা অবশ্যই নিশ্চিত করবেন। এই উদ্দেশ্যে শিক্ষক শিক্ষার্থীদের দিয়ে pairwork, groupwork, chain drill, role play ইত্যাদি করাবেন।

Figure 11.3 Mixing of Bangla and English in instructions for English teachers

However, this instruction page is not included in the secondary-level textbooks (Year 6 to Year 10). The English teachers' guides are also unavailable for secondary-level teachers.

Bangla texts are found on the back cover of each of the English textbooks. One such cover is reproduced in Figure 11.4.

A number of features of language use in Figure 11.4 beg comments. First, the cover contains a circular logo in Bangla. Although the Ministry of Education is written underneath, this is not an official Ministry of Education logo, which has the map of Bangladesh on a red background together with the official name of the country. This special-purpose logo contains a two-verse rhymed slogan that says: "Let's build the country by means of education/It is Sheikh Hasina's Bangladesh." Sheikh Hasina has been the prime minister of Bangladesh since 2009. The page also contains an education-related Bangla statement attributed to the prime minister, which says: "It is only education that can free the nation from poverty".

Another remarkable feature of the back cover is the provision of the hotline for incidents of violence against children and women in Bangla. Readers are instructed to call the National Helpline Centre for action and prevention of such violence.

Figure 11.4 The back cover of the EFT for Year 6

It can be argued that the back cover is treated as a public pedagogy space which is utilised for communicating national messages to citizens. More importantly, this is an ideological space which is used to promote and disseminate political propaganda, such as Bangladesh belonging to Sheikh Hasina, not the other way round.

In sum, the textbook is not a singular or unitary entity. It is a hybridised pedagogical space that addresses multiple audiences. The choice of language is guided by the target audience. Texts which are meant for students (all units and lessons) are written in English, suggesting that the input text for students must be in English. Teachers' instructions and guidebooks are mainly written in Bangla mixed with English. The space of public pedagogy gives access to all citizens, and therefore Bangla has a dominant presence in the back cover.

Language functions

The fundamental role of English in the textbooks is to serve as pedagogical input for language learning engagement between teachers and students. This role has been elaborated in the Preface to each of the books. As noted:

> The **'English for Today'** textbooks have been developed to help students attain competencies in all four language skills in English through meaningful and enjoyable activities.
>
> *(Preface, p. iii)*

As an illustration of the CLT approach, language has been divided into the skills of reading, writing, listening and speaking. Catering to these skills has led to the diversity of genres and multimodality of texts previously mentioned. These language skills are required to develop human capital that may enable Bangladeshi citizens to find employment in local and global job markets. As the national curriculum for English clearly states:

> The curriculum focuses on teaching-learning English as a skill-based subject so that learners can use English in their real-life situations by acquiring necessary language skills as well as knowledge, learning about cultures and values, developing positive attitudes, pursuing higher education and having better access to local and global employment.
>
> *(NCTB, 2012, p. 2)*

Most of the content of the textbooks refers to life and situations in Bangladesh to "address the needs of real-life situations" (Preface). Gradually, students are introduced to Bangladesh's neighbours and the global world. The theme of globalisation is introduced in the form of global events, technological developments and personalities from other countries. Global–local interaction is demonstrated by Bangladeshis travelling overseas, lessons focusing on the immigration section of the Bangladeshi international airport in Dhaka and the presence of English-speaking people from Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States in Bangladesh. Cultural globalisation is incorporated into the textbooks by presenting a small number of poems and/or short fictional works at each year level which have been written by British and American authors. The aim is to introduce students to cultures and values underpinning those works. A notable absence is the poetry or fictional work written in English by Bangladeshi writers (Hamid & Hasan, 2020).

Constructing English and its discourses

A key role performed by English in the textbooks is constructing discourses about itself as a language of instrumental potential for individuals, communities and societies. This self-discursive role of English is acknowledged at the policy level. As the Preface to the Year 6 textbook states:

> In the era of globalization, English is one of the most powerful tools for pursuing higher studies, using technology, inter-cultural and inter-personal communications, and job markets at home and abroad. The curriculum makes it explicit that language learning will be graded and contents will reflect real life situations as the ultimate purpose of language learning is to communicate.

The unique role of English as a universal tool of communication and opportunity is then explicitly brought as textbook knowledge in Year 9–10 (p. 53):

> There are many countries in the world with many languages, but to communicate with them, you cannot use all the languages. So you need a common language that you can use with more or less all the people in the world. English is that common language. You can talk to a Chinese toy maker, a French artist, an Arab ambassador or a Korean builder in one language – English.
>
> English for us in Bangladesh is all the more important. As we have seen earlier, we are too many people in a small country. So if you learn English, you have the best opportunity to find a good job, both within and outside the country. And that is good news for millions of our unemployed youths.

If this role of English as a human capital is still abstract, a concrete example is provided in the Year 9–10 textbook, which includes the following dialogue between two friends:

Rumi: You remember my brother Raihan, don't you? He applied for a front desk job in a 5-star hotel.
Habib: What happened? Has he got the job?
Rumi: No! He couldn't answer most of the questions in the interview.
Habib: Why? He did well in the HSC [Higher Secondary Certificate, examination], didn't he?
Rumi: Yes, he did. But the recruiting officer in the interview asked him questions in English and he couldn't understand most of them.
Habib: Sorry, but I have a different story to tell you. My cousin Sheela did her HSC from a college in Mymensingh. She couldn't do as well as Raihan in her exam, but she got a job as a crew member in Biman Bangladesh. She said she has answered all questions in English both in her written test and interview.
Rumi: Great! She must be good in English. Well, then the key to getting some jobs is English, isn't it?
Habib: Yes, you're right.

(EFT, Year 9–10, pp. 52–53)

The dialogue has the potential to produce decisive effects on students about the role of English in the job market. The examples are used to construct English as key to landing jobs.

The discourse is also an acknowledgement that higher grades in English in public examinations may not necessarily mean higher levels of proficiency in English. Thus, students are encouraged to develop functional ability in English.

Civic functions and constructing ideal citizens

The English language has been deployed to develop students' civic and patriotic sense as future citizens in line with the goals of education articulated in the National Education Policy (Ministry of Education, 2010). Bangladeshi culture, values and ideals have been explicitly and implicitly incorporated into the textbooks to ensure their continuity and absorption by students. The national education policy makes this abundantly clear:

> While preparing the textbooks, it will be kept in mind that education must be related to real life and inspire the students with patriotism and the spirit of our liberation war and further facilitate the development of thinking ability, imaginative capability, inquisitiveness and creativity of the learners.
>
> *(Ministry of Education, 2010, p. 69)*

At the heart of the political ideology of the government endorsing the textbooks are three key priorities: a) the spirit of the 1971 war of independence; b) the "father" of the nation, who was assassinated in 1975; and c) the political vision of the so-called Sonar Bangla (golden Bangla) by the said father of the nation. These agendas are given the character of unquestioned myths in the content. This can be seen in the following excerpt from the Year 6 EFT:

> We pay our deep respect to the martyrs who gave their lives for the independence of Bangladesh. Along with celebrating our Victory Day every year, we should make a pledge to work unitedly to build the Sonar Bangla that Bangabandhu [title given to the said father of the nation] dreamed of.
>
> *(p. 47)*

Showing respect to the martyrs of the war and pledging to build the mythical Sonar Bangla is made part of civic duty and responsibility. The textbook content also explicitly discusses requirements of good citizens. For example, the Year 9–10 textbook contains one unit which outlines what knowledge and skills are needed for good citizens and how students can prepare to be such citizens.

Secularisation and desecularisation

The key ideological role assigned to English is related to secularisation as well as desecularisation of English language education. Since 9/11, English has been deployed as a curricular and pedagogical weapon to prevent the rise of alleged fundamentalist tendencies in Muslim societies, particularly in the Middle East (Karmani, 2005). At the same time, Muslim societies such as Pakistan and Indonesia have used English for teaching local cultural and religious values and ideologies (see Kirkpatrick, 2021). The deployment of English in Bangladesh has a more complex goal, as it seeks to secularise and desecularise at the same time as part of the divide and rule strategy.

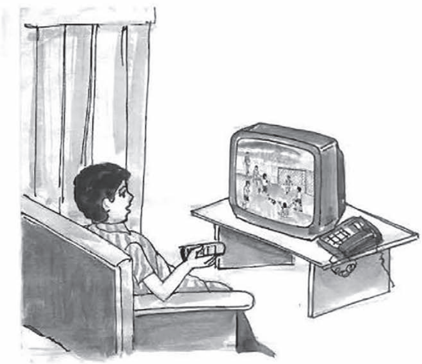
Secularisation in Bangladesh practically means de-Islamisation. This form of secularisation is one of the key agendas of the government, which seeks to appease minority communities in the country. One strategic way of de-Islamising the society has been to emphasise Bengali culture and uphold the spirit of the liberation war, as the Preface to the EFT textbooks clearly states:

> The textbooks of secondary level have been written and compiled according to the revised curriculum 2012 in accordance with the aims and objectives of National Education Policy-2010. Contents and presentations of the textbooks have been selected according to the moral and humanistic values of Bengali tradition and culture and the spirit of Liberation War 1971 ensuring equal dignity for all irrespective of caste and creed of different religions and sex.

The textbooks do not contain identifiable references to Islam, Islamic values, practices or personalities. Although the books include hundreds of pictures of Bangladeshi men, women and children, only two of them in the entire set are shown to wear identifiably Islamic dress, a woman wearing hijab and a bearded rickshaw puller wearing a topi hat. None of these images appear prominent. De-Islamisation is also achieved by the representation of life, morals and values which do not bear resemblance to Islam. For example, the textbook for Year 7 includes the daily routine of a boy called Zishan (Figure 11.5). The routine is not simply a descriptive account of the everyday life of a boy; it has a normative aim. There is no place of daily prayers in the routine. Most Muslim children normally go to pray the special congregational prayer on Friday, which is the main reason for making Friday the weekend in

A Read about Zishan's daily routine.

6:30 am	: wake up
7:00 am	: breakfast
8:30 am—3:00 pm	: school
4:00 pm—5.00 pm	: snack and free time
5.00 pm—6.00 pm	: study with maths / science teacher
6:15 pm—7:15 pm	: study with English / Social Science teacher
7:30 pm—8:30 pm	: homework
8:30 pm	: supper
9:00 pm—10:00 pm	: TV
10:30 pm	: go to bed



On Friday Zishan does not go to school. But he studies one hour with his religious teacher. He also studies his school subjects by himself. Often he goes to visit his relatives with his parents.

Figure 11.5 A boy's daily routine reflecting a secularist life (EFT, Year 7, p. 54)

Bangladesh. Instead, the boy is scheduled to be spending an hour with his "religious" (religion) teacher. The name of the religion may have been unspecified for secularist intentions.

Finally, greeting Muslims by "Assalamu alakum" is an essential feature of Islamic culture and everyday practice in Muslim societies (see Kirkpatrick, 2002; Lestari, 2020). However, this essential feature is nowhere mentioned in any of the books used in mainstream education.

The English textbooks have also been used for desecularisation for social and political control. In response to secularist demands for a uniform curriculum across all streams of education, the core subjects, including Bangla, English and Bangladesh and global studies, of the mainstream education are used in madrasa education. The English textbooks used in the mainstream curriculum have been imposed on the madrasa curriculum. Apparently, this may be unthinkable given that while English in the mainstream curriculum has been secularised (as discussed previously), madrasa education is, by definition, religious, and the secularist ideology may be unsuitable. However, this complex ideological question has been resolved by a quick-fix photo edit tool. The English textbooks that are used for madrasas have been given an Islamic appearance by placing hijab for females and a topi hat for males on all the images contained in the textbooks and converting half-sleeve attire into full sleeve, with the exception of those who are apparently non-Bangladeshis. This can be seen from the comparison of the same picture used in Year 1 of the madrasa curriculum (top) and the general education curriculum (bottom) in Figure 11.6. The Islamic greeting (Assalamu alaikum)

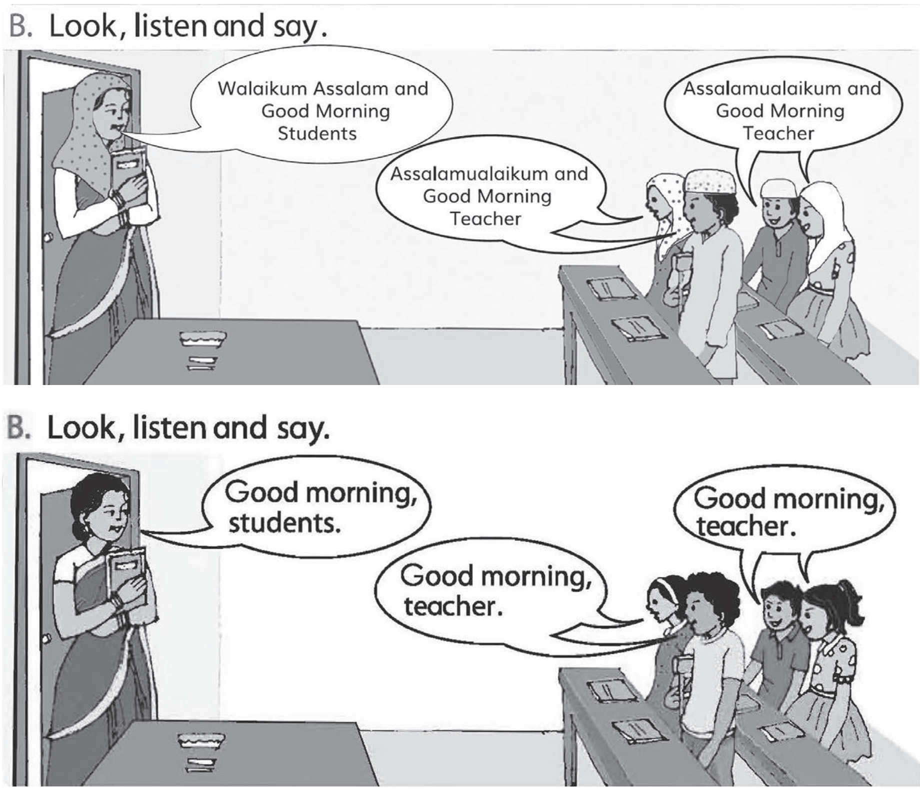


Figure 11.6 A comparison of secular and religious content for English teaching

is added to the original secular material used in the mainstream curriculum as an instance of desecularising. Nevertheless, there are only a few instances of the Islamic greeting in the entire book set.

Importantly, if the Islamic dress code in a Muslim-majority society has been deliberately overlooked in the mainstream curriculum, it has been deliberately imposed on the madrasa books for secularising and desecularising purposes. This curricular action is probably unique, in which the dividing line between the religious and secular curriculum is linked to head and hand coverings and to sporadic references to religious greetings. It is assumed that all content and texts used in the secularised curriculum are acceptable to students who are studying in a faith-based system.

Features of English

The final aspect of English to be discussed in the chapter refers to its unique local character marked by identifiable pragmatic, rhetorical and linguistic features. English use in general may be located on a continuum, one end of which may be called localised English, with the other end being more standardised British English. The continuum may capture the eight domains of English variation in terms of local and global context, written and oral language and everyday and specialist language use theorised by Mahboob (2018). The focus of this section is the end of the continuum, which shows the dominance of localised English.

Broadly speaking, English use in the textbooks is essentially local, as communication is geared towards local audiences to meet their local needs in multifarious contexts within the society. Although the local flavour cannot be missed, probably due to the fact that the materials were written by Bangladeshi authors who learned English locally, such a flavour is more obtrusive when language use tends to be creative. The following paragraph is a representative case which narrates the life of a village woman who lost her house to the erosion of the river Jamuna:

> Not long ago Meherjan had everything – a family, cultivable land and cattle. The erosion of the Jamuna gradually consumed all her landed property. It finally claimed her only shelter during the last monsoon. It took the river only a day to devour Meher's house, trees, vegetable garden and the bamboo bush. She had a happy family once. Over the years, she lost her husband and her family to diseases that cruel hunger and poverty brought to the family. Now, she is the only one left to live on with the loss and the pain. The greedy Jamuna has shattered her dreams and happiness.
>
> *(EFT, Year 9–10, p. 56)*

The narrative evokes the imagery of the destructiveness of a river, which is a common feature of rural life in many parts of Bangladesh. The text reflects the influence of Bangla in its rhetoric, although it is faultless in terms of grammar. The dominance of Bangla rhetorical features ensures the authenticity of the text to the specific context. The river is represented as a monster, which is a common metaphor in Bangla literature and culture. This is a ruthless monster which devoured the woman's dwelling, shattering her dreams.

The local flavour is noted in the following text which describes a foreigner (Paul) visiting the home of a local student:

> Paul went to meet Kobita and her family the next day. He was in his blue trousers and a grey T-shirt. Kobita's mother Ms Shahana was a shy woman and she was reluctant to

> come to Paul. But Paul greeted her warmly in his newly learnt Bangla, "Kemon achen"? Ms Shahana loved hearing a foreigner speaking Bangla. She welcomed Paul to her house. Kobita started talking to Paul. She wanted him to write something for her school magazine. As they were talking, Ms Shahana prepared quite a number of Bangladeshi dishes. She served him lunch at noon. Paul had plain rice, chicken curry, fish bhuna, dal and salad for lunch. He liked the tastes of all those delicious items except the dried fish *bhorta*.
>
> *(EfT-7, p. 90)*

The text portrays a realistic picture of rural life and culture. The simple language flows smoothly, capturing the not-so-common encounter of the local and the global. English is utilised as a local resource, like a local dish, as there is no felt need for marking Bangla words for food such as fish bhuna (fish curry), although the author makes an exception for fish bhorta (spicy mashed fish).

Local flavour in English use can be noted in classroom discourse as well. It will be interesting to examine how English is utilised in teaching and learning in the classroom, but the author of the following conversation provides a preview by constructing an interaction between a teacher and a student. The topic to be learned is bargaining.

Hridoy: What is bargain or haggle teacher?

Shahana: Suppose you want to buy a shirt or a dress in a shop in the market. You ask, "How much is this?" The shopkeeper says, "330 taka." But in many cases, this price is more than the real price. So you offer 200 taka or even less. The shopkeeper says, "No, I can't sell it for 200 taka." Then you offer 225 and he may still say, "No, it'll be a loss for me." This process of asking for and offering more or less money is called 'bargaining' or 'haggling'.

(EFT, Year 7, pp, 32–33)

The teacher's explanation is marked by its authenticity in a typical classroom involving a cultural practice. The text can be read as the English rendering of an interaction in Bangla that seeks to illustrate what bargaining means. Bangla-induced pragmatic and rhetorical features can also be noted in the following examples from the EFT, Year 9–10:

> The summer night being muggy and hot, life became hell without electricity.
>
> *(p. 140)*

> She is nearly 45 but looks more than her age.
>
> *(p. 56)*

> His youngest brother is a social science graduate who likes to start a local NGO to work for this area.
>
> *(p. 156)*

The first example, taken from a unit on renewable energy, is a hyperbolic expression (life becoming hell), which was translated from Bangla. The second example is taken from the vignette of a poor woman who looks older than her age. The word "more" has been substituted for the word "older". The third example refers to a future intention, not a question of like or dislike. The expression has extended the use of "like" to a context where "would like to" would have been a predictable choice.

Table 11.1 Lexical innovations included in English textbooks

Lexical items	*Gloss/translation*	*Comments*
Shahid Dibash, Shahid Minar, Sonar Bangla	Martyrs day, minarets to commemorate the martyrs Golden Bangla	Bangla words transferred to English without marked features
Pahela Boishakh	The first day of the month of Boishakh in Bangla calendar	
Esho-he-Boishakh, Esho, Esho	The opening verse of a song celebrating Bangla new year	
Sarees, churis, pajamas, punjabis	Traditional Bangladeshi cloths and ornaments	
Launch and steamer ghats	Launch and steamer terminals	
Tiffin, Tiffin money	Light lunch, money for buying this lunch at school	Recognised as Indian English but has been in use in Bangladesh as well
Ansars	An auxiliary para-military force assisting the police in Bangladesh	Arabic word incorporated into Bangla
Neem tree, tulsi leaves	Tress and leaves of medicinal value	
Kabadi, gollachhut	Traditional sports played without any equipment	
Chatpati, fuchka, moragpolau, Mughlai Khana	Food items and culinary style of the Mughal rule	

It is in vocabulary that we can see significant innovations and linguistic creativity. The lexical innovations officialised in the books are related to the Bangladeshi history, culture and way of life. A few examples are provided in Table 11.1.

These lexical innovations have their origin in Bangla. While some of the ideas communicated by the innovations may be expressed by their inner circle equivalents (e.g. terminal for *ghat*), others may not denote the historical or cultural significance of the phenomena when inner circle equivalents are used. The unmarked use of Bangla words may reflect the assertion of agency, which can also be found in English versions of Bangla textbooks for other subjects, not examined in this chapter. For example, the following math problem is found in the Year 3 math textbook:

> Reza is inviting 6 friends to his house. He has 85 boroi. How many boroi will each friend get? Is there any remaining boroi?
>
> *(p. 72)*

Boroi is the Bangla word for plum. However, it is used like an English word. The agency underlying the language use can be related to translanguaging in the sense that the strict boundaries of English and Bangla are made porous. Border-denying agency is more explicitly enacted by the appropriation of a non-local rhyme reproduced in Figure 11.7.

The Bangladesh Cricket Team is unofficially known as the Tigers. The names of three Bangladeshi cricketers (Mushfiq, Shakib and Tamim, who are tigers) have been inserted into the rhyme. This may indicate the denial of canonicity which is open to local appropriation. The creative agency of the localisation is remarkable.

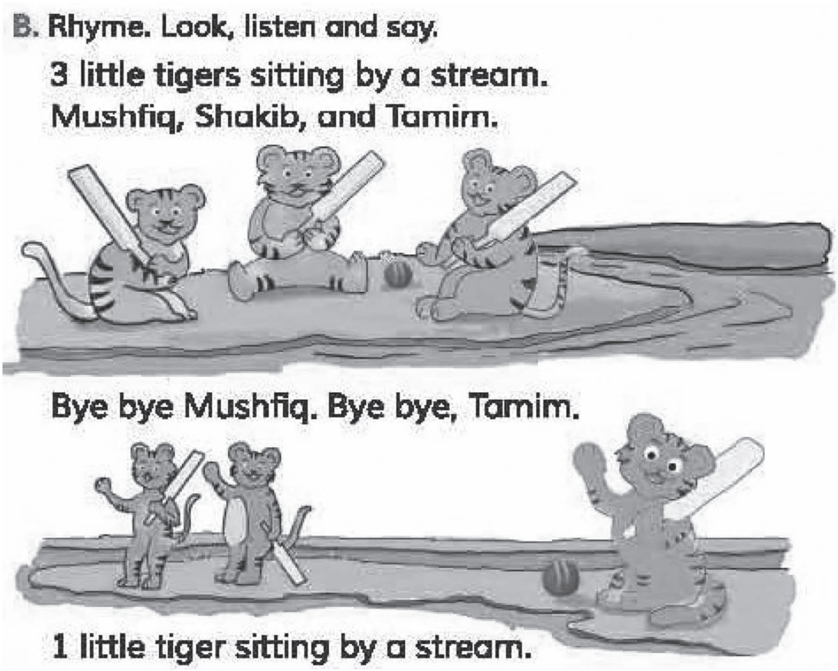


Figure 11.7 Local agency and appropriation of non-local English rhymes (EFT, Year 1, p. 14)

Discussion and conclusion

This chapter has examined locally produced English language textbooks for mainstream secular and madrasa education in Bangladesh. We have focused the analysis on the nature of language use, functions of English and the localisation of English. Rather than being divergent, our examination of the situated practice of English aligns with the world Englishes perspective. Outcomes of the analysis suggest that some of the critiques of WE, especially in relation to the English only and variety-marking features, can be addressed within the WE framework. Similarly, the situated examination of English use shows that regardless of how local varieties of English are characterised, such varieties may be an assemblage of Englishes of local and metropolitan origins. At the same time, the strong tendencies of localisation of English and the underlying creative agency suggest that localisation of English is probably inevitable in the production of local materials and resources, regardless of how writers approach material writing from the variety point of view. Considering the utilisation of English in the textbooks, it can be argued that which variety of English is to be included in the curriculum is probably an unnecessary question. Baratta (2019) argues that the starting point for teaching English in the outer and expanding circle contexts could be inner circle English in order to enable students to communicate with a global audience. This priority then, he argues, can be supplemented by other varieties of English, including local and regional Englishes. Our examination of the textbooks shows a different scenario in which local English is the default choice around which other Englishes are included. Whether this choice is empowering or disempowering, there is no denying that this is a grounded choice. Understanding the pedagogical effectiveness of the choice will need classroom-focused ethnographic research, but one survey of teachers endorsed the current set of textbooks as "well designed" and "acceptable to teach English in Bangladesh" (Roshid et al., 2018, p. 232). Based on the teachers' views, the authors also observed:

> The study findings indicate that while the task of ELT materials development is globally dominated by native speakers of English, materials developed locally by local experts are also worthwhile and able to fulfil local needs.
>
> *(p. 232)*

It can be argued that the local production of textbooks incentivises linguistic innovations and creativity in English. Developing literacy resources is essential for the spread of languages and language varieties. It appears that local production of English textbooks can be the important first step in localising English, demonstrating the necessity of linguistic creativity and innovation in fulfilling local communicative, educational and ideological needs. Local textbook production may also provide an alternative to the imperative of codification as a requirement for establishing variety status for local innovations (Baratta, 2019; Hamid & Baldauf, 2013). It may also be a way of changing popular attitudes towards native and non-native varieties of English which critically influence social acceptability of new Englishes in relation to more established inner circle Englishes. This official localisation of English is also conducive to pedagogical practice, as teachers may have an understanding of how to draw lines between errors and varietal features (Baratta, 2019; Hamid & Baldauf, 2013; Hamid et al., 2014).

Typically, the motivation behind local production of textbooks is related to cultural inappropriateness and/or irrelevance of published materials. The embeddedness of pedagogy in the social context, as argued by scholars (e.g. Canagarajah, 2005; Kumaravadivelu, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2002), has also inspired localisation of ELT using local texts and cultural practices (Lestari, 2020). Our examination suggests that local textbooks may ensure the appropriateness of these resources from linguistic, cultural and social points of view. Additionally, localisation may enable education policymakers and other authorities to use English and local resources for nationalist and citizenship purposes. Beyond their educational and pedagogical roles, textbooks serve as public pedagogies which are used for citizenship education and construction of subjects of ideologised nations. More critically, localisation of English allows authorities to impregnate textbooks with political and ideological missions. Mahboob (2009) demonstrated how English was used for propagating Islamic ideology in one state of Pakistan. Our analysis illustrates that while English is used mainly for secularising purposes, it is also used to create a false sense of religiosity to make English appear suitable for madrasa students.

Importantly, if localisation prevents external cultural influence and hegemony, it may do so by establishing local hegemony instrumentalised by power. In her ethnographic investigation of the use of local resources for ELT in Indonesia, Lestari (2020) has problematised the notion of "local" by identifying three levels, the "nationally local", "provincially local" and "locally local". Although the life and reality represented in the English textbooks in Bangladesh tend to be inclusive of the whole society, it is in fact an ideological reconstruction of society in which not all groups may find their place. This is obvious in relation to the political ideology in particular. As pointed out in the chapter, the political ideology normalised in the textbooks is that of the government in power, which has suppressed ideologies and perspectives of other political parties. The analysis has illustrated how the pursuit of the ideology of the powerful leads to the strategy of divide and rule for political interests. The local production of textbooks and the localisation of English has led to dividing the

Muslim population into two groups – secular Muslims, who are associated with mainstream education, and desecularised Muslims associated with madrasa education. This ideological context of world Englishes and local appropriation of English for political ends demands attention in research.

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12

East and West African Englishes

Differences and commonalities

Hans-Georg Wolf

Introduction

African English – that is, the second language varieties of English spoken in sub-Saharan Africa – can be divided into three distinct regional varieties: West African English, East African English, and Southern African English. This chapter focuses on West African English (WAE) and East African English (EAE). Although all of the national varieties of WAE have a number of features in common, WAE is more heterogeneous than EAE. WAE comprises, moving from west to (south-)east, Gambian English, Sierra Leonean English, Liberian English, Nigerian English, and Cameroon English.[1] While the varieties of WAE show more linguistic diversity amongst themselves, WAE is a geographically and notionally better delineated theoretical entity than EAE. In the so-called "heartland" of EAE – Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania (and, though less documented, also Rwanda) – a relatively homogenous variety is spoken, yet the EAE varieties on the fringes are either not sufficiently described (e.g., the Englishes spoken in Somalia, Ethiopia – for some initial findings on Sudanese English, see Peter 2003) or are part of a transition zone to Southern African English (especially Malawian English). The discussion of EAE will concentrate on the English spoken in the heartland.

This chapter is structured as follows. First, the historical development of English in West and East Africa is briefly considered. It is argued that British colonial policy contributed significantly to the sociolinguistic and, indirectly, even to the structural similarities and differences these varieties exhibit. While colonial policy provided the political framework for the emergence of the regional and national varieties in question, a number of other factors contributed to their characteristics. These factors are introduced and exemplified. Then the discussion moves on to give a short overview of the two regional varieties and the national varieties of WAE. As already indicated, it is found that, although united by common linguistic features, WAE is far more heterogeneous than EAE, and the national varieties of WAE need to be seen in their own right. Focusing primarily on phonetic but also on lexical features, the section summarises and contrasts the main diagnostic and distinctive features of the two regional varieties and details the peculiarities of the national varieties of WAE. However, despite their structural differences, WAE and EAE are rooted in a shared "African culture." Another section introduces recent studies in which the expression of culture in African English is investigated from a cultural linguistic perspective, and conceptual and linguistic patterns common to both regional varieties in question, in contrast to American English and British English, are highlighted.

Historical background and reasons for the emergence of distinct West and East African varieties of English

Both East and West African English are rooted in colonialism. With the exception of Liberia, which was a settler colony of freed American slaves, all of the countries in which the varieties in question are spoken were British colonies. "Colony" is a term broadly applied here, as it covers protectorates and League of Nations Mandates/UN Trusteeships. "Indirect rule" is the usual label given to British colonial policy in Africa. This rule can be characterised as utilitarian, decentralised, and socially distant from the colonial subjects. Unlike the French, for example, the British had no intention to assimilate or associate with the indigenous population in their African territories (for detailed discussions, see Wolf 2001: 66–99, Wolf 2008a). For linguistic and educational policy, this meant that, primarily for financial reasons, the British relied heavily on missions for the education of the locals. The missions, for the most part, were inclined to spread the gospel and to teach in the native languages. Furthermore, the British were rather possessive about their own language and very reluctant to provide, let alone encourage, education in English. Besides, in many places, especially the rural parts of the territories under their control, children did not receive education at all because of the unwillingness of the British to become financially involved. This educational policy had sociolinguistic consequences that persist to today. For practical purposes, the British administrations, and many mission societies, preferred the lingua francas that already existed in the territories under administration over English and the smaller African languages. In East Africa, the lingua franca was Swahili, which is still the overall dominating language in this region. In some parts of West Africa, for example, the former Southern Cameroons and in Southern Nigeria, it was Pidgin English or, in Sierra Leone, Krio. These varieties or languages – depending on whether one wants to classify them as varieties of English or as separate languages – are still predominant in the respective linguistic situations (cf. subsequently). The same holds true for Hausa in Northern Nigeria. By and large, the British hands-off policy has led to a lower ratio of speakers of English in former British colonies as compared to speakers of French in former French colonies. Though exact statistical figures for the countries in question are hard to come by, data from Cameroon – which has both a British and a French colonial legacy (see Kamden, this volume) – indicates that the number of children who speak a standard form of Cameroon English in the anglophone part is lower than the number of children who speak French in the francophone part (see Wolf 2001: 72, 169–179).

The British non-involvement in educational matters, coupled with their refusal to teach English to the natives in many instances helped the emergence of distinct national varieties, at least in West Africa (see subsequently). Unlike in French colonies, there was no insistence on a metropolitan linguistic standard. The same laissez-faire policy was pursued in East Africa, yet EAE is, as indicated before, far more homogenous than WAE (for a very general clustering of World Englishes in terms of features, see Schneider 2008). This difference calls for an explanation, although the various reasons cannot be discussed at length here. The idea that substrate influences alone can account for L2 variation is no longer tenable. Partially drawing from Abdulaziz (1991), Harris (1996), Simo Bobda (2003), and Peter (2008), I would like to suggest the following, to some extent overlapping, mix of factors to account for the differences between the two regional varieties in question: colonial input, geographic proximity, endonormative processes, attitudes, and (functional) distribution of languages/ language varieties.

An example of differentiating colonial input is the realisation of the /ʌ/ or STRUT vowel of the Received Pronunciation (RP, the usual reference form) as predominantly /ɔ/ in WAE, as opposed to /a/ in EAE. The first sustained contacts of British merchants and sailors with the indigenous population in West Africa date back to the 17th century, "when the vowel still had a rounded realisation in most British accents" (Simo Bobda 2003: 19; also see Harris 1996: 33–34). In East Africa, on the other hand, British settlers arrived in the 19th century, that is, at a time when the STRUT vowel had already been fronted (Simo Bobda 2003: 19; also see Harris 1996: 33–34), with /a/ being the nearest phoneme from the phonetic inventory of the African languages.

Another important factor is geographical proximity or distance, and examples abound. Anglophone East and West Africa are separated by a vast geographical space and a linguistic barrier of francophone countries. On the other hand, the varieties of English spoken in Cameroon and Nigeria – two adjacent countries – have several features in common (see subsequently). The anglophone part of Cameroon under League of Nations Mandate and later UN Trusteeship was practically administered as part of Nigeria, and Cameroonians had to go to Nigeria for a university education. Besides, many Igbo traders from Nigeria lived and were active in Cameroon (see Wolf 2001: ch. 3). Hence, the realisation of the /ɜː/ vowel for <er, ear, ir> as /ɛ/ is shared by speakers of English from Eastern Nigeria (the homeland of the Igbos) and Cameroon (Simo Bobda 2003: 31). Similarly, one finds the monophthongisation of /aɪ/ to [ɛ], in words like *rice*, *like*, and *time* in both Sierra Leonean English and Liberian English, two otherwise quite distinct varieties. On the other side of the continent, Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania share common boundaries and the widespread use of Swahili (see subsequently).

Endonormative processes lead to homogenisation of a variety and to differentiation vis-à-vis other varieties. Such processes are due to the pressure of a national or regional norm, which is formed and perpetuated through the media, educational institutions, and the demographic and sociopolitical weight of speech communities within a given society. In turn, this variety-internal norm is shaped through mother-tongue influences, as well as orientation to and influences by extravarietal norms (cf. Simo Bobda 2003: 35, Peter 2008: 160–165). Gambian English is a good illustration of the way endonormative processes have led to a relatively stable and uniform national variety. The most conspicuous features of Gambian English are the transformation of /ʃ/ to [s], as in [fis] *fish*; /ʒ/ to [z], as in [mɛzɔ] (*measure*); and /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ to [tç], [d(j)], or [d] respectively, as in [mɔtç] (*much*), [vilɛd(j)] (*village*), or [ɔrɛnj] (*orange*). These forms can be attributed to the fact that /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are not part of the phonological systems of most Mandingo and Wolof varieties, the two dominant languages in The Gambia. Even speakers of Gambian English with an L1 in which these sounds exist (e.g., /tʃ/ in Fula) adapt to the national norm (see Peter, Wolf and Simo Bobda 2003). For the East African countries in question here, Abdulaziz (1991: 394) has noted common "educational, socioeconomic, cultural and linguistic experiences" for most of the 20th century. Under colonial rule, the British had unified various services and institutions across the three territories, including mass media and, for some time, tertiary education (Abdulaziz 1991: 394). These experiences led to a "considerable levelling of differences caused by mother tongue interference," not only in terms of pronunciation (Abdulaziz 1991: 395).

A further factor contributing to the emergence of national differences and regional homogeneity in WAE and EAE is that of attitude, which includes the attitude of speakers towards their own variety and other varieties and, in a wider sense, also the identification of members of a speech community with the speech community itself and its sociohistorical circumstances. Good cases in point are Ghanaian English and Liberian English. As the lists of contrasting features presented in the following section demonstrate, these two varieties are quite distinct. The works of Simo Bobda (e.g. 2000, 2003: 33–34) and others show that within a generation, Ghanaian English has almost completely shed the perhaps most marked features of WAE, namely the production of [ɔ] for the /ʌ/ and /ɜː/ vowels and for <or, our, ure> in post-tonic (RP) syllables. Ghanaian English has replaced /ɜː/ with [ɛ]. It also has approximated /ʌ/ by /a/ and even gone beyond that, as a kind of hypercorrection, by having [ɛ] in some words (most prominently *study* and *just*). Post-tonic <or, our, ure> are likewise pronounced as [a]. These peculiarities (among others) could be explained by the Ghanaians priding themselves in speaking a "better English" than other West Africans (see, e.g., Simo Bobda 2003: 33–34). Ghanaian authors (like Ahulu 1994: 26; Gyasi 1991: 26) highlighted the importance of RP as a yardstick for Ghanaian speakers of English (an attitude that persists until today), regardless of the fact that this norm is hardly ever attainable. It is for the same attitudinal reason that among the varieties of West African Pidgin English (as spoken in Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon), the Ghanaian variety is held in lowest esteem by its speakers (Simo Bobda and Wolf 2003: 110). Further to the west, another good illustration for the role of attitudinal factors in the shaping of a distinct national variety is Liberian English. The connections of Liberia with the United States (see previously) have reinforced the identification of Liberian speakers of English with American English in general and, because of their unique historical experience, with their own peculiar kind of English vis-à-vis their anglophone neighbours in particular. Liberian English is a mixture of American English and features that have developed through endonormative processes (see subsequently). It is also part of this attitude that Liberians consider all forms of English, from pidginised to standard varieties, simply English and generally do not use labels like "Broken" or "Pidgin" to refer to basilectal forms (see Singler 1997: 205). The East Africans' attitude towards their English can be considered similar to that of the Ghanaians. Abdulaziz (1991: 395) reports, at least in an historical reference to educational contexts, a self-consciousness of East Africans towards the English they speak and a derision of forms not considered standard.

Last but not least, the functional distribution of languages or language varieties across countries and regions has an impact on how similar or dissimilar the varieties in question are. The anglophone East African countries are united by the dominant role of Swahili in this region. It is the co-official language (together with English) of Kenya and Tanzania and the statutory national working language in Uganda (where it is, *inter alia*, used by the security forces; Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2019: Uganda; Namyalo, Isingoma, and Meierkord 2016; Simango 2006). Given that Swahili functions as lingua franca throughout the region, English can be reserved for the higher domains, such as education, the media, and commerce, where a more or less uniform standard is expected. Also, because of the role of Swahili, pidginised forms of English never had the chance to develop in East Africa. In West Africa, on the other hand, a range of forms of English exist. In the anglophone part of Cameroon and in Southern Nigeria, Pidgin English predominates in the sociolinguistic situation (see Wolf 2001; Igboanusi and Peter 2005), which in turn exerts considerable influence on the standard forms. Even in educated Nigerian or Cameroon English, one can often observe, for example, the use of *for* as locative preposition (as in *go for school*, *the rooms for the house*). Furthermore, in Nigeria, the Yoruba- and Igbo-influenced subvariety spoken in the economically and demographically dominant South is spreading to the North, where a Hausa-influenced variety has been developing. If one language or language group dominates, such as Akan in

Ghana and Mandingo in Gambia, one can expect more substrate influences on the national variety of English than in countries where the indigenous languages hold a "balance of power" (also see previously for the case of Gambia). Thus, one common, L1-induced feature observable in Ghanaian (Pidgin) English is an r/l-allophony (as in [blɛd] *bread*, and [brad] *blood*). In Sierra Leone, Krio is the L1 of only a small ethnic group, the Krios, but spoken by almost everyone in the country. Hence, features characteristic of Krio often occur in Sierra Leonean English, as the deletion of /h/ in initial position, for example, in [ɔndrɛd] (*hundred*).

This section has outlined the colonial framework in which the regional and national varieties that are the topic of this chapter developed and suggested some reasons for their similarities and differences. Some relevant linguistic features were also described. The following section will give a systematic overview of diagnostic and distinctive features of the individual varieties.

Linguistic features of East African and West African Englishes

The phonology and grammar of several – yet unfortunately not all – of the varieties discussed here have been compactly described in Kortmann and Schneider (2004). This section does not intend to simply replicate the findings given there and cannot be exhaustive in the description of each individual variety. The aim, rather, is to offer general clusters of phonological and lexical/discursive features that are minimally diagnostic and maximally distinctive vis-à-vis other varieties. The description of these clusters, on the one hand, goes back to distillations of the relevant literature but also to the author's exposure to thousands of speakers of African Englishes; these clusters have been confirmed and effectively applied in variety-identification. In other words, the features listed in the following are a) representative of a prototypical speaker of a given variety (though WAE is an abstraction from the various national varieties) and b) sufficient to identify and distinguish a variety. EAE and WAE are presented contrastively; the national varieties of WAE individually. The general features of WAE obtain in the national varieties, unless otherwise indicated. Besides, basically the same phonetic features are characteristic of the pidginised and creolised varieties, where they exist. No comprehensive and systematic comparative account of the national varieties of EAE in terms of phonological and lexical specifics has been published so far (cf. Schmied

Table 12.1 Contrastive features of EAE and WAE

Feature (RP reference form for vowels)	*East African English*	*West African English*
/ɜː/	[a], occasionally [ɛ], especially in Tanzanian English, as in [wak] (*work*), [ban] (*burn*)	frequent occurrence of [ɔ], except for Ghanaian English, as in [wɔk] *work*, [bɔn] (*burn*)
/ʌ/	[a]	[ɔ], except for Ghanaian English
post-tonic <our, or, ure, us, ous>	[a(s)], as in [nɛba] (*neighbour*), [dɔkta] (*doctor*), [fjutʃa] (*future*), [dʒizas] (*Jesus*), and [sirias] (*serious*)	[ɔ(s)], except for Ghanaian English, as in [nɛbɔ] (*neighbour*), [dɔktɔ] (*doctor*), [fjutʃɔ] (*future*), [dʒizɔs] (*Jesus*), and [siriɔs] (*serious*)
vocalisation of /l/ in final Cl-clusters	to [o/ɔ], as in [pipol] *people*, [baibɔl] (*Bible*)	to [u], as in [pipul] (*people*), [baibul] (*Bible*)
simplification of consonant clusters	through vowel insertion, as in [milik] (*milk*), *and[ə]go*	through consonant deletion, as in [mik] (*milk*), *an' go*

2017), which may well be due to the relative homogeneity of EAE, as mentioned earlier.[2] The lexical items are taken from a database, which forms the basis of an exclusive dictionary of West African English (in preparation, see Peter and Wolf 2008).

A number of lexical items are exclusive to each regional variety. Words specific to EAE include, for instance, *khansu* ('shirt'), *magendo* ('smuggling', 'illegal business'), *mandazi* ('wheat cake'), *matatu* ('collective taxi', 'mini bus'), *boda-boda* ('motorcycle (taxi)') *matoke* ('banana'), *askari* ('security guard'), *msungu* ('white person'), *panga* ('machete'), *ugali* (a corn dish). While the previously listed phonetic features unite the varieties of WAE, lexical items shared by all varieties of WAE are rare. *Dash* ('bribe, small gift') and *brown envelope* ('bribe') are among them, as well as *gari* ('flour made from cassava'), *fufu* ('pounded meal of cereal'), and *juju* ('a charm' or 'practices related to witchcraft'). The latter three, however, are on their way to becoming part of the common core of English (cf. Peter and Wolf 2008: 232). There are practically no lexical items which can be found in both EAE and WAE but not in other varieties (though *nyama*, 'food,' 'meat' exists in both Nigerian English and EAE).

Cameroon English

The easternmost national variety of WAE is Cameroon English. The following combination of phonetic features is distinctive of this variety:

Table 12.2 Distinctive features of Cameroon English

Feature (RP reference form for vowels)	*Realisation*	*Examples*
/ɜː/	besides [ɔ], often and almost exclusively forms with [ɛ]	[tɛm] (*term*), [junivɛsiti] (*university*)
/ɛə/	monophthongisation to [ɛ]	[wɛ] (*where*), [skwɛ] (*square*)
/aʊ/	occasionally monophthongisation to [a]	[at] (*out*), [tan] (*town*)
final Cl-clusters	besides vocalisation to [u], often forms with a schwa	[sɛtəl] (*settle*), [ɔŋkəl] (*uncle*)
weak final consonants	often tensed	[gut] (*good*), [dik] (*dig*)
/l/ in word-final position	often deleted	[sku] (*school*), [smɔ] (*small*)
<-ng> in monosyllabic words	[-ŋ]	[lɔŋ] (*long*), [briŋ] (*bring*)
<-ng> in *-ing*-forms	often as [-iŋ]	[dansiŋ] (*dancing*), [matʃiŋ] (*marching*)

Because of the linguistic situation in Cameroon, where French and English are both official languages but the former dominates because of political and demographic factors, many lexemes exclusive to Cameroon English are derived from French, such as *gendarme* ('armed police') or *cahier* ('file'). Other popular items exclusive to Cameroon English are *erru* (a forest vegetable, the most exploited and commercialised vegetable in Cameroon), *ndole* (a dish made with bitter leaves, Cameroon's national dish), and *achu* ('pounded cocoyam paste').

Nigerian English

Given Nigeria's economic and demographic weight (it has the largest population of all African countries) as well as its film industry (Nollywood), whose products are popular across Africa, Nigerian English is certainly the most prominent and arguably most influential

Table 12.3 Distinctive features of Nigerian English

Feature (RP reference form for vowels)	*Realisation*	*Examples*
/ɜː/	besides [ɔ], as [ɛ] and [a]	[pɛsən] (*person*), [tati] (*thirty*)
/eə/	as [iɛ], less frequently as [ia] and [ɛa] (though monophthongisation to [ɛ] occasionally occurs with female and speech-conscious speakers)	[diɛ, dɛa] (*there*), [wia] (*where*)
/aʊ/	frequently monophthongised to [a]	[dan] (*down*), [əbat] (*about*)
initial (C)Cr-cluster	insertion of a schwa	[təri] (*three*), [stərit] (*street*)
/t/	dentalisation	[it̪] (*it*), [wɔt̪] (*what*)
weak final consonants	often tensed	[bik] (*big*), [fut] (*food*)
/ks/-clusters	/k-/ frequently deleted and respective hypercorrection	[sis] (*six*), [ɛsplɛn] (*explain*), [tɛkst] (*test*)
/l/ in word-final position	often deleted	[nɔma] (*normal*), [tɛ] (*tell*)
non-initial nasals	often deleted	[tais] (*times*), [naiti] (*nineteen*)
/h/	occasionally deleted in initial position and respective hypercorrection (mostly speakers from the South-West)	[ai] (*high*), [hɔp] (*up*)
/m, n/	occasional confusion	[dɛn] (*them*), [om] (*own*)
<-ng> in monosyllabic words	[-ŋg] or [-ŋk]	[strɔŋg] (*strong*), [siŋk] (*sing*)
<-ng> in *-ing*-forms	produced as [-in]	[rɔnin] (*running*), [slipin] (*sleeping*)
marked forms		[ajɔn] (*iron*), [bjud] (*build*), [bjudin] (*building*), [giɛl] (*girl*), [ɔjə] (*oil*), [pɔ] (*poor*), [pripa] (*prepare*), [taizi] (*taxi*), [tʃudrɛn] (*children*)

variety of WAE. Typical features of Nigerian English comprise the following, though not all are necessarily exhibited in the speech of a single speaker.

Given Nigeria's size and ethnic diversity, it comes as no surprise that Nigerian English has numerous nationally exclusive lexical items, for example, *draw soup* ('okra soup'), *molue* ('mini-bus,' especially in Lagos), *oba* ('king,' 'traditional ruler'), *oga* ('boss,' big man'), *okada* ('commercial motorbike'), to name only a few. Nigerian English also has three conspicuous discourse markers, namely *na/now* (which sometimes occurs in the speech of Cameroon English speakers as well), *sha*, and *finish*. *Na* is used without a temporal reference, has various functions and conveys various attitudes; perhaps it is most frequently used to emphasise the informational content of an utterance, as in *it is big na*, *when you make soup na*. *Sha* has been defined as British English 'in short' (Igboanusi 2010: 298), and may convey an attitude of impatience, as in *sha I cannot explain*. *Finish* is used to signal the end of an enumeration or the end of the turn itself, as in *rice and yam, finish*; *went to visit my friend, finish*.

Ghanaian English

As indicated earlier, Ghanaian English diverges considerably from the common WAE prototype. The distinctive set of features is listed in Table 12.4.

Table 12.4 Distinctive features of Ghanaian English

Feature (RP reference form for vowels)	*Realisation*	*Examples*
/ʌ/	mostly as [a]	[matʃ] (*much*), [bas] (*bus*)
/ɜː/	regularly as [ɛ], rarely as [ɔ]	[wɛd] (*word*), [tʃɛtʃ] (*church*)
/eə/	as [ɛ]	[tʃɛ] (*chair*), [dɛ] (*there*)
/au/	occasionally monophthongised to [a]	[bran] (*brown*), [dan] (*down*)
post-tonic <our, or, ure, us>	as [a], occasionally as [ɛ]	[nɛba] (*neighbour*), [pasta] (*pastor*), [nɛtʃa] (*nature*), [mainas] (*minus*), [kalɛ] (*colour*)
/ə/ before word-final <-s> (mostly plural forms)	often as [ɛ]	[sistɛs] (*sisters*), [ɛldɛs] (*elders*)
/ə/ in <*-able*> words	as [a]	[itabəl] (*eatable*), [vɛdʒətabul] (*vegetable*)
final Cl-clusters	besides vocalisation to [u], often forms with a schwa	[baisikəl] (*bicycle*), [sɛkəl] (*circle*)
/ə/ in <*-ion*> words	often as [i]	[nɛʃin] (*nation*), [mɛnʃin] (*mention*)
weak final consonants	often tensed	[haf] (*have*), [rit] (*read*)
/ks/-clusters	/k-/ occasionally deleted	[tris] (*tricks*), [bus] (*books*)
/l/ in word-final position	often deleted	[kapita] (*capital*), [sɛ] (*sell*)
nasals in medial and final position	often deleted	[tais] (*times*), [naiti] (*nineteen*)
/r/ and /l/	often allophonic	[loman] (*Roman*), [ripres] (*replace*)
marked forms		[ban] (*born*), [stɛdi] (*study*), [ɛs] (*us*), [dʒɛs(t)] (*just*), [prabrɛm] (*problem*), [dʒab] (*job*)

Lexical items exclusive to Ghanaian English include *abenkwan* ('palm soup'), *abolo* ('baked or steamed maize dough'), *fugu* (a kind of smock), *komi* (a fufu-like food), *light soup* (usually pronounced [laisup], 'a soup containing neither palm nut oil nor groundnut paste'), *trokosi* (young virgin girls given to fetish priests as slaves).

Liberian English

Liberian English has the general features of WAE but also a number of features that are unique within this regional variety. Liberian English shows a great deal of internal variation, both within the speech of any given speaker as well as variety-wise. However, even if speakers do not produce all the features covered in Table 12.5, their speech is usually unmistakably Liberian.

The following items are part of the exclusive lexical inventory of Liberian English: *bitter ball* (term for a local variety of eggplant), *bubble* ('amphetamines'), *dumboy* ('boiled cassava dough, squeezed into balls and dipped into palm oil soup'), *grona boy* ('street boy,' 'young delinquent'), *jay-jay* (term for old Liberian dollar), *Kongors/Congoes* (the original settlers from America), *palm butter* ('fruit and oil of the oil palm,' often as the basis for different sauces).

Table 12.5 Distinctive features of Liberian English

Feature (RP reference form for vowels)	*Realisation*	*Examples*
/æ/	often as æ or [ɛ]	[ɔnəstæ] (*understand*), [mɛn] (*man*)
/ɜː/	besides [ɔ], often as [ɛ]	[bɛn] (*burn*), [lɛn] (*learn*)
[ɒ]	[ɑː]	[bɑːdɛ] (*body*), [gɑː] (*got*)
HAPPY-vowel /i/	often as [ɛ]	[histɔrɛ] (*history*), [lɛdɛ] (*lady*)
/ə/	often as [ə], or [ɔ] in word-final position	[əmerəkɔ] (*America*), [brɔdɔ] (*brother*)
/au/	often monophthongised to [a] or [ɔ]	[kɔntis] (*counties*), [na] (*now*)
/aɪ/	often monopthongised to [ɛ] or lengthened to [aː]	[rɛs] (*rice*), [daː] (*die*)
/ɔɪ/	often monopthongised to [ɔ]	[bɔ] (*boy*), [dʒɔn] (*join*)
final Cl-clusters	vocalised mostly to [o]	[nidol] (*needle*), [pipol] (*people*)
final consonants or consonant clusters	frequently deleted	[brɔ] (*brought*), [go] (*gold*)
intervocalic /-t-/	mostly weakened to [t̬]	[lɛt̬ɔ] (*later*), [fɔgɛt̬in] (*forgetting*)
/-ndV/, /-ntV/	frequent deletion of /d, t/	[ɛnɔ] (*enter*), [ɔnɔ] (*under*)
/r/	occasionally retroflex [ɻ], occasionally rhotic	[vɛɻɛ] (*very*), [ɔdəɻ] (*other*)
marked form		[ɛ] (*it*)

Sierra Leonean English

Sierra Leonean English is a fairly "neutral" variety; that is, it falls squarely within the general norm of WAE and has only few phonetic features which distinguish it from the other varieties. Some of these features can be traced to the influence of Krio, the lingua franca of Sierra Leone, spoken by nearly all inhabitants. Krio, in turn, shares some features with Nigerian English – most conspicuously, perhaps, the non-phonemic status of /h/ in Krio and the occasional deletion of /h/ in Nigerian English, respectively. This correspondence is due to the fact that many of the freed slaves that were resettled in the Freetown area were Yoruba or of Yoruba descent.

Table 12.6 Distinctive features of Sierra Leonean English

Feature (RP reference form for vowels)	*Realisation*	*Examples*
/ɜː/	besides [ɔ], predominantly as [a]	[tam] (*term*), [lan] (*learn*)
/eə/	as [iɛ], [ia] and [ɛa]	[diɛ, dɛa] (*there*), [tʃia] (*chair*)
/h/	occasionally deleted	[abs] (*herbs*), [it] (*hit*)
/d/ in final Cd-clusters	often deleted	[daimɔn] (*diamond*), [fain] (*find*)
/l/ in word-final position	usually retained	[stil] (*still*), [fɔl] (*fall*)
/r/	velar-uvular /ʁ/, especially if Krio is L1	[bʁɔda] (*brother*), [ʁɔn] (*run*)

Table 12.7 Distinctive features of Gambian English

Feature (RP reference form for vowels)	*Realisation*	*Examples*
/ɜː/	besides [ɔ], as [a]	[ali] (*early*), [gal] (*girl*)
/æ/	occasionally as [ɛ]	[blɛk] (*black*), [fɛmili] (*family*)
/eə/	as [ɛa], less frequently as [ia] and [iɛ]	[dɛa] (*there*), [wia, wiɛ] (*where*)
/ʒ/, /ʃ/	often as [z], respectively as [s], and respective hypercorrection	[mɛzɔ] (*measure*), [sɔp] (*shop*), [brauʒa] (*browser*), [miʃ] (*miss*)
/dʒ/ and /tʃ/	transformed or simplified, especially to [dj], [dç] [d], [tç]	[djɔin] (*join*), [dçanuari] (*January*), [vilɛd] (*village*), [tçɔtç] (*church*)
/d/ in final Cd-clusters	often deleted	[frɛn] (*friend*), [stan] (*stand*)
/l/ in word-final position	usually retained	[bɔl] (*ball*), [ɔl] (*all*)
/r/	as apical trill	[raun] (*round*), [bridj] (*bridge*)
/v/	occasionally as bilabial [β]	[riβa] (*river*), [sɛβən] (*seven*)
marked forms		[gjiv] (*give*), [gjɛt] (*get*)

Sierra Leonean English does have, however, a number of exclusive lexical items; frequently heard ones are: *Bondu/Bundu* ('a secret society for women'), *podapoda* ('mini bus'), *poyo* ('palm wine'), *omolankey* ('push cart'), *omole* ('locally brewed gin,' 'alcoholic concoction').

Gambian English

Because of Gambia's size and population, Gambian English has the smallest number of speakers within WAE. However, this variety is just as stable and established as the other varieties of WAE. Although it also shares some features with Sierra Leonean English, the following set makes Gambian English quite recognisable and distinctive.

Lexically, Gambian English can be identified by, inter alia, *domoda* ('meat in groundnut stew, usually served with rice'), *nawettan* ('off-season football tournament'), *superkanja* ('okra, fish or meat, palm oil, onions and pepper boiled together'), *yassa* (generic for various kinds of meat and fish prepared in a certain way).

This concludes the comparative survey of distinctive linguistic features of East and West African Englishes. The 'linguistic feature approach' adopted is part of the traditional descriptivist take on World Englishes (cf. Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009: ch. 1). Yet the description of African Englishes, or World Englishes, for that matter, does not stop there. African Englishes and first language varieties of English are embedded in different cultural contexts. In order to arrive at a fuller picture of a given variety, this cultural dimension – which includes far more than native terms as loan forms – needs to be captured as well (see also Sharifian, this volume). The following section will give an introduction to and a general summary of a recent attempt at the systematisation of culture in African English.

Cultural linguistic findings on witchcraft in African English

The last two decades have witnessed major advances in the linguistic study of culture in World Englishes (see Sharifian 2017: ch. 9). Before the advent of cultural linguistics and its cognate discipline cognitive sociolinguistics (on differences and commonalities, see Wolf and Chan 2016: 249–250; for the purpose of this chapter, cognitive sociolinguistics is subsumed under cultural linguistics), culture was either seen as being outside the scope of linguistic analysis proper or not rigorously and systematically analysed (see Wolf 2008b). Regarding a cultural linguistic approach to African English, the most substantial works so far are Polzenhagen (2007) and Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009). The singular form 'English' – as opposed to the use of 'Englishes' previously – is significant, because the same cultural linguistic patterns were found across sub-Saharan Africa. To put it differently, in terms of a broader cognitive-cultural view, it is, at least on the basis of the current state of research, not warranted to speak of different African varieties in the context of cultural conceptualisation. It is for this reason that some of the subsequent examples also come from Southern African English. Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) investigated the African cultural model of COMMUNITY, highlighting three interrelated aspects: cultural keywords, culturally motivated collocational patterns, and cultural conceptualisations. Cultural keywords and culturally motivated collocational patterns are elicited by means of corpus-linguistic methods, which tie in with the development of corpora of World Englishes (cf. Mair 2017), the most important of which, for comparative purposes, are the so-called ICE corpora, as part of the International Corpus of English project and the Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE). Neither the theoretical and methodological framework applied by Polzenhagen and Wolf, nor the African model of COMMUNITY itself can be described comprehensively here. Instead, in the following, I would like to focus on recent additional findings regarding witchcraft in African English that go beyond the conceptualisations discussed in Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009) – which will not be reiterated here – and put one of their claims in perspective.

Witchcraft encompasses the occult dimension of the African model of COMMUNITY; in the words of Geschiere (1997: 11), it is "the dark side of kinship." For Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009: 120), witchcraft (or, synonymously, magic or occult) is "a cover term for forces and practices that are ascribed to involve the application of supernatural powers." Terms connected with witchcraft are, inter alia, *juju* and voodoo in West Africa, *muti* in Southern Africa, and *uchawi* in East Africa. As Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009: 121) argue, mapping the Western notion of witchcraft upon the African model would be highly misleading. As these authors write

> (1) Witchcraft and witchcraft beliefs are an every-day experience in Sub-Saharan Africa, both historically and in the contemporary context. They pervade the whole range of social spheres, e.g., family, politics, the discourse on material wealth, the medical discourse, sports. (2) African witchcraft notions are essentially neutral, or better "ambiguous" as to 'evil' and 'good.' Whether witchcraft is perceived as negative or as positive depends on the purpose and context of application. (3) African witchcraft notions are highly dynamic, they are open to change and transformation, they adapt to and are employed to make sense of new social realities.
>
> *(Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009: 121–122)*

The "modernity of witchcraft," the title of Geschiere's (1997) book, is evident, for example, in the results of a non-representative online survey among 38 Africans from 9 different sub-Saharan countries (Oberwies et al. 2018). In that survey, 31 participants indicated that they believe in witchcraft. Its salience for Africans is also reflected in GloWbE (Davies 2013),[3] where the lemma *witchcraft* is most frequent in the African sub-corpora (4.34 occurrences per mil in South African English, 7.43 per mil in Nigerian English, 8.79 in Kenyan English, 10.03 per mil in Ghanaian English, and 11.46 per mil in Tanzanian English), as compared, for example, to 1.76 per mil in American English.

The ambiguous nature of witchcraft, as pointed out by Wolf and Polzenhagen (2009), holds true in the traditional view of witchcraft; under the influence of colonialism and Christianity, a negative view may have come to prevail. This tendency is reflected in the previously mentioned survey, where 25 out of 39 respondents stated that witchcraft is evil, while 6 agreed with the statement "Witchcraft is neither good nor evil. It depends on how you use it" (7 respondents indicated that they do not believe in witchcraft). Likewise, a search for collocates (with a search horizon of four words to the left and four words to the right) with *witch** in the five African sub-corpora of GlowbE revealed that *evil* is the sixth most frequent collocate (after *doctor*, *doctors*, *accused*, *wizards*, and *hunt*). Furthermore, a negative view of witchcraft (and an attestation to its modernity) certainly shows in the fact that witchcraft or being a witch (the concept used to be gender neutral, but see subsequently) is punishable by law in, for example, Nigeria (Laws of the Federation of Nigeria 1990) and Zambia (Republic of Zambia n.d.). Accordingly, the conceptualisation WITCHCRAFT IS A CRIME can also be found in GlowbE:

> *2 guys were arrested and jailed for witchcraft – stealing somebody's spirit.* GlowbE
> *(country Nigeria, genre General)*

> *In Mombasa, Coast PC Samuel Kilele announced that the police would arrest witchdoctors*. GlowbE
> *(country Kenya, genre General)*

A related conceptualisation is WITCHCRAFT IS A SIN, expressed in the following examples:

> *Asana Mahama was tortured by her brother who threatened to pluck out her eyes if she didn't confess to witchcraft.* GlowbE
> *(country Ghana, genre General)*

> *She was taken through deliverance and during the deliverance, she confessed to witchcraft and that she killed her mother*. GlowbE
> *(country Nigeria, genre General)*

> *her housemaid delivered while confessing witchcraft and responsibility for her marital problems*. GlowbE
> *(country Tanzania, genre Blog)*

From a Christian perspective, the sinfulness of witchcraft is, of course, ultimately linked to the conceptualisation WITCHCRAFT IS THE WORK OF THE DEVIL, realised, for example, in

> *Other pastors in his shoes would have branded the woman a witch sent from the devil to destroy his church.* GlowbE
> *(country Nigeria, genre General)*

> *the building owners who are witchcraft practitioners working for Satan*. GlowbE
> *(country Nigeria, genre General)*

In a detailed association and item-linked task study, Finzel and Wolf (2019) probed into the concept of WITCH in British English, Indian English, and Nigerian English. While the results for Indian English are of no relevance here, the findings for British English and Nigerian English suggest a contact-induced influence on that concept in Nigerian English from British English regarding gender (unlike the traditional concept, WITCH is now predominantly represented as female) and reveal conceptual associations with Satan, sin, and evil.

Initial research suggests that corresponding terms for *witch* and *witchcraft* in African languages (such as *sangoma* for 'witch doctor' in South African languages) have preserved a more balanced understanding of these concepts. A cursory look at the collocates for *sangoma* in GlowbE (same search horizon as the previous) even suggest an unequivocal positive semantic prosody: *traditional*, *ancestors*, *healer*, *medicine*, *Mandela*, and *Nelson* are among the most frequent collocates (also see Peters, 2020).

Still, although the data confirms a prevalence of a negative understanding of WITCHCRAFT, more positive, or, for that matter, rationalist conceptualisations of WITCHCRAFT continue to exist. One such conceptualisation is WITCHCRAFT IS A SKILL/AN ART, as in:

> *There is a lot we can learn from witchcraft, like how they fly in that winnowing basket. Imagine if we learn that skill. It will eradicate traffic jams and everyone will just get in their basket and fly. It also means we will not be importing fuel anymore.*
>
> *(Ihenacho 2017, quoting Blade Nzimande, former South African Minister of Minister for Higher Education and Training)*

> *The witchcraft arts and crafts has been modified and spreading in an alearing [sic] state*. GlowbE
>
> *(country Kenya, genre Blog)*

> *they are busy perfecting their arts in witchcraft*. GlowbE
>
> *(country Nigeria, genre General)*

The enhanced version of WITCHCRAFT IS A SKILL/AN ART is WITCHCRAFT IS A SCIENCE. In Zambia and South Africa, it has been proposed to incorporate witchcraft into the academic curriculum:

> *20 students to be trained in witchcraft, rituals in University of Zambia*
>
> *Named Intangible Cultural Heritage, the degree programme will be commencing lectures with a total of 20 students. . . . The news comes on the heels of the announcement made by the Higher Education Minister, Professor Nkandu Luo in November 2017.*
>
> *He stated that Zambia should consider carrying out research and study of witchcraft as a science which can be used to combat crime amongst other negative elements in the country.*
>
> *SA Minister to introduce BSc in Witchcraft into education system*
>
> *While Nigerians spend time and energy condemning witchcraft and its agents, binding and casting them and attributing any misfortune on the activities of witches and wizards, the South African Minister of Higher Education and Training, Blade Nzimande, has announced plans to have witchcraft included in the curriculum from 2018, aimed at awarding a Bachelor of Science (BSc) degree in Witchcraft. Nzimande made this known while speaking to representatives from student unions around the country, announcing the move and urging future university applicants to consider taking Witchcraft as a course of study. . . . The Minister further invited renowned witches to make*

an appointment with his office so they can have their skills tested and those outstanding would then be hired as lecturers.

He also invited witches from across the continent to take advantage of the new course, promising them permanent residents' permits.

(puls.ng. 2018)[4]

Witchcraft conceived as a skill, art, or even science highlights the pragmatic, teleological dimension of witchcraft practices and focuses on the benefits of the person applying witchcraft for oneself or even society, rather than the detrimental effects on the "afflicted." It is a means to an end, a tool, and the purposes for which it is applied are manifold (to create social balance, obtain wealth, succeed professionally and in love matters, and so on; see Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009: 124–158).

The most pragmatic and mundane conceptualisation of witchcraft is WITCHCRAFT IS (A) BUSINESS, manifest, for example, in

What's your take on witchcraft? Is this type of business legal? GlowbE
(country Kenya, genre General)

Witchcraft industry grows in everyday life. GlowbE
(country Tanzania, genre Blog)

Witchdoctors sell severed body parts and blood of albinos to miners and fishermen who believe that these parts can bring them luck, health and fortune. GlowbE
(country Tanzania, genre Blog)

Witchcraft seem to have become a business enterprise.
(anonymous informant, see Oberwies et al. 2018)

As a "normal" business practice, witchcraft is firmly anchored in the social fabric of sub-Saharan Africa and attests to its normality.

For the theoretical debate of variation in World Englishes, it is crucial to note that the linguistic material in the previous data, with the exception of the names, is from the common core of English. In the field of lexis and semantics, variation comprises far more than terms for objects that do not exist in native varieties of English. Lexical frequency, regular textual co-occurrences, and systematically related expressions generated by underlying conceptualisations indicate cultural variation on a broader scale. Arguably, description of difference, especially cultural difference, should not be an end in itself but should serve intercultural understanding. The study of World Englishes with the methodological toolbox of cultural linguistics can make an important contribution to this endeavour.

Conclusions

This chapter looked at and compared East and West African English – two of the three broad regional L2-varieties of African English – from a variety of perspectives. First, the colonial context was considered from which these two Englishes grew. It was argued that hands-off British language and educational policy led to a stabilisation of Pidgin English and Krio in the West African countries where these varieties were spoken and was conducive to the development of distinct national varieties of English. In East Africa, on the other hand, this very policy confirmed the role of Swahili as a lingua franca and contributed to the emergence of a homogenous regional variety, lacking the pidginised forms one finds in West Africa. East and West African English are strikingly different in terms of internal variation, and this chapter attempted to provide some explanation for this phenomenon. The focus then shifted to variation in African Englishes themselves. Minimal sets of distinctive phonetic and lexical features were listed that distinguish East and West African English and the national varieties of WAE from each other.

Phonetic and lexical investigations are long-established topics of sociolinguistic research. Recent theoretical and methodological advances in other areas of linguistics, however, offer new ways to gain a different and new systematic insight, namely cultural-conceptual variation. Cultural linguistics was introduced as one such advance; it combines, inter alia, corpus-linguistic methods and conceptual metaphor analysis and allows for both quantitative and qualitative studies of semantic differences in language. At this level of enquiry, East, West, and Southern African English were found to share cultural conceptualisations which are linguistically realised in their varieties. The methodical survey of culture in world Englishes has only begun (also see Sharifian, this volume); more World Englishes await this kind of examination.

Notes

1 Gut (2017: 491) includes the island of St. Helena among the anglophone West African countries. However, this inclusion is solely on geographical grounds, despite the fact that the island lies nearly 3,000 km south to the West African coast. Linguistically, St. Helenian English is not a variety of WAE (cf. Schreier 2010).
2 Meierkord (2016) gives a recent account of diphthongs and Isingoma (2016) of lexical borrowings and calques in Ugandan English.
3 For the shortcomings of GloWbE, see Polzenhagen (in prep.).
4 There has been some controversy surrounding the Intangible Cultural Heritage program in Zambia, and the University of Zambia denies that courses on witchcraft were actually offered; yet also see the Facebook comments under the official post by the university (University of Zambia 2018). No further information could be found for this issue in South Africa.

Suggestions for further reading

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Kirkpatrick, A. (2007) *World Englishes: Implications for International Communication and English Language Teaching*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (A comprehensive discussion of educational issues of English in international contexts.)

Wolf, H.-G., Polzenhagen, F., and Peters, A. (2017) 'Cultural Linguistic Contributions to World Englishes,' Special issue of *International Journal of Language and Culture* 4(2). (Includes studies in which varieties of English are investigated by means of cultural linguistics.)

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13

Spread of English at the grassroots? Sociolinguistic evidence from two post-protectorates

Maldives and Uganda

Christiane Meierkord

1 Introduction

Whilst most research on World Englishes has focussed on varieties of English spoken by the educated (and often also social) elite of countries, there is a growing body of research that investigates the spread of English at what might be called the grassroots of societies (Meierkord 2012, 2020; Schneider 2016), that is, by lower social classes and individuals who have received limited or no formal education. Studying the spread of English at the grassroots seems timely, given the ever-growing number of people who use English on a more or less daily basis to pursue their professions or to master the challenges of migration. However, growing spread is inevitably reflected in increasing heterogeneity.

This chapter discusses this by looking at Maldives and Uganda, two former British protectorates that had escaped both sociolinguistic and variation linguistic attention for a long time. Whilst there has been unprecedented research on the variety of English spoken in Uganda during the last two decades, in e.g. Fisher (2000), Isingoma (2014), an edited volume by Meierkord, Isingoma & Namyalo (2016), and the most recent works of Isingoma & Meierkord (2019), Ssempuuma (2019) and Adokorach & Isingoma (2020), Maldives have been covered in Meierkord (2017) only. Contrasting Maldives and Uganda involves, seemingly, comparing two countries which could not be more different, one typically associated with holidaying, the other with poverty and instability. The two countries also differ considerably regarding their geographical makeup. Maldives, located in the Indian Ocean just southwest of Sri Lanka, is an island state consisting of approximately 1192 coral islands, which are grouped into 26 natural atolls, covering approximately 100,000 km^2 and extending over 823 km in length and 133 km in width. For administrative reasons, these natural atolls form 21 units, one of which is the capital island, Malé. Of these islands, a mere 188 were inhabited islands (i.e. islands settled by the local population) at the time at of the most recent, 2014, census. In addition, there were 109 resort islands. By contrast, Uganda, in East Africa, west of Kenya, covers 197,100 km^2, with its population living spread across the entire territory. Besides the capital, Kampala, which had 1,507,114 inhabitants at the time of the latest, 2014, census, other cities are considerably smaller: the largest are Nansana (354,857), Kira (317,428), Makindye (282,664), Mbarara (195,160) and Gulu (149,802). Per the 2014 census, 21.46% of the population lived in urban areas. However, the two post-protectorates also have very different realities. Maldives is home to large numbers of migrant workers, for example, making a living as garbage workers in the country's capital island Malé, whilst Uganda is home to a considerable affluent upper middle class, typically associated with the offspring of the traditional kingdoms of the country. For example, the Buganda *kabaka*, or king, officially resides in Lubiri Palace in Kampala.

To allow for a better understanding of the complexity of Englishes at the grassroots of the two countries, this chapter provides concise analyses of how English has been available to and used by individuals in the two countries, describing the social histories of English as well as its present-day status and use in the two countries' linguistic ecologies. Drawing on analyses of historical archive material and official publications, the chapter outlines the factors that constrain the degree and quality of the spread of English at the grassroots: the socioeconomic status of the nations and their citizens, the main sectors the countries' economies rely on, language and education policies, migration patterns and demographics.

2 The grassroots and the spread of English

The term *grassroots*, in relation to varieties of English, emerged in linguistics around the turn of the millennium. Khubchandani and Hosali (1999: 254) referred to the mixed codes of Hinglish and Tamlish, which are both spoken in India, and in which speakers mix English with Hindi and Tamil, respectively, as being examples of "grassroots English among those who spontaneously acquire certain rudimentary characteristics of the language in plurilingual settings (and not through formal education)" and "are in a position to handle rudimentary tasks in English" (1999: 255). Schneider (2016: 3) offers a similarly narrow definition of what he labels *grassroots Englishes* as typically having been learnt "in direct interactions rather than through formal education" by individuals of poor backgrounds and with little or no access to formal education.

Others use the term somewhat loosely to refer to "a wide variety of 'non-elite' forms" (Blommaert 2008: 7, when talking about grassroots literacy) or to uses of English beyond contexts of international organisations, education, academia, and the business world (Meierkord 2012, 2020). Similarly Erling et al. (2013) do not explicitly define what they call "grassroots attitudes" but say that these include "participants from different socioeconomic backgrounds and those living in both urban and rural areas" (Ibid.: 92). There exists, thus, some link to our lay understanding and familiarity with the term from phrases such as *grassroots movement* or *grassroots democracy*, which both refer to local people's activities and reflect the definition of *grassroots* offered by Webster (Merriam-Webster.com 2019) as " the basic level of society or of an organization especially as viewed in relation to higher or more centralized positions of power", "the ordinary people in a society or organization" and "the people who do not have a lot of money and power".

In Maldives and Uganda, English has come to be used by exactly such individuals, albeit to drastically varying extents.

3 Maldives and Uganda: present-day realities of English users and uses at the grassroots

Typically, we tend to have very imprecise ideas about both Maldives and Uganda and no precise idea about the uses and users of English in the two, as is the case for many post-protectorates, which have previously largely gone undiscussed, despite that fact that

Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 9) identified them as "intermediate between ESL and EFL territories". To amend our imagined realities and to add to our understanding of the two countries, this section will describe the domains and users of English today and discuss whether we are witnessing a spread of English to individuals outside of the typically studied academic and business elites, before an attempt at explaining why the situation is the way it is will be offered in Section 4.

3.1 Users and uses of English in Maldives today

The sole national and official language of Maldives is Dhivehi, a language that has received very scarce attention (Gnanadesikan 2017; Meierkord 2017). As a result, English has not made inroads into those domains typically dominated by English in postcolonial contexts, that is, the administration, law courts and politics. However, English occupies a powerful position in the education sector, where it is the main medium of instruction (MOI; see 4.3 below), as well as in the nation's main industry, tourism, and it is also spreading in the media. In each of these sectors, this involves spread to and use by the grassroots.

Besides the local variety of English (Meierkord 2017), students encounter a number of Englishes in schools, which is indicated in job offers for positions in Maldivian schools. These explain, for example, that Ahmadhiya International School, Malé, "is open for teachers from United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, America and the Philippines", and Billabong High EPS International school has "teachers from India, Turkey, Sri Lanka and Maldives". In the future, this might change, as the government has decided to replace expatriate teachers with local staff, whenever possible. The use of English as MOI continues at the tertiary level, where all courses offered are in English. Maldives is home to nine colleges and one university, offering degrees ranging from education via multimedia design, computing, security and law enforcement, business administration and accountancy to sharia law and information technology. However, the university does not offer degrees in the natural sciences, technology degrees and medicine, and many students migrate to other countries to obtain tertiary education degrees.

For many school leavers, English also continues to be of importance when they enter the job market. "As a second working language, English is widely used in Government officers (sic)" Yadav (2014: 79), as well as in the tourism industry and commerce. English is also used by and with expatriate workers. The resident population in the 2014 census included 63,637 – that is, 15.83% – foreigners (National Bureau of Statistics 2015a: 13). Most of these originate from South Asian countries, particularly Bangladesh, India and Sri Lanka. In 2008, 43% of the expatriate workers were employed in the construction sector, 21% in tourism, 11% in finance, insurance and real estate, 4% in the education sector (cf. De Mel & Jayaratne 2011: 212–213), and fewer in manufacturing, fishing, trade and transport. Unfortunately, it is difficult to assess to what degree English is employed in those sectors where grassroots speakers are likely to be found, that is, in construction and tourism, as there has not been any research to date into the language practices at the grassroots of Maldives. The Maldives 2014 census reports that 13,555 Maldivians resided on one of the resort, agricultural or industrial islands (National Bureau of Statistics 2015b: 15). Of these, 77% (i.e. 10,437) lived (i.e. were employed) on either of the resort islands. In fact, as May (2016: 7) states, "there is a dearth of qualified Maldivians to fill technical, middle and senior management positions in the tourism sector". Also in 2014, the census reports 23,110 foreigners on non-administrative islands, which means that 63% of the staff in these islands are foreigners (National Bureau of Statistics 2015a: 19). For example, on the resort island of Milaidhoo, staff members are from 18 nations, including Maldives, Philippines, Kenya, Namibia and

India (Luig-Runge 2017). As a result, English is used as a lingua franca between Maldivians, Sri Lankans, and so on, depending on the precise origins of the staff, many of whom are employed in low-paid jobs, as cooks, cleaners, beach sweepers, artisans and the like. However, grassroots users and uses of English are mostly found outside of the resort islands. The opening of local islands to tourism in 2009 is a case in point. Although at the end of 2016, only 16 hotels were registered on inhabited islands, the growing guest house scene on these islands "contributed nearly 14% to the total bed capacity of Maldives in 2015" (Ministry of Tourism 2016: 1).[1] As a result, on these islands, locals (not necessarily Maldivians by nationality) engaging in the operation of excursion companies or dive schools, but also artisans producing handicrafts and individuals tending to food stalls, renting beach chairs and operating eateries, use English for interaction with tourists of various backgrounds.

Whilst the use of English in the work domain is clearly that of a lingua franca, and whilst Dhivehi is the language of communication at home and among Maldivians, contact with the English language also comes via the media, albeit to much varying degrees. Regarding TV, radio stations and print newspapers, the use of English in Maldives is fairly limited. Neither of Maldives' four state-owned TV channels (Television Maldives TVM, the youth, entertainment and sports channel Yes TV, the parliament channel Majlis and the Islamic television channel Munnaaru) nor any of the four private TV stations (DhiTV, Raajie TV, Sangu TV and VTV; BBC 2016) broadcast in English, but TV from outside Maldives is widely available. The state-operated radio stations Dhivehi Raajjeyge Adu, Dhivehi FM and Dheenuge Adu (an Islam-based channel) as well as Sun Media Group's Sun FM radio broadcast in Dhivehi. According to the BBC (2016), English is used, at times, on Capital Radio 95.6, which offers some of the BBC's World Service programmes. All local print media, to the best of our knowledge, are in Dhivehi, with the sole exception of the weekly magazine *Maldeeb*, which covers social issues, development, sports, travel and so on and is published using both Dhivehi and English.

Whilst exposure to English at the grassroots and, in general, via traditional media is thus very limited, the Internet is playing an increasingly crucial role in the dispersion of English(es) in Maldives. Internet access is available throughout the country via Dhiraagu and Ooredoo telecommunications systems, and there were 370,000 internet users as of June 2019 (Internetworldstats.com), which corresponds to 84% of the resident population. Thus, if young children and elderly people are disregarded, basically everybody uses the internet. This involves access to international websites, of which, as of April 2019, 25.2% were in English (www.statista.com/statistics/262946/share-of-the-most-common-languages-on-the-internet/), but also to the local online news portals, of which Raajje MV (raajje.mv) and Miadhu (miadhu.mv) are in both Dhivehi and English, and Maldives Independent (maldivesindependent.com) and The Edition (edition.mv) are in English only.

3.2 Users and uses of English in Uganda today

Contrary to what is the case in Maldives, in Uganda, English has occupied the position of official language ever since it was introduced as a language of administration during the times of the British protectorate (1894/1900–1962; see Section 4.2.2). Besides this official status, English also occupies a prominent place in the domains of education, media, religion and the home domain. English is mostly spoken as a second language (L2),[2] and it is typically acquired through formal teaching in schools, where it is used as a medium of instruction from Primary 5 onwards. Namyalo et al. (2016: 23) hold that a stable, intermediate level of English is typically attained after Senior 4 (i.e. after 11 years in school, at the end of lower secondary level, roughly equivalent to GCSE). Based on the 2014 census

(Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2017: 38), 17.2% of Uganda's population have attained this level. L1 speakers of English, on the other hand, are few. According to the 2014 census, a total of 3,235 people from the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia, whom we assume are all L1 speakers of English, resided in the country at that time.

English is also widely used in the media, particularly in print newspapers and by TV stations, whilst radio stations tend to broadcast largely in the country's indigenous languages. The government of Uganda runs only four newspapers in Uganda's indigenous languages, namely *Bukedde* in Luganda, *Orumuri* in Runyankore-Rukiga, *Etop* in Ateso and *Rupiny* in Luo. Privately owned newspapers in indigenous languages have not thrived, and there are only two, namely *Kamunye* in Luganda and *Entatsi* in Runyankore-Rukiga. However, as Namyalo et al. (2016: 38) explain, "the vibrancy of indigenous language newspapers cannot be underestimated" given their high circulation rates, for example, of the Luganda *Bukedde* versus the English *New Vision* with 32,170 versus 34,476 copies per day. Publications of prose and poetry, whilst available increasingly in indigenous languages, are also dominated by English. Regarding radio stations, the situation is entirely different, with most of Uganda's districts having locally owned radio stations, which mainly broadcast in the local languages of their audiences. Rosendal (2010) shows that English is only used in 10.1% of the airtime of private radio stations and in 28.5% of that of state-owned radio stations. In contrast, television stations are clearly dominated by English, which is used in approximately 90% of all broadcasts (Rosendal 2010: 186; Namyalo et al. 2016: 40).

The multi-ethnic composition of Uganda's population, particularly in the capital Kampala, together with the often high level of English proficiency attained by those who have completed secondary or even tertiary education, has also resulted in highly educated Ugandans perceiving English as a national language that linguistically unifies the country. As Cheney (2007: 111) reports, English often serves as a lingua franca in the friendship domain, allowing Ugandans to maintain relationships across ethnic groups but also to create a feeling of being "Ugandan" rather than as belonging to one particular ethnicity. For members of the growing affluent upper middle class, English is also making inroads into the home domain, and families have started to raise their children in English, particularly when parents have different L1s.

As Namyalo et al. (2016: 36) find, English also occupies a place in the domain of religion, both Christianity and Islam, due to the country's multilingualism. From the Central as well as Western and Northern districts, Ugandans report that English is used frequently for readings from the Bible or the Qur'an, for preaching, conducting the service and communal prayer; to cater to the multilingual congregation and even for private prayer.

3.3 Evidence of uses of English at the grassroots in Maldives and Uganda

Empirical, descriptive research into uses of English at the grassroots in both countries is scarce, and these are only starting to be documented, for example, in Isingoma (fc. 2021) and Meierkord (fc. 2021). Evidence for the use of English at the grassroots comes from informal genres of writing, particularly from what has been discussed as bottom-up signage (see e.g. the papers in Shohamy & Gorter 2009) both in Maldives and Uganda, as captured in Figures 13.1, 13.2 and 13.3. The signage from Maldives in Figures 13.1 and 13.2, outside a beachside café frequented mainly by tourists from various linguistic, educational and social backgrounds, displays numerous instances of non-standard spelling, mirroring Blommaert's (2008) finding for grassroots literacy in general. *Umbrella* is spelt *umbrela* and *cold* becomes *coold*, the *cold fruit plate* turns into a *cool fruith plate*, and *tuna toast* is offered *wit cheese*. Apparently, none of these spellings hamper successful

Figure 13.1 Signage outside an eatery on Maafushi beach, Maldives

Figure 13.2 Close-up from Figure 13.1

communication with tourists, reflecting findings obtained from lingua franca research in general, that is, that users give prominence to communicative effectiveness over correctness.

By contrast, the signage from Uganda in Figure 13.3 is mostly in line with standard orthography, only *family* is spelt *familly*, and *garments* has become *gurments*, probably as a result of phonetic spelling. In fact, most signage in Uganda, even when displayed in villages, as is the case with Figure 13.3, follows standard orthography. Misspellings such as the ones discussed here are rare.

Frequently, however, shop owners use English in their signage without actually knowing what the phrasing means. The signage documented in Figure 13.4 was photographed along a

Figure 13.3 Signpost on a house in Buhoma, Uganda

Figure 13.4 Signpost outside a shop near Kisoro, Uganda

road in the Southwest of Uganda, close to Kisoro. During an interaction with the shop owner, she revealed that the meaning of "Try again" was entirely unknown to her.

The following sections aim at offering sociolinguistic explanations for the present-day situation.

4 Explaining the heterogeneity of the spread of English at the grassroots

The similarities and differences that pertain to the users and uses of English in Maldives and Uganda, at the grassroots and in general, have their origin in the linguistic ecologies of the two countries, the histories of the presence of English, language policies after independence and the demographic and economic realities of the two countries. These differ considerably, leading to the heterogeneity that has been outlined above and that exists more generally across post-protectorates.

4.1 Linguistic ecologies and the place of English therein

Maldives has one clearly dominant language, which is Dhivehi, earlier held to be a dialect of Singhala (see Gnanadesikan 2017 on the split between the two languages), and before the advent of tourism in 1972, the country was largely monolingual.[3] However, over the last decades, the influx of migrant workers has transformed Maldives into a multilingual society and increased the uses of English as a lingua franca.

The situation in Uganda is crucially different from that of Maldives, Uganda being a multilingual country. Whilst it is difficult to precisely determine the number of Uganda's languages, due to the problematic nature of the language versus dialect dichotomy, it may be safe to follow Eberhard et al. (2019), who identify a total of 39 indigenous languages. These belong to four language groups, namely Bantu (66.4%), Nilotic (27.2%), Central Sudanic (6.3%) and Kuliak (less than 1%).[4] The first three of these are said to be "as different as say English, Chinese, and Arabic; and even the Eastern and Western Nilotic groups differ from each other as much as English and French" (Ladefoged et al. 1972: 17). In addition, a number of immigrant languages are spoken in Uganda, which is one of the world's main refugee-hosting countries (UNHCR 2019), with very high numbers of refugees and asylum seekers originating from South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo and some from Burundi, Somalia, Rwanda and Eritrea (CIA 2019b). As a result, English often functions as a lingua franca, just as in Maldives, at all levels of society.

4.2 The spread of English to Maldives and Uganda – two histories

English was introduced and added to the countries' linguistic ecologies in both Maldives and Uganda when the nations were British protectorates – Maldives from 1796 and Uganda from 1894/1900, but as for the precise histories of English, they differ drastically in ways described below.

4.2.1 The spread of English to Maldives

Maldives became a British protected area in 1796, after it had voluntarily placed itself under the protection of various European powers, potentially in reaction to a 15-year (1558–1573) ruling of the Portuguese, who brutally aimed to convert the Islamic population to Christianity; it had then been a Dutch protectorate, together with Ceylon, from 1645 until the British seized Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) (Fritz 2002: 3). In 1887, Maldives became a formal

British protectorate to which, however, the British maintained an unobtrusive approach. Neither did they deploy any personnel to the islands (Maldives was administered from Ceylon), nor did they get involved in internal matters (with the exception of having to be asked for consent in matters of succession to the throne of the sultan). As a result, English has no history as a language of administration in Maldives. This also meant that training an English-speaking elite to serve as clerks was never on the agenda, so that Maldives also has no history of English in the education sector. In both these aspects, it is completely different from Uganda. Similar to what is the case in Uganda, but even more pronounced, there existed no settler population in the sense of Schneider (2007) until the British established a Royal Navy base on the island of Gan in the Southern Addu atoll, in 1941.[5] The base on Gan was subsequently developed for use by the Royal Air Force in 1942 and became the British's sole staging post in the area when the base in Sri Lanka could no longer be used following its independence in 1956.

In the following years, the British stationed around 600 permanent personnel on Gan (rising to 3,000 during peak activities; Masters 2009: 164) and eventually also employed 900 Maldivians and 100 Pakistanis from the neighbouring islands at the base (The Guardian 1975). As a result of the close contact and interaction between British and local staff, Maldivians in the area "spoke good English and had experience working for Westerners" (Masters 2009: 164). This contact involved the grassroots but was very much a regional phenomenon. For the major part of Maldives and its inhabitants, English only made inroads into the country's linguistic ecology when a state-run education system replaced the traditionally religious education system from 1961 onwards.

4.2.2 The spread of English to Uganda

In some ways, the situation was similar in Uganda, where the British also established a protectorate rather than a colony, with the result that Uganda did not attract British settlers. However, a major difference in the case of Uganda was that the British did send administrative and military personnel and made English the official language.

The spread of English to the area began in the second half of the 19th century, when British explorers established contact with the Baganda, whose King was visited in 1875, with the aim of establishing formal relations. Starting from 1877, this led to the admission of Christian missionaries, initially Anglicans, followed by Catholics in 1879, who initiated formal teaching. As early as 1893, missionaries of the Catholic White Fathers established Bukalasa Seminary, the first formal school, at Masaka. In 1888, the British government set up the Imperial British East Africa Company to administer and develop the region. However, as a result of a territorial dispute with Germany and an outbreak of civil war between followers of British Protestant missionaries and their French Catholic rivals, the British declared a protectorate over the kingdom of the Baganda in 1894 and later, in 1900, over the area that makes up Uganda today. As a result, education in English became an asset to the British administrators, who aimed for "their [the Baganda's, CM] boys to learn English so that they may take the place of the Indian clerks in the Government offices" (Johnston 1900). Nevertheless, it was not until the 1920s, when there was an increasing demand for trained minor clerks, policemen, interpreters and semi-skilled labourers, that the British government got actively involved in the education system. Whilst the British promoted Kiswahili for the population at large, the Baganda and missionaries successfully propagated English. However, contact with English at this time was, as in most British colonies, largely restricted to a societal elite, that is, to those whom the British wished to train for the aforementioned jobs.

The education system was developed in earnest only after the Second World War, and with this, the spread of English increased.

Exposure to English via a settler strand (in the sense of Schneider 2007, this volume) was very rare, since restrictions as regards the purchase of freehold land by non-Ugandans discouraged large-scale settlements in the country. Informal acquisition of English and contact with the language at the grassroots was, therefore, scarce, whilst teaching of English in the schools quickly produced an English-speaking black elite (cf. Mazrui & Mazrui 1996).

4.3 Language policies at independence and subsequent developments

In 1965, Maldives became independent, and Dhivehi has remained the sole official language until today. The British airbase on Gan was kept until 1976. At the same time, contact with English increased steadily from after shortly before independence, in 1960, when a governmental education system was introduced,[6] initially in Malé, leading to the establishment of a national curriculum in 1984. Relatedly, in 1961, schools in Malé introduced the use of English as the medium of instruction, and by the end of the 1990s, all schools had switched to English as the MOI (UNESCO-IBE 2012). Currently, English is playfully introduced as early as preschool (at 3 years of age). Starting from the primary level (grades 1–5), Dhivehi is used for lessons in Dhivehi itself, Qur'an and Islam, but English is the MOI for all other subjects, so that children of all social backgrounds are exposed to English from a very young age.

The sudden and widespread switch to English as the MOI resulted in a huge demand for English-language teachers, and the education system initially had to employ an expatriate work force. Whilst there is no exact documentation of the origins of teachers, individual statements of such expatriate teachers found on the Internet indicate that the majority have originated from India. However, Maldives has now successfully trained its own teachers, and the share of expatriate teachers has declined from 75% in 2006 to only 27.78% (Ministry of Education 2015) in 2015.

When Uganda became independent in 1962, English was well established, due to its having been used during protectorate times, and then maintained as the country's sole official language and MOI. However, the development of the nation was severely disrupted from the late 1960s onwards. The Idi Amin government's decision to expel all Asians from Uganda in 1972 also resulted in a large-scale exodus of most other non-Ugandans and of large parts of the country's elite. External support for English-language teaching, which had been available via the British Council, also ceased at this time of political unrest, which drastically inhibited access to English and to education for the population at large, particularly at the grassroots.

When Uganda finally regained political stability in the 1990s, an international community re-established itself in the country, involving international agencies such as the UN or the International Secretariat of Amnesty International, the British Council and the like. The presence of such international agencies may have also influenced educational policy: In 1992, the Government White Paper (1992) recommended that the mother tongue or a language familiar to the child should be used as a MOI in the first three years of primary school, wherever possible. At the same time, English should be taught as a subject from grade 1 to grade 3, and it is to become the sole MOI in grade 5, after a transition year in grade 4. However, implementation of this policy differs considerably, with private and urban primary schools frequently using English as the MOI from Primary 1 and rural schools often finding it difficult to transit to English in Primary 5 (cf. Ssentanda 2016 for details).

Kiswahili became a co-official language in 2005, but this status is a constitutional and not a *de facto* one. Since the application of the constitution requires an enabling law to be enacted by Parliament, which does not exist to date, Kiswahili cannot be used fully as a court language nor in parliament. Administration, however, is multilingual, and translation into various indigenous languages is available.

A look at recent statistics explains further why English has been spreading rapidly in both countries.

4.4 The statistics behind the spread of English

In both countries, English is very much associated with education, and the better-educated younger generations have a considerably higher command of English, resulting in a considerable age divide regarding proficiency in (not necessarily standard) English, which is most pronounced at the grassroots, given the fact that free education was not available until fairly recently. Today, the two countries compare as summarised in Table 13.1.[7]

Whilst primary and secondary education are, in principle, free in both countries, Maldives has considerably longer compulsory education. Also, the amount of students still in the education system at the end of primary school differs drastically, with more than 90% still in school in Maldives versus only 35.5% in Uganda. In Uganda, despite primary education being compulsory and free, children often drop out of school since parents cannot even afford basics such as stationery or because their assistance is required to support the family either through work or by looking after their younger siblings. Since many of these pupils will not have had a large amount of English input when they leave the education system, the spread of English via formal instruction in schools is considerably lower than in Maldives.

Nevertheless, literacy rates in Uganda have risen sharply in the younger generations: in Table 13.1, the three figures for literacy rates refer to the age groups 15–24 years old, 15 years old and older and 65 years old and older. For Uganda, they point to an age divide which is also reflected in proficiency in English. By contrast, Maldives has considerably higher literacy rates, in general as well as in the older generation.

The spread of English through the education system is also constrained by the gross domestic product (GDP) and the percentage share of this spent on education. In combination, the figures for expenditure on education and GDP per capita (PPP$) indicate that Maldives may spend an equivalent to $679.2 per capita on education versus a mere $49.3 in the case of Uganda. Obviously, this will affect the quality of education in general and hence also of English language teaching and education, which in turn affects the spread of English at the grassroots.

The figures collected in Table 13.2[8] summarise further factors that have an impact on access to and uses of English at the grassroots.

Table 13.1 Education in Maldives and Uganda

	Maldives	*Uganda*
Compulsory education	12 years	7 years, primary
School fees	free primary and secondary education	free primary and secondary education
Net enrolment primary	95.42% in 2017	95.49% in 2013
Survival to the last grade of primary	93.33% in 2017	35.5% in 2016
Literacy rate	98.75%/97.73%/90.23%	89.4%/76.53%/42.04%
Expenditure on education	4.07% of GDP in 2016	2.64% of GDP in 2017
GDP per capita – PPP$	$16,688	$1,868

Table 13.2 Demographic factors, economy and media use in Maldives and Uganda

	Maldives	*Uganda*
Demographics		
Total population	392,473 (estimate 2018)	40,853,749 (estimate 2018)
Median age	28.6	15.9
Rural population	58.8% (2019)	75.6% (2019)
Economy		
Agriculture	3% of GDP (estimates 2015)	28.2% (estimates 2017)
Industry	16%	21.1%
Service sector	81% (tourism, 25.3%)	50.7%
Media		
Mobile phone	100%[9]	63% (2017 estimate)[10]
Using Internet[11]	84% (2019)	40.5% (2019)

As is evident from Table 13.2, both Maldives and Uganda have very young populations, with the mean age of Ugandans being only 15.9 years. Given this young age, combined with access to free primary education, Uganda's population is one that has a very high share of individuals, both in general and at the grassroots, who could potentially attend primary school and be exposed to formal instruction in English. However, the issues discussed above restrict this potential exposure. At the same time, Uganda has a very high amount of rural population, who have considerably lower access to quality education in English (see Ssentanda 2016), as discussed in Section 5 below.

Another crucial factor that seems to explain why English spreads more easily at the grassroots in Maldives than in Uganda lies in the economies of the two countries. Maldives' economy largely relies on the service sector, particularly on tourism, where proficiency in English is an asset, meaning that many Maldivians work in sectors where competence in English is necessary. By contrast, Uganda's economy relies on agriculture to a very high extent. Even though this only contributes 28.2% of the GDP, most Ugandans are employed in the agriculture sector, where competence in English is not important.

Finally, informal access to English via online media is easily possible in Maldives, where 84% of the population report to use the Internet. In Uganda, this option is only available to 40.5% of the population, typically to more affluent citizens.

5 Conclusion – limitations to the spread of English at the grassroots

Uses and users of English in Maldives and Uganda differ considerably, both in terms of domains and potential numbers. Whilst English is the *de facto* official language and the language of law and parliament in Uganda, it does not have such status in Maldives. Similarly, whilst English occupies a high percentage share of print publications in Uganda, both in newspapers and literature, such uses of English in Maldivian media are highly restricted. Furthermore, in Maldives, English has not made any inroads into the religious domain, which is clearly dominated by Arabic, whilst the multilingual nature of Uganda's society has given rise to uses of English in this domain. What is similar in both countries is that English is largely acquired through education, while at the same time informal acquisition is possible via the media, particularly the Internet, which 84% of the Maldivian population and 40.5% of Uganda's population use (see Table 13.2). Access to English at the grassroots by less fortunate citizens, typically of the lower social classes, is therefore linked to whether these have access to free education and to affordable Internet access.

Furthermore, in Maldives, English is clearly a phenomenon of migration, expatriate workforce and tourism. It is currently not possible to assess to what degree this involves grassroots users, but, as tourism has been increasing on the local islands, involving migrant workers from neighbouring countries and tourists from very diverse backgrounds, uses of English as a lingua franca are highly likely. In Uganda, English serves as an intranational lingua franca, too, across speakers of mutually unintelligible indigenous languages. Finally, in the case of Maldives, the prospect of having to move to a new territory due ever-rising water levels may be a further factor motivating the acquisition of English.

These more general observations do not account for divides that exist in both countries and that limit the spread of English to the grassroots and its uses therein. One is an age divide that results from the implementation of educational policies, which benefit the younger but not the older generations and inevitably lead to a higher spread of English at the grassroots in the younger population. Another very drastic divide is the rural-urban one.

5.1 The urban–rural divide

In Maldives, where formal education has been compulsory since 2017, according to a report by UNICEF & National Bureau of Statistics (2018: 73–74), based on the 2014 census data, school attendance rates dropped sharply in the higher secondary level in the past, with 29.2% of girls and 26.6% of boys being out of school at the age of 17. There used to also exist a crucial difference between the capital island Malé and the Atolls, with percentages in Malé being 21.3% for girls and 17.8% for boys, as opposed to 33.1% for girls and 35.2% for boys in the Atolls, from where students would need to either commute or move to Malé. Interestingly, and contrary to expectation, "the atolls in the central region of the country had relatively higher percentages of children out of school compared to the rest of the country" (UNICEF 2018: 75).

School attendance rates in Maldives are high, on average 97% in the age group of 5 to 15 years olds, that is, until the end of lower secondary education (National Bureau of Statistics 2015c: 16), which means that the young population in general has a decent command of English. Gender inequality emerges at the secondary school level, where travel is required to other islands and the exchange of room and board for domestic labour makes families reluctant to send daughters away for education. Lower and upper secondary (years 8–10 and years 11–12) finish with the University of London General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level and Advanced level, respectively. However, attendance rates drop sharply in upper secondary, to 49% at the age of 18, when students typically sit for the Advanced-level exams. This is caused by the fact that higher secondary schools as well as most colleges and the university are located on the capital island Malé. Despite the fact that Villa College (http://villacollege.edu.mv/qi/public/) and MI College (https://micollege.edu.mv/) have campuses around Maldives, most students from other atolls thus need to move to Malé. This is affordable only to more affluent families, thus creating a cline of English proficiency that correlates with socioeconomic status and place of residence.

The fact that English became a MOI much earlier in Malé than elsewhere, as well as the fact that large parts of the expatriates live there, means that the capital island has significantly more users of English and higher proficiency levels.

For Uganda, the Uganda National Household Survey Report 2009/10 finds that only 15.5% of the country's population live in urban areas, whilst 84.5% live in rural parts of the country, where access to education typically is lower, particularly at the secondary level. Attending secondary level, then, often requires students to move to a larger town, which not every family can afford. This issue is reflected in figures: As the report finds, urban areas, in which 15.5% of the population live, have a rate of 81% (89.4% in Kampala) of individuals who have secondary education or higher, whilst this rate drops steeply to 27.7% in rural areas, in which 84.5% of the population reside. Furthermore, in Kampala and other big cities, children often acquire English from nursery school onwards and have attained a high level of English proficiency after primary school. This is the case since, as Ssentanda (2016: 99) explains, as policy makers "assume that urban schools are characterised by a complex multilingualism, they are allowed to use English as a LoLT [language of learning and teaching, cm] throughout primary school".

The urban–rural divide also exists with regard to access to the Internet and hence informal modes of English input and, potentially, acquisition. Whilst in Kampala 18.4% of residents own a computer, the rate drops to as low as 0.4% in Rubanda (a town in the extreme southwest of Uganda). While 76.9% of residents in Kampala own a mobile phone, in Kotido (a town in the northern region of Uganda), only 7.6% do. In the same way, the percentage of Internet users drops from 37.5% in Kampala to 2.5% in Kibuku (a municipality in Eastern Uganda).

So, yes, English does spread at the grassroots of both societies, but certainly not everywhere and not to the same extent. In both countries (and likely in many other former British colonies and protectorates), the major users of English and uses of English as an L1 in the upper middle classes are found in the capitals, here in the island of Malé and the city of Kampala, and in other big cities, leading to more and better opportunities for members of the lower classes to acquire English.

Notes

1 By 13 February 2017, the number of guesthouses had risen further, to 396. (www.tourism.gov.mv/facilities/guest-house/?lang=guest-house).

2 However, for many, English is a foreign language, similar to what Michieka (2009) found for the Kisii in Kenya.

3 However, Dhivehi exists in several different regional varieties, with the one spoken in the South being largely unintelligible to citizens in the North. The language has received very limited attention until recently (see, however, Cain & Gair 2000; Fritz 2002; Gnanadesikan 2017 and the studies mentioned therein).

4 The percentages were computed based on data provided by Simons and Fennig (2017), following the 2014 census data (but see Namyalo et al. 2016: 21 and references therein for a caution regarding the use of census data).

5 The British were also stationed in Dhoonidhoo near Malé and in Haa Alif Kelaa in the very North.

6 Maldives' education system had traditionally involved teaching in Qur'anic community schools (called *edhuruge* or *kiyavaage*), more formal Qur'anic schools (*makthab*) and the *madhrasa.* Education focussed on literacy in Divehi, reading the Qur'an and arithmancy.

7 Data have been taken from UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2019a, 2019b http://uis.unesco.org/en/country/mv and uis.unesco.org/en/country/ug

8 Data was collected from CIA (2019a) and CIA (2019b).

9 The number of mobile phone contracts is at 900,120 and thus drastically outnumbers Maldives' inhabitants. Likely, this is because several phones are registered from businesses. However, network coverage exists throughout the country.

10 This figure has probably risen to around 70.9% at the beginning of 2018. www.monitor.co.ug/Business/Technology/-Ugandans-mobile-phones–National-IT-Survey-NITA/688612–4334138–2fb1ruz/index.html
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14
South African Englishes

Susan Coetzee-Van Rooy

Introduction

The multilingualism of Africa, the colonial history of South Africa and its subsequent peculiar apartheid history conspired to create a unique context for the study of Englishes in South Africa. The long-standing multilingualism in African societies (Pardon & Furniss 1994; Wolff 2000; Mufwene 2017) combined with the transplantation of English to South Africa and the use of languages as instruments of ethnic manipulation in apartheid South Africa combined to create a setting where there is increasing contact between a diversity of languages, especially in urban areas. This complex context presents the ideal environment for the study of multilingualism and of the establishment and development of varieties of individual languages like English that are included in the multilingual repertoires of citizens. In the World Englishes framework, South Africa boasts varieties of inner, outer and expanding circle Englishes, although the notion of expanding circle varieties has not received a lot of attention. There is evidence that Black rural children in South Africa are disadvantaged due to the often low quality of education that they are exposed to (including the lack of training of their teachers in mathematics and English) (Spaull 2015, 36, 39), and this leads scholars like Mesthrie (2006, 384) to argue that "Much of South Africa counts as an ESL rather than EFL territory . . . [but that] it is a moot question whether in some parts of the country English is still virtually a foreign language". Coetzee-Van Rooy and Van Rooy (2005, 3) argue that almost all South Africans come into contact with English regularly via its use at school, in the media and in businesses, even in rural contexts, and that this is the reason that studies rarely focus on "Expanding Circle English" in South Africa. The notion of an "Expanding Circle English" will not receive attention in this chapter. Mesthrie (2020, 1) argues that South Africa is "a crucial case" to study from a World Englishes perspective, because it provides "a perspective on mismatches between power and prestige" (Mesthrie 2020, 3) concerning language matters.

Against this background, the chapter offers a brief introduction to the histories and the linguistic structures of the inner and outer circle varieties of South African Englishes. The aim of this section is to summarise the broad historical developments and the main linguistic descriptions of the inner and outer circle varieties of English in South Africa today and to provide references to readers who want to delve deeper into these elements. The greater part of the chapter focuses on the attitudes of people towards the inner and outer circle varieties of South African Englishes, because language attitudes are expressions of people's impressions of the power and prestige of its users. Before the chapter turns to the histories of South African Englishes, a brief introduction to the broader sociolinguistic background of South Africa is provided.

Sociolinguistic background of South Africa

This section presents the multilingual nature of the South African context at the individual and societal levels as background for the chapter. If the multilingual nature of this setting is not taken into account, discussions about the role of English in the repertoires of South Africans can often be skewed.

South Africa declared the following eleven languages as official languages in Chapter 1, Section 6(1) of its Constitution (South African Government 1996): "The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu". South Africa has a population of 50,961,443 according to the most recent census (2011), and the self-reported home languages of census takers indicate that the three biggest home languages are Zulu (with 22.7% or 11,587,374 speakers), Xhosa (with 16% or 8,154,257 speakers) and Afrikaans (with 13.5% or 6,855,082 speakers). English, Northern Sotho, Tswana and Southern Sotho each make up approximately 8% (around 4 million users) of the home language speakers of South Africans as reported in the census (2011), and the smaller home languages are Tsonga, Swati, Venda and Ndebele, each with about 3% (around 1 million users) of the home language speakers in South Africa. The remaining 4% of the population report using Sign Language and "other languages" as home languages.

According to the census (2011), English is the home language of a smaller group of South Africans, but the population of Black South Africans that report English as a home language has grown steadily across the census data sets. In 1996, 3% of the total number of English home language speakers self-reported to be from the Black African population group; in 2001, this rose to 5% and in 2011 to 24% (meaning 1,167,913/4,892,623 speakers of English as a home language self-reported to be from the Black African population group). Although the increase of the use of English as a home language among members of the Black African population has steadily grown since 1996, one should keep in mind that this remains a small group compared to the large number of home language speakers of all other African home languages.

At the level of individual language repertoires, the majority of South Africans are multilingual (Posel & Zeller 2016) and know an average of four languages (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012, 2016). There is increasing evidence that the multilingual repertoires of South African people remain stable, and these repertoires almost always include English as a second strongest language, as it is regarded as an important language for education, business and entertainment. Despite earlier discourses of endangerment linked to the spread and importance of English in South Africa (De Klerk 2000; Kamwangamalu 2003), an understanding of the complementary roles played by the home languages (as carriers of cultural identity), English (as a very useful African language) and additional African languages in the multilingual repertoires of South Africans is gaining ground. Some scholars view the creative use of all the linguistic resources in the multilingual repertoires of South Africans as the constitution and re-constitution of useful dominant language constellations for specific purposes in specific domains (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2018). A multilingual view of South African repertoires cast a different light on the role that English plays in this context. Scholars like Mesthrie (2006) and Van Rooy (2019) have increasingly emphasised an understanding of the role of English within its multilingual history and multilingual ecologies. In the next section, an overview of the history of English in South Africa is provided.

Overview of the history of the transplantation of English

The history of the transplantation of English to South African has been well described (Lanham 1996; Lass 2002). The main events that mark the history of English in South Africa relate to four prominent sets of dates.

The story of English in South Africa starts with the British occupation of the Cape in 1795 (Lass 2002, 108; Bekker 2013, 3). Between 1795 and 1806, the British occupation of the Cape is a story of interruption, very limited settlement of British people and therefore very little evidence that English put down "roots" in South Africa. During this phase, English remained a foreign language with a small, albeit politically important, number of users. The second phase of the growth of English in South Africa starts in 1820 when between 4000 and 5000 British settlers arrived in eastern Cape (Lass 2002, 108; Bekker 2013, 3). This was the first major input to establish English in South Africa, and the dialect mixing between the varieties of English brought by the settlers during this time resulted in the first variety of South African English, namely Cape English (CE). The third phase in the planting of English in South Africa came about with the arrival of a second wave of about 5000 settlers that arrived in Natal in the 1840s and 1850s (Lass 2002, 109; Bekker 2013, 4). The dialect mixing among this group of settlers resulted in a second new variety of English in South Africa, namely Natal English (NE). The fourth phase in the process to establish English in South Africa was triggered with the discovery of gold in the Johannesburg area. Lass (2002, 109) and Bekker (2013, 4–5) attest to the diverse origins of migrants who descended on Johannesburg and in this case, about 400,000 migrants from a variety of linguistic backgrounds (including a variety of Englishes) landed in South Africa. Bekker (2013, 5) argues that the dialect mixing in the Johannesburg case included the mixing of CE, NE, several British regional dialects and several English second language varieties.

The result of the history of the four phases of the spread of English in South Africa generated several native, white sociolects of South African Englishes: Conservative or Cultivated SAE, Respectable or General SAE, Extreme or Broad SAE and second-language Afrikaans-English (Bekker 2013, 6). Due to the specific effects of colonisation and later the peculiar state organisation of apartheid, contact among South African people (and their languages) was limited. In these circumstances, "ethnic varieties" of Black South African English (BSAE), Indian South African English (ISAE) and Coloured or Cape South African English (CSAE) developed. One of the main research questions related to the development of English in democratic South Africa (after 1994) is how these varieties of South African Englishes will develop in a context where social integration between previously separated populations is taking place. The post-1994 contact of the varieties of South African Englishes will be the next phase in the history of the spread of English in South Africa, and an understanding of the language attitudes of South Africans towards these varieties should contribute some information about this unfolding process.

Linguistic descriptions of the lexical, pronunciation and grammatical features of South African Englishes

There are excellent sources that capture the linguistic descriptions of South African Englishes (see the updated bibliography by Botha, Van Rooy & Coetzee-Van Rooy 2020a, 2020b). The aim of this section is to provide a comparative overview of the most prominent findings related to the lexicon, pronunciation and grammatical features of South African Englishes. These features are selected because of the constraint of chapters of this nature and because the literature provides recent comprehensive descriptions of these elements. The aim of this section is to reflect on the issue of convergence or divergence among South African Englishes where information is available about the lexical, pronunciation and grammatical features of these varieties.

Lexical features of South African Englishes

As is true of varieties of English across the world, the unique "flavour" of South African Englishes is also present in its lexical features (Silva 1978; Van Rooy & Terblanche 2010, 370). I want to argue that in a longstanding, deeply multilingual society like that of South Africa where code-switching is an ordinary feature of daily communication, "loanwords", "loanblends" and "loan translations" (Branford & Claughton 2002, 200) are even more productive. There is very early evidence that a unique "colonial phraseology" (Silva 1996, 193) included the use of many loanwords that required interpretation, and there is more recent evidence that since the late 1990s in South Africa, "As interlingual and interracial contact has grown and polarisations have become blurred, studies increasingly have recognised that CS [code-switching] in the urban/township context is extensive, complex, irrevocable, and as such part of the fibre of South African society" (Slabbert & Finlayson 1999, 70–71). In a more recent study based on a Sepedi radio broadcast corpus, Modipa, Davel and De Wet (2013, 69) found that "The most unexpected result from this work was the high frequency of code switching that was observed". They found that 31% of the content section of their radio broadcast corpus included code-switching (Modipa, Davel & De Wet 2013, 69). The sociolinguistic complexities in the South African historical and recent context provide an environment for productive "mutual lexical borrowings" (Branford & Claughton 2002, 199), which often include the use of "nonce-words" that are the "individual's perhaps momentary extension of a personal repertoire in code-switching" (Branford & Claughton 2002, 199).

This section will focus on borrowed words which include the "adoption [of words from other South African languages] into the 'public' language system [of South African Englishes]" (Branford & Claughton 2002, 199). Examples of three types of borrowing are presented: "loanwords", "loanblends" and "loan translations" (Branford & Claughton 2002, 200). "Loanwords" refer to items included in South African Englishes that are "borrowed with sound changes only" (Branford & Claughton 2002, 200). For example, the word "gogga" (an insect or bug or spider) is included in South African Englishes (an Afrikaans word initially borrowed from the Khoe word *xoxon*), and it takes the usual English plural in the form of "goggas" (Branford & Claughton 2002, 200). "Loanbleands" are words "of native origin with borrowed lexical morphemes" (Branford & Claughton 2002, 200). For example, the Zulu word "*umuthi*" means herbalist or doctor. When it is combined with the English word "man", it forms "muti-man" in South African English (Branford & Claughton 2002, 200). "Loan translations" (or "calques") (Branford & Claughton 2002, 210) occur occasionally in South African English, usually from Afrikaans, such as the particle verb "think out" (from Afrikaans *dink uit*, to mean "conjure up") and "off-saddle" (from Afrikaans *afsaal*, to mean "unsaddle"). Longer passages based on Afrikaans syntax are also encountered, especially in fictional dialogue, to evoke an Afrikaans milieu, for example, "he was several times acquitted", with the main verb in final position rather than adjacent to its auxiliary verb (see Coetzee 1981; Van Rooy 2020c).

Despite the optimistic observations by linguists that contact between the people in South Africa is increasing after 1994, I agree with Branford and Claughton (2002, 210) that

> in a population where the barriers between one social group and another are still as formidable as they are in present-day [2002] South Africa, a language such as English will encode not one "world of experience" but many so that the notion of "South African Englishes" is at least complementary to that of "South African English".

Van Rooy and Terblanche (2010, 370) find that there is some evidence from the Vaal Triangle region that there is convergence between indigenous and settler strands in their analysis of loan words used in a corpus of the *Vaal Weekly* newspaper. However, the publication of Mesthrie's (1992) *A Lexicon of South African Indian English* has changed traditional views that South African English mostly included borrowings from Dutch-Afrikaans origin. More lexicons of varieties of South African English are needed to provide a full view of the input into South African Englishes. For the moment, it seems that we still need to determine "if the different varieties are developing a shared lexicon by accepting words across the boundaries of individual user groups, or whether each speaker group uses its own unique set of vocabulary items" (Van Rooy 2017).

Pronunciation of South African Englishes

The most updated overview of the pronunciation features of South African Englishes is presented in Bekker and Van Rooy (2015, 292–296) and summarised in the table subsequently.

What is clear from Table 14.1 is that there is no overriding evidence of large-scale homogenisation of upper class BSAE with native WSAE or acrolectal ISAE or CSAE related to the pronunciation of South African Englishes (Bekker & Van Rooy 2015, 294). In addition to this summary, Bekker and Van Rooy (2015, 294–296) also report emerging research findings that indicate that a new group of BSAE speakers are developing who use an acrolectal form of BSAE. The main finding from this research is that acrolectal BSAE (for example, used by children who have integrated in multiracial schools) approximates WSAE and differs from mesolectal BSAE. This is reported in the cases of the realisation of the GOOSE vowel (Mesthrie 2010) and the realisation of diphthongs (Da Silva 2008). Mesthrie, Chevalier and Dunne (2015) studied the BATH vowel in five cities (Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg) across South Africa to investigate sociolinguistic and regional differentiation across South African Englishes. The findings indicate that "no city shows cohesion across all ethnic groups, though Kimberley, the smallest of the cities, and Johannesburg, the largest, come close"; "no ethnicity shows cohesion across all cities, although Black speakers of traditional L2 English background come close"; "robust regional difference for Colored speakers between Johannesburg and the other cities"; and "Gender effects are notable: women's means are closer to the historically prestige [ɑː] variant than the historically broader variant [ɔː] in 6 of 20 possible groupings by city and ethnicity" (Mesthrie, Chevalier & Dunne 2015, 1). In the domain of pronunciation, it also seems as if the phenomenon of varieties of South African Englishes will be maintained for some time to

Table 14.1 Summary of pronunciation variation in South African Englishes

Linguistic feature	*BSAE*	*ISAE*	*CSAE*	*WSAE*
Vowels	No allophonic KIN-PIN split	KIN-PIN split (less evidence of glide-loss)	KIN-PIN split	KIN-PIN split; allophonic variation in KIT-vowel
	No diphthongised FLEECE vowel			No diphthongised FLEECE vowel
	Disagreement about realisation of diphthongs; absence, breaking of diphthongs in bisyllabic sequences through glide intersertion; PRICE and GOAT seems to be added as potential diphthongs	Short diphthong in GOAT (same as in BSAE)	Canadian rising of PRICE and MOUTH	No full participation in diphthong-shift and MOUTH-PRICE crossover; FACE has a narrow diphthong; GOAT often fronted, as opposed to lowered in broader idiolects
				Substantially backed BATH-vowel
		Unrounded RP-like NURSE vowel		
		GOOSE-vowel more back than WSAE		
			Raised vowels, front and back; KIT, DRESS, TRAP, LOT, THOUGHT	
			STRUT is lowered	
	Contrast between tense and lax vowels is neutralised; central vowels replaced by closest front-vowel alternative; homophony of pairs like SIT and SEAT, BIRD and BED			
Consonants				Allophonic variation between clear and dark /l/
				Obstruent (tapped) /r/, semi-rhoticity, epenthetic schwa
		Rhetroflexion of /t, d, n/		
		Realisation of /f, v/ as [ʋ̥, ʋ] and /θ,ð/ as [t̪,d̪]		
		Unaspirated voiceless plosives		
			Antedental /f/	
			Final-nasal elision	
			/h/ as voiced and synchronic	

Source: Bekker & Van Rooy 2015, 292–296).

come, and more systematic work is needed to determine if and how South African Englishes are converging in terms of pronunciation.

Grammatical features of South African Englishes

Except for the comprehensive work on South African Indian English (Mesthrie 1992), earlier work on South African Englishes has focused on lexical and phonological descriptions. However, since the adoption of corpus-linguistic approaches, more work focused on the grammatical features of different varieties of English in South Africa has been conducted. Basic descriptions of the grammatical features of Black English in South Africa (Gough 1996), Afrikaans English (Watermeyer 1996) and Cape Flats English (Malan 1996) were presented in De Klerk's (1996) edited volume that focussed on the South African varieties of English, and corpus linguistic work that followed later seemed to work from the lists of grammatical features presented in these texts. The very brief description of the morpho-syntax of WSAE by Lass (2002, 123–124) has been expanded in corpus linguistic work, where corpora of South African Englishes were compared, also with regard to grammatical features.

There remains a lot of scope for research in the domain of the description of the grammatical features of South African Englishes, and the work is not at a stage where comprehensive conclusions across varieties can be presented. The focus of this section therefore is to provide an overview of the work to date related to the grammatical features of South African Englishes

As noted earlier, Mesthrie (1992) provided the first study of the syntax of South African Indian English in his comprehensive monograph. Mesthrie (1992) identified variation with the use of relative clauses and word order principles as the main grammatical features of South African Indian English. The grammatical features of BSAE have been studied increasingly with corpus linguistic approaches. De Klerk (2003, 467) gathered a corpus of Xhosa English and identified twenty features of BSAE in her study (compared to twenty-three mentioned in Gough 1996). Makalela (2004, 2007) discusses four grammatical features (extension of progressive aspect to stative verbs, tense sequencing, agreement markers and retention of question word order) of BSAE in his work, and he focuses on the following pragmatic and discourse features of BSAE: topic promotion devices, gender marking, modality markers, circumlocution and idioms. In later work based on a corpus of radio English, Makalela (2013, 99–103) advances descriptions of the following grammatical features of BSAE: retention of question word order, maybe as a conditional modality; consecutive tense and substitution of 'that'-complementiser. Makalela's (2013, 93) contention is that the grammatical features of BSAE can mainly be related to the substrate influence of the African home languages used by its speakers, or the "logic of Bantu language substrate forms". Van Rooy (2006, 2017, 2020a) and his associates (Van Rooy & Wasserman 2014; Wasserman & Van Rooy 2014; Van Rooy & Piotrowska 2015) have studied aspect in BSAE, modals in BSAE and WSAE and overall grammatical change in SAEs.

Recently, Van Rooy (2020a, 2) summarised the findings related to the "extent to which grammatical change in SAfE [South African Englishes] leads to divergence or convergence among the Englishes used in the country". This research question advances the discussion of the grammatical features of South African Englishes beyond the description of varieties for the first time, towards answering one of the most fundamental questions in the field in the South African context: Is one shared form of South African English developing in post-1994 South Africa?

Van Rooy and his associates' studies of modals point to convergence of frequency and changing meanings of modals between White South African English and Afrikaans (Wasserman & Van Rooy 2014), but White South African English semantic changes are not shared by Black South African English, although the frequency changes happen in parallel (Van Rooy & Wasserman 2014). White South African English is characterised by much more extensive use of "must" than other native varieties but also with lower modal force than the more face-threatening use in other varieties.

The study of the progressive aspect shows early transfer of constructional semantics from Bantu languages to Black South African English (Van Rooy & Piotrowska 2015), but this has not spread to White South African English, although White South African English editors have come to accept extended uses of the progressive when editing texts for publications (Kruger & Van Rooy 2017). In general, Van Rooy (2020a, 12) finds that "the possibility of convergence between WSAfE and BSAfE increases" and that there is bigger bidirectional influence between White South African English and Afrikaans and more overall more convergence between White South African English and Afrikaans than with Black South African English (Van Rooy 2020b; Kruger & Van Rooy 2020).

Attitudes towards South African Englishes

In this section, two main ideas are presented. First of all, a brief historical view of the attitudes of South Africans towards English is reported, including an overview of language attitudes towards varieties of South African Englishes. Second, the section provides a re-interpretation of some language attitude research towards South African Englishes from a multilingual perspective.

There is a comprehensive body of work (after 1990) that documents the attitudes of South Africans towards English (and, to a lesser extent, other South African languages) (De Klerk & Bosch 1995, 20–21; Chauke 2020, 74). Language attitude research in South Africa utilised the traditional approaches to study language attitudes identified by Agheyisi and Fishman (1970), namely matched-guise technique studies and investigations done via language survey–type methods and interviews. Vorster and Proctor (1976) conducted some of the first matched-guise technique studies, where they ascertained the attitudes of Black South African students towards standard South African English and Afrikaans. Similar matched-guise work that included investigations of attitudes by South African listeners towards varieties of English was conducted by De Klerk and Bosch (1994, 1995). More recently, Álvarez-Mosquera and Marín-Gutiérrez (2018, 2019) used the Implicit Association Test (IAT) to gauge the language attitudes of South Africans towards two types of South African Englishes (standard South African English and Afrikaans-English). There is also a large body of language attitude survey (or questionnaire or language census type) work (Hauptfleisch 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1983; Deumert 2010; Bekker 2004; Coetzee-Van Rooy 2012, 2013; Posel & Zeller 2016, 2019). More recently, Coetzee-Van Rooy and Van Rooy (2020 under review) conducted a study of the language attitudes expressed by Black South African writers in a historic corpus that goes back to the last third of the 19th century.

The main findings from these studies are the overall positive attitudes towards English and the growing evidence that the status of the educated variety of Black South African English is on the increase. The positive attitudes towards English can be seen in these excerpts taken from the work of some of the researchers mentioned previously:

- "English, regardless of who uses it, is very highly regarded from a pragmatic and official perspective" (De Klerk & Bosch 1994, 57);

- "all the analyses yield convincing evidence that in the Eastern Cape, English is very highly regarded by all three language groups [that formed the participants: Afrikaans-, English- and Xhosa-speaking]" (De Klerk & Bosch 1995, 33); and
- "the results revealed how young L1 speakers of indigenous South African languages held more negative attitudes toward Afrikaans-accented English than Standard South African English accent" (Álvarez-Mosquera & Marín-Gutiérrez 2018, 245).

There is a growing body of language attitude work that documents evidence that educated Black South African English is gaining status. Van der Walt and Van Rooy (2002, 113) found that "Black South African English is indeed an emerging norm for South African Englishes". In a study where the attitudes and comprehensibility of Black South African students towards six varieties of South African English were studies, "the acrolect [educated] form of Black South African English emerges as the variety that enjoys the highest status amongst the participants, on the basis of the most favourable attitudes, the sense of greatest proximity and the highest degree of comprehensibility" (Coetzee-Van Rooy & Van Rooy 2005, 1).

Increasingly, studies that investigate the attitudes towards South African Englishes are conducted from within the framework of a multilingual approach. This approach is aligned with Mesthrie's (2006) reminder of the general multilingual history of English, especially in the World Englishes framework and Van Rooy's (2019) reconsideration of the World Englishes paradigm within its multilingual ecology. A re-interpretation of research that focuses on language attitudes towards Englishes in South Africa highlights the importance of a deep integration of the understanding that English is one language within the multilingual repertoires of South Africans. This sounds like a fairly obvious realisation, especially in the context of the longstanding and well-known multilingual ecology of South Africa. However, an analysis of the use of the concept "ambivalent" in language attitude research conducted in South Africa indicates how a deep understanding of the nature of the multilingual repertoires of South Africans (that include English) is still developing. Framed differently, a monolingual bias seems to underlie the interpretation of the language attitudes of South Africans in a persistent way.

Kachru (1990, 16) and other World Englishes scholars have consistently exposed the myths of monolingualism that underlie linguistic thinking, and they explained the danger of these myths in distorting the understanding of bi- and multilingual people and societies. The "attitudinal fallacies" related to a monolingual view are highlighted as "*us/them* dichotomies" and "emphasis on *integrative* as opposed to *instrumental* motivation" (author's original emphasis) (Kachru 1990, 19). If one conceives of multilingual language repertoires, in which dominant language constellations group and re-group to perform sets of functions in specific domains, then one should hold positive attitudes towards all the languages (or linguistic resources) in the repertoire, because all the languages (or linguistic resources) perform valuable functions. In a multilingual repertoire approach, it is understood that "sets of languages, rather than single languages, now often perform the essential functions of communication, cognition and identity for individuals and communities" (Aronin & Singleton 2012, 43). "Ambivalence" means "the simultaneous existence of two opposed and conflicting attitudes, emotions" (Collins English Dictionary 2005, 49). With a multilingual repertoire view in mind, especially prevalent in the South African context, why is the concept "ambivalent" or "ambivalence" used consistently to explain the experiences (data) of multilingual participants towards the home language and English included in their repertoires? The concept "ambivalent" or "ambivalence" is used by many scholars in their analysis of the language attitudes related to their studies (De Kadt 2005, 25, 30; Mckinney 2007, 11–12; Kapp & Bangeni 2011, 197, 202, 205; Bangeni & Kapp 2007, 259–260, 264, 266; Rudwick 2008, 111–112), and I regard the work of all these scholars as work of high quality. However, I want to revisit some of the reported findings to explore how an even more overtly multilingual repertoire approach can expand our understanding of the language attitudes of participants.

Rudwick (2008, 111–112), for example, reports that the "interviewees [in her study] expressed ambivalence toward the status of English vis-'a-vis isiZulu". Rudwick (2008, 111–112) proposes that "their ambivalent feelings are based on a perceived dichotomy between the economic values of English in South Africa and their love for isiZulu, which, demographically, is the majority language in the country". I want to argue that from a multilingual repertoire perspective, we should interrogate our interpretations and explore options that these language attitudes express the realisation by the participants that these two languages play different and complementary roles in the repertoires of the participants. One of the languages in the repertoire (English) enables access to economic activities, and another language in the repertoire (Zulu) enables the expression of cultural identity. In a multilingual repertoire approach, there is no expectation that all the languages in the repertoire should perform all the functions at the same level of proficiency. Understanding that one language is used for some purposes and another language might be more useful for other purposes does not necessarily indicate an ambivalent position, but could be argued to indicate a sophisticated understanding of the roles played by all the languages in the multilingual reperotoires of the participants.

The second point to note is Kachru's (1990, 19) view that more monolingual approaches would stimulate "us/them dichotomies". Rudwick (2008, 111–112) reports that, "Interviews provided valuable data with respect to such linguistic aspects of identity negotiations as what makes some Zulu people 'others', and consequently deserving of the label 'coconuts', in spite of isiZulu being their mother tongue. In this connection, participants often referred to what they consider 'excessive' use of English in the place of the use of isiZulu". I do not dispute that the participants in the study note the differences between how some people use English and that these specific uses make them ascribe the label "coconuts" to some speakers. I want to argue that researchers and teachers of English and Zulu in South Africa should respond to these views expressed by participants by promoting the learning and acquisition of both these languages (Zulu and English in this study, and other South African languages in other contexts), because in South Africa, a multilingual citizen is a well-adjusted citizen (Bamgbose 1991). We should resist simplex dichotomies and create multilingual pedagogies to counter these unidimensional views that are definitely present in the society. Third, it is important to note that "Although English is a clear presence in the majority of the participants' lives, its value is considered merely instrumental and dominant use of it is frowned upon. There were 12 interviewees who claimed, for instance, that 'too much English is bad for Zulu people'" (Rudwick 2008, 111–112). In a multilingual repertoire approach, languages (or semiotic codes) are learned and acquired to perform different functions in their combinations with different sets of languages. One should accept that different types of motivations best contribute to the learning and acquisition of all the languages in the repertoires of multilingual people. There should be no expectation that the only valuable type of motivation for all languages in the repertoires of multilingual people should be that of integrative motivation (Coetzee-Van Rooy 2006). Communicative needs drive the development of multilingual repertoires, and different combinations of motivation would drive the acquisition and learning of languages in multilingual repertoires. Last, it should be noted that the adoption of a multilingual repertoire approach would result in the nuanced and complex understanding that using inappropriate languages from the repertoire in inappropriate domains or for inappropriate functions would result in views of the "excessive" use of a language. De Kadt (2005, 25) notes this multilingual sensitivity when she explains that participants in her study acknowledge that multicultural students "use English in the 'wrong place', where for a person of Zulu ethnicity, isiZulu would be more appropriate". I would argue that the participants in the studies discussed are not conflicted or ambivalent about the use of English and Zulu (or other African home languages) that form part of their multilingual repertoires and those of their friends and family. In fact, I think the data sets indicate an advanced, nuanced and appropriate metalinguistic understanding of the use of all the linguistic sources in the multilingual repertoires of the participants.

In conclusion, this section addressed the well-known positive attitudes towards English in South Africa and the importance of doing more studies to ascertain the attitudes of South Africans towards different varieties of South African Englishes. Studies towards the different varieties of South African Englishes would provide valuable information to contribute towards a better understanding of the issue of convergence or divergence towards varieties of South African Englishes in future. Last, this section confirmed that scholars of the varieties of English in South Africa should position their work firmly within a multilingual repertoire perspective to advance even more insightful understandings of the attitudes of South Africans towards all the languages in their repertoires.

Conclusion

The study of South African Englishes has progressed a lot from earlier concerns of scholars that defended them as worthy objects of study (Van der Walt 1997). The evidence presented in this chapter hopefully confirms the view that South Africa provides a unique setting for the study of World Englishes. First of all, the deeply multilingual context in which several varieties of English developed in the past and continue to develop offers a unique context. Second, the setting of post-1994 South Africa provides extraordinary opportunities to study the factors that contribute towards the convergence or divergence of Englishes. If these studies are carried out in a more consistent way to provide comparable data across time, findings could contribute to language-in-contact theory at a general level.

In conclusion, I want to propose that it is important for multilingualism scholars in South Africa and scholars of South African Englishes to truly view English as one of South Africa's languages. Pattanayak (1988, 383) states, "English is one of the languages of India". In 2014, I held interviews with six language experts about the nature of multilingualism in South Africa. Participant 6 (a 60+-year-old male Southern Sotho professor at a university in South Africa) expressed the same sentiment towards English in South Africa:

> there's one thing that we miss that all languages adapt. . . . So English has adapted. . . . That's how we have many Englishes. . . . Wherever English is spoken, there is an English there . . . I will not focus on English . . . so, let us leave English . . . as is, but as long as we try to engage English . . . let us disengage. . . . Ja disengage it doesn't mean that I say no but let us not wrestle . . . with English . . . don't interfere . . . in it. . . . It is not causing a storm. . . . Unless we touch it. . . . There will be a storm [like] that that earthquake we experienced [during the week of the interview in our region]. . . . Let's just leave English people's. . . . It is one of the languages.

South African Englishes form part of South Africa's languages, and the unique spirit and soul of South Africanness are expressed with all her languages, including her Englishes.

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Suggestions for further reading

The *World Englishes* journal published two special issues that focused on South African Englishes in the recent past: (i) Volume 21, Issue 1 in 2002, edited by Nkonko Kamwangamalu, and (ii) Volume 39, Issue 4 in 2020, edited by Werner Botha, Bertus van Rooy and Susan Coetzee-Van Rooy.

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15

Chinese English

A future power?

Zhichang Xu

Introduction

Since the late 1970s, a number of Chinese scholars (Ge, 1980; Huang, 1988; Sun, 1989; Cheng, 1992; Li, 1993; Wang, 1994; Xie, 1995; Jia & Xiang, 1997; Du & Jiang, 2001; Jiang, 2002; Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002; Hu, 2004, 2005; Poon, 2006; Xu, 2006, 2010; Li, 2016; Xu & Deterding, 2017; Xu, He, & Deterding, 2017; Xu & Sharifian, 2018) have been looking into the regional features, norms and cultural conceptualisations of English in China and distinguishing 'Chinglish' from what they call 'Sinicized English,' 'Chinese-Coloured English,' 'China English,' or 'Chinese English' to refer to a developing Chinese variety of English. In making such a distinction, Jiang (1995: 51) proposes that '*Chinglish*, as the blend itself suggests, is somewhat a pidgin, or an "interlanguage", a term used by Selinker to emphasise the structurally and phonologically intermediate status of a learner's language system between mother tongue and target language.'

One of the first Chinese scholars to exemplify the distinction is Ge (1980). He refers to those English expressions that are uniquely Chinese as 'China English' in contrast with Chinglish, e.g., *Four Books, Five Classics, eight-legged essay, May Fourth Movement, baihua wen* or *baihua*, and *four modernizations*. Ge's pioneering distinction is of significance not only because it has been frequently referred to in the studies of Chinese English and has therefore started a debate over the issue of Chinglish versus 'China English' (cf. Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002) but also because it has laid the groundwork for theories of world Englishes to be introduced into China (cf. Sun, 1989).

Looking at 'Chinese varieties of English' from an overseas perspective, Cheng (1992: 162) claims that 'the varieties of English spoken by native Chinese around the world presumably share certain features because of common language background.' Cheng further claims that 'there appears to be a kind of English peculiar to the Chinese culture: one might call it Sinicized English' (1992: 163). Cheng's 'Sinicized English' resembles Ge's 'China English' in that it refers primarily to lexical items and phrases that are unique to Chinese contexts.

Another Chinese scholar, Huang (1988), has reiterated the distinction between Chinglish and China English, but his term for China English is 'Chinese-Coloured English.' He defines the term as 'the English that has been adapted to Chinese ideology and civilization, and also enriched by this adaptation' (1988: 47). He also stresses that 'it is, first of all, correct, and secondly Chinese coloured' (1988: 47).

At the same time, Gui (1988: 13–14) has proposed the existence of a 'Chinese-style English,' stating that

> there does exist a kind of Chinese-style English in China, but it comprises a continuum. On the one end is the learner's English used by Chinese students. . . . On the other end are the well-educated users of English. . . . In between the two ends, there exist variations.

Wang (1994: 7) discussed 'China English' in the sense of a variety of English, and he defined it as 'the English used by the Chinese people in China, being based on standard English and having Chinese characteristics.' Wang's definition of China English has been questioned by Li (1993), especially with regard to the first two elements in the definition. Li (1993: 19) argues that 'it is nonetheless Westerners who unavoidably use vocabulary of China English when they talk about China, and therefore China English has exceeded the confines of its native land.' Li has also questioned the existence of 'Standard English' on which Wang's definition is based. Instead, Li uses the term 'Normative English' (1993: 19) and therefore revises the definition of China English as

> the lexis, sentence structure and discourse that have Chinese characteristics. It takes Normative English as a core, and it expresses things that are uniquely Chinese. It bears no mother tongue (Chinese) interference, and it is involved in English communications by means of transliterations, loan translations and semantic shifts.
>
> *(Li, 1993: 19)*

Li's definition of China English has itself been challenged by Xie (1995: 7), especially the insistence that it contains no influence from Chinese, who thus argues that China English is 'an interference variety.' Xie (1995: 10) defines China English as 'an interference variety used by Chinese in cross-cultural communication. The interference is expressed at varying levels of language, including language itself as well as schema and culture.'

Jia and Xiang (1997: 11) have reviewed the notion of 'China English,' and they define China English as 'a variety of English used by speakers of Chinese, based on standard English, and with inevitable Chinese characteristics or characteristics that help disseminate Chinese culture.' They have also commented positively on the 'feasibility' and 'significance' of the existence of 'Chinese English,' saying that

> only if we admit the existence of Chinese English, can we decide, on the basis of identifying and analyzing features of English nativization in China, what features are unavoidable by Chinese speakers so that in English language teaching the students are not forced to overcome what they should and could not overcome.
>
> *(Jia & Xiang, 1997: 12)*

Jiang (1995: 51–2) considers 'China English' a member of the big family of world Englishes with Chinese characteristics. Yan (2002: 218) also takes a world Englishes approach to the study of China English, defining China English as 'the spread, use and variation of English in China.' In addition, Du and Jiang (2001) and Jiang (2002) have provided an overview of the ongoing research on China English. What the Chinese scholars have in common is their intention to distinguish Chinglish from their versions of Chinese English.

Based on the research of Chinese English since the 1980s, a number of researchers (Pang, 2002; Jiang, 2003; Hu, 2004) argue that China English has become a member of world Englishes. Pang (2002: 24) suggests that 'as a member of world Englishes, Chinese English should be researched from varying perspectives, including sociolinguistics, cross-cultural communication, pragmatics, stylistics and translatology.' Jiang (2003: 3–7) argues that 'English is indeed becoming a Chinese language' and that 'the Chinese variety of English will become more and more distinctive as an independent member of the family of world Englishes.'

Xu (2006: 287, 2010: 1) defines Chinese English as

> a developing variety of English, which is subject to ongoing codification and normalization processes. It is based largely on the two major varieties of English, namely British and American English. It is characterized by the transfer of Chinese linguistic and cultural norms at varying levels of language, and it is used primarily by Chinese for intra- and international communication.

Based on this operational definition, speakers of Chinese English comprise a considerable number of Chinese learners, users, and professionals of English. According to Kirkpatrick (2007: 146), 'this number of people learning and speaking English will lead to a distinctive Chinese variety of English.'

More recently, Xu, Deterding, and He (2017: 6) argue that Chinese English speakers are 'between an exonormative mindset of conformity and an endonormative propensity for self-identification,' and they unpack what Chinese English is and what it is not by scrutinising a number of fallacies surrounding Chinese English, including:

1. that Chinese English is Chinglish or a hybrid of Chinese and English with English words in Chinese syntax;
2. that Chinese English is an interlanguage that is characterised by learners' mistakes and errors;
3. that Chinese English is exclusively used in China by Chinese people;
4. that Chinese English is used only for international communication instead of intranational communication;
5. that Chinese English is only reflected in pronunciation, lexis, and discourse;
6. that Chinese English is a norm-dependent variety of English.

For this chapter, I refer to 'Chinese English' in a broad sense as a continuum or a matrix containing a wide range of forms and functions of English in relation to bilingual or multilingual speakers of Chinese and English.

Linguistic features of Chinese English

As far as the linguistic features of regional varieties of English are concerned, Bolton (2003: 46) argues that

> the identification of sets of distinctive linguistic items typically associated with a new variety is a central feature of the discussion of such Englishes as Indian English,

Malaysian English, Singapore English and Philippine English, as well as other varieties around the world.

This chapter describes lexical, syntactic, discourse, and pragmatic features of Chinese English, while acknowledging that phonological features of Chinese English are also distinctive (c.f. Deterding, 2006; Schneider, 2009; Hung, 2002; Deterding, 2017). According to Deterding (2006: 176) many different languages and dialects are spoken in China, so there is substantial variation in the English of speakers from different regions. However, 'there are also some features in common, and these mark the English of speakers from China as distinct from other varieties of English.'

The data used to investigate the lexical, syntactic, discourse, and pragmatic features of Chinese English include 36 interviews (referred to as the ID data) with Chinese university and postgraduate students. They include science and engineering students, who have passed their national College English Test Band 4, and English and linguistics major postgraduate students. The features of their English represent the features used by expert learners and competent speakers of Chinese English. The data also include 20 newspaper articles (referred to as the ND data) from the *China Daily* and 12 short stories (referred to as the SD data) from Ha Jin's collection of short stories *The Bridegroom* (Jin, 2000). Ha Jin is a Chinese-American poet and novelist. He is also the author of the chapter 'In Defence of Foreignness' in this Handbook. The ID data represents spoken Chinese English, whereas the ND and SD data represent written Chinese English.

Lexical features of Chinese English

Knowlton (1970) and Cannon (1988) have extensively documented Chinese borrowings in English, the number of which has been increasing. 'When Chinese speakers of English refer to things Chinese, they naturally have to use certain expressions that may not have existed in other varieties of English' (Kirkpatrick & Xu, 2002: 270–1).

The ID, ND and SD data for this chapter have provided ample lexical evidence of words and expressions that are specific to Chinese language and culture. For example,

1 In his keynote speech addressing the conference, Hu Jintao, general-secretary of the CPC Central Committee, pointed out that 'if the benefits of *xiaokang* cannot be attained by rural people, China will fail to live up to its dream of a *xiaokang* society.'

(ND data)

Xiaokang society was a concept put forward at the 16th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) (8–14 November, 2002). *Xiaokang* literally means 'a comfortable level of living; a better-off life; moderate prosperity.'

2 'Your name?' the chief asked, apparently reading out the question from a form.
'Chiu Maguang.'
'Age?'
'Thirty-four.'
'Profession?'
'Lecturer.'
'*Work unit*?'

'Harbin University.'
'*Political status*?'
'Communist Party member.' (SD data)

Work unit refers to a working and living place (a factory or a school, etc.) where most urban residents have lived and worked since 1950 and where many still do. A *work unit* would usually provide housing, schooling, health care, food ration coupons, and other basic goods and services to its staff and their family members. *Political status* is another concept with Chinese characteristics. The *political status* can be a Communist Party member, a Youth League Member, a Young Pioneer, or simply 'the masses.'

3 R (Researcher): Interesting. You mean the farmers are busier during the spring and autumn. Now, what do they usually do in winter or in the hot summer?
P1 (postgraduate student 1): Take a rest. And do some . . . how to say . . .
P2 (postgraduate student 2): *Fuye*.
P1: Yeah. *Fuye*.
R: *Fuye*. That's an interesting word. Now how do you explain it in English, the *Fuye*?
P1: It's kind of work they do in their spare time. (ID data)

The nearest equivalent of *fuye* in English is sideline or side occupation. It refers to an activity pursued in addition to one's regular occupation. What makes *fuye* a characteristic Chinese concept is that *fuye* was once officially forbidden or discouraged in the days of people's communes. Those who undertook *fuye* had to keep it quiet. However, since China's opening up and reforms, when 'getting rich is glorious,' people have been encouraged to practice *fuye*.

The distinctiveness of such words and expressions as *xiaokang, work unit, political status*, and *fuye* lies not only in the fact that they are characteristic of the English spoken or written by users and learners of English in China but also in the fact that readers or listeners have to call upon knowledge of China in order to fully understand these words. Benson (2002: 162) proposes that words unique to certain regional varieties of English should generally have 'some degree of currency and stability' and should 'originate in the region concerned or be formally, semantically or collocationally distinctive from usage elsewhere in the world.'

Chinese English words fit into three distinct categories, namely Chinese loanwords in English, Chinese nativised English words, and common English words used in Chinese English. Chinese loanwords in English come primarily from two sources: Cantonese and Putonghua. As England had an early trading base in Canton (the current Guangdong province), many early Chinese loanwords in English were based on their Cantonese pronunciations, such as *bok choy, chow mein, dimsum*, and *kwai-lo*. However, Putonghua has now become the major source for Chinese loanwords in English. Examples of Chinese loanwords based on Putonghua include *fengshui, pi-pa* (a four-stringed Chinese musical instrument, also called the Chinese lute)*, guanxi*, and the word *Putonghua* itself. In addition to the transliterated loanwords, loan translations also form part of Chinese loanwords in English. Examples include *barefoot doctor, the Cultural Revolution, Great Leap Forward, Red Guard, the reform and opening up*, and *a well-off society*.

Some loanwords (such as *Taichi*, *tofu*, *fengshui, Red Guard*, and *the Cultural Revolution*) have existed in English for some time. These words can be referred to as the 'standing' Chinese loanwords in English. In contrast, there are also *ad hoc* loanwords, which arise to ensure effective communication involving Chineseness. Such loanwords are usually used among speakers of Chinese communicating in English when certain terms or concepts involving Chineseness do not seem to have any explicit or 'standing' equivalents in English. These *ad hoc* Chinese loanwords are mostly transliterated from Chinese into English as communication takes place. Examples of *ad hoc* loanwords found in the ID data include *fuye* (a part time job that provides additional income)*, ganqing* (emotional involvement or attachment)*, qinqing* (emotional attachment among family members), and *maodun* (a contradiction or a dilemma).

Chinese nativised English words are those whose original meanings in English have shifted to a greater or lesser extent in Chinese contexts. For example, Chinese English speakers tend to equate *face* in English with *mianzi* in Putonghua; therefore, *face* in Chinese English can be associated with self-image, pride, honour, and sometimes embarrassment.

The key feature of Chinese nativised English words is the semantic change based on Chinese contexts. Such a semantic change takes place either in the denotation or the connotation of a word. The former involves semantic broadening or narrowing, while the latter involves amelioration or pejoration. In semantic broadening, 'the word takes on a wider, more general meaning than it had previously' (Radford *et al.*, 1999: 261). Take, for example, the word *cadre* in example (4) subsequently,

4 As the city will host the 2008 Olympics Games, *cadres* at all government levels in Beijing should grasp the valuable chance to make better success at their jobs under the guidance of the important thought of 'Three Represents,' Hu said. (ND data)

Cadre is used both in Chinese English and British English. According to Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary (CALD), it means 'a small group of trained people who form the basic unit of a military, political or business organization' or 'a member of such a group.' However, *cadre* in Chinese English can be used to refer to anyone who is in charge of a group of people in an organisation. Thus, its meaning in Chinese English is broadened to a sense that is close to the English word *leader*.

'The opposite of semantic broadening is semantic narrowing, with the word taking on a more restricted meaning than before' (Radford *et al.*, 1999: 262). The term *migrant workers* is an example of semantic narrowing in Chinese English.

5 Such *migrant workers* could find employment in township enterprises or the rapidly growing service sectors of cities. (ND data)

Migrant workers refer to those who have temporarily migrated from rural areas to the major cities in China. The number of these *migrant workers* has been increasing since the 1980s, and the reasons for this 'tidal wave of peasant workers,' as it is called in Chinese, are mostly economic.

'Pejorations involve the development of a less favourable meaning or connotation for a particular word,' while ameliorations are the opposite of pejorations (Radford *et al.*, 1999: 262). Take, for example, *comrade* and *individualism* in Chinese English and English. Gao (1993) conducted surveys in 1988 and 1991 on the semantic change of the two expressions in China with groups of students and staff including both Chinese and native speakers of English. She found that the native speakers of English group view *individualism* positively in that it embodies self-actualisation with an emphasis on individual freedom and rights, while they associate *comrade* with autocracy and the former Soviet KGB members. However, the Chinese group associate *comrade* with 'equality' and 'friendship' and *individualism* with 'selfishness' or 'personalism.' Therefore, it can be argued that *comrade* and *individualism*, when used by Chinese English speakers, bear more or less ameliorative and pejorative connotations, respectively. However, Gao (1993) also discovered that the meanings of *individualism* and *comrade* change over time, with the meaning of *individualism* shifting from 'selfishness' to 'sense of independence and competition' and *comrade* from 'equality' to 'social distance.' *Individualism* in Chinese English, pejorative as it was, has been ameliorated from its very pejorative sense over the past few decades in China, while *comrade* in Chinese English has been steadily gaining a pejorative sense. Dramatic semantic shifts can take place also over time. For example, 'comrade' (*tongzhi*) has taken on a new meaning of a gay or homosexual person if used in China (cf. Zhou, 2004).

An interesting feature of the ID data is the high frequency of *ad hoc* loanwords. Examples include *Beida* (Peking University), *Qinghua* (Tsinghua University), *huoguo* (hot pot), *malatang* (a specific hot and spicy food in Sichuan), *dandan mian* (a type of noodles in Sichuan), and *jiajiao* (private tutoring).

An interesting feature of the ND data, on the other hand, is that most transliterated Chinese borrowings in their *pinyin* forms are followed by either loan translations or explanations. This pattern is relatively common when discussing things or concepts that are uniquely Chinese. For example, 'addressing the meeting, Hu Jintao, general-secretary of the CPC Central Committee, said these goals will help China attain its cherished dream of building a *xiaokang* society, which means well-off in the broadest of senses, not only materially, but socially.'

In contrast to the ID data and the ND data, the SD data are distinctive in their more frequent use of loan translations. In the SD data, instances of loan translations outnumber other types of Chinese loanwords in English. Similar to the loan translations in the ID and ND data, the loan translations in the SD data are also of apparent Chinese reference, for example, *national food coupons, Street Committee, residence card*, and *grain rations*.

A second distinctive feature of the SD data is the use of Chinese idioms and proverbs. Examples of these idioms and proverbs include *a flowered pillowcase* (someone who is beautiful/handsome in appearance but not capable of doing anything), *since you are already in here, you may as well stay and make the best of it* (a saying by Chairman Mao), and *when a scholar runs into soldiers, the more he argues, the muddier his point becomes* (a Chinese proverb). These expressions reflect local culture and display linguistic creativity.

Syntactic features of Chinese English

Compared with the well-edited written ND and SD data, the unedited spoken ID data contain a number of features that are characteristic of spoken Chinese English, as well as some features of Chinese learners' English. According to Givón (2002: 75), 'the grammar of oral language is replete with features that are unique to face-to-face communication.' Second, one of the potential issues with the ID data is that it is difficult to determine the systematisation of the identified syntactic features. Although the ID data were collected from expert learners and competent users of Chinese English, some features could still be developmental errors. However, the codification and normalisation processes of Chinese English are ongoing, so it is worth exploring these syntactic features and considering to what extent they may develop into systematic features of Chinese English.

In analyzing the ID data, I primarily look for syntactic expressions that are different, to a greater or lesser degree, from those in English L1 varieties of English, with Quirk *et al.* (1985) as a major reference. The major deviant syntactic expressions observed from the ID data include adjacent default tense (ADT), null-subject/object utterances (NS/O), co-occurrence of connective pairs (CCP), subject pronoun copying (SPC), Yes-No response (Y/NR), topic comment (TC), unmarked object-subject-verb (OSV), and inversion in subordinate finite wh- clauses (ISC). Examples of these are illustrated subsequently.

Adjacent default tense means that if the overall tense of an utterance is marked in the context of the utterance, then the 'adjacent' finite verbs in the utterance can (but may not necessarily) be set in their 'default' forms. For example:

6 *When I was a 7 years old, I first came* here and *lived* with my relatives. So, maybe *at that time*, *I think* Beijing *is* a good city as a child.

In comparison, instances of ADT in most L1 varieties of English are 'virtually ungrammatical' (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 183–4).

Null-subject/object means that in an utterance or a sentence, there are null subject or object pronouns in the positions where they can be expected. This syntactic feature occurs in Chinese, and it is known as 'zero pronouns' (Li & Thompson, 1981: 657–8). This feature is also partly known as 'pro-drop' or 'null subject parameter.' In the ID data, examples of NS/O occurrences include:

7(a). 'Okay, yes. What do you do in your spare time, usually?'
'Sometimes [ ] just play basketball, and sometimes [ ] go to the Beijing Library, and sometimes [ ] just play some games on computer.'

7(b). We can see movies, and other activities about English. Yes, I like [ ] very much.

Co-occurrence of connective pairs means that in an utterance or a sentence where there are subordinate and main clauses, for example, indicating cause or concession, the connective pairs *because* and *so*, and *although/though* and *but* are both used. For example,

8(a) Yes, *although* it's not as big as Beijing, *but* I like it, because I was born in it. I have some special feeling about my hometown.

8(b) 'When you first got onto the Great Wall, how did you feel?'

'Some stranger feelings, *because* I couldn't get the same feeling as others, *because* others always feel powerful, and happy or others, *because* I didn't have some special feeling, *so* I think it's very strange.'

Subject pronoun copying is a feature of spoken Chinese English. It is also a feature that is used in L1 varieties of English for 'stylistic effect,' and it can be a useful device when the subject is very long. However, in the ID data, the use of SPC is unmarked. For example:

9 I'm the youngest one in my family, so I think *my parents*, *they* have no interest in . . . on . . . in . . . me.

As far as the feature of yes-no response is concerned, in most L1 varieties of English, 'since the *yes-no* question typically asks for a response on the truth value of the corresponding statement, the responses coincide with an assertion (*yes*) or a denial (*no*) of its truth value' (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 793). Similarly the selection of *yes* or *no* is determined by whether it asserts or negates the implied or given statement. The use of *yes* or *no* is not determined by the speaker's agreement or disagreement with a previous speaker's statement. In the ID data, this Y/NR syntactic feature occurs frequently. Examples include:

10(a) 'You do not want to make a living by playing guitar on the street.'
'*Yes*. Of course not.'

10(b) 'So, have you been to many different places in Beijing, or around China?'
'No.'
'Okay, now. You haven't been to many places.'
'*Yes*.'

The feature of Topic Comment occurs in most L1 varieties of English. In Radford *et al.*'s (1999: 248) example, *Cigars, the president never smokes them in front of his wife*, the word *cigars* functions as the 'topic' of the sentence. TC is also a Chinese English syntactic feature, and it is closely related to the 'topic prominence' of Chinese. According to Li and Thompson (1981: 15),

> one of the most striking features of Mandarin sentence structure, and one that sets Mandarin apart from many other languages, is that in addition to the grammatical relations of 'subject' and 'direct object', the description of Mandarin must also include the element 'topic'.

Examples of TC from the ID data include:

11(a) And the second is I think *Beijing* . . . there are many old buildings.
11(b) You know, I think *this society*, the people get more and more practical.

Another syntactic feature of spoken Chinese English is unmarked OSV. English, according to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 51), is commonly described as a 'fixed-word-order language.' For instance, 'in English the positions of subject, verb, and object are relatively fixed.' In contrast, Chinese is not an easy language to classify in terms of word order, according to Li and Thompson (1981: 19–21). The following examples from the ID data show that it is common for speakers of Chinese English to pre-pose the object in a sentence, thus making the order of OSV.

12(a) Yes, I think *many many easy words we have forgotten*.
12(b) Probably *some other kind of jobs I* also *want to try*.

Inversion in subordinate finite wh- clauses refers to the inverted subject-operator in subordinate finite wh- clauses, as if it were in an independent wh- question. For example,

13(a) I really don't know *what is* International English.
13(b) It's actually . . . um . . . it is made in the kind of . . . I don't know *what is* . . . *how should I put it*, but it is made of bamboo.

ISC may also occur in L1 varieties of English. For example, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1051–2) state that 'although the subordinate clause usually does not have subject-operator inversion,

Table 15.1 Distribution of nominalised noun phrases in four articles in the ND data

	Number of NNPs	*Number of sentences*	*Average number of NNPs per sentence*
ND-4	18	13	1.4
ND-7	24	17	1.4
ND-13	12	9	1.3
ND-20	24	18	1.3
Subtotal	78	57	1.4

such inversion may occur, particularly when the clause functions as complement and the superordinate verb is BE or when it functions as appositive.'

As far as the ND data are concerned, the major identified syntactic features include 'nominalization,' 'coordination of clause constituents,' and 'modifier-modified sequencing.'

Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1288–9) define 'nominalization' as a noun phrase which has 'a systematic correspondence with a clause structure.' Based on this definition, I have identified a large number of nominalised noun phrases (NNPs) in the ND data. Table 15.1 shows the number of nominalised noun phrases and their average number per sentence in four of the news articles in the ND data.

Examples of nominalisations in the ND data include:

14(a) The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the State Council decided to increase *investment in the sectors of education, health and culture in rural areas*.

14(b) *A just concluded two-day rural work conference* has ushered in a new development stage for work in the three issues.

14(c) Therefore, it is *a fair judgment as well as timely recognition* that agricultural development has made huge contributions to and laid a solid foundation for the country's present-day accomplishments.

According to Li and Thompson (1981: 575), different languages may employ different strategies for nominalisation, and in Chinese, 'nominalization involves placing the particle *de* after a verb, a verb phrase, a sentence, or a portion of a sentence including the verb.'

Another feature, coordination of clause constituents, refers to the parallel structure of two or more conjoins within a sentence. According to Quirk *et al.* (1985: 941–2), 'a conjoin may be any constituent such as a predicate, a predication, a phrase, or a word.' They also state that the important point for a coordinate construction is that 'the conjoins of each construction are parallel to one another in meaning, function, and also (generally) in form.' Examples of coordinate construction in the ND data include (with the conjoins being marked by square brackets):

15(a) To close the economic gap, top officials agreed yesterday to [deepen the ongoing reforms on the grain distribution system], [further restructure the agricultural sector] and [regulate agricultural business, by making it more efficient and structured].

15(b) The main focus of the work over the coming weeks will be [improving the reliability of the craft], [completing the manned operating system which will act as a back up to mission control] and also [adding the finishing touches to the space capsule, to provide a comparatively comfortable environment for the astronauts].

While coordination of clause constituents is also common in native varieties of English, what makes the construction unique in Chinese English is that the construction, when being used, is always coupled with Chinese pragmatic motivations. For example, when it comes to nonfinite verbs, predicates, predications, and nominal *-ing* participle clauses, or in a more general term, verb-related phrases or clauses, chances are that they come in threes. The figure three, in particular, is likely to be used when verb-related phrases or clauses are expressed in China. For example, in example 15(a), there are three parallel nonfinite verb clauses, that is, 'to deepen . . ., further, . . . and regulate . . . '; and in example 15(b), the three parallel clauses are 'improving . . ., completing . . ., and also adding . . . .'

Another syntactic feature of Chinese English is the modifying–modified sequence. Kirkpatrick (1996: 107) argues that

> while topic-comment is an important sentence type in Modern Standard Chinese (MSC) and is significant in determining ways of sequencing information at sentence level, it is not the only sentence type. In addition, the modifying–modified sequence, which is expressed by the subordinate clause to main clause sequence in complex sentences, is also an important information sequencing principle in MSC.

In describing the positions of subordinate clauses, Quirk *et al.* (1985: 1037) propose that the subordinate clause can be in an initial, medial, or final position. They also point out that 'one of the factors which determine the order in which the constituent clauses of a sentence are arranged is the principle of RESOLUTION, the principle that states that the final clause should be the point of maximum emphasis' and that in English 'it is, in fact, a dominant tendency of syntactic structure that the greatest depth of subordination is reached in the final part of the sentence' (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 1037–9).

In my investigation of the positions of subordinate clauses in the ND data, I take four subordinators for finite clauses into consideration. They are *although (though), because, if*, and *when*. The concordancing throughout the ND data shows a tendency for written Chinese English to prefer to place subordinate clauses in sentence initial position. This is especially true with *although/though-, if-*, and *when-* clauses. To account for the phenomenon, I have looked into how Chinese speakers normally place the subordinate clauses initiated by the Chinese equivalents of *although/though*, *if*, *when*, and *because*. According to Li and Thompson (1981: 633–55), in many sentences composed of two linked clauses, 'each of the two constituent clauses contains a linking element, the first clause having a forward-linking element and the second one a backward-linking element.' Examples of forward-linking elements in Chinese include *de shíhòu* (when, while), *yǐhòu* (after), *yǐqián* (before), *de huà/rúguǒ/jiǎrú/jiǎshǐ/yàoshi* (if), *chúfēi* (unless), *jíshǐ/jiùshi* (even if), *suīrán* (although/though), *yīnwèi/yóuyú* (because), and *zhǐyào* (if only, as long as). Examples of backward-linking elements include *kěshi/dànshi/búguò/ránér* (but, nevertheless, however), *wèideshì* (in order to), *suǒyǐ* (so), and *yīnwèi* (because).

It can be noted that the Chinese equivalents of *although/though*, *if*, and *when* all belong to the forward-linking elements. That means the subordinate clauses preceded by these equivalents tend to be placed in sentence initial position. Therefore, it can be predicted that speakers of Chinese English prefer to place the *although/though-*, *if-*, and *when-* subordinate clauses in the sentence initial position, functioning as modifying clauses, whereas the main clauses, placed in the final position, functioning as the modified clauses. Thus, we have the modifying–modified sequence.

Discourse and pragmatic features of Chinese English

'Cultural expectations' about how texts are spoken or written are as important as vocabulary and grammar (Kirkpatrick 2000: 86). This dimension of research is largely in line with discourse analysis and cross-cultural pragmatics. Speakers of Chinese English by definition possess competing sets of discourse and pragmatic knowledge of both Chinese and English. When communicating with other speakers in English, they inevitably carry out not only lexical and syntactic transfers from Chinese into English but also discourse and pragmatic transfers.

In the analysis of the ID data, the use of what I have termed 'ancestral hometown discourse' is of particular interest. Chinese English speakers talk about their ancestral hometowns when they first meet, because their hometowns constitute part of their identity. Topics covered include historical events, food, weather, architecture, dialect, and typical cultural activities. In addition, Chinese English interlocutors also readily inquire about the speaker's hometown. This supports Scollon and Scollon's (2001: 100) position that 'a spoken discourse represents the joint product of all of the participants in the situation.' This 'joint product' can be culturally specific. The social bonds among people from the same ancestral hometown can often play a part in formulating a social *guanxi* network. Table 15.2 illustrates the cultural schema of Chinese English 'ancestral hometown' discourse as identified in the data.

It is noteworthy that the topics concerning location, size, special food, and dialect(s) of the hometown always occur, while other topics are optional depending on the contexts of communication.

The SD data also display a number of discourse and pragmatic features of Chinese English. Zhang (2002: 311) argues that throughout Ha Jin's works, 'elements of Chinese discourse patterns are interwoven in the text in almost seamless fashion.' These sociopragmatic discourses are often reflections of the cultural norms and social values of the Chinese society throughout the last quarter of the twentieth century. The variety of discourse in the SD data includes (1) discourse of 'political status' and 'political life,' implying that Communist Party membership and the Youth League Party membership are key indicators of political status; (2) discourse of 'law' and 'social order,' implying that the power of law can sometimes be overridden by social hierarchical power; (3) discourse of 'power' and 'hierarchy,' implying that power is a symbol of privileges and that power can be taken advantage of; (4) discourse of '*guanxi*' and 'backdoor practice,' implying that people involved in *guanxi* or a *guanxi* network are generally expected to exchange favours in terms of goal-directed interpersonal or interorganisational strategic interactions; (5) discourses of 'work unit (or *danwei*)' and

Table 15.2 'Ancestral hometown' discourse of Chinese English speakers

location
size
special food
ancestral hometown dialect(s)
historical significance
typical festival activity
weather
architecture
speaker's feeling for it ('I love it')
positive remarks ('It's beautiful')

'welfare,' implying that a work unit is closely associated with the welfare of its employees and that the interpersonal relationships among employees within a work unit are affected by their share of welfare, often resulting in the sense of inequality, unfairness, and injustice among the employees; and (6) discourses of 'face,' and 'name and honour,' implying that such concepts as face, name, and honour are paramount in Chinese society.

The discourse types and features of Chinese English that are reflected in the SD data are interwoven with the pragmatic features of Chinese English. The study of Chinese English in pragmatic terms is essentially about the assumptions, purposes, and the kinds of speech acts Chinese English speakers perform when they communicate in English. Much of what Chinese English speakers say and communicate is determined by the social relationships shaped by Chinese cultural values and pragmatic norms. In terms of English nativisation, Li (1998: 39) argues that 'there is no reason to see systematic deviations from Anglo-American norms at the pragmatic and discourse levels as errors.' In order to make sense of Ha Jin's short story data, readers are expected to understand that the Chinese discourse and pragmatic features reflect Chinese cultural values and pragmatic norms.

The pragmatic features of the SD data typically involve the assumptions that are generally shared by speakers of Chinese and the expectations based on Chinese cultural discourses and schemata. For example, the use of Chairman Mao's quotes can convey meanings far beyond what the quotations literally mean. Li (1998: 37) has expressed the same argument about the Chinese quoting the words of authorities by saying that

> echoing the voice of some established authority, past or present, is one way of showing shared cultural values and, in so doing, helps preserve group harmony, which is collectively prized much more than the individual's display of personal whims or bright ideas.

For example, in the SD data, when Mr. Chiu was mistakenly arrested and put in detention, he reminded himself that he should have taken the detention in his stride. He recalled Mao's writing to a hospitalised friend 'since you are already in here, you may as well stay and make the best of it.' The intended meanings associated with the quote from Chairman Mao include: (1) Mr. Chiu's respect for social hierarchy, which indirectly indicated that he was a good law-abiding citizen; (2) Mr. Chiu's learnedness and good education, as being compatible with his social status as a university lecturer; and (3) Mr. Chiu's belief in the power of an unchallengeable truism as embedded in the quote.

The use of Chairman Mao's quotes is only one of the pragmatic features of the SD data. Other pragmatic features of the SD data are partly encoded in the use of swear or curse words, proverbs and address terms. 'The use of curse words and obscenities in literature often reflects the underlying cultural values of a particular society' (Zhang, 2002: 307). In the SD data, for example, loan translation swear words such as 'egg of a tortoise' and 'an arrogant son of a rabbit' occur.

Address terms are also of pragmatic significance in Chinese society. The SD data is full of examples in which address terms bear pragmatic meanings. People in the short stories sometimes extract social meanings out of the address terms. For example,

16 The man cleared his throat and said, '**Miss Chen**, we appreciate your interest in the job.' She was taken aback by his way of addressing her, not as a '**Comrade**,' as though she were a foreigner or a Taiwanese. (SD data)

Chinese English: a rising variety and a future power?

Much research has been conducted on South and Southeast Asian Englishes. In China, however, whether the 'WE-ness' of world Englishes includes Chinese English and Chinese speakers of English is still debatable. Nevertheless, increasing evidence shows that Chinese English has developed into a stage which warrants a systematic inquiry into its features, norms, and cultural conceptualisations.

It is likely that Chinese English will become a powerful variety of English for intra- and intercultural communication involving multilingual speakers of Chinese and English in a broader global context. First, the estimated 350 million Chinese who have been learning English will use English in its various forms for different functions across China and beyond, and this may help raise people's awareness and acceptance of Chinese English as an indispensable member of world Englishes. Second, as a result of China's economic and sociopolitical reforms and the 'open-door' policies, including the Belt and Road initiative in recent years, significant changes have taken place in China since the 1980s. These changes have helped increase and enhance the communication between China and the rest of the world, therefore strengthening the visibility and impact of English in China. Bolton and Tong (2002: 180) predict that 'with China's emergence as a world power, with its increasing integration into the world system, China will need English to project its own presence on the regional and the international scene.' The identification and analysis of the linguistic features of Chinese English suggest that this English will become a variety of English and that it is important for the international English-speaking community to become familiar with it.

Schneider (2014: 9) proposes that 'while the twentieth century expansion of English predominantly transformed Outer Circle countries, in recent years attention has increasingly been directed towards the Expanding Circle, where the demand for and the spread of English have been growing dramatically.' One of the rising varieties of English in the expanding circle is Chinese English. This is indeed the dawning of the age of expanding circle Englishes in general and of Chinese English in particular. With increasing recognition and acceptance of Chinese English, this rising variety shall become one of the major varieties of English in the expanding circle and a powerful member in world Englishes.

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16

Periphery English language teaching

Myths about English in the Philippines

Isabel Pefianco Martin

Introduction

The sociolinguistic profile of English reveals that ownership of the language is shared across continents and cultures. Following the Kachruvian World Englishes paradigm, the language is approached as having a multiplicity of meanings and a plurality of centres. Such a phenomenon doesn't come without myths and fallacies. In the Philippines, this is especially true in the 'periphery' – in English language education in the public sector.

In this chapter, I shall present English in the Philippines from the perspective of English language teaching (ELT). The chapter begins by describing education during the American colonial period, when canon and pedagogy merged to produce a public education system that marginalized Philippine literature in English and propagated present-day myths about the English language. The chapter ends with examples of resistance against myths about English in the Philippines.

The history of English in the Philippines cannot be mapped out without having scrutinized the ELT agenda. English was first introduced to the Filipinos through the American public school system. For half a century, the language was systematically promoted as a civilizing tool. Today, beliefs and attitudes about English, as well as the various ways in which the language is used and taught, are products of the Filipino experience of American colonial education. These beliefs and attitudes are most prominent in the periphery. Canagarajah uses the term 'periphery' to refer to 'communities where English is of post-colonial currency' (1999, p. 4). Postcolonial societies are more often than not approached as subordinate to former colonial masters, despite the clear severance of political ties. Even in contexts such as Singapore, which is traditionally perceived to be more central rather than peripheral, postcolonial mindsets approach the English language in reference to inner-circle, British norms. Such is the situation of the ELT community in the Philippines, especially where the public school system is concerned.

Taking the public school perspective in describing Philippine ELT is taking a perspective that is doubly peripheral. The basic education sector is a largely neglected and vertically structured monolith. When everything – from policy to budget to curriculum to teacher training – is decided from the distant political centre, one cannot expect the system to be efficient and productive. By sheer size, it is impossible to overlook the extent of the impact of basic education on Philippine society. In school year 2018–19, the Department of

Table 16.1 Student basic education enrolment by levels in school year 2018–19

Kindergarten	2,949,870
Grades 1 to 6 (elementary)	13,867,819
Grades 7 to 10 (junior high school)	8,126,239
Grades 11 to 12 (senior high school)	2,813,618
Total	27,757,546

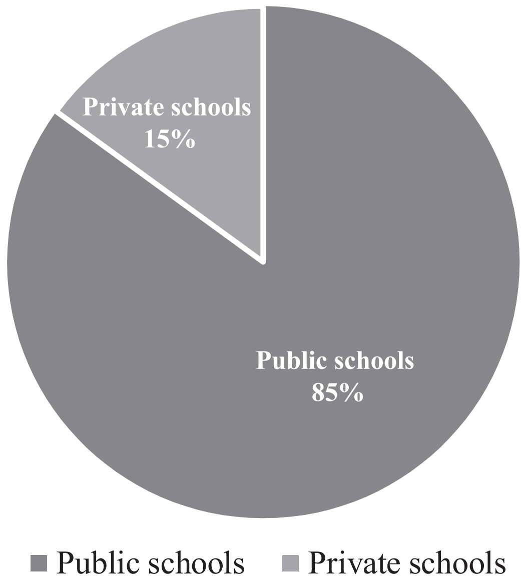

Figure 16.1 Student basic education enrolment by school type in school year 2018–19

Education (DepEd) projected a 27.7 million student enrolment in basic education (Table 16.1), comprising kindergarten, elementary levels (Grades 1 to 6), junior high school (Grades 7 to 10), and senior high school (Grades 11 to 12) (Malipot M., 2018). In terms of public and private school enrolment figures in 2018 (Figure 16.1), the DepEd has reported that in the public schools, there are approximately 25.5 million students, while private institutions have 4.1 million. (Mateo, 2018) Figure 16.1 highlights the difference in size of the public school sector as compared to private institutions.

Philippine education policy is directed by the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013, also known as the K to 12 Law, which mandates government to extend public education schooling in the Philippines to 13 years, beginning with kindergarten up to the 12th grade of senior high school. The K to 12 Law supersedes the Bilingual Education Policy (BEP), introduced in the 1970s by the Marcos dictatorship, which allowed for only 10 years of basic education. The K to 12 Law was instituted as a direct response to calls for compliance to Education for All (EFA) 2015, a UNESCO initiative that coordinates international efforts to make education accessible to all children, young people, and adults by 2015. An important feature of the K to 12 Law is the institutionalization of the Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education (MTBMLE) policy. This policy requires the use of 19 mother tongues as languages of instruction, as well as additional subjects in Grades 1 to 3. The goal of MTBMLE is to upgrade learning outcomes by delivering lessons in 'languages understood by the learners as the language plays a strategic role in shaping the formative years of learners' (15th Congress of the Republic of the Philippines, 2013).

Each year, the DepEd administers the National Achievement Test (NAT), a nationwide assessment of the competencies of students in the elementary and high school levels. The NAT has yielded disappointing results every year despite reports of some improvement. In school year 2012–2013, for example (Table 16.2), NAT test scores in maths, English, and science did not reach the 75% passing score that DepEd considers having achieved 'mastery' level (Philippine Education for All Review Report, 2015). NAT results for the elementary and high school levels during a five-year period (Figure 16.2) reveal that the highest overall

Table 16.2 National Achievement Test, mean percentage scores for mathematics, English, science, school year 2012–2013

	Mathematics	*English*	*Science*	*Overall*
6th elementary grade	69.03	67.12	65.72	68.88
4th year high school	46.83	53.99	41.35	51.41

Source: Philippine Education for All Review Report, 2015.

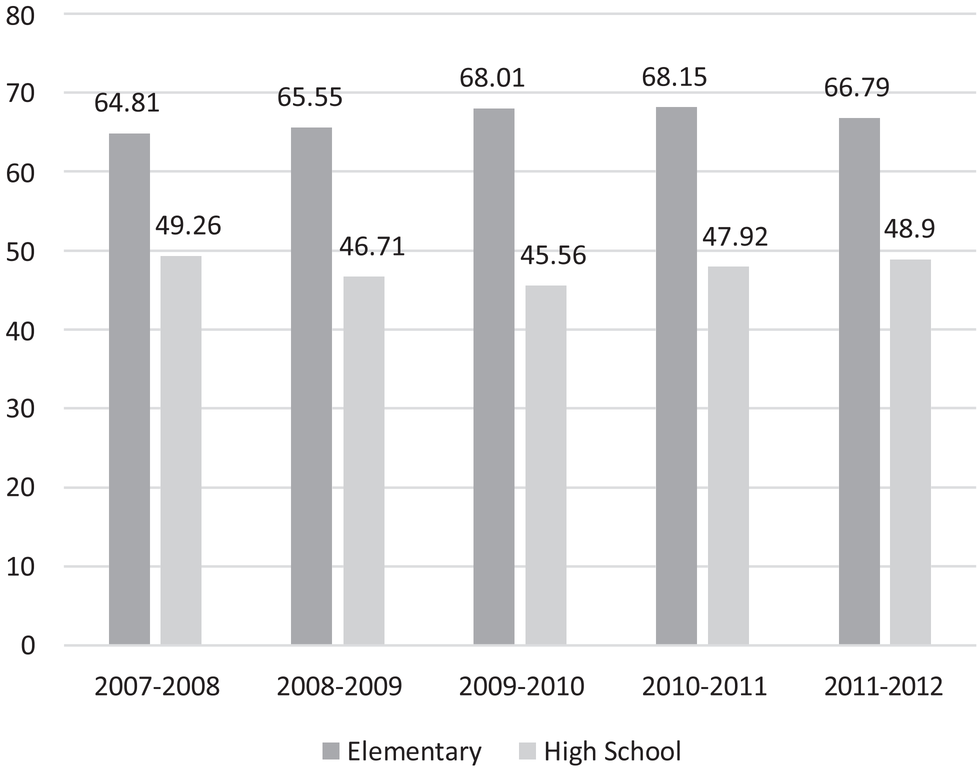

Figure 16.2 National Achievement Test, mean percentage scores, school year 2007 to 2012
Source: Ordinario, 2013.

percentage scores since 2007 have not exceeded 70% at the elementary level and 50% at the high school level (Ordinario, 2013)

Other than the annual administration of NAT, the DepEd administers other national assessment instruments to determine language proficiency. One is the Language Assessment for Primary Grades (LAPG), given to all students at the 3rd-grade level and used to gather baseline data for Filipino and English language learning. The LAPG also aims to evaluate the effectiveness of mother tongue instruction in primary education (Department of Education, 2014). There is also the Early Language Literacy and Numeracy Assessment (ELLNA) instrument, which is administered to Grade 3 learners, and the Basic Education Exit Assessment (BEEA) that covers the core senior high school (SHS) learning areas of languages, humanities, communication, mathematics, science, social science, and philosophy (Department of Education, 2016a). The BEEA is an achievement test that aims to find out if learners are meeting learning standards. It is also used to provide data for decisions on curriculum design, learning delivery, and policy formulation. (Malipot M. H., 2018)

DepEd tests are not only for students. Even teachers are given tests. The Test of English Proficiency for Teachers (TEPT) is administered together with the Process Skills Test (PST) to public school teachers of science and mathematics. In 2011–12, it yielded unsatisfactory results, with a national average score of 50.53 (Philippine Education for All Review Report, 2015). With passing scores of DepEd-administered tests ranging from 60% to 75%, the results of the TEPT have demonstrated that English language proficiency among public school teachers remains a challenge for the government. Given the test content, one wonders to what extent the TEPT can actually inform policy and practice. As it currently stands, it is more concerned with knowledge of language structures than actual language use.

The Philippine EFA Review Report found that 'progress [in education] has been noted in some of the indicators, although most of the upward movements have been too slow to make it to target by 2015' (p. 80). Specific gaps in education progress include '[a] 6 percentage point gap for elementary level and 24 percentage point gap for secondary level to reach the ideal 75 mean percentage score of EFA' (p. 81). Clearly, the peripheral position of Philippine public education persists, especially where English language proficiency is concerned. This may be traced to the public education system introduced by the Americans more than a hundred years ago.

Roots in colonial education

> Our sense . . . of our country is a sustained act of imagination. From that vantage, it can be said that *our writers and artists, who are men and women of imagination, create our country*. . . . We are our own best interpreters of our history and culture because it is we who have lived through that history and created our own values by which we live.
>
> *(Abad, 2003, italics mine)*

Filipino poet Gemino Abad captures in elegant language the importance of national literature. That writers and artists 'create our country' is a statement of faith in the role literature plays in the formation of national consciousness and identity. Literature is not simply inscribed, written, encoded. It is read. And what better place for literature to unleash its power to create a country than the literature classroom?

When the Americans arrived in the Philippines in 1898, they took pains to untie the knots that the Spanish colonizers left in the country after occupying it for 300 years. On 13 August 1898, a few months before American forces officially occupied Manila, American soldiers had already begun to teach in Corregidor (Estioko, 1994, p. 186). It is assumed that their first lesson was English. The Americans introduced public education as an essential component of political strategy. Thus, it was no accident that the first teachers of English in the Philippines were American soldiers.

Throughout the American colonial period, English was systematically promoted as the language that would ‘civilize’ the Filipinos. It was educational policy to confine the native languages outside the territories of formal schooling. The policy was institutionalized through the heavy use of instructional materials of Anglo-American origin for language instruction. Throughout four decades of American public education, Filipino students were exposed to a canon of literature that included works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Washington Irving, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, as well as those of Shakespeare, George Elliott, Matthew Arnold, and the romantic poets (Martin, 2008) Meanwhile, Filipinos were using their own languages outside the schools. In fact, the 1925 Monroe Report noted that Filipino students had no opportunity to study in their native language (Board of Educational Survey, 1925, p. 40). The report recommended that the native language be used as an auxiliary medium of instruction in courses such as character education, and good manners, and right conduct. Despite this, American education officials insisted on the exclusive use of English in the public schools until 1940 (Board of Educational Survey, 1925).

Other than language, a more compelling reason for barring Philippine literature from the literary canon was that Anglo-American literature best served the interests of the colonizers. A detailed analysis of the texts in this canon, as well as the way they were taught to Filipino children, reveals the combined power of curriculum, canon, and pedagogy in promoting myths about colonial realities. In the early 1900s, Filipino students were already being asked to read the works of Longfellow. Beginning in 1904, *Evangeline* was read by all Filipino high school students. In 1911, *The Song of Hiawatha* was required reading in all public elementary schools in the country. A closer inspection of *Evangeline* and *The Song of Hiawatha* reveals themes that directly promote American colonialism. In these texts, one can almost find prescriptions for good behaviour in a colonized society (Martin, 2008).

The canon, curriculum, and pedagogical practices that prevailed during the American colonial period in the Philippines are widely believed to have had a lasting impact on Philippine education today. When asked what literary texts were required by their high school teachers, 1,077 male and female freshman university students reported titles that did not include a single work by a Filipino writer (Martin, 2007). In the list of top ten required readings, five texts are works of Shakespeare, two are translations from languages other than English, and the rest are works of American or British writers. In fact, the list of top twenty required readings reveals that all literary texts are of American or European origin. When asked what literary texts they read on their own, the same university students also reported a list of texts of Anglo-European origin. Many questions arise out of the results of the survey, including why the list of school and non-school readings continues to be dominated by American and European literature decades after the Americans officially ended colonial rule over the Philippines.

In 2017, the National Book Development Board (NBDB) conducted a nationwide survey of the reading habits of adult and young Filipinos, including children as young as 6 years old (Mapa, 2018). With a sample size of 1,200 households, the survey revealed that Filipinos continue to read outside the classroom, with the Bible at the top of the list of genres that adults read. The survey also reported that for non-school books, 16.21% of children prefer to read books by Filipino authors, while 4.61% prefer works of foreign authors. Most of the children surveyed prefer both to read the works of both Filipino and foreign authors. As the survey also found that 75% of children and 72% of adults would purchase books that cost less than 200 Philippine pesos (approximately 4 US dollars), it is not clear if the reported preference for Filipino works signals a departure from the colonial mindset or of lack of resources to purchase the more expensive foreign titles. It is noted that global publishing practices have changed rapidly to make electronic books more available to the reading public. With local publishing companies not being able to keep up with the global trends, it is predicted that the reading landscape in the country will skew towards more foreign titles.

In the basic education curriculum of the K to 12 Law, literature education continues to be offered as integrated with language arts from Grade 7 to Grade 10. Framers of the curriculum claim that one principle of an effective language arts curriculum is to 'draw on literature in order to develop students' understanding of their literary heritage' (Department of Education, 2016b). Teaching literature in Philippine high schools has primarily aimed to impart knowledge and wisdom that literary texts contain. Thus, literature education in the Philippines approaches literature as a storehouse of culture, implying the transparency of texts as these accurately mirror realities. Such lofty aims of literature education are, of course, desirable for teachers, whose interests mainly lie in the formation of positive values among their students (also known as 'values education' among Filipino basic education teachers). However, there is also a danger in a literature education that approaches the act of reading as simply the act of decoding meaning. For one, such an approach may encourage an uncritical stance to reading literature, which consequently treats works of literature as decontextualized and necessarily universal. Such an uncritical stance may make students prone to myths that Kachru (2005) believes to persist in Anglophone Asia.

During the early years of colonial public education, memory work became a popular method of teaching. In 1911, this was described by one school principal as the only way by which Filipino students could learn English:

> We must insist that every day in his first three years of school life, the Filipino child has a dialogue lesson, and we must make him commit that lesson absolutely to memory. For instance suppose his first lesson is as brief as this:
>
> Good morning, Pedro.
> Good morning, Jose.
> How are you this morning, Pedro? Thank you, I am very well.
>
> It would not be cruelty to animals to insist on any second grade pupil's committing that lesson to memory.
>
> *(Fee, 1911, p. 114)*

The quote illustrates a belief among American teachers of English that the language was so easy to learn that even animals could memorize simple dialogues. This school principal believed that, like American students, Filipinos would best learn the language not by reading but by memorizing dialogues, the same dialogues American children memorized in American schools. This teaching practice and other mechanical methods of teaching the English language manifested themselves in different pedagogical practices in the colonial public schools: stressing eye movements in reading, asking students to read aloud, making them perform grammar drills, and expecting them to recite memorized passages. The practice became so widespread that in 1925 the Board of Educational Survey, which conducted a comprehensive study of the Philippine public school system, reported the following:

> Children in upper grades seem to have a 'reciting' knowledge of more technical English grammar than most children in corresponding grades in the American schools. To what degree this helps them in speaking and writing English no one really knows.
> *(Board of Educational Survey, 1925, p. 239)*

Such teaching practice – the mechanical, grammar-oriented approach – stems from linguistics, which is perceived to be a more objective and rigorous study of language. Thus, with the authority of science, American teachers presented the English language to Filipino students. One effect of such practice was the tendency of students to mimic the Anglo-American writings they read in class. This mimicking was also evident in Philippine writing in English, which was described in 1928 as manifesting a 'slavish imitation' of Anglo-American texts (cited in Martin, 2008, p. 254). The Filipinos' propensity for slavish imitation of the American model persists to this day. It comes in the form of one of four myths about English that prevail in Philippine society.

Myth 1: American English is the only correct English

Because the Americans brought English to the Philippines, it seems logical for Filipinos to look up to American English as their model. However, a century after English was introduced in the country, the language had begun to take on new features. In Kachru's three circles model, Philippine English (henceforth PhE) is located in the outer circle. It has become a variety of postcolonial currency, with scholars documenting grammatical, lexical, and phonological innovations (Martin, 2019). Some examples of features of this variety include grammatical distinctions of the so-called educated variety, reported by Bautista (2000) from her analysis of data from the International Corpus of English-Philippines:

> Liquidity problems of rural banks on a massive scale is [are] being experienced for the first time.
> [A] Majority of the public school teachers do not want to serve as poll officials in the May elections.
> This results to [in] a better quality of life.
> But it was only in 1510 that a more authentic epidemic has been [was] described.

Other than grammatical features, lexical innovations also exist in Philippine English. Bolton and Butler have documented the following 'localized vocabularies of English usage' in Philippine dailies:

> Politicians are found guilty of economic plunder ('large-scale embezzlement of public funds') or challenged by the press in ambush interviews ('surprise inter- views'); corrupt cops are accused of coddling criminals ('treating leniently'), or mulcting ('extorting money from') motorists. Hapless citizens borrow money from five-six money lenders ('borrowing at high rates of interest', i.e. borrowing five thousand and returning six). Meanwhile, motorists stuck in traffic get high blood ('enraged') in frustration, and the affairs of various topnotchers ('high achievers') fill the gossip columns.
> *(Bolton & Butler, 2008, pp. 182–183)*

English in the Philippines has expanded in use and function in a so-called English as a second language (ESL) situation. In Schneider's dynamic model (Schneider, 2007) (this volume), this situation corresponds to Phase 3 of the model, also known at the nativization stage. Some scholars have argued that PhE has moved on to Phase 4, endonormativity (Borlongan, 2016), while others report (Gonzales, 2017) that PhE has strong potential for differentiation (Phase 5). However, despite PhE being celebrated in research studies as a legitimate postcolonial variety, the language remains in the periphery. The existence of the PhE variety does not necessarily translate into acceptance of PhE. In a survey I conducted of 185 public elementary and high school teachers of English, 47% reported that their target model for ELT is American English. This, despite their admission that they considered English to be a Philippine language (72%) and that they spoke Philippine, not American, English (54%). The 'albatross of mythology', as Kachru (2005, p. 16) puts it, weighs heavy around the necks of Filipino teachers of English. This myth is evident in the following reasons cited by the teachers in identifying American English as the target model of Philippine ELT:

1 It is a global language.
2 American English is the universal language.
3 American English is the standard international language.
4 They [Filipino students] have to learn the basics first.
5 American English is universally accepted.
6 Knowing American English can avoid arguments and debates about the correct spelling and pronunciation.
7 The pronunciation of some words is conventional.
8 An approximately correct English – understandable and acceptable internationally.
9 Since it is the most accepted English.
10 It's the ideal, the standard in terms of language usage.
11 American English is applicable nationwide.
12 Because the expressions used are familiar to us having being under the American regime/way of education.
13 Because the Americans were the first to teach English to the Filipinos.
14 So that pupils will become more eloquent, smart in talking, and can communicate the language not only in speaking but in writing as well.
15 You could use American movies as patterns for [teaching] speaking skills.
16 It's widely used in communicative learning.

The list betrays what Kachru (2005) refers to as the Native Speaker Idealization Myth, which hinges on the belief that the exocentric models of American and British English are standard and must therefore be taught and learned. Such dependence on the American model is further reinforced by the fact that the language was brought to the Philippines as a colonial tool (evident in reasons 12 and 13). Textbooks in the public schools betray this dependence on American models. In *E-way to Better Communication 4*, issued in Marikina City, Lesson 1 begins with a dialogue between Mr John Coleman and some students (Alabastro & Sandagan, 2003, pp. 2–4). It is assumed that Mr Coleman is an American expert. The use of an American character in the opening lesson may be an attempt to observe communicative language teaching (CLT), a popular approach in Philippine ELT. As CLT aims to develop language fluency and accuracy using authentic tasks and texts, one wonders how it is possible to achieve authenticity when English-speaking communities using the correct American variety are few and far between for the average public school student.

Further evidence of dependence on American English is revealed by the popularity of guidebooks to correct English, such as *American English for Filipinos* (Bennett, 2005), written by Terry Bennett. Bennett describes himself as an American 'who has been visiting the Philippines regularly for more than twenty years with his wife, a native of Iloilo City'. In the introduction, Bennett writes:

> Much has been made of racism in the American populace over the last fifty years, and 90 percent of it is hogwash. The fact is, most Americans have a favorable impression of Asians, and are accepting to the point that they find it desirable to marry one (as I have myself done). Yes, there are a handful of professional racists in the US, who promote the usual silly ideas about white supremacy, but the typical American will not judge you on the basis of your skin color. Instead, they will judge you by your speech. . . . Americans will open up to you only to the degree that you can speak our language: English, the way we speak it.
>
> *(Bennett, 2005, p. 8)*

A corollary to the myth that American English is the only correct English is the belief that the language is learned primarily to communicate with native speakers. A local language school, American English Skills Development Center, Inc., located in the financial district of Makati, claims to have been training Filipinos and other clients from all parts of the world since 2006. It has published the book *Don't Speak Good, Speak Well: The 'Nosebleed' Edition*, a guide to speaking English for Filipinos, which the school claims to have sold thousands of copies. The school offers a course on conversational English that aims to 'develop the speaking and listening skills they need to communicate effectively with native speakers' (American English Skills Development Center Inc., 2018). The accent neutralization course is described as follows:

> For students who have demonstrated a strong command of English auditory and grammatical skills but require assistance in developing a neutral accent that can be understood all over the world. To that aim, an American intonation is emphasized as a baseline after which students will model their speech and pronunciation patterns.
>
> *(American English Skills Development Center Inc., 2018)*

The emphasis on acquiring an American accent points to the illusion that Filipinos are expected to communicate with native speakers because these native speakers employ the Filipinos. This leads to another set of myths about English in the Philippines – the myth that the language cures all economic ailments.

Myth 2: English is the only cure to all economic ailments

> And believe me, that good English that you boast about is no match to a particular region's version of English, especially when spoken fast. No matter how Americanized or how independent you feel you are, you'll always feel like you've been dropped overboard in cold water without a life jacket.
>
> *(Sison, 2014)*

Sison is an overseas Filipino worker (OFW) who wrote about her "not-so-ideal life" as a Filipino working overseas. (Sison, 2014) Her experience as an OFW tells her that proficiency in English does not guarantee success in employment. However, this is not what many Filipinos believe. News headlines continue to report about the decline of English language proficiency in the country:

- No more ‘carabao’ English, please! – The Manila Times (Valderama, 2018)
- Inquiry into decline of English skill of PH students sought – Inquirer.net (2018)
- Filipino graduates’ English skills lower than target for cab drivers in Dubai, study says – Philippine Star (Morallo, 2018)
- PHL graduates’ English edge seen narrowing – BusinessWorld (Enerio, 2018)

In 2015, Hopkins International Partners, the agency that administers the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) in the Philippines, conducted a study that raised alarms about the state of English language proficiency in the country. The study made three conclusions, as follows (Aquino et al., 2015):

1 The average total TOEIC score of Philippine higher education graduating students is 631.4, which corresponds to CEFR B1, a score that is lower than the target of Thailand, which is CEFR B2. The score of Filipino students demonstrates that they can produce connected texts on familiar topics;
2 The average total TOEIC score of Philippine higher education graduating students is similar to an English-speaking taxi driver in Tokyo; and
3 There are significant differences between the scores of public and private higher education students, as well as significant differences between the scores of test takers from Luzon and Metro Manila (National Capital Region).

The results of the study prompted Senator Grace Poe to issue Senate Resolution No. 622, which called for an evaluation of elementary and high school curricula to ensure that schools ‘adopt global English standards to improve citizens’ communication skills’ (Leonen, 2018). The panic that resulted from the study echoes the following letter to a national daily by businessman Russ Sandlin, who in 2008 complained about a ‘terrible talent shortage’ in the Philippines:

> I closed my call center here. Filipinos have much worse English than their Indian counterparts. Not even three percent of the students who graduate college are employable in call centers. Trust me; all of us are leaving for China.
>
> . . . The Philippines has a terrible talent shortage, and the government and the press are in denial. . . . English is the only thing that can save the country, and no one here cares or even understands that the Filipinos have a crisis. . . . God save the Philippines. I hate to see the country falling ever deeper into an English-deprived abyss.
>
> *(Sandlin, 2008)*

This English-deprived abyss is what the educational stakeholders are desperately attempting to prevent, sadly at the expense of more basic needs of the education sector. The MTBMLE policy is actually another attempt to sharpen English language skills. Despite its claim to strengthen mother tongue literacy, it introduces English oral fluency as early as the 1st grade, thus watering down the full benefits of mother tongue education. This practice of introducing English early in primary education is consistent with the K to 12 Law’s aim to better prepare young Filipinos for employment after high school.

In Mindanao, the US-funded Job Enabling English Proficiency (JEEP) project is in full force. This development aid project offers software programs for studying the English language exclusively to universities in the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao (ARMM).

As expected, the models presented for ‘correct’ English were those of American speakers of English. The JEEP project, as a neocolonial undertaking, ‘purports to help young people becomes marketable, and legitimized, albeit in a subtle way’ (Tupas & Tabiola, 2017, p. 417). The project subscribes to a painfully simplistic formula for economic success: improve English in schools to produce more English-proficient graduates in order to supply the economic sector with skilled human resources so that they may earn US dollars for the Philippine economy. In other words, English equals money. Whether these graduates are capable of critical and creative thinking or have acquired basic life skills other than language is not a concern. The policies and practices seem to be fixated on English alone.

Myth 3: English and Filipino are languages in opposition

In 2003, former President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo issued Executive Order No. 210 (EO 210), entitled ‘Establishing the Policy to Strengthen the Use of the English Language as a Medium of Instruction in the Educational System, ’which directed educational institutions to adopt English as a medium of instruction (MOI). The order was regarded as an affront to the promotion of Filipino, the national language. Shortly after issuing the order, the DepEd released DepEd Order No. 36, which detailed the implementing rules and regulations of EO 210. A group of language stakeholders, Wika ng Kultura at Agham Inc. (WIKA), challenged EO 210 and DepEd Order 36 by petitioning the Supreme Court to declare the orders unconstitutional. In its petition, WIKA argued that Philippine culture was ‘directly injured by the challenged orders because the use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction has negative repercussions on national identity, love of country, and pride in being Filipino’ (Frialde, 2007).

The petition betrays another myth about English in the Philippines – that the language is in direct opposition with other Philippine languages, especially the national language. Often, when stakeholders of the national language are confronted with attempts to institutionalize English in the education domain, they cite nationalism, or the lack of it, as a reason for resisting English.

The belief that English and Filipino have mutually exclusive domains in basic education was reinforced by the Bilingual Education Policy that dominated school curricula for decades. This policy, which was in place for more than thirty years before the K to 12 Law replaced it, assigned maths and science subjects to instruction in English only; instruction in Filipino was allotted to social studies, music, and the arts (Sibayan, 1996) (Gonzalez, 1999) The BEP was widely criticized for many reasons, one being the perception that it did not contribute to upgrading the students’ mastery of language and content areas. The K to 12 law, with its MTBMLE policy, attempts to address the flaws of the BEP. However, lawmakers continually work to bring back English as MOI in schools. Former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, who later became Pampanga Representative, filed HB 5091, or ‘An Act to Enhance the Use of English as the Medium of Instruction in the Educational System’ (Luci, 2017). The bill seeks to use English as MOI in 70% of school subjects, limiting the use of Filipino to 10% of standard tests. The Bill claims to address the so-called language interference setbacks brought about by the BEP. According to the Bill:

> Targeting the learning of two languages (English and Filipino) is too much for the Filipino learners, especially in the lower grades. And if the child happens to be a non-Tagalog speaker, this task actually means learning two foreign languages at the same time, an almost impossible task.
>
> *(Luci, 2017)*

While lawmakers attempt to bring back English as MOI, nationalists have been working to reject perceived efforts to weaken the Filipino language in educational institutions. As a response to the curricular revisions brought about by the K to 12 Law, the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), which oversees higher education curricula, decided to remove Filipino and literature courses in colleges and universities. CHED argued that these courses were already being taught in the high school levels. Tanggol Wika, advocates of the Filipino language, were quick to react with a legal case filed at the Supreme Court. The Court ruled in favour of CHED, a move which Tanggol Wika describes as 'cultural genocide' (Malipot M., 2019).

HB 5091, which calls for the return of English as MOI, and the Tanggol Wika petition to bring back Filipino courses in college curricula betray conflicting perspectives about languages. On the one hand, there is the position that English offers more access to knowledge and is therefore the cure to all educational and (eventually) economic ailments. On the other hand, Filipino, being the national language, should be upheld at all times in order to reject attempts at 'cultural homogenization' (Malipot, 2019). Both positions take the perspective of language purity, or the notion that the two languages have mutually exclusive domains and should therefore be separately propagated. It is commonly believed that mixing the two would result in some form of contamination of one language, consequently producing half-baked users of the languages.

Myth 4: English is the only language of knowledge

When MTBMLE was introduced in 2009, critics of the policy decried the lack of materials available in the local languages. Some argued that schoolbooks were mostly written in English and that translating these would be too time consuming (Tupas & Martin, 2017). It did not occur to these critics that the instructional materials could be actually be written in the local languages, hence eliminating the need for translations. These critics of MTBMLE subscribe to the myth that in the Philippines, if you don't know English, you don't know anything important. English in the Philippines is believed to be the only language through which knowledge can be accessed, especially in maths and science.

School personnel who insist that only English be spoken in schools further reinforce this myth. Despite the MTBMLE policy, English-only campaigns remain in force in many Philippine schools. In 2013, three 8th-grade children were expelled from school because they spoke Ilokano on the campus (Geronimo, 2013). Doplon (2018) has documented Philippine language education policies that 'systematically pitted languages against each other' (p. 44). From the BEP to the current MTBMLE policy, English remains in a privileged position. Linguistic schoolscapes are likewise dominated by English, as reported by Astillero (2017) in her study of signage in schools in Bicol. Despite MTBMLE, attitudes towards languages in the Philippines remained skewed towards English, as Mahboob and Cruz (2013) report:

> What [our] survey on language attitudes tells us is that although Filipinos may have been allocated Filipino and other mother tongues, the language they wish to affiliate with is English. Unfortunately, since the desire to affiliate with English has not changed, using allocated languages in school may just further separate the rich, who have been allocated English and wish to affiliate with English, and the poor who have not been allocated English but wish to affiliate with English.
>
> *(p. 15)*

Resistance to myths about English in the Philippines

In his study of ELT in Sri Lanka, Canagarajah takes the resistance perspective. This means approaching English as not necessarily evil, despite its colonial and postcolonial faces. Canagarajah explains, 'The intention is not to reject English, but to reconstitute it in more inclusive, ethical, and democratic terms, and so to bring out the creative resolutions to their linguistic conflicts' (1999, p. 2). However, formulating creative resolutions to linguistic conflicts is easier said than done, especially in public school ELT, a sector that is doubly peripheral in the Philippines. Still, there are signs in ELT that point to resistance to myths about English in the Philippines.

In the 1990s, linguist Andrew Gonzalez, who later became Secretary of Education, reflected on the BEP and wrote about his 'obsession . . . to make Filipinos linguistically competent to be able to think deeply and critically in any language' (Gonzalez, 1999, p. 13). Gonzalez appeals for:

> a maximum of flexibility in the media of instruction. . . . Not everything in Philippine education has to be uniform; in fact, even if we have policies towards uniformity, we never accomplish enough to be able to attain uniformity of results. So why not recognize this limitation and exploit it so that we can move faster towards development?
>
> *(Gonzalez, 1999, p. 13)*

It is in this spirit of flexibility and resistance to uniformity that Filipino teachers reject the language purity imposition of the myths. The openness of many teachers who have embraced Philippine languages through MTBMLE is one indication of resistance to the myths. Code-switching is one strategy science teachers use to motivate student response and action, ensure rapport and solidarity, promote shared meaning, check student understanding, and maintain the teaching narrative in the classroom (Martin, 2006). In maths, Canilao (2018) documents the deliberate use by teachers of Taglish (a code-mix variety of Tagalog and English) to explain complex mathematical concepts. Likewise, Paez (2018) reports on public school teachers who teach English using Filipino, arguing that teachers 'consciously make the decision to empower themselves every day by putting students' needs first' (p. 133). One teacher, Dionisia B. Fernandez (2009), wrote about the need to code-switch in the classroom because the school's English-only policy did not work.

> One rule I have in my classroom is fairly simple: Speak only English! It was agreed that whoever broke this rule would pay a fine of one peso for each non- English word. For two days my students tried very hard to speak English only . . .
>
> A week after imposing the Speak English Only campaign, I felt frustrated not because the students' carabao English worsened, or that the class treasurer did not collect a single peso, but because most of my pupils chose to keep their mouths shut. The campaign was a failure!
>
> *(Fernandez, 2009)*

Teachers did not just resist the English-only practice, they also tried hard to eliminate their students' fear of the language – a fear that makes it difficult for teachers to teach. Marilyn C. Braganza writes about resisting the image of an English-speaking monster:

> I was assigned to a school where students had a mix of tongues. Some spoke with a heavy Bagobo accent, while others spoke in the more dominant dialects of the South.

> Those with heavy Bagobo accents usually lack the confidence to perform in my classes. One such student was a boy in my Bridge Class who refused to participate during oral drills. Because his written output was really not bad, I often wondered why he would not speak in my class. In my frustration, I found myself threatening to move him to another class. He then confessed that he spoke to only three students in school who were his relatives; he was afraid of being ridiculed by his classmates.
>
> At that moment, I realized that I only had two options available to me: fail him or teach him. I decided on the second option. Every week I spent one hour with Jovanni to build his self-confidence and make him realize that it was okay to be different. It was not easy talking to a 13-year-old boy who saw me as an English-speaking monster.
>
> *(Braganza, 2009)*

Another public school teacher, Desiree C. Hidalgo, writes about the creative ways of teaching English to her low-performing students:

> In one lesson about gender, I asked the students what the English term was for female pig or male pig. Takal. Takong. A roar of laughter ensued as the students offered the Ilocano terms instead. One student mentioned that her father was nicknamed 'Takal' or boar. Such a nickname was customary in the barrios to refer to womanizing men with many children. 'Takong' was the nickname appended to the female counterparts. The students then shared other monikers . . .
>
> I seized that moment to intensify the students' attention to zoomorphism by introducing English words that point to animal-like characteristics. . . . The students went home with new set of words. I was amused to hear one boy say to one girl, 'Your voice is so lovingly feline,' to which the girl promptly replied, 'And you have a canine smile.' The students were learning new words by actually using them in their own creative ways. And they were enjoying the humor each new word evoked.
>
> *(Hidalgo, 2009)*

Conclusion

ELT in the Philippines is essentially teaching and learning English in a multilingual and linguistically diverse setting; this will remain so in many years to come. However, the present-day myths about English in the Philippines must be rejected. Teachers of English in the Philippines must accept that (1) Philippine English is a legitimate variety of English; (2) proficiency in English does not guarantee economic success; (3) English, Filipino, and other Philippine languages may co-exist in the education domain; and (4) English is not the only language of knowledge. Without an acceptance of these realities about English in the Philippines, teaching and learning the language will only push Filipino students further to the margins, preventing them from embracing the English language as their own.

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17

English in Singapore and Malaysia: Differences and similarities

Low Ee Ling

Introduction

Early scholars (Tongue 1974; Tongue 1979; Platt and Weber 1980) working on describing the English spoken in Singapore and Malaysia have classified both varieties as a single entity known as Singapore and Malaysian English (SME). Platt and Weber (1980: 21) suggest that the birth of SME may date back to the formation of the Straits Settlements in 1826 when Singapore, Malacca and Penang were ruled administratively as one by the British. It is therefore interesting to explore when and how SME became two separate entities and varieties of English, which we presently term Singapore English (SgE) and Malaysian English (MalE). According to the classical Kachruvian model of the three circles of English (Kachru 1992), both varieties are described as being part of the Outer Circle, where, broadly speaking, English is classified as having been institutionalized and described as being 'norm-developing', meaning that it is developing its own norms and standards and is generally spoken as a second language (ESL). The language policies adopted by each country post-independence (after the year 1965) when Malaysia and Singapore were both totally independent from the British and each other have undoubtedly had an impact on the development of English in both countries. The purpose of this chapter is to briefly trace the historical development of English in Singapore and Malaysia, from its birth to the point where they were considered distinct varieties. The different language policies adopted by each country post-independence will be surveyed as an attempt to understand when and how the different varieties emerged. Variation in present-day English in Singapore and Malaysia will be examined. The chapter will then summarize the main linguistic features of each variety of English, highlighting similarities and differences where relevant. Finally, directions for further research will be suggested, which will increase our understanding of the development of both varieties of English.

Development of English in Singapore and Malaysia

A shared history

While the advent of English in both Singapore and Malaysia is obviously linked to the arrival of the British in both countries, the dates of arrival differ. Penang, which was originally part of the Malay sultanate of Kedah, was ceded to the British in 1786, specifically the British East India Company, in exchange for British protection from Siamese and Burmese troops (Baker 2008), while Singapore was founded by Sir Stamford Raffles in 1819, 33 years later. Linking the birth of SME to the formation of the Straits Settlements in 1826, it is important to know the different ethnic groups living in Singapore and the different languages spoken by these ethnic groups, since they are likely to have had an impact on the variety of English spoken in Singapore and Malaysia in the nineteenth century. Table 17.1 summarizes the languages and dialects spoken by these main ethnic groups.

The British government set up English-medium schools in the early nineteenth century in order to produce a local English-educated elite group to fulfil the occupational positions previously staffed by the British themselves. The English-medium schools were of two main types: free schools and mission schools (Platt and Weber 1980: 34–41). Free schools admitted students regardless of race, creed or colour. The first free school in Singapore was Raffles Institution, established in 1823 (originally called the Singapore Free School), while in Penang, the Penang Free School was established in 1816, and the Malacca Free School was founded in 1826. The mission schools, as the name suggested, were established and maintained by the missions of different religious orders like the Sisters of the Infant Jesus and the Anglican Mission, to name but two.

When the English-medium schools were first set up, much of the instruction was in Malay rather than English (Gupta 1994). The establishment of these English-medium schools meant that a local English-speaking population was beginning to emerge, and it is important to ask which variety of English was spoken by this group. Gupta (1998: 125) hypothesizes

Table 17.1 Languages and dialects spoken by main ethnic groups in the Straits settlements

Ethnic group	*Main languages*
Malays	Formal Malay, local dialects according to region, native dialects of immigrants
Chinese	Host of Chinese dialects: Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hakka
Indians	Southern Indian: mainly Tamil, Malayalam and Telugu
	Northern Indian: mainly Punjabi and Bengali, and so on
Eurasians	Languages according to ethnic background
Europeans	British upper-class English
	English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish regional dialects
	Other languages spoken by minority groups

Source: Low and Brown (2005: 17), adapted from Platt and Weber (1980: 5).

Note: The definition of dialect here refers to a regional variation of a particular language.

about the main substratum languages that may have contributed to the development of a colloquial variety of English spoken in Singapore and Malaysia. She identifies the superstrate as Standard English, a main substrate comprising Baba Malay (Malay spoken by Straits-born Chinese of mixed Malay and Chinese parentage) and Bazaar Malay (a pidgin variety of Malay often used as the lingua franca for communication across the different ethnic groups) and a secondary substrate comprising the various southern varieties of Chinese, especially Hokkien, Teochew and Cantonese.

On independence in 1957, Malay was declared the national language of Malaya (known as Bahasa Melayu). The purpose of this policy was to ensure that all ethnic groups living in Malaya could identify with and establish an emotional attachment to the language (Azirah 2009). Both Malay and English were assigned equal prominence from 1957 to 1967. This was largely a result of the Barnes Commission of 1951, which had advocated Malay-English bilingualism. Under British rule, Malay, Chinese and Tamil were the main media of instruction in the national and vernacular schools (Azirah 2009), while English was used in some English-medium schools, as earlier described. As a result of the 1956 Razak Report, two types of primary schools were established: *national schools*, which used Malay as the medium of instruction, and *national-type schools*, which could use either English, Chinese or Tamil as the medium of instruction. The only secondary schools were national schools, although Chinese schools were allowed to function as long as they adhered to the national curriculum and examinations.

As noted, Malaysia gained independence from the British in 1957, while Singapore attained self-government in 1959. From 1963 to 1965, Singapore and Malaysia were part of the Federation of Malaysia. Wee (2018) noted that the Federation leadership were inclined to the *bumiputra* policy, which acknowledged Malay as the sole official language and gave ethnic Malays special rights in the Federation. The Singapore leadership were, for obvious reasons, uncomfortable adopting such a policy which favoured a particular group. Wee (2018: 22) noted that under such conditions, it became critical that Singapore needed to take 'careful consideration of just what kind of language policy [it] ought to be aiming for'. He further cited Kuan Yew Lee (2012: 224–25) who pointed out that

> Language policy is a vital instrument for achieving national interest objectives and meeting the needs of governance. Rightly conceived, it can help unite a population that is racially and linguistically diverse, as well as build a platform for communication with the outside world.

The merger between the two countries broke down in 1965, with Singapore becoming a fully independent nation on 9 August 1965. The next section will review key language policy differences that are likely to have shaped the development of English in both countries in the post-independent era.

Language policy in Singapore and Malaysia: post-1965

Post-independent language policies in Singapore

Post-independent language policies in Singapore may be characterized by two main concerns: the attempt to address the issue of parity in the language policy adopted for a multilingual and multi-ethnic population and the growing concern over the falling standards of English. With regard to the first concern, Kuo and Jemudd (1994, as cited in Lim 2009) termed such a policy 'pragmatic multilingualism', where the mother tongues and English are positioned in a way where English and the officially designated mother tongues – Malay, Tamil and Mandarin – are functionally allocated such that English is the language of international trade, science and technology, while the official mother tongues serve to provide a cultural pivot for the preservation of Asian values amongst the different ethnic groups. In 1956, an allparty committee was designated to look specifically into the issue of linguistic diversity in multilingual Malaya and to address the disputes and demonstrations that took place as a protest against Chinese-medium education. The result was a report which outlined several main language policy directions. To signal the fact that all ethnic groups received equality in treatment, four co-official languages were declared, namely English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil. Malay was maintained as the national language so as not to estrange Singapore from its neighbours, but it was used mainly for ceremonial purposes. Alsagoff (2012: 143) commented that:

> Language management in an economically driven model [such as the one in Singapore] also meant that although the different languages were regarded as equal, and protected by law to be so, they were not equally valued. They were, instead, relegated to different roles in Singapore society, in relation to their instrumental value.

In this language policy environment, the learning of a second language became compulsory, sowing the seeds of the bilingual education policy, which started from 1960. Alongside these official policies of intended equality, however, the role of English continued to rise in prominence, as it was not just ethnically neutral but allowed one to communicate with the rest of the world.

The bilingual education policy (see Gopinathan et al. 1998; Low and Brown 2005 for more details) was introduced as a means to anchor pupils in their ethnic and cultural traditions by allowing them to learn an ethnically ascribed mother tongue (Mandarin, Malay and Tamil). This policy allowed for schools of different language media to be retained, and for those in English-medium schools, the mother tongue was taught as a second language. English was offered as a second language in non-English-medium schools, while civics and history classes were taught using Mandarin, Malay or Tamil. This policy gave rise to what Pakir (1991: 174) termed the 'English-knowing bilingual in Singapore', defined as someone who is bilingual in English and their ethnically ascribed mother tongue. The main milestone in the bilingual policy was the introduction of English as the medium of instruction in Nanyang University, which originally only had Mandarin Chinese as the medium of instruction. In 1978, when Nanyang University merged with the University of Singapore, English was used as the medium of instruction, and in 1979, English was made the primary medium of instruction in pre-university classes, even in non-English-medium schools.

English in Singapore, though recognised as an official language, was 'not deemed appropriate by the government to be an official mother tongue' (Wee 2018: 24). Wee commented that the 'denial of official mother tongue status to English is a core aspect of Singapore's language policy' (2018: 24), again citing Kuan Yew Lee (1984) that

> One abiding reason why we have to persist in bilingualism is that English will not be emotionally acceptable as our mother tongue. . . . To have no emotionally acceptable language as our mother tongue is to be emotionally crippled.

English, as it was emphasized, could not fulfil what the different ethnic groups needed in a language that would emotionally anchor them in values and heritage. Not being 'Asian', asserted Wee (2010, as cited in Wee 2018), however, made English suitable to being ethnically neutral, especially ideologically. Indeed, in the Singapore context where English was the British language and had no roots in the country at the time, it was 'cultureless' (Alsagoff 2012). English could serve as an interethnic working language to facilitate communication and interaction between the ethnic groups (Alsagoff 2012).

In the late 1970s to 1990s, several landmark language policies were introduced. The first was the implementation of the Speak Mandarin Campaign in 1979. This aimed to simplify the Chinese language situation by attempting to create a Mandarin-speaking environment, which it was felt would help students better their chances of becoming bilingual. Other key policies included the introduction, in 1980, of streaming at the Primary Three level, whereby academically weaker students were channelled into the monolingual English stream and exempted from passing a second language. Students were streamed again at Primary Six level, according to their Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) results. The top 10 per cent took two 'first' languages and had the option of taking a third. The majority, comprising about 70 per cent of the cohort, took a first and a second language, while the bottom 20 per cent also took two languages but at a more basic level. These students were also given an additional year to complete their secondary education. In 1985, a pass in both English and a second language was the minimum language requirement set for entry into the local university. In 1987, English became the main medium of instruction for all schools. This policy led to the increased dominance and prominence of the English language in Singapore.

Alongside the policies outlined previously, by the late 1970s, another language problem arose, and this had to do with the perceived falling standards of English. In 1977, both the British Council and the Regional Language Centre (RELC) were appointed to look into the issue of the teaching and learning of English in Singapore. By 1982, two varieties of English were clearly in existence: a standard variety used mainly for formal purposes of communication and an informal colloquial variety, termed by linguists Singapore Colloquial English or Singlish. The concern over the proliferation of Singlish led to the national broadcasting station, then known as the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation (SBC), to stipulate that Singlish was no longer allowed to be aired freely over national television. The Singlish–Standard English debate continues to plague the language scene in Singapore to this day. On 26 July 1999, the Ministry of Education announced an initiative to retrain 8,000 primary school teachers in traditional grammar. This move was a clear recognition by the Ministry that those who had undergone primary school in the 1980s were products of the Communicative Language Teaching approach that emphasized fluency at the expense of accuracy and where traditional grammar rules were not taught.

In 2000, the government launched the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM), which aimed to encourage Singaporeans to speak grammatically correct English that could be internationally understood. The movement has run for almost two decades now. The movement's work has met with much scepticism, especially among linguists, who have criticized it mainly for failing to recognize that different varieties of English can, in fact, co-exist and be used for different speech situations (Rubdy 2001; Chng 2003; Lim 2009).

The concern over falling standards of English perennially resurfaces, and in 2009, at the Ministry of Education's annual workplan seminar, the Minister for Education, Dr Ng Eng Hen announced plans to establish the English Language Institute of Singapore (ELIS). This would 'build deeper capabilities in EL proficiency training for teachers' and help students to become articulate speakers of English. The present concern, therefore, is targeted at raising Singaporeans' mastery of the English language such that Singapore will not lose its competitive edge as an English-knowing bilingual nation (Tee 2019) over its neighbours in an age where excellent communication skills are very much a prerequisite of functioning effectively in the global marketplace. Effective and proficient bilingual standards allow both Singapore and Singaporeans to be well sought after by many international partners.

English has thus continued to be emphasised in the Singapore education system. The Education Ministry's 2010 English Language Syllabus

> has continued to stress the need for students to develop an 'internationally acceptable' English, and has put added emphasis on the standards of English, clearly embracing a more structural approach to language, along with a renewed concern for accuracy in grammar and pronunciation.
>
> *(Alsagoff 2012: 149–50)*

This was quite different from just a few decades before, when English was not rooted in Singapore, and now many Singaporeans use English at home (Department of Statistics Singapore 2019). This only goes to show that the 'broad society-wide shift towards English in the home is occurring because Singaporeans have taken seriously the government's message that English affords its speakers significant socio-economic advantages' (Wee 2018: 25–26).

Post-independent language policies in Malaysia

The language concerns in post-independent Malaysia were quite different and had to do mainly with the predominance of the role of Malay against the other languages spoken in Malaysia (Azirah 2009). In 1956, the Institute of National Language, the *Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka*, was established in order to develop the language capacities and use of the Malay language. The 1957 Reid Commission adopted the main recommendations of the Razak Report (1956) and introduced Malay-medium national schools and non-Malay-medium national-type schools, where English, Chinese and Tamil were used as the media of instruction but where Malay was taught as a compulsory subject. Article 152 of the Constitution stated clearly that Malay was to be the sole national and official language, while English was given the status of an official language. The privileged status of English was removed via the Language Act of 1967, however, and English was relegated to the position of a second language.

In 1961, the Education Act passed a bill which made Malay the only medium of instruction in secondary schools. Further, the National Language Act of 1967 ruled that English-medium primary schools had to become Malay-medium schools by 1976 and secondary schools by 1982. In 1971, the use of Malay as a medium of instruction was imposed at tertiary institutes as well. As with Singapore, Malaysia also had concerns about the decline of the standard of English in the early 1970s (Omar 2012: 163). Omar also found that those educated using English as the medium of instruction seemed to share the belief that they spoke high-quality MaIE, while those educated from the 1970s spoke 'broken English'. English continued to be preserved as a compulsory subject at the national schools. Alongside the national schools, however, Chinese- and Tamil-medium schools continued to exist.

The policy of Malay as the sole medium of instruction continued until 2002 when English was introduced as the medium of instruction for the teaching of mathematics and science from Primary One. This, however, was not constrained to the Primary One students of 2003, as the implementation of English as the medium of instruction started at Primary Five and above (Omar 2012). It was known as the Teaching and Learning of Science and Mathematics in English (*Pengajaran dan Pembelajaran Sains dan Matematik Dalam Bahasa Inggeris* or PPSMI) policy. This would require the preparation of teachers to use English materials and to teach science and mathematics in English, thus precipitating the need to recall retired teachers who were proficient in English (Omar 2012). This policy was motivated by science and mathematics graduates being unable to function in English, thus being denied access to the latest research and publications on science and mathematics on the one hand and employment opportunities on the other. The tertiary institutes also followed suit, where English became the medium of instruction in the science faculties, and in the arts faculties, the percentage of courses using English as the medium of instruction increased.

In July 2009, however, the Ministry of Education announced a reversal of this policy, with the teaching of mathematics and science to revert back to Malay in primary and secondary schools in 2012. At the pre-university and tertiary levels, mathematics and science continued to be taught in English. There were two major reasons for this reversal: first, many children from poorer and rural areas were failing, and second, there were insufficient qualified teachers who could teach these subjects through the medium of English. Increasing pressure mounted by the parents of students in the vernacular (Chinese- and Tamil-medium) schools also played a role (*The Malaysian Insider*, 11 July 2009; www.themalaysianinsider.com).

With Tun Dr Mahathir Mohamad back at the helm as prime minister on 10 May 2018, the PPSMI policy is set to make a return. PM Mahathir commented that 'this way of teaching and learning science and mathematics in English will enable all pupils and students to benefit from the competency of these expert teachers' (*The Edge Markets*, 16 July 2019). He also stated that the Malaysian Ministry of Education considers the mastery of teaching and learning in English important, since English is an international language and is used for management, enterprises and employment (*The Edge Markets*, 16 July 2019). English is also important for mastering new knowledge, including artificial intelligence, that can help the country become a developed nation (*The Edge Markets*, 16 July 2019). While there are many who share his sentiments and press for the return of PPSMI in order to improve English literacy and proficiency in Malaysians (Tan 2018; Wan Ramli 2018), there are also opposing views. For example, two Chinese-language education groups under the collective name of Dong Jiao Zong advocate the continuation of native languages as the medium of instruction and learning (Lim 2019). Yet this has not deterred Sarawak, which will be the first state to teach science and mathematics in English for Primary One pupils from January 2020 (*CNA International*, 29 May 2019).

Variation in present-day English in Singapore and Malaysia

The previous section highlighted the main differences in language policies that both countries have adopted in the post-independence era. Such an understanding is crucial in explaining how and why the varieties of English language spoken in Singapore and Malaysia have become distinct.

Any attempt to describe English in either Singapore or Malaysia needs to take into account the variation that exists. It is important to understand the demographics of each country if we wish to understand the substratum influences that speakers of English in each country are exposed to. In 2019, Singapore's population was 5.7 million, made up of 4.03 million residents and 1.67 million non-residents (Department of Statistics Singapore 2019). In terms of the ethnic make-up of the resident population, the Chinese formed 74.08 per cent of the population, the Malays 13.36 per cent and the Indians 9.23 per cent (Department of Statistics Singapore 2019). Malaysia has a much larger population, totalling 32.58 million, comprising 62.25 per cent Malays, 20.55 per cent Chinese and 6.18 per cent Indians (Department of Statistics Malaysia 2019). What is immediately apparent in comparing the demographic profile of the two countries is that the Chinese make up the majority of Singapore's population, while the Malays make up the majority of Malaysia's population, although the main ethnic groups residing in both countries are similar (Chinese, Malays and Indians).

Several models have been put forward to account for variation in Singapore English (Platt 1977; Platt and Weber 1980; Gupta 1986; Pakir 1991; Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo 2000; Alsagoff 2007). Platt (1977) and Platt and Weber (1980) described language variation according to the educational levels of the speakers and came up with the lectal continuum. Gupta (1986) talked about a diglossic language situation with the high (H) and low (L) varieties, each having a distinct function. Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo (2000) discussed ethnic variation that arises, especially during informal discourse.

One of the most influential models of language variation in Singapore is Pakir's (1991) expanding triangles of English expression. She described English in Singapore as varying along the clines of proficiency and formality and showed that these determine the type of variety spoken, that is, Singapore Colloquial English or Standard Singapore English. Pakir postulated that the speaker with the highest proficiency in English has the largest triangle of expression, being able to move effortlessly between the colloquial and standard varieties of English depending on the formality of the communicative domain. Conversely, the lowest educated have the smallest triangle of expression, since they are constrained, by virtue of their proficiency level, from moving upwards to speak Standard Singapore English, even when the discourse situation calls for it.

Alsagoff (2007) postulated a new model known as the cultural orientation model (COM) to explain language variation in Singapore. Her model is premised on the fact that English in Singapore has to fulfil two functions: as a global language and as a means of intra-ethnic communication and social networking. She stated that 'Speakers of Singapore English vary their style of speaking by negotiating fluidly within a multidimensional space framed by bipolar cultural perspectives' (Alsagoff 2007: 44), one global and the other local. The use of International Singapore English (ISE) is associated with formality, distance and authority and symbolizes educational attainment and economic value. Conversely, the use of Local Singapore English (LSE) has associations with informality, camaraderie, equality and membership within a community and has value as sociocultural capital. The use of ISE or LSE is determined both by speakers' competence in the language and by whether they choose to use English for global or local purposes.

The indexical approach is another approach by Leimgruber (2012, as cited in Low 2014: 444), who posited that the use of Standard Singapore English and the other languages or dialects that reside within Singapore (e.g., Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, Chinese dialects) are used with indexical social meanings. These are understood by the interlocutors of the speech communities, which are both international and intranational. Leimgruber further stated that classifying the varieties in the geographical origin within Singapore from simply a linguistic perspective would yield little significance. The varieties must be seen in light of Singaporeans code-switching between the various varieties that occur not only to the colloquial but also to the totally different linguistic codes for reasons of style and social indexing. This subsequently brings into question what really constitutes 'English' in the Standard Singapore English context.

To turn to Malaysia, according to Baskaran (2004), as reported in Tan and Low (2010), there are two categories of Malay speakers: the Austronesians and the Austroasiatics. The migrant population comprises Chinese, Indians, Arabs, Eurasians, Thais and Europeans, each of whom speak a host of different languages. Table 17.2 summarizes the languages spoken by the different ethnic groups residing in Malaysia.

Table 17.2 Languages spoken by the different ethnic groups in Malaysia

Ethnic group	*Languages spoken*
Austronesians: Malays in West Malaysia, Kadazans of Sabah and Dayaks of Sarawak	Bahasa Melayu Kadazan Iban
Austroasiatics: Malays in West Malaysia	Bahasa Melayu Temiar
Settler population: Chinese, Indians, Arabs, Eurasians, Thais and Europeans	Hokkien, Cantonese, Hakka, Teochew, Hainanese, Mandarin Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, Punjabi, Bengali, Gujerati, Singhalese Arab Thai Bahasa Melayu

Source: cf. Baskaran 2004, p. 1034.

Baskaran (1987) and Morais (2000) talked about three subvarieties of Malaysian English. The acrolectal variety of Malaysian English is similar to Standard English, while the mesolectal variety tends to have more colloquial elements and is usually spoken rather than written. An educated speaker of Malaysian English will use the acrolectal variety of Malaysian English for formal speech situations or when communicating with speakers from other countries and may switch to the mesolectal variety for communication in less formal situations. The third category, the basilect, is considered the uneducated style of speech communication. Baskaran (2004, 2005) suggested new names for the different varieties of Malaysian English, such as Official Malaysian English (previously the acrolect), Unofficial Malaysian English (previously the mesolect) and Broken Malaysian English (previously the basilect).

In terms of categorizing the developmental phases of English in Singapore and Malaysia, Schneider (2007: 148, 155) suggested that Malaysia is in Phase 3 (nativization), while Singapore has moved on to Phase 4 (endonormative stabilization), as articulated in his dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes (see also this volume).

Schneider's model is influenced by scholarship on language contact and the idea of linguistic ecologies (Mufwene 2001). He theorized that, in the evolution of a variety of language, there is a constant process of competition and selection of features available to the speakers from a 'feature pool of possible linguistic choices' (Schneider 2007: 21). As speakers select from this pool, they redefine the expression of their social and linguistic identities and adjust their speech patterns depending on whom they wish to associate with. Varieties of English classified as being in Phase 3 tend to show a marked local accent with great variability in terms of the range of the sociolinguistic accent (Schneider 2007: 44), while varieties of English classified as being in Phase 4 tend to demonstrate more linguistic homogeneity in their language, as some linguistic stabilization has occurred (Schneider 2007: 51).

In what follows, the description of the features of English in Singapore and Malaysia will focus on the standard varieties. Standard Singapore English (SgE) refers to the variety of English used by educated speakers for formal speech occasions, while Standard MalE will be used to refer to the variety that has been described as the acrolect or Official Malaysian English.

Linguistic features of Standard Singapore and Malaysian English

Lexis

Most of the lexical items that have been documented in previous scholarship tend to be from the colloquial variety of Singapore English (Lim and Wee 2001; Wee 2004a, 2004b). However, there are also studies that have focused on features of lexical items that appear in both Standard and Colloquial Singapore English, and some of these studies also provide a comparison with MalE or focus solely on MalE (Lowenberg 1984; Wee 1998; G. Lim 2001; Ooi 2001; Tan 2001; Tan and Azirah 2007).

Several categories can be used to describe the lexical innovations that occur in both SgE and MalE, and a few key ones will be highlighted here. Note that in many of the examples given in the following, when they do appear in Standard SgE and MalE, even in the local newspapers or in speeches, these lexical innovations are used when no Standard English equivalents can fully express the intended meaning.

1 Lexical borrowings: This is the most commonly described lexical word-formation process described in both varieties. Borrowings occur widely in Standard British or American English, and when these loanwords from other languages become commonly used, they are accepted as part of the English language. Examples of such loanwords into Standard English are: *acronym* (from Greek), *data* (from Latin), *garage* (from French), *ketchup* (from French) and *noodle* (from German), to name a few (see Leong et al. 2006: 51 for more examples). Tan and Azirah (2007) identified the following categories of borrowings for MalE and, as a native speaker of SgE, I would consider these to occur in Singapore as well. The bulk of the borrowings into MalE are from Malay, while in the case of SgE, borrowings from Hokkien and Tamil are also common.

   a Linked to food: *durian* (tropical thorny fruit), *mee goreng* (fried noodles, normally spicy), *rojak* (mixed salad in prawn paste sauce), *teh tarik* (from Malay: sweetened milk tea which is tossed from a jug to a cup to create froth). One obvious area of difference occurs when Singaporeans do not have the equivalent food items. For example, *pesembur* (from Tamil), a spicy salad dish, is found only in Malaysian English.
   b Linked to culture and religious practices: *kampong* (from Malay meaning 'village' or 'home town'), *bomoh* (from Malay meaning 'medicine man with supernatural powers'), *surau* (place of prayer for Muslims). Words more closely associated with MalE include *penghulu* (from Malay referring to the headman of the village) and *bumiputra* (from Malay meaning 'the original inhabitants of the land').
   c Linked to daily life, description of character traits: For this category, MalE and SgE are quite distinct, which clearly shows different concerns about daily life and character traits. In MalE, for example, *lepak* is used to refer to someone who is idle and likes to waste time, and *lesen terbang* refers to a driving licence that is obtained illegally. Exclusive to SgE, we have *kiasu* (a Hokkien borrowing referring to the fear of losing out which motivates behaviour such as rushing for good deals or hoarding library books, all in an effort to get ahead), *cheem* (from Hokkien to describe something as being deep and profound) and *siong* (from Hokkien, literally meaning 'injured' but more often used to describe the immensity of a task assigned).

2 Compounding: This process refers to two words being joined together to form a new word. In SgE, compound words include: *shophouse* (a shop where the owners live

upstairs), *outstation* (referring to being overseas), *neighbourhood school* (to refer to schools around the neighbourhood where one lives and which do not usually enjoy high prestige compared to the independent schools, which are partially privately funded and which attract the best students academically). Note that while *shophouse* and *outstation* are found in both varieties, MalE does not have the equivalent compounds for schools because of the differences in the school system.

3 Blending: This refers to a process where parts of two different words are combined to form a new word. In SgE, a *distripark* is a distribution park or a warehouse complex.

4 Clipping: This refers to the process of shortening a word without changing its word class. In SgE, some examples of clipping include: *air-con* (for air conditioner), *Taka* (to refer to the shopping chain called Takashimaya).

5 Back-formation: This refers to a process where a word is shortened, but, in the process of shortening, its word class has also changed. An example of back-formation in SgE and MalE is the verb *stinge*, formed from the adjective 'stingy' to refer to someone who is overly careful with finances to the extent of being miserly.

6 Conversion: This refers to a process where the word class changes. An example from SgE and MalE is *arrow*, as in 'The boss likes to *arrow* the difficult tasks to me'.

7 Acronyms abound in SgE and MalE. In SgE, many acronyms are formed which refer to the infrastructure of the country, such as major expressways like *BKE* for Bukit Timah Expressway, *CTE* for Central Expressway and the underground transport system *MRT* for Mass Rapid Transit. An example of an acronym used in both varieties is *MC* for medical certificate.

8 Derivation: This refers to adding suffixes to root words. In SgE, some borrowings undergo derivational processes. For example, *kiasuism* is the noun form of *kiasu* (defined earlier). A MalE example is *lepaking*, which is the verb form of the adjective *lepak* (defined earlier).

9 Lexical innovations (coinages): There is also a whole category of words which are either completely new words in SgE and MalE or which are created to describe particular things or phenomena that are unique to each country. Lim (2001) studied lexical borrowings used in the local newspapers *The Straits Times*, *The Singapore Times* and *The New Straits Times* (Malaysia) from 1993 to 1995 and listed clearly differentiated uniquely Singaporean and uniquely Malaysian lexical items. The uniquely Singaporean items refer to things or phenomena pertaining to lifestyle. For example, *killer litter* refers to rubbish discarded from high-rises which may end up killing someone by accident. Examples from urban transport include *ez-link* card, a stored-value cashcard which can be used for all forms of public transport. Examples from education include *TLLM*, meaning Teach Less Learn More; *PERI*, meaning Primary Education Review and Implementation committee and *allied educators* (teaching assistants who do not possess a teaching certification but assist teachers in classrooms).

Ooi (2001) grouped the lexical items found in Standard SgE and MalE into different categories, namely Group A (words used and known globally, such as *durian*, *lychee*, *samfoo*), Group B (words accepted in formal situations, such as *love letters*, a delicacy served during the new year season) and Group C (words widely accepted and used, such as *bumiputra*, as earlier defined). The other two groups pertain to informal, colloquial SgE and MalE, which are not the focus of this chapter.

Syntax

Most of the syntactic features described in previous work on SgE tend to focus on colloquial Singapore English (Ho and Platt 1993; Ho 1995; Alsagoff and Ho 1998; Alsagoff 2001; Lim and Wee 2001; Wee 2004a, 2004b; Low and Brown 2005). As this chapter focuses on features of Standard SgE and MalE, only features of the standard varieties will be highlighted. They are rather few, since the syntax of Standard SgE and MalE generally resembles that of Standard English.

1 Noun phrase structure: Article deletion is common in Standard SgE and MalE, especially when referring to a particular designation of a person, usually of senior rank, even in cases of formal communication. For example, *Director/Boss has asked for the admission numbers for all initial teacher preparation programmes for the July 2009 intake*.

2 Verb phrase structure:

   a A notable occurrence in both SgE and MalE, even in formal writing, is the tendency for agreement to take place with the nearest noun rather than the head of the noun phrase, for example, *The criteria for assessing the student needs to be spelt out clearer* (where Standard English would prefer 'need', since 'criteria' is in the plural form).
   b Another feature is the use of 'would' to indicate politeness or tentativeness and as a marker of the irrealis aspect (Alsagoff and Ho 1998: 141). Thus 'would' is often used when 'will' would be used in Standard English. An example is, *It is likely that the implementation of the recommendations of the programme review effort would take place by 2012*.
   c The habitual aspect is expressed using the adverb 'always'. An example of this is *I always see her leaving at 7 p.m. every day*. The perfective aspect is commonly expressed using the adverb 'already', as in *I have already given her the slides for the meeting*. In Standard English, the use of 'already' is not necessary. Bao (2018: 135) commented that the novel use of 'already' has two robust meanings which are easily identified: the perfective and the inchoative. The perfective is straightforward, while the inchoative 'is used to convey the start of a new state of affairs or actions, which is often expressed by the adverb now in English' (2018: 136).

3 Adverb phrase structure: there is a preference for certain adverbs. For example, 'actually' and 'basically' are mainly used as hedges. For example, *I basically want to let you know about the rules and regulations* and *There is actually a need to hold a meeting next week*.

The discourse/pragmatic particles which have been the focus of much previous research will not be described here, since they are unequivocally linked with colloquial, informal usage in both varieties (e.g. Wee 1998, 2002, 2003; Low and Brown 2005: 175–80; Lim 2007).

Phonology

The description of the phonology of Standard SgE and MalE will focus on the segmental inventory of vowels and consonants as documented in previous research and then sketch briefly the suprasegmental features (lexical stress placement and rhythm) and sociophonetic features.

Vowels

Wells' (1982) standard lexical sets will be used for the description of the vowel phonemic inventory of SgE and MalE. These were also used by Kortmann and Schneider (2004) in their description of the vowels of varieties of English around the world. The phonemic vowel inventory (Table 17.3) mirrors the one provided by Low (2010a), Low and Brown (2005)

Table 17.3 Phonemic vowel inventory of SgE and MalE

BrE (Lim 2004)	*SSE (Lim 2004)*	*Standard SgE and MalE*	*Keywords*
ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	KIT
ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	DRESS
æ	æ	ɛ	TRAP
ɒ	ɒ	ɔ	LOT
ʌ	ʌ	ʌ	STRUT
ʊ	ʊ	ʊ	FOOT
ɑː	ɑː	–	BATH
ɒ	ɒ	–	CLOTH
ɜː	ɜː	ə	NURSE
iː	iː	ɪ	FLEECE
eɪ	eɪ	ɛ	FACE
ɑː	ɑː	ʌ	PALM
ɔː	ɔː	ɔ	THOUGHT
oʊ	oʊ	oʊ	GOAT
uː	uː	ʊ	GOOSE
aɪ	aɪ	aɪ	PRICE
ɔɪ	ɔɪ	ɔi	CHOICE
aʊ	aʊ	ɑʊ	MOUTH
ɪə	ɪə	iə	NEAR
ɛə	ɛ	ɛ	SQUARE
ɑː	ɑː	–	START
ɔː	ɔː	–	NORTH
ɔː	ɔː	–	FORCE
ʊə	ʊə	ʊə	POOR
Similar to 'poor'	Similar to 'poor'	–	CURE
ɪ	i	–	HAP<u>PY</u>
ə	ə	ə	LET<u>TER</u>
ə	ə	ə	COM<u>MA</u>

for SgE and the description provided by Tan and Azirah (2007). British English (BrE) as described by Lim (2004) will be used as a convenient reference point.

The conflation of the long/short vowel pairs and the /e/ and /æ/ vowels for MalE was observed by Tan and Azirah (2007). Tan and Low (2010) did an acoustic measurement of the vowels produced by ten speakers each of SgE and MalE, comprising five females and five males from each variety. The results are summarized subsequently and confirm that, as far as the vowel qualities of all vowel pairs are concerned, there is substantial overlap, and they therefore can be considered conflated in both varieties. However, in terms of durational differences, it is clear that only /ɒ, ɔː/ was conflated in MalE. As argued by Azirah and Tan (2012: 58), 'It is likely that this is influenced by Malay which does not possess long vowels.' Tan and Low (2010: 171) noted, however, that 'the realisation of the front and central vowels tend[ed] to be longer in MalE compared to SgE while the back vowels in SgE tend to be longer than the MalE back vowels with the exception of /ɒ/.' For all other vowel pairs, however, there was a significant difference between the long and short vowel pairs (see Table 17.4).

Table 17.4 A comparison of vowel pairs in SgE and MalE

Vowel pairs	*SgE*	*MalE*
/iː, ɪ/	Males: conflated Females: conflated Difference in vowel length	Males: conflated Females: conflated Difference in vowel length
/e, æ/	Males: some overlap, both vowels at about same height, /æ/ slightly more fronted than /e/ Females: overlap	Males: some overlap, /æ/ appears slightly more fronted and lower than /e/ Females: overlap
/ʌ, ɑː/	Males: conflation Females: overlap Difference in vowel length	Males: some overlap, /ʌ/ generally higher Females: overlap Difference in vowel length
/ɒ, ɔː/	Males: /ɔː/ more back, generally a little higher Females: some differentiation, /ɔː/ more back, generally a little higher Difference in vowel length	Males: vowel quality not differentiated Females: vowel quality not differentiated No difference in vowel length
/ ʊ, uː/	Males: vowel pair not differentiated Females: not differentiated Difference in vowel length	Males: vowel pair not differentiated Females: not differentiated Difference in vowel length

Monophthongization of the BrE diphthongs is described in both varieties. For example, /eɪ/ is realized as long monophthong /ɛː/ (with a quality between /e/ and /æ/), while /əʊ/ is realized as the long monophthong /oː/. This supports findings by Deterding (2000) and Lee and Lim (2000).

Impressionistic observations of SgE indicate that Singaporeans treat words which contain triphthongs in BrE as two syllables with a glide insertion. For example, [aɪ.jə.] instead of [aɪə] and [aʊ.wə] instead of [aʊə], and this is in alignment with the findings of Lim and Low's (2005) acoustic and perceptual study.

Consonants

In terms of the consonantal features of SgE and MalE, Low and Brown (2005) agree with Bao's (1998) analysis that, at the acrolectal level, the consonantal inventory hardly differs from BrE. However, in quick speech, even in formal circumstances, several consonantal features have been observed.

1 Consonant cluster simplification. Both varieties note this phenomenon (Lim 2004; Wee 2004a; Deterding 2007; Tan and Azirah 2007).
2 Replacement of dental fricatives with alveolar plosives. This is noted by Tan and Azirah (2007) for MalE and studied acoustically by Moorthy and Deterding (2000), who investigated the use of dental fricatives in Singapore English but found it very difficult to establish the exact acoustic correlates of the realization of [t] compared to [θ].
3 Lack of aspiration of initial /p, t, k/. Tan (2011) did an acoustic study on whether word-initial voiceless plosives were unaspirated in SgE and MalE and found that there was a significant difference between the duration of the aspiration for SgE compared to MalE.
4 The replacement of final consonants with glottal stops appears to be most common with voiceless final plosives, as also noted by Brown and Deterding (2005) for SgE and for

MalE by Tan and Azirah (2007). Gut (2005) conducted a detailed acoustic study and confirmed that word-final plosives are either unreleased or replaced by glottal stops.

5 The vocalization of [l] was investigated by Tan (2005) for Singapore English. His perceptual test confirmed that Singaporeans do vocalize dark /1/.

6 Kwek (2017) reported the presence of variation in Singapore English /r/ which saw the occurrence of the labiodental /r/, taps/trills and the post-alveolar approximant /r/ determined by both linguistic (e.g. phonological environment, word class) and non-linguistic factors (e.g. age, cross-linguistic influences, speech style), contributing to the understanding of /r/ variation and change in the context of social indexicality.

Stress

In terms of word or lexical stress placement, SgE and MalE both have a tendency to lengthen the final syllables of polysyllabic words that occur at the end of sentences, to the extent that stress is perceived on these syllables. However, stress returns to the initial position, as found in BrE, when the polysyllabic word is placed in sentence-medial position. Examples are:

She did it carefulLY (final position)
She CAREfully removed his stitches (medial position)

In BrE, compounds are generally stressed on the first item, but noun phrases are stressed on the second item (the noun). Thus, stress on ‘eng’ in ENGlish teacher refers to the compound noun meaning ‘someone who teaches English’, while stress on ‘teach’ in *English TEACHer* refers to the noun phrase meaning ‘a teacher from England’. SgE and MalE speakers tend to stress the final syllable ‘er’ in both the compound and noun phrases mentioned above.

In BrE, some words are stressed differently according to the grammatical category they belong to. For example, when ‘convert’ is used as a noun, stress is on the first syllable, as in *CONvert*; but when it is used as a verb, stress moves to the second syllable, as in *conVERT*. In SgE and MalE, however, both words, whether used as a noun or as a verb, are stressed on the second syllable.

Finally, stress can occur later in some words when compared to BrE, as shown in Table 17.5:

Table 17.5 A comparison of lexical stress placement in BrE and SgE/MalE

BrE (nouns)	*COLleague*		*CALendar*	
SgE/MalE		*colLEAGUE*		*caLENdar*
BrE (verb)	*INculcate*			
SgE/MalE		*inCULcate*		
BrE (adjective)		*COMpetent*		
SgE/MalE		*comPEtent*		

Rhythm

Research documenting the rhythmic differences between SgE and BrE has been extensive (Low et al. 2000; Deterding 2001; Low 2006). Tan and Low (2014) and Tan (2011) have acoustically compared the rhythmic patterning of SgE and MalE. All studies point to the fact that SgE and MalE are more syllable-based (where syllables receive more or less equal timing) than stress-based (where stresses are more nearly equal in timing). The absence of reduced vowels for unstressed function words, the absence of linking between words, the replacement of final voiceless plosives with glottal stops and the absence of a distinction between long and short vowels all appear to contribute to the syllable-based characteristics of SgE and MalE.

Tan and Low (2014: 196) further found that the 'Analysis of the syllables in specific utterances showed that Malaysian speakers did not reduce vowels as much as Singaporean speakers in cases of syllables in utterances.' The researchers had used two rhythmic indexes: PVI, which found significant differences; and VarcoV, which returned fewer significant differences between SgE and MaIE. VarcoV measures standard deviation of vowel durations in the utterance, while PVI measures successive vowel durations. When PVI values differed between MalE and SgE in the read passage, there was no correlation found between them. This implies the rhythmic differences between SgE and MaIE are better captured by considering successive vowel durations (2014: 211).

Sociophonetic features

The linkage between the education levels of users and their socioeconomic status (SES) in SgE was investigated by Tan (2012), who sought to determine if there was any correlation between the occurrence of postvocalic-r, intrusive-r and linking-r. It was found that speakers of both higher education levels and SES were more likely to produce the postvocalic-r, while speakers of lower education levels and SES would likely produce intrusive-r. Tan also looked into the attitudes of SgE speakers when using postvocalic-r and intrusive-r and found that speakers who used postvocalic-r were seen by peers in a more positive light, as compared to speakers who used intrusive-r. These would show that postvocalic-r and intrusive-r are categorical phonological processes and are motivated by the social factors of the speakers.

After an extensive search of various library databases, however, sociophonetic features in MaIE do not seem to be a pertinent area of focus of researchers. It would be an interesting area to look into. Likewise, sociophonetic features in SgE could also benefit from more extensive research.

Conclusion and directions for further research

This chapter has described the main differences in language policies adopted by Singapore and Malaysia in the post-independent years and outlined key linguistic features of both varieties of English. What is noteworthy is that, while clear differences do exist, there are still many similarities between the two varieties. Another point worthy of mention is that many recent lexical and syntactic studies have been based on large corpora, while phonological research has been assisted tremendously by acoustic analysis. These findings have helped to provide clear empirical evidence to either validate or refute earlier impressionistic observations.

As stated earlier in this chapter, Schneider suggested that MalE is in Phase 3 of the dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes, where there is more variation (Schneider 2007: 56), while SgE is in Phase 4, where there is greater linguistic homogeneity. Schneider's (2004, 2007) dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes comprises a five-stage cycle. Phase 3 (known as 'nativization') occurs when colonial ties are severely weakened, normally allowing the country to establish independence. In this situation, bilingualism (or even multilingualism) would often be a feature of the country's linguistic landscape. There also would be competing norms, as the educated (in colonial ways) elite would incline themselves to the colonial external norms. Yet, the 'non-educated' would start to nativize English (in lexis, phonology and syntax) and adapt it to the local context. Phase 4 (known as 'endonormative stabilization') occurs when the country is self-governing and local norms and literary creativity are accepted. Homogeneity of the variety has been stabilized. The present survey of linguistic features, however, has shown that while there are differences between SgE and MalE, they are still not yet compelling enough to show clearly that MalE is indeed in Phase 3 and SgE in Phase 4 of the dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes. One could argue that the Singlish variety has been stabilized, but there is still much contention between Singapore Standard English and Singapore Colloquial English. Perhaps what can be surmised from the present chapter is that the varieties of English in these two countries are diverging. In the light of the Malaysian government's recent decision to revert to teaching mathematics and science in Bahasa Malaysia in place of English, it is possible that this divergence will gradually increase. Further research is needed which can help shed more light on the evolution and developmental cycles of these two neighbouring varieties of English.

Furthermore, MalE and SgE may be further investigated from the broader perspectives of World Englishes. This would be most fruitful if these two varieties are examined in comparison, given the fact that Malaysia and Singapore are geographically close together and both countries are becoming increasingly international (Low 2014). To this end, we may position MaIE and SgE within the Kachruvian (Kachru 1982) three circles of English model and Schneider's (2004, 2007) dynamic model of postcolonial Englishes, as I have mentioned in previous publications (Low 2010b, 2014), though I primarily looked at SgE. It would thus be interesting to conduct further research on the interaction between MaIE and SgE within these two models, namely (1) both varieties of English are viewed from a worldwide acquisitional perspective (i.e., whether each variety of English is acquired or spoken as a native, first or second language) and (2) both varieties of English are viewed as part of a developmental cycle. Other interesting findings may result from investigating the impact of colonialism and the effects of globalisation on both varieties.

Suggestions for further reading

Deterding, D. (2007) *Dialects of English: Singapore English*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. (Covers the background, phonetics and phonology, morphosyntax, lexis and history of Singapore English and also includes an annotated bibliography.)

Lim, L. (ed.) (2004) *Singapore English: A Grammatical Description*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins. (A thorough account of contemporary Singapore English with detailed coverage of the phonology, lexis and syntax of this variety and predictions about its future evolution.)

Low, E.L. and Brown, A. (2005) *English in Singapore: An Introduction*, Singapore: McGraw-Hill (Education) Asia. (A readable introductory pack to beginning scholars in the field which contains key references and an annotated bibliography to guide future research.)

Ooi, V. (ed.) (2001) *Evolving Identities: The English language in Singapore and Malaysia*, Singapore: Times Academic Press. (A useful collection that is the first comparing both varieties of English.)

Tan, R.S.K. and Low, E.L. (2010) 'How different are the monophthongs of Malay speakers of Malaysian and Singapore English?' *English World-Wide*, 31(2): 162–89. (A useful acoustic comparison between the two varieties that extends our understanding of these two varieties.)

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18
English in Japan

Yuko Takeshita

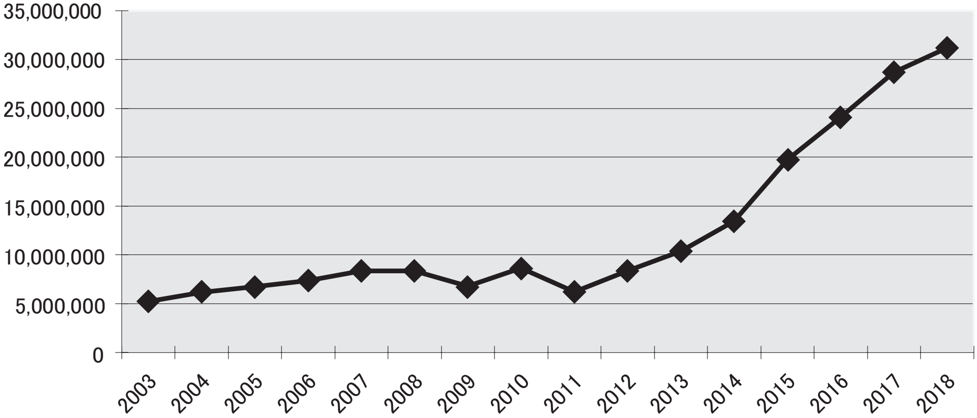
Introduction

Japan seems to have been aware of its need to become a more "visible" and "audible" country even before the International Olympic Committee made its decision in 2013 to hold the 2020 Olympics and Paralympics in Tokyo. Some twenty years prior to the time when not only Tokyoites but also many citizens across Japan started to anticipate this international event, then-Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi decided on a policy to make Japan attractive for tourists, with the aim of doubling the number of inbound tourists to 10 million by 2010. Accordingly, the Visit Japan Campaign was launched in 2003, the Tourism Nation Promotion Basic Law was enacted in 2007, and the Japan Tourism Agency (JTA) was inaugurated in 2008 as an external agency of the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT) "to enhance tourism-related measures, towards the ultimate goal of creating a tourism nation" (JTA). With the government's initiatives, Japan started to transform itself into a tourism-oriented country. The number of international visitors to Japan steadily increased, even after the 2011 Tohoku Earthquake and Tsunami. Although a great majority of these tourists come from East Asian countries and districts, the English language seemed to be the best means to reach out to as many visitors as possible.

Efforts to make Japan a foreigner-friendly country

In September 2013, the Commissioner of the JTA proclaimed that the Agency would take advantage of the increased attention to Japan as host country of the Olympics to advertise its charm and attractiveness as well as improving the environment for welcoming inbound foreigners. The plans, based on foreign travellers' complaints, included the use of multilingual signs and brochures, making public transport easier for foreigners to use, the introduction of cashless payment and westernized public lavatories, and so on.

Renewing road signposts was part of this project. A good example is the road sign at the traffic lights by the Japanese Diet building (the centre of the Japanese government), which used to read "国会前", meaning "in front of the National Diet" with "*Kokkai*" in the Roman alphabet appearing under the Japanese characters. "*Kokkai*" showed how the Japanese



Graph 18.1 The number of inbound international visitors since the start of the Visit Japan Campaign

Old	New
国 会 前 Kokkai	国 会 前 The National Diet
総 理 官 邸 前 Sorikanteimae	総 理 官 邸 前 Prime Minister’s Office
六 本 木 通 り Roppongi dori	六 本 木 通 り Roppongi-dori Ave.

Figure 18.1 Improvement of road signposts in Tokyo

phrase might be pronounced in English but did not explain what it actually meant. In 2013, “*Kokkai*,” was removed from the sign and replaced with the English “The National Diet”. Figure 18.1 indicates examples of the changes made to signs in the Tokyo Metropolitan area. The Japanese linguistic landscape thus started to look different.

Thus, efforts have been made and money has been spent, but, with the increase of international visitors visiting places that are not major tourist spots, the task is only half completed. As the *White Paper on Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism Japan 2018* reported:

> In order to create road signs that are easy for all users to understand, including foreign visitors, we introduced a "numbering" system for expressways, in addition to route names, for Japan's developing expressway network. Cooperating with the different road administrators, we pushed forward with the development, aiming to be almost complete by 2020. Also, we improved the display of English on road information signs at 49 major tourist sites nationwide and other places in coordination with the information signs of various organizations and also promoted the display of the names of tourist sites on intersection name signs at famous tourist destinations and places of interest.
>
> *(MLIT, 2017, p. 151)*

International tourists' travelling experience has also been changing, as English announcements may be heard much more frequently. Recorded announcements, in most cases by native speakers of English, have long been part of the services for passengers on bullet trains and other major lines. Traditionally, the recordings, after welcoming the passengers on board, may give various pieces of information such as what the terminal is, at which stations the train stops, which cars are for passengers without seat reservations, in which cars smoking is allowed, where and/or when internet connection service is available, where and how passengers can stow large items of luggage, where the conductor is, which side of the carriage the exit may be, to whom priority seats need to be offered, and so on. These have traditionally only been announced in Japanese, and the English versions heard today are basically translations of the original Japanese messages.

Recently, however, conductors and station employees have started to make announcements themselves, giving information both on board and at stations. For example, conductors now announce unexpected happenings such as a railway crossing accident or a failure of signal lights which could prevent passengers from arriving at their destinations on time. Japanese guidance such as to which lines have been affected by the accident, which train to take instead, or when the problem is expected to be solved can help Japanese passengers avoid the inconvenience as much as possible. Without such information in English, however, non-speaking Japanese travellers are left uncared for. Whenever and wherever possible, therefore, this information is now being provided to international travellers in English.

As this is a very recent innovation, many conductors and other employees do not have a good command of English. Therefore, in-house instruction courses, on-the-job training, and online English lessons have been introduced to improve their English, especially in the big railroad companies such as the Central Japan Railway Company. Their policy is to gradually increase the number of English announcements not only on bullet trains but also on normal lines.

Multilingual services are also needed to address specific needs in emergencies such as sudden illnesses and injuries and natural disasters. The Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake in Kobe in January 1995 taught harsh lessons concerning the country's lack of multilingual services for those who could not obtain information through Japanese. This gigantic earthquake claimed the lives of more than 6,433, including 174 foreign nationals. A great majority of these foreigners were not native speakers of English but of Korean, and yet they were disadvantaged in not being able to access information about the scale of the disaster, evacuation centres, relief measures, and so on. People have gradually come to realize that, as Japanese cities are becoming increasingly diverse in terms of their populations, they therefore need to build an inclusive society, and this includes providing information in languages other than Japanese.

An overall comparison between the 1995 earthquake and the 2011 Tōhoku Earthquake and Tsunami may not be appropriate because they are two different disasters that occurred at different times and places, but some comparisons are instructive. For example, it is clear that more foreigners were able to access information in 2011. With the establishment in 1995 of organizations such as the Center for Multicultural Information and Assistance and the provision of multilingual information by the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations that now gives emergency information in nine languages (English, Chinese, Korean, Portuguese, Thai, Spanish, Tagalog, Indonesian, and Vietnamese), multilingual services are clearly improving (Tamura, 2012).

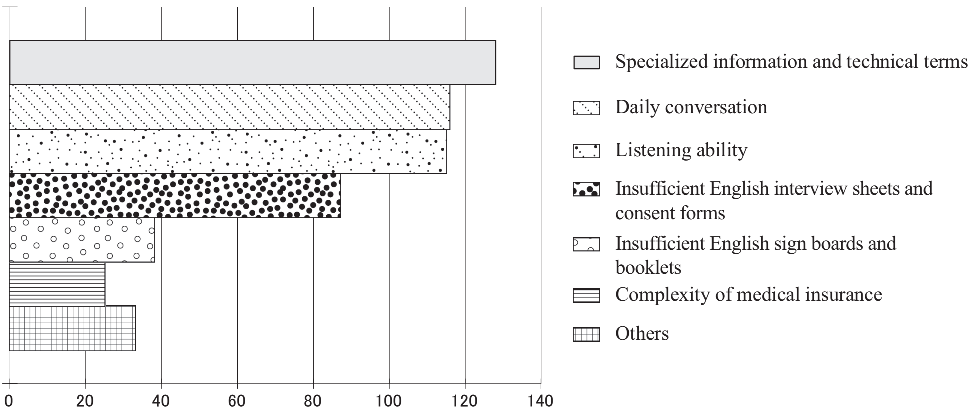
More information in English which warns of an approaching natural disaster is now also available. The website of Japan's Meteorological Agency, for example, provides information in English so that those who do not read Japanese may obtain up-to-date information on weather conditions. The approach of Typhoon Hagibis in October 2019 was reported in English in great detail.

People without a good command of Japanese may face difficulties when medical care is needed. A survey conducted in 2010 in Hyogo Prefecture indicates that Japan is in dire need of improving its medical care system, with the establishment of licensed professional medical interpreters being seen as particularly important. The purpose of the survey was to understand the way non-Japanese people were getting medical attention in hospitals, how healthcare professionals were responding to their needs, and what the problems and issues might be. Some important findings were (Nakata et al., 2011):

1 Approximately 10% of the healthcare providers treated foreign patients at least once a month, using or trying to use several languages such as English, Chinese, and Korean;
2 They had difficulties in communicating with the patients;
3 Documents and booklets regarding medical care procedures were poorly prepared;
4 Public medical interpretation services were insufficient.

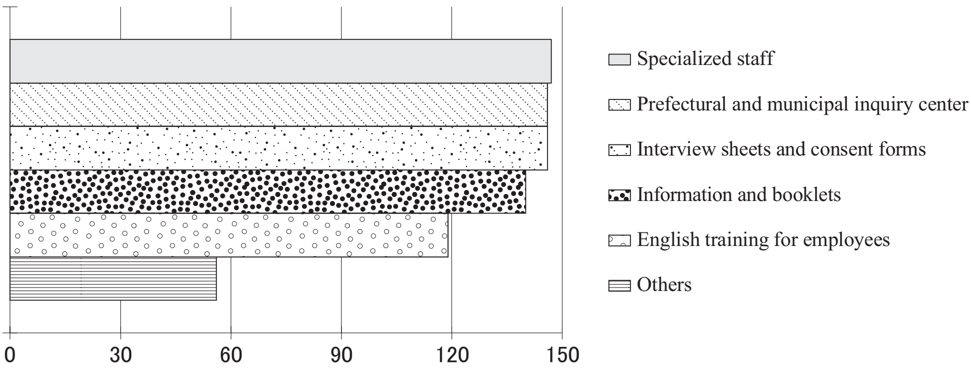
Graphs 18.2 and 18.3 show the number of respondents who reported problems dealing with non-Japanese speaking patients and where they felt multilingual services were required.

Japanese medical institutions are also facing the challenges in being recognized as being of high international standard. In order to be accredited by the Joint Commission



Graph 18.2 Difficulties in dealing with foreign patients

N = 320 (Nakata et al., 2011, p. 335)



Graph 18.3 Multilingual services that need to be prepared
N = 320 (Nakata et al., 2011, p. 335)

International (JCI), which aims "to improve the safety and quality of care in the international community through the provision of education, publications, consultation, and evaluation services," (JCI) multilingualization and multiculturalization are two essential factors.

In one area, however, Japanese society is becoming comparatively multicultural, which may promote more multilingualism or at least stimulate governments and citizens into awareness of languages other than Japanese. Recent big names in the sports world are good examples of Japan becoming more multicultural. These athletes have Japanese nationality but are conspicuous either because they look "different," have a "non-Japanese" name, or do not speak Japanese fluently. Examples of such athletes include: Matthew Baker, a judo player and gold medalist in the 2016 Rio Olympics, who has an American father; Naomi Osaka, a professional tennis player representing Japan, who was born in Japan to a Haitian father and a Japanese mother but who only speaks halting Japanese; Asuka Cambridge, a Japanese track and field sprinter and silver medalist in the 2016 Olympics, who was born in Jamaica to a Japanese mother and a Jamaican father; Abdul Hakim Sani Brown, a sprinter who qualified for the 2020 Olympic Games and who was born to a Japanese mother and a Ghanaian father; Rui Hachimura, a Japanese professional basketball player for the Washington Wizards of the National Basketball Association, who was born in Japan to a Japanese mother and Beninese father.

While Japanese citizens cheer on these athletes, there still remains a special, if not prejudiced, feeling toward those who have a foreign parent. A newspaper article in July 2017 described the great accomplishment and potential of some of these athletes and concluded:

> In the Olympics and Paralympics we are hosting, Japanese athletes with diverse roots will accomplish results that have never been thought of with former Japanese players and will be given a great ovation. Such a scene will probably serve as a driving force for Japanese society to take a new step.
>
> *(Kitagawa, translated from Japanese by author)*

The title of this article, "'Half' athletes' accomplishments will change Japan," clearly indicates that a person with a non-Japanese parent is viewed as being 'half' Japanese. Whatever skills they may achieve and demonstrate could be explained by them not being fully Japanese. Linguistically speaking, people speaking English or any other foreign language are considered better because they are "half" Japanese, convincing "pure and true" Japanese that it is all right if they themselves can't speak English as well. If what Kitagawa meant by "a new step" for Japan was a move toward a more multicultural, multilingual, and diverse society, reaching the goal surely involves much awareness-raising among Japanese.

Unlike Japanese professional baseball teams, which have an upper limit of non-Japanese players who can be registered for the national team, the regulation concerning players' nationalities for the national rugby football team is rather relaxed, resulting in fifteen "non-Japanese" players among the thirty-one team members for the 2019 World Cup. In actual fact, the non-Japanese rugby players in the Japanese national team had either to be born in Japan or have at least one of six parents and grandparents born in Japan, or to have lived in Japan for thirty-six consecutive months. This has allowed many non-Japanese and non-Japanese-looking members to play for Japan, and this has created arguments among Japanese citizens over the composition of a "national" team. All this has occasioned much debate in Japan, providing Japanese with much food for thought over who the Japanese really are and how Japan might adopt and adapt to a multilingual and multicultural environment.

Japanese proficiency in English

Japanese commonly measure English proficiency by referring to standardized English proficiency tests. Here, two such tests will be used to indicate Japanese English language proficiency in comparison with some other Asian countries.

Test and Score Data Summary for TOEFL iBT Tests, published by Educational Testing Service (ETS), provides comparative test scores of 29 Asian countries for 2018. Japan ranked 27th. The total score is obtained by adding the scores from the four sections (reading, listening, writing, and speaking), with each having a maximum score of 30. Japanese takers' section score means were similar across the four skills (18 for reading, 18 for listening, 17 for writing, and 18 for speaking), giving them a total of 71.

As ETS does not report how many people in each country/region take this test, who they are, and how representative they are of each country's English learners, a simple comparison of the scores is not possible. In some countries and regions, the top elites might make up the majority of the examinees, while in others, including Japan, a wide variety of English learners may have taken the test just to measure their proficiency. Nonetheless, Japanese teachers, educators, administrators, critics, parents, and even the students themselves often refer to these scores self-deprecatingly and lament their poor performance.

Education First (EF) uses its EF English Proficiency Index (EF EPI) to measure Japanese English proficiency. The EF EPI for 2018 is based on test data obtained from more than 1,300,000 examinees around the world who took the EF Standard English Test (EF SET) in 2017. EF SET is an online English test of reading and listening skills designed to classify test takers' language abilities into one of the six levels established by the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). Sixty percent of the Japanese test takers were female, the median age of the test takers was 26, and 86% were under the age of 35. The EF EPI excludes from its index countries that had fewer than 400 test takers.

For many countries, the scores obtained in major cities were higher than their national average scores (EF, 2018, pp. 8–9). For example, the Shanghai and Beijing scores in 2018 were 57.91 and 54.80, respectively, while the Chinese national average was 51.94, and the

Table 18.1 TOEFL iBT total scores: All examinees, classified by geographic region and native country (Asia)

Rank	*Country or region*	*Total*
1	Singapore	98
2	India	95
3	Pakistan	92
4	Malaysia	90
5	Hong Kong	89
6	Philippines	88
7	Bangladesh	87
8	Indonesia	86
9	Korea, Republic of	84
9	Nepal	84
9	Sri Lanka	84
12	Korea, Democratic People's Republic of	83
12	Macao	83
12	Uzbekistan	83
12	Vietnam	83
16	Kazakhstan	82
16	Taiwan	82
18	Myanmar	81
19	Azerbaijan	80
19	China	80
21	Thailand	78
22	Mongolia	77
23	Turkmenistan	75
24	Kyrgyzstan	74
25	Afghanistan	72
25	Cambodia	72
27	Japan	71
28	Tajikistan	69
29	Lao, People's Democratic Republic	64

Source: Compiled from ETS.

Table 18.2 Japanese EF EPI scores between 2011 and 2018

Year	*Score*	*Rank/# of Countries and Regions*
2011	54.17	14/44
2012	55.14	22/54
2013	53.21	26/60
2014	52.88	26/63
2015	53.57	30/70
2016	51.69	35/72
2017	52.34	37/80
2018	51.80	49/88

Source: Compiled from EF, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018.

Table 18.3 EF EPI 2018 rankings (Asia)

Rank/# of Countries/Regions		*Country/Region*	*Score*
very high	3/88	Singapore	68.63
high	14/88	Philippines	61.84
	22/88	Malaysia	59.32
moderate	28/88	India	57.13
	30/88	Hong Kong SAR	56.38
	31/88	South Korea	56.27
	41/88	Vietnam	53.12
	44/88	Macao SAR	52.57
low	47/88	China	51.94
	48/88	Taiwan	51.88
	49/88	Japan	51.80
	50/88	Pakistan	51.66
	51/88	Indonesia	51.58
	58/88	Sri Lanka	49.39
	63/88	Bangladesh	48.72
	64/88	Thailand	48.54
very low	77/88	Azerbaijan	45.85
	80/88	Kazakhstan	45.19
	82/88	Myanmar	44.23
	84/88	Afghanistan	43.64
	85/88	Cambodia	42.86
	86/88	Uzbekistan	42.53

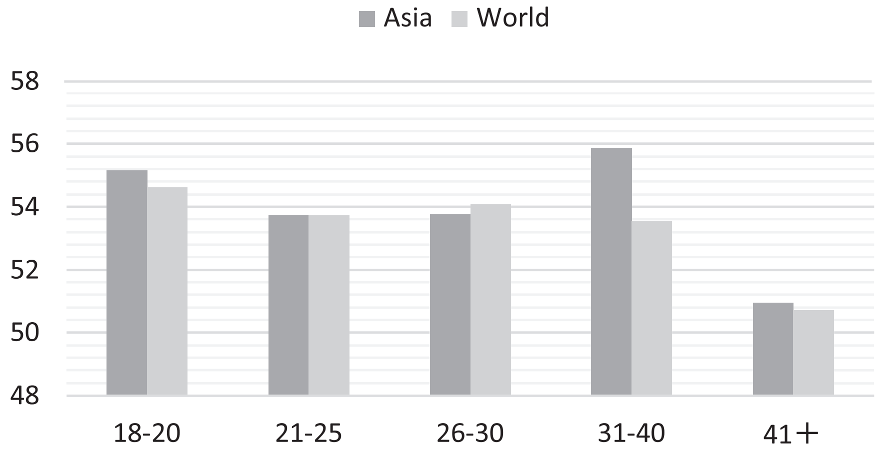
Source: Compiled from EF, 2018.

Seoul score was 58.72, while the Korean average was 56.27. Likewise, the Tokyo score was 55.13, while the national average was 51.80.

Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines, which belong to the outer circle, always rank very highly in both of the tests under consideration here. Some countries that ranked comparatively highly in TOEFL iBT did not perform that well in EF EPI because of the different characteristics of the test takers and their reasons for taking these tests. Many TOEFL iBT test-takers need the score for academic purposes, such as studying in tertiary educational institutions, while EF focuses more on adult learners and users of English in the workplace.

While EF notes the decline in the Japanese score (see subsequently), it also notes the country's move to becoming more multicultural. It also suggests that the country should make further efforts to improve people's English skills.

Japan's English proficiency declined slightly since last year, but even in this insular country, there are signs of change. Nearly 15% of companies in the Nikkei 225 now have at least one non-Japanese person on their boards, and the number of foreign workers in Japan exceeded one million for the first time in 2017. With its rapidly aging population, Japan would benefit from an influx of younger workers from abroad. English will become an official subject in primary school in 2020, but with no plans for teacher retraining, Japan will have to do more if it wants to raise its level of English. (EF EPI, 2018, p. 28)



Graph 18.4 EF EPI scores and their generation gaps
(Compiled from EF, 2018, p. 25)

Japan is a rapidly aging country, and this may influence its English proficiency. EF EPI scores show gaps between age groups around the world, with the greatest proficiency decline for those aged over 40. In the second half of 2018, the number of Japanese aged 70 or older exceeded one fifth of the whole population for the first time. The ageing population is likely to add to the decline in Japanese people's English proficiency unless the country seriously takes measures to maintain and improve adults' English skills in addition to contriving ways to improve the teaching of English in schools.

English education in the school environment

While their number is diminishing due to a declining birthrate, the percentage of young students continuing to study in tertiary education is increasing. According to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT, '*gakkou kihon chosa*'), the percentage of junior high school students going on to senior high school, including those in correspondence courses, has consistently been very high (98.4% in 2014 and 98.8% since 2017). Upon graduating from senior high school, 49.8% went on to 4-year and 2-year colleges and universities, a percentage which has gradually been increasing, that is, from 48.0% in 2014, to 49.2% in 2016 and to 49.6% in 2018. The percentage of high school students in Tokyo proceeding to the tertiary level was 63% in 2019. This was the highest among all 47 prefectures in Japan.

Language education for primary and secondary education follows the Courses of Study, stipulated by MEXT. The overall objectives are as follows.

Elementary school

> To form the foundation of pupils' communication abilities through foreign languages while developing the understanding of languages and cultures through various experiences, fostering a positive attitude toward communication, and familiarizing pupils with the sounds and basic expressions of foreign languages.
>
> *(MEXT, Course of Study, Elementary School, Chapter 4)*

Foreign languages for lower secondary school

I. OVERALL OBJECTIVE
To develop students' basic communication abilities such as listening, speaking, reading and writing, deepening their understanding of language and culture and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages.

II. OBJECTIVES AND CONTENTS FOR EACH LANGUAGE

English

1. Objectives

(1) To enable students to understand the speaker's intentions when listening to English.
(2) To enable students to talk about their own thoughts using English.
(3) To accustom and familiarize students with reading English and to enable them to understand the writer's intentions when reading English.
(4) To accustom and familiarize students with writing in English and to enable them to write about their own thoughts using English.

Other foreign languages

Instruction for foreign languages other than English should follow the objectives and contents of English instruction.

(MEXT, Course of Study, Lower Secondary School, Section 9)

Foreign languages for upper secondary school

Article 1 OVERALL OBJECTIVE

To develop students' communication abilities such as accurately understanding and appropriately conveying information, ideas, etc., deepening their understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages.

(MEXT, Course of Study, Upper Secondary School, Section 8)

English for upper secondary school

Article 1 OVERALL OBJECTIVE

To develop students' communication abilities such as accurately understanding and appropriately conveying information, ideas, etc., deepening their understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages.

Article 2 SUBJECTS

I. Comprehensive English

1. Objective
To further enhance students' abilities such as accurately understanding and appropriately conveying information, ideas, etc. and enable them to use such abilities in

> their social lives, while fostering a positive attitude toward communication through the English language.
>
> (MEXT, *Course of Study, Upper Secondary School*, Section 13)

Although the Courses of Study give guidelines for foreign language education in general, the overwhelming majority of schools choose English as the first foreign language. The total number of upper secondary schools in Japan in 2014 was 4,963, of which 15 were national, 3,628 were local, and 1,320 were private (MEXT, '*monbu kagaku toukei yoran*'). The number of schools that provide classes for foreign languages other than English, such as Chinese, Korean, French, German, and so on in the same year was only 708 (2 national, 512 local, and 194 private) or 14.3% of all upper secondary schools (MEXT, '*eigo igaino gaikokugo* . . . ').

In 2020, the new curriculum sees 5th and 6th graders in elementary schools studying English as an official subject for 70 course-hours per year, while 3rd and 4th graders will have some contact with the language in foreign language activity classes for 35 course-hours per year. In the new curriculum, the upper graders will be taught to read and write English formally for the first time, and because it is an official subject, the pupils have to be graded.

This is a big challenge for elementary schools, and a considerable number of teachers see this as an intimidating change in their teaching career. As English is a new subject for teachers to teach at the primary level, it was only in 2019 that MEXT started requiring the curriculum of teacher-training courses for elementary school to include English instruction. Those who are already in teaching positions in primary schools, therefore, have not been trained to teach foreign languages, because they were not expected to do so. Japanese elementary school teachers are usually responsible for one class and are called 'homeroom teachers'. Unlike high school teachers, homeroom teachers teach all subjects, but teaching English is a new and unexpected addition to their responsibilities.

According to a survey conducted in 2018, the total number of teachers in 19,336 schools who taught English as a subject was 8,121, while the number of those responsible for English activities was 80,072. Of the 8,121 English teachers, 5,133 (63%) were homeroom teachers. Of the 80,072 teachers teaching 'English activities', 60,566 (75.6%) were homeroom teachers (MEXT, '*heisei 30 nendo* . . . '). In order for all upper graders nationwide to receive English education as an official subject, homeroom teachers need to be more confident in their English, as trying to assign specialist English teachers to all schools is not a feasible and realistic idea. Table 18.4 shows the number of teachers and their involvement in teaching English.

Table 18.4 Number of teachers involved in English education at the primary level in 2018

	English activities	*English as a subject*
Number of teachers	80,072	8,121
Homeroom teachers	60,566	5,133
Homeroom teachers from other classes of same grade	1,475	203
Homeroom teachers from other grades	674	64
Full-time teachers specialized in teaching English	8,857	834
Teachers from other elementary schools	3,266	225
Teachers from secondary schools	2,660	217
Part-time teachers	1,915	647
Special part-time teachers	659	798

Source: Translated from MEXT, '*heisei 30 nendo* . . . '

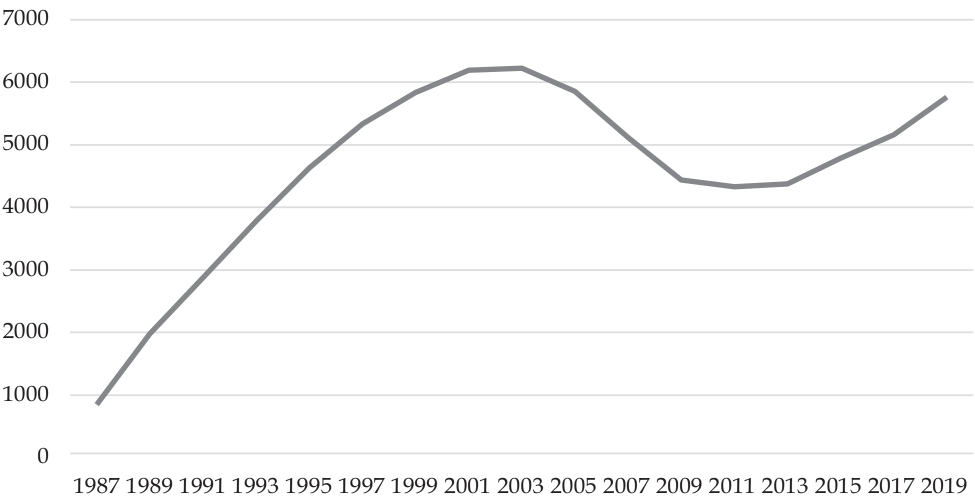
The government's plans for education reform were contained in the 'Report on the Future Improvement and Enhancement of English Education: Five Recommendations on the English Education Reform Plan Responding to the Rapid Globalization,' issued in September 2014. MEXT stated in this report that 'Japanese people should expect to achieve top-level English proficiency in Asia' (MEXT, 2014). It also indicated that 3rd and 4th graders should be able to build a foundation for communication skills and develop their interest in English as they became familiar with English through activities, while 5th and 6th graders were expected to develop the four basic skills.

MEXT's decisions were reportedly supported by a 2012 study that showed 70% of elementary school pupils reported that they had liked English or English lessons in classrooms and that 80% of junior high school students reported that English lessons they had had such as simple English conversation were helpful, and teachers said students' listening and speaking abilities improved after the introduction of foreign language activities at the primary level (MEXT, '*heisei 30 nendo . . .* ').

Contribution and involvement of native and non-native speakers of English

While Japanese teachers of English and some homeroom teachers in primary schools are striving to improve their students' English proficiency, non-Japanese teachers of English are also involved in this endeavour. These assistant language teachers (ALTs) are invited to Japan from different countries on a renewable 1-year contract as participants in the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme. ALTs in the JET Programme are placed in public schools to team-teach with Japanese teachers in order to improve students' practical communication skills in English. At the same time, ALTs are called upon to help develop the English proficiency of Japanese teachers. This can take the form of large-scale in-house training (Honna & Takeshita, 2004: 212).

As Graph 18.5 indicates, the number of participants in the thirty-third year of the JET Programme, whether as Assistant Language Teachers, Coordinators for International Relations



Graph 18.5 Number of JET Programme participants (1987–2019)
(Compiled from JET Programme, 2019c)

(CIRs), or Sports Exchange Advisors (SEAs), has been growing since a fall in numbers in 2003. At the start of the scheme, there were 848 participants, but their number now is 5,761, slightly below the highest number, which was recorded in 2002. The growing number has resulted in an increase in diversity. The first 848 JET participants were all native speakers of English from four countries, the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, while the present 5,761 come from 57 different countries. Table 18.5 shows the numbers of ALTs from the different countries and shows that more teachers with diverse backgrounds are ALTs. The sudden increase in the number of ALTs from the Philippines is particularly noteworthy.

Although Japan's proclivity for native-speaker English (Honna & Takeshita, 2000, pp. 53–64; Honna, 2008, p. 146), especially for American English, is still dominant (Honna & Takeshita, 2018, p. 3), the tendency is to accept different Englishes in the school environment. In addition, because of the diverse lifestyles of Japanese learners today, adult and student learners are choosing their own ways of studying rather than taking lessons in

Table 18.5 Number of participants in the JET Programme by country, 2008–2009 and 2019–2020

Country	*ALTs (Assistant language teachers)*	
	2008–2009	*2019–2020*
Total Participants from All Countries	4,288	5,234
United States	2,571	2,958
Canada	498	531
United Kingdom	428	528
Australia	249	321
New Zealand	194	236
South Africa	99	136
Ireland	76	105
Singapore	48	63
Jamaica	46	111
India	17	0
China	10	5
France	9	4
Korea	3	2
Germany	2	1
Russia	1	2
Philippines	–	136
Trinidad and Tobago	–	61
Barbados	–	12
Estonia	–	4
Netherland	–	3
Norway	–	2
Sweden	–	2
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	–	2
Norway	–	2
Other countries	11	7

Source: JET Programme, 2008, 2019b.

conversation schools in town or hiring private tutors. More people are making use of online study programs provided by different educational organizations, and this is where Filipino teachers are actively participating. Table 18.6 has been compiled with data and information collected from major online English program providers.

Except for schools like T, V, and Y, which feature native-speaker teachers, the great majority of the teachers are Filipinos. One reason may be the comparatively low cost of lessons taught by these teachers. Another may be the geographical closeness of Japan to the Philippines. The small two-hour time difference makes online lessons easier for both teachers and students. Some secondary schools and universities have introduced online English programs into their curriculum for in-class conversations on a one-to-one basis or in very small groups or as an extracurricular activity. Other English learners take online lessons at home or in the workplace. Today's English learners thus have many more different avenues for learning English than the traditional conversation classes.

Table 18.6 Major online English program providers in Japan

0	*Local school locations*	*# of Teachers*	*Teachers' nationalities*	*Work location*
A	Philippines & Japan	215	Philippine, American, Japanese	Office & home
B	Philippines	6500	Philippine, American, British, Servia, and so on	Home
C	Philippines	53	Philippine, American	Office & home
D	Philippines	50	Philippine	Home & office
E	Philippines	100	Philippine	Home & office
F	Philippines	300	Philippine	Office
G	Philippines	1200	Philippine	Office
H	Philippines	350	Philippine	Office
I	Philippines	400	Philippine	Home & office
J	Philippines	96	Philippine	Office
K	Philippines	450	Philippine	Home & office
L	Philippines	1000	Philippine	Home
M	Philippines	5000	Philippine	Home & office
N	More than 80 countries	30000	More than 80 nationalities	Home & office
O	None	550	More than 50 nationalities	Home
P	Philippines	50	Japanese, Philippine, American	Home & office
Q	None	50	Japanese & others	Home
R	None	700	Japanese	Home
S	Philippines	8000	British, American, Canadian, Philippine, Servia, Bosnia, and so on	Home & office
T	London, Boston, Cape Town	2000	Britain, American, Australian, Canadian	Office & home
U	None	100	American, Canadian, Japanese	Home
V	USA	10000+	American, Canadian, British, Australian	Home & office
W	None	28	American, British, Canadian, Philippine, Mexico, and so on	Home
X	None	354	American, British, Australian, Japanese, Philippine	Home
Y	None	107	American, British, Australian, Canadian	Home & office

Japanese English for international communication

Despite the strenuous attempts to teach a native-speaker variety of English and the Japanese proclivity for American English (Honna & Takeshita, 1998, 2000), Japanese English has distinctive features, influenced phonetically, semantically, grammatically and culturally by the native language and culture of its speakers. Here I list a small selection of examples.

The phonetic characteristics of the Japanese language often make it difficult for Japanese speakers of English to pronounce certain words in the same way as Anglo native speakers, for which reason Japanese learners are very often reluctant to speak up. Sounds that do not exist in Japanese are difficult to pronounce and therefore difficult to discern. For example, Japanese lexical structure is consonant followed by vowel. Consonant clusters are therefore often difficult to pronounce. It is more natural for a Japanese speaker of English to pronounce a consonant accompanied by a vowel so that words such as 'disks', 'tasks' and 'asks' may be pronounced as 'dis*u*kus*u*', 'tas*u*k*u*s*u*' and 'as*u*k*u*s.' Japanese also lacks 'friction' such as 'f' and 'v', so 'film' may be pronounced as 'h*ui*lm*u*', 'coffee house' may be pronounced as 'co*h*ee hous*u*', and vacation as 'bacation'.

Probably the most iconic feature of Japanese English is that the distinction between /l/ and /r/ sounds does not exist. An English word containing both /l/ and /r/ such as 'liberal' and 'world' can thus be difficult to pronounce. 'Right' and 'light' and 'rice' and 'lice' may be pronounced the same. Other sounds Japanese find difficult to differentiate include the pairs of long and short vowels. As in many new varieties of English, these can be merged so that, for example, the sounds in 'live' and 'leave' and 'mini' and 'meany' may be pronounced more or less the same.

The grammatical differences between English and Japanese give rise to certain features in Japanese English. The lack of inflections in Japanese may be the reason Japanese speakers of English often overlook distinctions between singular and plural nouns. The same may be true with definite and indefinite articles.

As far as the lexicon is concerned, divergences in meaning may occur when English words become part of the Japanese language as loan words and then reappear in the local variety of English or when the definition of an English word does not coincide with that of its equivalent. An example from Japanese English may be 'He sent a happy life' instead of 'He spent a happy life,' as the Japanese language has a word that can mean both 'send' and 'spend.'

Japanese idioms and expression may often influence Japanese speakers when they speak English. When talking about destinations and means of transportation, it is more natural for Japanese to say, "He comes to Tokyo by car," or "We went to Hokkaido by airplane," as direct translations from Japanese, so Japanese are unlikely to say, "He drove to Tokyo," or "We flew to Hokkaido."

Many 'foreign' words have become part of 'standard' English, and Japanese has contributed to this. Here are a few examples, whose spellings and definitions are based upon those in Dictionary.com or Merriam-Webster Online.

1 Food: *bento* (a meal, usually served in a lacquered or elaborately decorated box that is divided into sections for holding individual portions of food), *dashi* (a clear fish and kelp broth, used in Japanese cookery), *mirin* (a Japanese cooking wine made from rice, sweeter than sake), *miso* (a fermented seasoning paste of soybeans, often with rice or barley added, used to flavour soups and sauces), *nori* (a seaweed with a mildly sweet, salty taste, usually dried, used in Japanese cookery mainly as a wrap for sushi), *ramen*

(a bowl of clear soup containing noodles, vegetables, and often bits of meat), *shoyu* (a Japanese variety of soy sauce), *tofu* (a soft, bland, white, cheeselike food, high in protein content, made from curdled soybean milk), *umami* (a strong meaty taste imparted by glutamate and certain other amino acids: often considered one of the basic taste sensations along with sweet, sour, bitter, and salty).

2 Business: *kaizen* (a business philosophy or system that is based on making positive changes on a regular basis, so as to improve productivity), *karoshi* (death caused by overwork), *keiretsu* (a powerful alliance of Japanese businesses, often linked by cross-shareholding), *tycoon* (a businessperson of exceptional wealth, power, and influence), *zaibatsu* (a powerful financial and industrial conglomerate of Japan).

3 People: *hentai* (noting or pertaining to a subgenre of Japanese manga, anime, computer games, etc., characterized by explicit sexual themes and imagery), *otaku* (a person who is obsessed with manga, anime, and other forms of Japanese or East Asian popular culture), *samurai* (a member of the hereditary warrior class in feudal Japan), *sensei* (a karate or judo instructor), *tenno* (an emperor of Japan regarded as a religious leader and held to be an incarnation of the divine), y*akuza* (any of various tightly knit Japanese criminal organizations having a ritualistic, strict code of honour).

4 Arts and martial arts: *bonsai* (a tree or shrub that has been dwarfed, as by pruning the roots and pinching, and is grown in a pot or other container and trained to produce a desired shape or effect), *dojo* (a school or practice hall where karate, judo, or other martial arts are taught), *haiku* (a major form of Japanese verse, written in seventeen syllables divided into three lines of five, seven, and five syllables and employing highly evocative allusions and comparisons, often on the subject of nature or one of the seasons), *karate* (a method developed in Japan of defending oneself without the use of weapons by striking sensitive areas on an attacker's body with the hands, elbows, knees, or feet), *manga* (a Japanese graphic novel, typically intended for adults, characterized by highly stylized art), *sumo* (a form of wrestling in Japan in which a contestant wins by forcing his opponent out of the ring or by causing him to touch the ground with any part of his body other than the soles of his feet, contestants usually being men of great height and weight).

However much some Japanese speakers of English aim at sounding like native speakers, Japanese-ness is likely to remain in the way they speak and what they say in English. Although, as illustrated previously, English is gradually playing an increasing role in Japan, Japanese still do not use the language in everyday life as much as people in outer circle countries, such as the Philippines, do. Even though, as part of the effort to make Japanese universities more international, the government is encouraging universities to use English as a medium of instruction, it will take some time for Japanese speakers to actively contribute to further growth and enrichment of world Englishes. However, increasing international interest and involvement in Japanese culture and society will help Japanese use more English and in a more Japanese-like way and encourage a more positive attitude among Japanese toward expressing themselves in their English.

Conclusion

Despite heated debates triggered by proposals to give the English language official status (proposals which were not accepted) (Takeshita, 2010), Japanese continue only to use English in international and intercultural situations where Japanese is not understood. However, people are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that Japanese society is getting more multilingual and multicultural and therefore are now realizing the need to use English (and other foreign languages) in domestic situations.

While the population is aging rapidly, the government has introduced policies to teach more English to young children and students in elementary and secondary schools. The responsibilities of English teachers in Japan, notwithstanding their nationalities, should include providing the learners with opportunities to actually use English and to raise their awareness about the roles and functions of English, especially within multilingual contexts. This will be the key to a more effective and productive use of English for Japanese learners and users of English.

Suggestions for further reading

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19
Slavic Englishes
Education or culture?

Zoya Proshina

Introduction

Various Slavic languages came into contact with the English language at different times. For the Russian language, the recorded history of its interaction with English dates back to the mid-sixteenth century when British sailors and merchants, the first British to have arrived in Russia, were granted an audience with the Russian Czar, Ivan the Terrible, and were allowed to trade with Russians (Proshina and Eddy 2016). However, it was not until the eighteenth century, the epoch of Peter the Great, followed by the epoch of the so-called 'enlightened sovereign' Catherine the Great, that we can speak of increasing Russian–British contacts that resulted in a number of borrowings into both languages (Beliaeva 1984). Though she did not speak English herself, Catherine the Great encouraged the spread of English literature in Russia, which is why she was called an anglophile (Labutina 2005). In the nineteenth century, Russia had diplomatic and other types of contact with both Great Britain and the United States. Nevertheless, at that time, English as a foreign language was only second in popularity, with French, the most popular, being regarded as a domestic language of the nobility.

Like Russian–British contacts, Czech (Bohemian) and British contacts, later strengthened by dynastic marriages, have been known since the Middle Ages (Wellek 1943; Evans 2008). In Poland, Polish–English language interactions, marked primarily in education and publishing, have been traced to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Reichelt 2005).

More recently, and as Jeffrey Griffin (2001) notes, the increased profile of English in all Slavic countries has been common since 1989. Since the collapse of the Warsaw Treaty in 1991, contacts between Western and Eastern countries have further intensified.

The Slavic family of languages includes three groups of related languages: East Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian), West Slavic (Polish, Czech, Slovak, and Sorbian), and South Slavic (Bulgarian, Slovene, Macedonian, Serbian, Croatian, Montenegrin, and Bosnian). East Slavic cultures, having adopted Orthodox religion, were originally under strong Greek influence, while West Slavic cultures, being closely linked to the Roman Catholic Church, have experienced greater influence from Western Europe. These influences account for the differences in script in Slavic cultures – Cyrillic letters are used by Eastern Slavs and Roman letters by Western and to some extent by Southern Slavs.

Current sociolinguistic situation and functions of English

Nearly all Slavic languages have spoken dialects and a standard literary norm strongly supported by educational institutions and mass media. In the twentieth century, Slavic countries made up a political and economic block, included in or allied to the Warsaw Pact. Thus, their languages were significantly influenced by Russian, which played a great role as a lingua franca (Pavlenko 2006; Prendergast 2008) and was predominantly studied as a foreign language at East European educational institutions.

Before the 1990s, English was of minor importance in these countries. It started to play the role of a language for intercultural communication only in the late twentieth to early twenty-first centuries. When English is used by Slavs, its functions largely match those ascribed to expanding-circle varieties (Kachru 1985); that is, it functions as a lingua franca more for outreach to other cultures than for domestic reasons and is learned (not acquired) as a foreign language through education. Since the functions of English are similar in all Slavic cultures, I will primarily discuss its position in Russia, whose situation I know best.

Despite the fact that Russia is multilingual (with over 150 languages) and multiglossic, with a great number of regional and social dialects, it is hard to speak about Russian Englishes in the plural (Ter-Minasova 2007: 268). Standardization in the education system is so rigid that it is difficult to believe that several varieties of the learnt language can exist in one country, especially when its functions are restricted. It is important to stress, however, that this needs further research.

In Russia, like all other Slavic countries, English is used mostly for intercultural, outercultural (Kabakchi 1998), and international communication across various domains, namely business, politics, research, tourism, and mass media (Proshina and Eddy 2016). In the economy and business, English is used for correspondence and negotiations with both native and non-native speakers of the language. In order to conduct successful negotiations, Russians need to be familiar with those non-native speakers' varieties of English with which they deal and to 'be alerted to which linguistic features cause particular problems of mutual intelligibility' (Kirkpatrick 2007: 193). This practical need has motivated the research into mutual intelligibility of Asian Englishes, their features (Proshina 2001; Bondarenko 2007), and their so-called 'intermediary translation' (Proshina 2005: 521) into English as a lingua franca as opposed to direct translation from Asian languages into Russian.

English is used as a working language in transnational companies, such as Mars, Coca-Cola, Proctor & Gamble, Toyota, Samsung, Levi's, and many others which do business in Russia and other Slavic countries. In 2001, three large Russian companies, LukOil, FESCO (Far Eastern Shipping Company), and PRISCO (Primorsk Shipping Company), were included in the UNCTAD list of transnational corporations (Vladimirova 2001); in 2007, there were eight (including Norilsk Nickel, Novoship, Rusal, Mechel, and Alrosa) (UNCTAD 2007). In transnational companies, cases of language-mixing and code-switching are not infrequent (Gritsenko and Laletina 2012, 2016). Russian companies cooperating with international partners conduct correspondence in English, and many companies even take English names to show that they are internationally oriented: e.g. *JapanStart* (a car auction company in Vladivostok), *SunRay* (a jam producer in Krasnodar), *VladSoft* (a computer company), *Gloria Jeans* (or *Gee Jay*), *Nordway* (sport equipment), and many others. Especially prolific in this respect are commercial establishments – stores, shops, and boutiques (*Digital Hall, INCITY, Savage*, *Westland*, etc.), travel agencies (*Lucky Tour, Discovery Tours, Ariadne Business Travel*), restaurants and fast-food cafés (*Royal Burger, King, PizzaLand*), entertainment establishments (*Lips, Infinity, New Wave*), beauty salons

(*Studio Beauty, Lady Boss, City Style*), and others (Kubritskaya, Proshina and Sergeyeva 2008), with an English name being a publicity gimmick. Advertising is another vast field for English use in all Slavic cultures (Griffin 2001; Schlick 2003; Reichelt 2005; Šabec 2005; Ustinova and Bhatia 2005; Ustinova 2006, 2008; Dimova 2003, 2008).

The frequency and depth of English use is proportionate to the economic significance of the region to international companies. The autonomous Republic of Sakha-Yakutia (in the Russian Far East), rich in diamonds and gold, attracts a lot of foreign investment and, because of its close contacts with other countries, the Sakha authorities declared English a working language of the republic at the turn of the century. Sakha is already richly multilingual, with two national languages (Russian and Yakut) and five official languages (Even, Evenk, Yukagir, Chukchi and Dolgan) (Samsonov 2003). However, a new 2014 edition of the Law on Language in this republic omitted mentioning English as a local working language (On Languages in the Republic of Sakha 2014, Article 15). At the same time, the development of oil deposits on Sakhalin Island attracted British, Japanese, American, and other capital investments, which has now stimulated an English language boom in the region.

In the early twenty-first century, the number of tourists has grown considerably, though due to the economic crisis and tensions in the international situation, the number of Russian tourists to foreign countries has been fluctuating between 24 million in 2016 to about 31 million in 2017 (Russian Outbound Tourism 2014–2017: 5), which means that almost 20 percent of the country's population went abroad on a tour. For tourists, English has become the language for interpersonal communication and for cultural enrichment. A new type of tourism has emerged – educational tourism. While going abroad, people try to combine recreation with the study of a foreign language, for which they may attend short language courses, try to develop their language skills in real life communications, or get a study visa to become a student of a university abroad. Within the last 20 years, the number of Russian students in foreign universities has increased four times (Al-Ayash 2018). In 2017, Russia became one of the top countries whose children are educated in private schools in Great Britain. The number of such children increased by 77 percent from 2005 to 2017. University graduates prefer getting masters degrees at universities abroad (Al-Ayash 2018). In 2014, the Russian Federation Ministry of Education launched the programme "Global Education" that supports talented Russian students' study at a university abroad. The requirement of the programme is that within a month after graduation, the graduate return home to embark on a career. Meanwhile, short-term language educational tours sharply decreased in number due to political and economic reasons (anti-Russian sanctions). As compared with 2014, the number of those who took such tours reduced by 80 percent (Russkiy Rubezh 2017).

English is supported, to some extent, by the mass media. Today's speech of radio and TV presenters is abundant in English loanwords, which are found to be prestigious and fashionable (Kirillov 2017).

Before perestroika, Russia had only one English language newspaper, *The Moscow News*, which was intended for foreigners and at the same time served as educational material for students learning English. In the 1990s, the number of English language papers increased, including *The St Petersburg Times, The Nizhny-Novgorod Times, The Vladivostok News, The Vladivostok Times, The Sakhalin Times*, and *The Sakhalin Independent*, to name only a few. However, very soon, probably due to the economic crisis, the number of papers was reduced to one, *The Moscow Times*, which has survived in only online form. *Russia Beyond* (former title *Russia Beyond the Headlines*) is an online periodical launched by the *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* to discuss cultural and other issues interesting to the international readership. News in English can be read on blog sites (tass.com, www.russiaprofile.org, www.pravdareport.com, russia-insider.com, and others).

Other Slavic countries also have online English media featuring both local and international news. Examples include Ukraine's *Kyiv Post* (www.kyivpost.com); *Ukrainian Journal* daily (www.ukrainianjournal.com); *Business Ukraine* magazine (bunews.com.ua); *Lviv Today* monthly (www.lvivtoday.com.ua); *Destinations* fashion magazine, both printed and online (destinations.com.ua/magazine); the *Polish Warsaw Voice* (www.warsawvoice.pl); *Poland Daily* (polanddaily.com); the *Prague Daily Monitor* (praguemonitor.com); *Prague Post* weekly (www.praguepost.cz); the *Transitions Online* international magazine (www.tol.org/client); *The Slovak Spectator* (spectator.sme.sk); Bulgaria's *Sofia Globe* (sofiaglobe.com); *Bulgarian News Agency* (www.bta.bg/en); and the *Sofia News Agency* (www.novinite.com). *The Belarusian Telegraph Agency* site (https://eng.belta.by) provides updates in English on the republic.

English language channels like CNN, BBC, MTV, Discovery, Disney, History, Deutsche Welle, and Korean Arirang are available in Russian homes thanks to satellite and cable television. However, English language movies which are aired on TV and shown in cinemas are usually dubbed. In December 2005, the first informational government-sponsored English language TV channel, Russia Today, was launched. Its programmes include news, analytical programmes, documentary movies about Russian history and culture, and sightseeing programmes.

Many scientists and academicians are aware that English is a powerful medium of research. To be published in English abroad means to receive international recognition. However, very few domestic journals – mostly scientific ones – publish full-text research articles in English, limiting themselves to English abstracts. The country's publishing houses prefer printing books in Russian rather than in English (except for guidebooks and books for foreigners). They thus conform to official government policy, which is to enhance the Russian language and culture.

English in education

In Russia, foreign languages have always been looked upon as a window to a new world (Pavlovskaya 2003). That is why families that could afford to study foreign languages invited native speakers (usually as governesses) or proficient non-native speakers as tutors for their children. In the nineteenth century, it was common for educated people to be bilingual. This was, in the main, a French–Russian bilingualism but with French as the dominant language (Zemskaya 2001a). While English was not as popular as French, it was respected by the Russian intelligentsia for its literature and culture. The ability to read English authors in the original has been regarded as a mark of good breeding and education. English playwrights, especially Shakespeare and the Irish authors Bernard Shaw and Oscar Wilde, have been very popular, and their work has been often staged.

By the twentieth century, French–Russian bilingualism gave way to English–Russian bilingualism. While the French–Russian bilingualism of the nineteenth century was developed in the home, today, languages are learned in different settings, with a foreign language, usually English, but sometimes French or German, being learned in school.

Nowadays, the secondary school curriculum mandates a foreign language. It can be English, French, or German, but, in reality, English is the language of first choice. With Russia's adoption of the European policy of school multilingualism (following the Bologna protocol, which requires that two foreign languages be included in school curricula), English is almost certainly the first foreign language because it is the global lingua franca. However, the general level of English skills is rather low – according to the 2019 Education First report, Russia is ranked 42 among 88 countries, with the English Proficiency Index 52 of 96 as compared with 27–32 in European countries. (EF EPI 2019). Yet, a poll conducted by the Russian Research Polling Center (WCIOM) in 2014 revealed that 92 percent of Russians believe that knowledge of English will be helpful (WCIOM 2014).

There are several problems currently facing educators with regard to English learning: first, when should students begin to study the language; second, how long should they study it; third, how should they study it; fourth, where should they study it; and fifth, which model should they study?

An average Russian child starts primary school at the age of six or seven. The school period includes 11 years, comprising four grades of primary education, five years of compulsory middle school, and two years of high school. In most Russian schools, students begin to learn English in the second grade and study it for ten years until they leave high school. There is now a trend to start learning English earlier, in the first grade and even in kindergarten. Many preschools (for children younger than seven) have introduced English classes in response to parents' demand for an early start in English for their children. There are also state-run and private schools offering intensive English programmes. At these intensive English schools, students start English in the second grade, have everyday English classes, and can reach an advanced level by the time they leave school.

Life-long learning is promoted. On leaving secondary school, a person will continue learning English at tertiary level. Although English is not mandatory for university entrance, some disciplines (including the humanities) require it. English majors have up to ten hours of language classes a week, plus linguistics, literature, culture, and history courses which can also be delivered in English. Non-English majors continue studying the language for two more years (two or four hours a week). However, we are witnessing a new drive for more intensive and ongoing English, and some universities offer additional programmes of English for specific purposes and translation (for two or three more years). Evening English classes for professionals (medical doctors, engineers, and economists, for example) have become very popular at universities.

Specialist subjects (usually economics and business) are taught in English to students in joint (double-degree) departments, the first of which opened in the 1990s. Despite the high price of tuition, these joint departments attract students by awarding two diplomas (degrees), Russian and American/British. One of the first joint Russian–American departments, involving the University of Maryland University College, Far Eastern National University (Vladivostok), and Irkutsk State University, opened in 1991. It was followed by Ulyanovsk State University–Oklahoma City University programme and the Far Eastern State Transportation University–Alaska State University programmes. Moscow University Touro opened its international business programmes in 2004, and in 2006, the Russian–American Economic and Business Institute at the Ural State University was established. Dual degree programmes have been launched at Lomonosov Moscow State University, MGIMO University, and Higher School of Economics. Most of these programmes are masters level.

The question of where to study English raises other questions – how to study it and which model of English to study. Traditionally, Russian schools paid great attention to knowledge about the language structure and to students' ability to translate into their native language; this is why the grammar–translation method was prevalent for such a long time (Lovtsevich 2001; Ter-Minasova 2005). Today, a primary goal of school curricula is developing communicative competence, which requires classes in listening and speaking, reading and writing.

Among the four skills, writing is the skill that usually is the least developed, since emphasis is placed on reading and speaking. Translation, the so-called fifth skill, is still the teachers' favourite objective – it is no accident that translation departments have been established within almost every university.

Traditionally, Russian schools have adopted the model of British English. British (or Queen's) English is still considered pure, classical, aristocratic, and the most intelligible variety (McCaughey 2005). Most textbooks are based on British English norms. Indeed, the adjective 'English' is itself associated with 'British', so when asking about the origin of a word, students might say, 'Is this word English or American?' However, the importance of American English has become greater as the contacts with the United States have become more intensive. The American English model has thus begun to prosper, with the opening of the joint Russian–American departments referred to previously. This is also true in places like Bulgaria and other Slavic countries, where British and American Englishes have become 'sibling rivals' (O'Reilly 1998: 71), with the former regarded as an 'elite language of refined literature' (p. 82) and the latter as an 'engineer of change' in business and technology (p. 75). At the same time, the idea of English as an international language (EIL) functioning as diverse lingua franca varieties, based on their own linguacultures, in the international context is slowly penetrating into schools (Proshina 2016; Lovtsevich 2019) and has resulted in interest in other countries, not necessarily British and American (for example, courses in EIL have been introduced in master programs at Lomonosov Moscow State University, courses in East Asian Englishes can be found in the curriculum of Far Eastern Federal University, many schools take the Macmillan coursebook *Global* as the basic resource for learning English), though British/American models of English are still dominating.

While Russia was closed off from English-speaking countries by the Iron Curtain, English in Russia was taught by non-native English-speaking teachers. Today these teachers are still prevalent, though there are now far more native English speakers (from the inner and outer circles).

Though today's market is inundated with British and American ELT materials, many schools still use textbooks compiled by Russian authors, finding that their materials better suit their teaching goals as they take into consideration both new and traditional methods, understand the specific difficulties facing Russian students, and are better aligned with Russian culture.

English in culture

Pop culture provides a good medium for people, especially the younger generation, to study English. From jazz, the first American musical genre to be imported to Russia, to the most recent rap and pop music, English easily found its way to young people's hearts as it 'was associated with freedom, expression of sexuality, rebellion against the staleness of the system, and individual creativity' (Eddy 2008: 20). The influence of pop music has been felt for some time, and at least three generations have grown up on the songs of such British groups as the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and Deep Purple. Today pop culture continues to be associated with English. English influence can be seen in learning and performing English songs, composing music in the framework of a certain borrowed genre, writing lyrics in English, and inventing English names for bands and groups (Eddy 2007).

There are several reasons, both social and artistic, to explain this. For social reasons, musicians connect with the wider public, making their songs more marketable. Many of them have aspirations to become known outside Russia. Besides, 'English represents the "otherness", the desire of the participants to estrange themselves from the rest' (Eddy 2008: 21) of their community. Artistic reasons include the performers' claim that English helps songs sound authentic on the one hand, and that Russian does not suit the melodic structure of the song on the other. When composing lyrics in English, musicians have to think more about the combined effect of sound and music (Willard and Shchepetova 2003). Code-mixing and code-switching are also common features of the lyrics.

One-fourth of about 200 names of Russian rock groups listed in Wikipedia.ru have been influenced by English. Examples include:

- English names in English script (*Mechanical Poet, Aftermath, Blind Vandal, Gorky Park, Neversmile, Everything Is Made In China*);
- English names in Cyrillic script (*Тайм Аут = Time Out, Томас = Thomas, Моби Дик = Moby Dick*);
- script-mixing (*Беzумные Усилия, Animal ДжаZ, Мультfильмы, Dёргать!*);
- other creative techniques: using homophones (*Jane Air*), specific division of words (*Пеп-Си = Pep-Si*), allusion and play upon words (*Бони НЕМ = Bony NEM*, lit. 'Bony is dumb', allusion to Bony M), as well as mixing stems (*ROCKМЕХАНИКА = ROCK-MECHANICS, Башня Rowan = Tower Rowan*).

English also allows fiction writers to explore their creativity. For example, English makes up some of the material for 'English–Russian language play' (Rivlina 2008: 98, 2015; 2020), that is, a play on words, and its influence is seen clearly in book titles such as *Дyxless* ('Soulless') by Sergey Minayev; *Sex в большой политике* ('Sex in big politics') by Irina Khakamada; *МультиMILLIONAIRES* ('MultiMillionaires') by Lena Lenina; *Про любоff/on* ('About Love+off/on') by Oksana Robsky; and *Брачный коNтракт или Who Is . . . ?* ('Marriage coNtract, or Who Is . . . ') by Tatyana Ogorodnikova.

The marriage of English and indigenous cultures results in so-called contact literature (Kachru 1983b), a term which has received recent criticism (Thumboo 2006) and which is often replaced by another term – translingual or transcultural literature (Kellman 2003). Many would say that there is no Russian literature in English except for that written by coordinate bilinguals, like V. Nabokov, who wrote in both English and Russian. The current situation is different. New emigration from Russia has produced new émigré writers such as Olga Grushin, Anya Ulinich, Lara Vapnyar, Gary Shteyngart, Ellen Litman, Irina Reyn, Kseniya Melnik, Sana Krasikov, and others. Translingual authors of Slavic origin are also writing in English in Great Britain, the United States, Canada and other English-speaking countries. Among them are the Bulgarians Miroslav Penkov, Kapka Kassabova, Nikolai Grozni; the Czech Josef Škvorecký, and authors of Polish origin, including M. Bakalar, Agnieszka Dale, Daniel Żuchowski, Isaac Bashevis Singer, and Jerzy Kosiński. Moreover, today's translingual literature is not the literature of émigré authors only. It also includes works published in English by bilingual authors whose first language is not English and who live in their home country. Tanya D. Davis, a Russian novelist and storyteller, is an example.

Most of the émigré writers, however, appear to have left Russia for good. Gary Shteyngart left Russia as a seven-year-old boy and was raised in the culture of the United States. O. Grushin, A. Ulinich, and L. Vapnyar also emigrated in their youth. These English novels of Russian authors, which appeared at the turning points of Russia's history, convey the most pressing issues facing society, including relations between the officialdom and common people; socialist art and its dependence on the ruling ideology; the betrayal of talent, friends, and principles for the comforts of high-ranking Soviet privilegentsia; attitudes to Jews; new entrepreneurship; deceitful pyramid schemes; the oil oligarchy and mafia; and many other dark themes. As might be expected from emigrant literature, the work tends to be critical, ironic, darkly funny, and wickedly whimsical. Some works show Russian (Soviet) life as black and white. However, they also follow the fantastic and realistic traditions of Russian literature, convey Russian sensibility, reveal Russian concepts like 'spirit' and 'soul', and interpret culture-loaded phenomena. As Wanner put it, they have constructed a 'pseudo-Slavic English discourse' (Wanner 2011: 5) or 'Russianness for foreign consumption' (p. 3).

The international media speak highly of the authors' perfect English, although it is their second language. Though, indeed, their English is excellent, we can easily trace Russianness in their writing. The works are abundant in Russian culture-loaded words used to describe Russian life and easily recognized by any Russian. For example, A. Ulinich describes a typical New Year celebration in a Russian school:

> She needed to discuss the upcoming Winter Pageant. The first-grade girls, the teacher explained, would play Snowflake Fairies . . . twirling tutus, flying blond braids, and flushed pink faces, against which Grandfather Frost and Snegurochka were to display their benevolence.
>
> *(Ulinich 2007: 13)*

I now turn to considering some distinctive linguistic features of Russian English.

Russian English linguistic features

Despite the recent history of its development discussed previously, Russian English has yet to win social acceptance, and few Russians will acknowledge they are speaking Russia English or Russian English (Proshina 2006). However, many English-speaking Russians understand that their English is a mixture of British norms, Standard American, and elements formed under the influence of their native Russian (and other) indigenous languages and cultures. The concept of Russia (or Russian) English has not been recognized unanimously yet, even though local teachers 'have no option but to teach the model they themselves have learned' (Kirkpatrick 2007: 192). Some linguists reject point blank the idea of a local variety of English in Russia. The attitude towards Russian English is mainly negative (Proshina and Eddy 2016), as it is associated with broken and bad English rather than being seen as a variety able to convey Russian culture and Russian ways of thinking to others. We need an 'attitudinal readjustment' (Kachru 1983a: 85) about Russian English.

Although the status of the English language used in Russia is still a subject of domestic debate, the variety of English spoken and written by educated Russians can be identified by the use of certain distinctive features. These distinctive features are typical of mesolectal speech and sometimes occur in acrolectal speech. They are noticeable at all language levels: phonetic, morphological, syntactic, and pragmatic.

Phonological features include the distinctive pronunciation of some English sounds, positional and combinatorial changes of sounds, and specific supra-segmental characteristics:

- lack of aspiration in pronouncing initial [p, t, k];
- replacing the interdental *th* by [z/s/d/t/f] as in '*Hepy bursday to you!*' (Ulinich 2007: 144);
- replacing [w] by [v] or [u]: 'William' becomes 'Villiam' or 'Uilliam';
- shortening of vowels ('seat' becomes 'sit');

- devoicing of final consonants and regressive assimilation of middle consonants ('*bag'* ~ '*back'*; '*absorption'* becomes [apso:pʃn]);
- rising tone of special and alternative questions (*Why did you* ↑*say that*? *Is his name Mike or* ↑*Andrew*?).

At the morphological and syntactic levels, the following features can be explained by the difference between Russian and English grammar:

- substituting the past simple or present simple for the present perfect: '*From a historical point of view, Vladivostok is young – a little bit over 140 years old. But like a magnet, it always* **attracted** *people*.'
- use or non-use of articles (Russian has no articles): '***The*** *unusual quiet reigned in Sukhanov's heart*' (Grushin 2005: 343); '*Do not lean on* ***door***' (Moscow metro trains);
- positioning attributes to the right of a headnoun ('*the problem* ***generation gap***'; '*the form* ***of the nineteenth century'***). Russian is a right-branching language, unlike English, which is left branching;
- distinctive use of gerunds: *on a text analysing*, *bursting-at-the-seams suitcase* (Vapnyar 2003: 12). There is no gerund in Russian;
- lack of the copula '*be'*, especially in the present tense form: '*At the moment the main subject I'm responsible for – American Culture*'. Russian sentences of this type do not require the copula;
- topicalization of the object and its inversion: '***Mornings*** *we usually spent at the beach*' (Vapnyar 2003: 52).

Lexical features of Russian English include distinctive usages and innovations. Distinctive usages are systemic traits typical of educated speakers and differ from the standard because of influence from Russian. Innovations result from nativization and acculturation when English needs to express Russian culture. Examples include:

- Russian culture-loaded loans: *dacha, Duma, kvass*; 'Sovietisms' such as *Socialist realism, kolkhoz, nomenklatura*;
- calques: *foreign passport* (for Russian citizens going abroad), *heroine mother* ('a mother with many children'), *New Russians* ('rich Russians'), *social work* ('volunteering/unpaid work');
- calqued Russian idioms: '*to keep the wolves full and the sheep whole*' (Grushin 2005: 174), '*A comrade in trouble should never be afraid to ask for help . . . it's from each according to his abilities, to each according to his incompetence*' (Ulinich 2007: 9);
- words borrowed from other languages with a different meaning in Russian and/or Russian English: *hostess* ('geisha + waitress'), *Chechen warlord* ('rebel leader');
- new coinages: *shop-tour* ('trip abroad for shopping'), *groupmate* ('at the university, member of the same study group') (Lovtsevich 2005).

Distinctive discourse-level features can be found at both pragmatic and semantic levels. Use of Russian norms can give listeners the wrong impression about the Russian speaker. Examples include:

- masculine-oriented language: '*The lexical units involved in our study concern man as social being, his activities*.' There is still no movement in Russia for so-called 'politically correct' gender language;

- preference for the imperative mood structures: '*Open the door*', '*Sit down, please*.' Imperatives sound far less categorical than in English;
- the Russian language does not use understatements, so typical of English. For example, a Russian will more typically say, '*I believe you*' than '*I do not disbelieve you*.'

These distinctive features are characteristic of mesolectal Russian English. Basilectal English (Ruslish) is typical of uneducated speakers and is represented by the code-mixed speech of Russian immigrants in the United States. Zhukova's examples (2001) illustrate the pidginized character of such code-mixing of Russian grammar and English lexis, a sort of 'Russian in foreign clothes' (Zemskaya 2001b: 160). Some features of Ruslish include:

- adding Russian suffixes and endings to nouns: *girlfrienda* ('girlfriend'); *dishvoshka* ('dishwasher');
- double plural endings: *shoesy*; *childrenyata*;
- adding suffixes and prefixes to verbs: *zainshuryu* ('I'll insure . . . ').

English influence on Russian

The Russian language of immigrants to English-speaking countries has been described by several linguists (Benson 1957, 1960; Kouzmin 1973; Olmsted 1986; Andrews 1990, 1997; Polinsky 1995, 1998; Glovinskaya 2001; Zemskaya 2001a, 2001b). These descriptions reveal Englishization of Russian in the new (mostly American) linguistic environment. Some of the processes are parallel to those taking place in Russia, where English influence on the vernacular is so great that it is causing heated disputes in various media. Prof. V. Kostomarov (1999), the former director of the Institute of the Russian Language, considers borrowings from American English the most salient feature in this linguistic development. The flood of American loans is so powerful that English borrowings have been replacing old French and German loans: for example, *макияж* (*maquillage*) is giving way to *мэйкап* (*make-up*), and *бутерброд* (*Butterbrod*) is being substituted by *сэндвич* (*sandwich*). All in all, the Russian language lexicography has fixed about 20,000 English loan words (Dyakov 2019), and, as we know, dictionaries always lag behind real speech practice. We are also witnessing the change of word stress in similar-sounding words that were borrowed from different languages at different periods of time. For example, the word *дискурс* (*diskurs* < *discourse*) originated from French and English, with the stress on the last and first syllables correspondingly. However, the French-influenced pronunciation is being replaced by the English one. English influence is also observed in borrowings from East Asian languages – for example, in Russian, Japanese loans often have a form that corresponds to Romanized English: *суши* [suʃi] instead of *суси* [susi], as it would be if the word had been borrowed directly from Japanese; *тамагочи* [tamagotʃi] instead of *тамаготи* [tamagoti], is another example.

English loans can be seen everywhere but most commonly in computer and information technology domains (*site, interface, display, monitor, chat, email*), business and economics (*promotion, head-hunter, merchandizing*), politics (*electorate, consensus, pluralism, summit*), sports (*freestyle, armwrestling, overtime, kickboxing*), and pop culture (*DJ, hip-hop, single, re-make, thriller*). Using romanized versions of transplanted loans represents a new trend for early twenty-first-century Russian (Kabakchi 2005).

In Russian, English loans are used not only for imported ideas (Krysin 2000) but also provide an exotic flavour. Cross-linguistic puns are common. Several years ago, TV commercials encouraged customers to keep money in the bank named Russkiy Dom Selenga (‘Russian House Selenga’). In Russian, the word Selenga brings to mind a river or lake, while in reality, the name is derived from the word *selling* with a slight change of a vowel (Kostomarov 1999: 122). Language play based on loans creates a humorous effect, attracts attention, and is often employed in book titles. For example, *Рублевка. Live*. ‘Rublyovka. Live’. Sometimes loans produce the impression of a dearth of actual information (Romanov 2000). This occurs in certain academic works whose authors conceal trivial ideas behind pseudo-scientific words, termed ‘agnonyms’ (Morkovkin and Morkovkina 1997), that is, words of foreign origin, whose meanings are unclear and incomprehensible. Examples of Englishized words being used instead of Russian ones to sound more academic but which are actually virtually meaningless, include: *динамика . . .* ***фундирована*** *. . . связями* (‘the dynamic is founded on links’); ***коммуцирует*** *знания* (‘communicates knowledge’).

Hybridization of stems is a productive way of creating neologisms. English stems are used as affixes: for example, by analogy with *peacemaker*, we have *имидж-мейкер* (*image-maker*), *слухмейкер* (*rumour-maker*), *ньюсмейкер* (*newsmaker*), *маркетмейкер* (*market-maker*), and the like. The suffixoid -*shop* has given a number of derivatives: *минишопы* (‘minishops’), *кофе-шопы* (‘coffee-shops’), *секс-шопы* (‘sex-shops’), *принт-шопы* (‘print-shops’).

Hybridization is facilitated by Russian affixation: affixes are easily added to English roots to make the word flexible for borrowing and using in speech: *беспрайсовый* (*bespraisovyi* ‘having no price’), *отъемелить* (*otyemelit* ‘send an email message’), *сидишка* (*sidishka* < CD). The English abbreviation *PR* (public relations) has become a basis for the Russian word family, as in *пиар* (the noun, meaning PR), *пиарить* (the verb), *пиарщик* (a noun, meaning a person in PR), and *пиаровый* (the adjective).

Russian linguists (Kostomarov 1999; Zemskaya 2001a; Rivlina 2005) have noted a new trend in Russian grammar. With the increase of loan words, the number of non-inflected words has also increased, leading to emerging typological change. Second, the use of English noun + noun phrases, when borrowed, brings changes to the word order in Russian attributive clusters, where a borrowed noun is used instead of an adjective: *интернет-кафе* (*internet-café*), *офис-менеджер* (*office-manager*), *офис-применение* (*office employment*) (Aitmukhametova 2000).

Englishization is also found in calquing collocations, as in these examples: *делать бизнес* (*delat’ biznes* ‘to do business’); *взять курс лекций* (*vziat’ kurs lektsiy* ‘to take a course of lectures’).

Borrowed words frequently experience a shift in meaning. Usually, the meaning is narrowed as the word is used in a specific field: *киллер* (*killer*) becomes ‘a special type of killer, a hired killer’; *органайзер* (*organizer*) becomes ‘an electronic device’; *шейпинг* (*shaping*) comes to mean ‘fitness’.

A loan word may also have a Russian equivalent. However, gradually their meanings get differentiated, and thus both forms survive without forcing one another out of the lexicon. For instance, the English loan *image* is applied to official business situations, as in: *имидж работника* (‘image of an employee’), *имидж нашего банка* (‘image of our bank’), while the Russian equivalent *образ* (*obraz*) is used in more personal settings: *образ Татьяны* (*obraz Tatyany* ‘the image of Tatyana’), *образ учителя* (*obraz uchitelia* ‘the image of the teacher’). Thus Russian and English interact, with Russian often influencing and shaping the English (Rivlina 2005).

Attitudes: purification vs enrichment

The attitude of the Russian community to the flood of English loans is ambivalent. On the one hand, there are those who want to purify the Russian language, to develop linguo-ecology as a branch of applied linguistics, and to toughen state laws protecting the Russian language and culture. These people compare the excessive use of English loans with ‘a tumour in the vocabulary body’ (Kostomarov 1999: 144). The Russian government has also been taking steps to preserve and promote the Russian language and culture. In 1995, President Putin decreed the setting up of the Russian Language Council. Its aim was to develop language policy to protect the ecology of the Russian language. However, the work of the Council was not effective. In June 2005, the Russian Parliament passed the National Language Law, which was later criticized by the media and public as unrealistic. Under this law, the official use of foreign words where suitable Russian words exist was forbidden. However, no particular restrictive or punishing measures were proposed; moreover, the text of the law itself included quite a number of loans, which proves that the Russian language is rich with foreign words that Russians have adapted and consider their own. In June 2007, President Putin signed a decree establishing the Russkiy Mir Foundation, for the purpose of ‘promoting the Russian language, as Russia’s national heritage and a significant aspect of Russian and world culture, and supporting Russian language teaching programs abroad’ (russkiymir.ru/fund/). Thus, the linguo-ecological position has received official support. This would appear to be popular, as a sociolinguistic survey conducted by A. Romanov in St Petersburg in the late 1990s revealed that 76 percent of the respondents believe that a massive number of foreign loans in Russian are unjustified; 72 percent of the respondents said that they viewed English loans negatively (Romanov 2000: 63). Today’s situation is hardly different from that of the turn of the century (Proshina and Eddy 2016; Dyakov 2018).

With the increase in the number of English-speaking bilinguals in Russia, however, Anglicisms are considered a guide to a person’s level of education. The more English words a person knows, the more educated s/he is assumed to be. English words characterize and rank a person socially. Generally speaking, foreign borrowings are natural in any language; they enrich the language and open windows to other cultures’ worldviews. They can facilitate international communication. So borrowing is a positive phenomenon unless it threatens ethnic identity, ethnic culture, and ethnic languages.

Conclusion: intercultural approach and prospects of research

To respond the question put in the title – education or culture? – we can definitely say that this is not an alternative. The language learned through education and carrying the culture of their users is an expanding-circle variety that might – and this is natural – have distinctive features of the user’s native language and culture. It is not necessary that all speakers always reveal these features in their speech; this depends on their proficiency, context, and sense of linguacultural identity.

The idea of Russia(n) English is gradually gaining sociolinguistic support (Proshina and Eddy 2016), as the language is strengthening in range and depth (Kachru 1985: 243) along the ‘identity–communication continuum’ (Kirkpatrick 2007). With regard to identity, for example, English is being used more and more for conveying messages about Russia and its culture to people across the world. Russia(n) English is our means of expressing our identity to the global world. By transculturizing information about Russia, English implements the very important role of an envoy, providing information, withdrawing barriers of intercultural misunderstanding, and promoting interest in the nation.

Sociolinguistic studies of Englishes, when taking an intercultural approach, have a significant practical application (Honna 2008). Slavic Englishes are developing members of the World Englishes ‘club’, and thus their description is not as complete as those of other varieties. The prescriptive approach to English which has prevailed in East European educational institutions for so many years should now, to a certain degree, give way to descriptive and intercultural approaches. This does not mean substituting one for another. The appropriate ratio of description and prescription in the pursuit of intercultural intelligibility, comprehensibility, and interpretability (Smith 1992) should be a subject for investigation and joint research among educationalists and linguists.

Finally, it is likely that Slavic Englishes will continue to develop, and a comparison between them and their use in different settings – in their indigenous Slavic settings and in English-speaking environments as in immigrant diasporas – needs to be part of a future research agenda.

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20

West Indian English

An introduction to literature in selected varieties

Hazel Simmons-McDonald

Varieties of English

West Indian English or Caribbean English is broadly used to refer to the English spoken in the Anglophone countries of the Caribbean region and is used for education and other official purposes. It is included among varieties of 'international' or 'World' English used across the globe, such as Australian, Canadian and British English, and it is mutually intelligible with them, although there are differences in features such as accent and vocabulary. These varieties are considered dialects of English, and within a given country, there is further variation based on geographical and other factors. As Roberts (1988: 16) explained, 'West Indian English . . . shares features with all other dialects of English but at the same time has features found only in the West Indies.' While dialects of English are not homogeneous, there are accepted norms for grammaticality and correctness in their use for international discourse. Similarly, there are variations in countries in the region in which West Indian English is spoken. Thus one can refer to Jamaican (Standard) English, Barbadian (Standard) English, Saint Lucian (Standard) English and so on. These are easily identified because of differences in accent; however, the differences are less marked in the areas of grammaticality and correctness of usage than in lexicon, phonology and supra-segmental features.

If this is the case, one might well ask why use the term 'Englishes' at all? Allsopp (1996: xli) asserted that West Indian/'Caribbean English is a collection of sub-varieties of English distributed over a large number of non-contiguous territories.' He also noted that 'Differences in settlement history have made for differences in the present-day English of the Caribbean territories' (1996: xlii). Creole English is one of the 'sub-varieties' also spoken in most, if not all, the Anglophone countries of the Caribbean. Carrington remarked that 'One of the important complicating factors in the linguistic and social reality of the Caribbean Creole languages is the fact that they have continued to co-exist with European languages which have official statuses within the region.' He explained that the complications are 'greatest where the Creole is in contact with the European language that is its lexical source' (1988: 9). The emergence of creoles will be discussed briefly in a subsequent section. One might raise the question whether the designation 'English' might be extended to the 'sub-varieties' of English spoken in the Caribbean. Ashcroft *et al.* (1989: 8) presented the following argument.

> Though British imperialism resulted in the spread of a language, English, across the globe, the english of Jamaicans is not the english of Canadians, Maoris, or Kenyans. We need to distinguish what is proposed as a standard code, English (the language of the erstwhile imperial centre), and the linguistic code, english, which has been transformed and subverted into several distinctive varieties throughout the world.

The authors seem to include in the variety 'english' all the sub-varieties that are not 'British English.' One needs to ask whether it is the case that 'British English' itself has not undergone change and variation as a consequence of its contact with speakers from other communities (see, for example, chapters by Davis, Britain and Docherty this volume). If one excludes phonological features such as accent, intonation, some nouns and other lexical entries that are incorporated in the so-called 'sub-varieties', one would note that there is less variance at the level of what the authors call the 'standard' in the area of grammar and syntax. This is why one can make reference to 'World English' or Internationally Accepted English (IAE), as there is a high level of mutual intelligibility in varieties that are included in this group. While there are differences between the varieties spoken in different countries, these do not hinder communication among speakers from countries who use their Standard English variety that is incorporated in the IAE group.

The *Oxford Concise Dictionary of Linguistics* defines a standard as a variety 'which is learned and accepted as correct across a community or set of communities in which others are also used (e.g. Standard English, as used especially in writing) vs regional dialects, creoles based on English' (Matthews, 1997: 352). Quirk (1962: 100) stated that Standard English 'is particularly associated with English in its written form, and . . . there are sharper restrictions in every way upon the English that is written . . . than upon English that is spoken.' Standard English (SE) varieties have common core features of grammar and word order but will exhibit some differences of expression and vocabulary which do not render them mutually unintelligible. Allsopp (1996: lv) provided clarification with respect to West Indian English. He explained that this variety 'has contributed to the lexicon of the core IAE while having a very large body of regionalisms which have not entered that core.' He said:

> These regionalisms have the unique status of belonging to a conglomerate of several Standard Englishes, those of the nations and states of the former British West Indian colonies – of Barbadian SE, Jamaican SE, Guyanese SE, Trinidadian SE, etc. That conglomerate is Caribbean Standard English.

He defined Caribbean Standard English as:

> (T)he literate English of educated nationals of Caribbean territories and their spoken English such as is considered natural in formal contexts. . . . Caribbean Standard English would be the total body of regional lexicon and usage bound to a common core of syntax and morphology shared with Internationally Accepted English, but aurally distinguished as a discrete type by certain phonological features such as a marked levelling of British English diphthongs and a characteristic disconnection of pitch from stress as compared with British and American sound patterns.
>
> *(Allsopp, 1996: lv)*

The foregoing provides a framework for understanding variation in English – with the uppercase E – in the distinction proposed by Ashcroft *et.al*. However, there is a broader sense in which the reference to english (lowercase e) and what they call the 'linguistic code' requires further explanation. Roberts (1988: 17ff.) discussed another dimension of variation in English existent in the Anglophone Caribbean. The range is from what he referred to as 'Foreign English' to 'Profane English,' with types such as 'Radio and Television English,' 'Erudite English,' 'Colloquial English,' 'Creole English,' 'Rasta English' and 'Profane English' occurring as recognizable varieties along this spectrum. For purposes of this discussion, I would categorise Foreign English, Radio and Television English and Erudite English within the English group (uppercase E – IAE and World English), as these varieties more often than not are used formally and are standard, although on radio and television, one does hear colloquial and dialect usage depending on the programme and intended audience.

The emergence of creoles

The transformation of English into several distinct varieties (Ashcroft *et al.*) seems to be less of an issue with regard to standard varieties than to other subvarieties that emerged as a result of contact between English and other languages spoken by those with whom the British interacted from the earliest times of colonization. I would include among these the creole English varieties spoken in Anglophone Caribbean countries, for example, Jamaican Creole and Guyanese Creole. In the case of Barbados, the dialect Bajan is considered by some linguists a variety that is 'less creolized' than others such as Jamaican, although other authors (e.g. Burrowes 1983; Fields 1995; Rickford 1992) have identified creole features in Bajan. The status of Bajan as a creole continues to be discussed. Another special case is Saint Lucian English Vernacular (SLEV also, referred to as VESL), which developed in recent times and is now widely spoken in Saint Lucia in addition to English and French Creole (Kwéyòl). Discussion has already begun as to whether this variety can be referred to as a creole (Garrett 2003). It is important to discuss how the creole English varieties emerged and how creole in general has been defined.

Mühlhäusler (1986: 6) reduced the definitions of creole in the literature to the following 'three major types':

1 Creoles are regarded as mixed languages typically associated with cultural and often racial mixture.
2 Creoles are defined as pidgin languages (second languages) that have become the first language of a new generation of speakers.
3 Creoles are reflections of a natural bioprogramme for human language which is activated in cases of imperfect language transmission (cf. Bickerton 1981).

Bickerton (1981) explored the process of creolization in the context of language acquisition in situations in which the input language has been restricted. Roberts (1988) acknowledged as a 'controversial element' in theories about the development of languages in the West Indies the role attributed to the child versus the role of the adult. He argued:

> The traditional and most tenacious interpretations of the word 'Creole' itself accord a crucial role to the child. . . . However, most theories explicitly or implicitly regard the initial formative period of West Indian language as second-language learning by West African speakers with then a second stage which involved first-language learning by children born into a slave society.
>
> *(1988: 110)*

Todd suggested that the creoles in the Caribbean evolved in one of two ways, one of which is, 'Speakers of a pidgin may be put in a position where they can no longer communicate by using their mother tongues. This happened on a large scale in the Caribbean during the course of the slave trade' (1974: 3). Hymes (1971: 3) presented a terse definition of both varieties: 'Pidgins arise as makeshift adaptations, reduced in structure and use, no one's first language; creoles are pidgins become primary languages.' Leith (1996: 206) pointed out that the slave trade had a 'long-term effect on the development of the English language.' He asserted that it 'gave rise not only to Black English in the USA and the Caribbean' but it 'also provided the extraordinary context of language contact which led to the formation of English *pidgins* and *creoles*.' It is important to note that while it is accepted that pidgins and creoles emerged as a result of contact between slaves and colonizers who occupied the countries of the West Indies, the nature of the contact situation dictated that both groups would have been instrumental in the development of the pidgin for meaningful communication to take place at all. That being the case, the stigma of inferiority which historically has been attributed to pidgins and creoles because of the notion that they were spoken by slaves merits eradication. However, while the colonizers could communicate among themselves, the Africans who spoke different languages, for the most part, could not use their native languages to communicate among themselves. The pidgin was used for communication where a common language did not exist.

The construct of a post-creole continuum provides a general explanation of the existence of lectal variability, but the ways in which these lects came into being can be explained by the social structure which existed on the plantations in the West Indies during the period of slavery. Alleyne's (1976) explanation is worth considering. Alleyne viewed the development of Caribbean languages as

> (N)ormal developments in a certain kind of contact situation that does not allow . . . close social integration between the two communities in contact; one that does not allow a great deal of social mobility, but rather keeps people in the social station in which they were born and from which they can never move out.
>
> *(Alleyne 1976: 34)*

He claimed that in this kind of contact situation 'you will find that the initial changes that are introduced by a group or people who are undergoing language shift will be eliminated only very slowly' (ibid.). Alleyne explained how the social fabric on the plantation would have yielded the variability evident in the lects along a post-creole continuum, and he observed that 'slaves were differentiated in terms of occupation' which seemed to correspond 'with degrees of social interaction with the European sector of the population.' He stated:

> This division of slaves into field, artisan, and domestic provided the domestic slaves with much more contact, much more interaction with European languages. On the other hand, it afforded the field slaves little or none. . . . Linguistically, this meant that the field slaves developed a certain form of speech consistent with the kind of social interaction they were involved in, and consistent with the kind of communication needs that they had. . . . On the other hand, the domestics had to develop a rather varied range of linguistic ability because their communication needs were varied. . . . The kind of linguistic differentiation that emerged at that time can be seen as existing in present-day Caribbean socio-linguistic structure.
>
> *(Alleyne 1976: 34–35)*

One can conclude that the variety spoken by the field slaves would have been further removed from the variety spoken by the colonizers (the imported standard) than that spoken by domestics and that this variety would correspond to what linguists refer to as the *basilect*. It would thus be positioned at the opposite end of the continuum from the *acrolect*, the variety which corresponds closely to the standard variety which has most prestige. The intervening varieties are referred to as *mesolects*.

Creoles in literature

Many speakers in the West Indies, particularly educated speakers, have multilectal competence and can switch codes easily within a communication interaction, depending on the appropriateness for the situation and audience. This is frequently demonstrated in the literature, particularly prose, in which writers often use the range of dialects available to them in their writing to portray authenticity in characterization. This is also evident in the work of poets. Chamberlin (1993: 124–125) commented on the two inheritances of language available to the Caribbean writer:

> The most radical division for West Indian poets is that which separates their African and European inheritances. Whether descendants of slaves or not, West Indian poets all share that sense of division, and it distinguishes them from their sometime European masters.

Derek Walcott expresses this in the following lines from his poem ‘A Far Cry from Africa’

> The gorilla wrestles with the superman.
> I who am poisoned with the blood of both,
> Where shall I turn, divided to the vein?
> I who have cursed
> The drunken officer of British rule, how choose
> Between this Africa and the English tongue I love?
> (Walcott, Derek [1962]. *In a Green Night: Poems* 1948–1960. London: Jonathan Cape)

In his introduction to the second volume of *Caribbean Voices: The Blue Horizons*, Figueroa (1970: 7) identified similar concerns addressed by poets, referring to them as ‘the experience of conflict of heritages.’ These issues emerge from the major concern of the day to discard the trappings of colonialism and find an authentic West Indian voice. Figueroa asked ‘Should our poets, then, set out to be different?’ And he provided the following answer:

> The question of what makes one a West Indian writer is difficult, and is fraught with all kinds of emotional problems. When ‘West Indianismus’, as Slade Hopkinson calls it, started, it was in many ways a healthy reaction to the attitude which had nothing but blind eyes for ‘burnished beauty nearer home’; which always looked (and looks) abroad, and only to certain countries abroad, for approval and for standards. It was also a healthy reaction against the kind of second-hand experience by which some west Indian writers would fool themselves into believing that they were writing about Spring when they had not ever experienced, in any sense, Spring.
>
> *(Figueroa 1970: 10)*

The poems written in the period to which Figueroa referred were couched primarily in Standard English, Ashcroft *et al.*'s English with uppercase E. The acceptance of English with lowercase e liberated poets from the trappings of the colonial experience. Elsewhere I observed:

> The use of the various lects by Caribbean writers asserts the cultural realities of the region while contributing to the liberation and transformation from a colonised mentality. . . . The creation of successful counter-discourses stems from the expert manipulation of the range of varieties which result from multidialectal (multilingual) competence. This competence also involves the communicative dimension of an understanding of the cultural contexts or place in which these varieties are used.
>
> *(Simmons-McDonald 2003: 195)*

Chamberlin (1993: 112) wrote that 'a sense of divided or dual allegiance . . . is a fact of life' for West Indian poets and 'a feature of their languages.' However, it is also a source of power, as they have used both the European and African influences on their culture and language to express an identity that is uniquely West Indian. He indicated:

> West Indian poets have found ways to break free from the spell of a debilitating schizophrenia by recognizing that it is precisely this sense of divided allegiance that unites [West Indian poets] with other poets, and that the language of poetry in all its traditions, African as well as European, routinely includes both high and low varieties of language, as well as elements of both artifice and naturalness.
>
> *(Chamberlin 1993: 112)*

Jamaican poet, Edward Baugh, demonstrates that naturalness in the use of English and 'english' that evokes the sense of comfort with identity and mastery over the lects from the dual inheritances referred to earlier. The poem is presented here with the permission of the poet.

> When the final carry-down artist lock down
> this town and scorch the earth till not
> even lizard don't crawl, those who still living
> next morning will see me surviving still
> wood of life, salvation tree
> I renew my phases of lilac-blue
> and gold and always green, I am
> a shady place for those who have lost
> their way to the house of the man who gave
> them stones for bread
> I don't want to sound
> like I boasting, but too many small men in this two-
> by-four place is giant, and you only have to open
> your mouth and you can hang up a shingle outside
> your gate with 'expert' behind your name.
> And to think, so many people born
> and grow and dead and never feel
> the rainbreeze blowing cool across
> Cinchona from Catherine's Peak at middle

day. Sometimes I feel my heart
harden, but I not going nowhere, my root
sink too deep, and when the 8 o'clock sun
wake up the generations of stale pee and puke
that stain the sidewalk by Parade, I weep
I bloom choirs of small butterflies.
(Edward Baugh [2000]. 'Lignum Vitae.'
In *It Was the Singing*. Kingston:
Sandberry Press, p. 97)

Baugh moves effortlessly between Jamaican Creole English and Standard Jamaican. In lines 1 through 4, he uses the idiom of a mesolectal variety of Jamaican Creole, evident in the terms *carry-down artist* (line 1), *not even lizard don't crawl* (lines 2–3) and *lock down*. A more commonly attested feature in creoles is elimination of redundancy in the morphology as in the omission of the *s* in *lock*. The second example – a double negative – provides the rhetorical emphasis the poet requires in the line. The double negative as used by Baugh is logical because it not only carries the rhythm of the lect, but it also provides the force of emphasis that the standard could not carry in such a context.

The term *carry-down artist* is culturally relevant in the Jamaican context. A colleague (Velma Pollard, personal communication) presented me with the following as a literal meaning for the term as 'someone who in some way subverts your intention. Usually it is someone you don't expect to carry you down.' In this case, Baugh uses the image of the 'carry-down artist' figuratively to represent a force of nature that brings deprivation and death to the town, and the barrenness of the landscape is contrasted with the life of the lignum vitae tree, which represents hope, renewal and regeneration. The use of Creole in lines 1–3 evokes the starkness and dryness of the earth as well as the absence of life (*not even lizard don't crawl*) crisply and with economy of expression. It also evokes the softness of nature 'never feel the rainbreeze . . . at middle day.'

In line 4, Baugh moves seamlessly into the idiom of the standard by using the full standard verb phrase 'will see me surviving still,' and the grammar and idiom of the standard are carried over into the following five lines. The use of 'rainbreeze' which is not, as far as I am aware, a common Creole word but which operates similarly to the process of juxtaposition of nouns that often occurs in the Creole, initiates the shift from Creole to Standard Jamaican in that stanza, but this is not sustained as the insertion of the non-standard double negative ('I not going nowhere') introduces the (other) Creole voice 'my root sink too deep,' which then becomes almost undecipherable from the use of the standard in the last two lines of the poem. The voice of the lignum vitae is the Creole voice, and its identity is that of the people, rooted in the earth and deriving the sustenance that allows it to 'renew its phases' cyclically, without succumbing to death.

Status and roles of 'englishes' in Caribbean communities

The language situations in countries in the Caribbean in which the 'mass' language (usually a creole) is different from the official language vary according to the sociopolitical history of the countries, with attitudes towards the languages being influenced by their status and prestige. Alleyne observed that 'two or three types of language situations' can be observed in the Caribbean (1976: 36). He distinguished between bilingual situations in which there is no relationship between the creole language spoken by the masses and the official language. He presented as examples Surinam or the Dutch Antilles, Saint Lucia and Dominica. In Saint

Lucia and Dominica, English is the official language, while French Creole, the language spoken by the masses, is not mutually intelligible with English. 'Continued contact between the French Creole and English has resulted in the emergence of a "new" English' (Simmons-McDonald 2003: 183) with 'features that are common to other English-lexicon creoles in the Caribbean' (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985: 147) and 'strongly influenced by Creole phonetic, semantic and syntactic patterns' (Alleyne 1961: 5–6). This Saint Lucian English Lexicon Vernacular may constitute a 'third' type of 'new English' or 'an alternative English variety' which is distinguished from a variety like Jamaican, for example, because it emerged out of 'a more recent and ongoing contact situation' (Simmons-McDonald 2003: 195).

Other suggestions have been made in the literature about the emergence and spread of Saint Lucian English Vernacular. One such is that it developed in the school context as a result of the attempts of French Creole speakers to learn English (e.g. Christie 1983, referring to Dominica, which has a similar sociolinguistic situation to that of Saint Lucia). Another is that it developed and spread from casual contact in communities between speakers of English and Kwéyòl (e.g. Garrett 2003). I argue that both of these explanations are plausible, with the school providing the catalyst for emergence early on and spread occurring as a result of continuous and increasing contact between speakers in communities (Simmons-McDonald 2009).

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller reported that the emerging varieties of English in use in Saint Lucia seemed to represent a 'multidimensional continuum' (1985: 140), which involves the co-existence of Kwéyòl features and features common to other English-based creoles in the Caribbean. Carrington speculated that 'highest concentrations of competence in English would be in the area of Castries, the capital, with concentration of competence in [Kwéyòl] being the privilege of rural districts' (1984: 184). Trends indicate that there has been language shift in Saint Lucia, from a predominantly Kwéyòl-speaking community in the late 1940s with a relatively high percentage of exclusive Kwéyòl speakers (43 per cent) to a predominantly bilingual community, in which varieties of English are becoming increasingly dominant and in which the percentage of exclusive Kwéyòl speakers is probably small. Garrett (2000: 73) stated that although the vernacular is 'acknowledged to exist in recent scholarly literature . . . it is not acknowledged by most St. Lucians.' He went on to say that:

> St. Lucians are certainly attentive to the fact that some persons speak English better than others – that is, that some speak more in accordance with pedagogical standards. . . . But for everyday purposes of most St. Lucians, English is English and no further distinctions need be made.
>
> *(Garrett 2000: 73)*

Before scholars ever discussed or studied the variation that exists in the varieties of English used on the island, one found nuanced instances of SLEV in the work of writers such as Roderick and Derek Walcott and Garth St. Omer.

Garrett's comment cited previously points to the fact that most Saint Lucians do not recognise a difference between the official variety and SLEV, which is now being acquired as a first language by children in areas where formerly Kwéyòl was more likely to have been the first language. Saint Lucian Standard English, the official language, is ascribed a higher status than either Kwéyòl or SLEV. The emergence of SLEV and its recognition as a lect that is different from the official variety are fairly recent, and the few early empirical studies that were done on attitudes to language in Saint Lucia did not include it as a variable for analysis. Early studies on the language situation in Saint Lucia compared Saint Lucian Standard and Kwéyòl. For the most part, the views expressed about Kwéyòl were negative.

Some studies reported that Saint Lucians were ambivalent about Kwéyòl but may have a higher regard for it than for English, as they rated Kwéyòl versions of a story in a matched guise test 'more confident' and 'more wise' than English (Liebermann 1975: 487). Attitudes towards Kwéyòl in the teaching profession have changed for the better, since 81 per cent of principals reported that they allowed teachers to use Kwéyòl in class when necessary, and 92 per cent of primary school teachers reported that they used Kwéyòl with children for a range of purposes (Simmons-McDonald 1988: 30). This was encouraging, as earlier studies had reported that students would sometimes be punished for using Kwéyòl on the school compound.

More recent studies have commented on the increased use and recognition of SLEV as another English variety, and it has been the subject of study over several years (e.g. Garrett 2003; Simmons-McDonald 2006). The latter study reported that SLEV was valued less highly than either Standard St. Lucian or Kwéyòl, whereas there was greater similarity in valuation of Standard St. Lucian and Kwéyòl on all attitude traits included in the study. This was interpreted to indicate that Kwéyòl is valued as highly as Standard St. Lucian, whereas SLEV is less highly valued than either of the two other varieties. An interesting finding from that study was that teachers were more likely to allow the use of Kwéyòl in the classroom for purposes of providing explanations to students, but they were less tolerant of the use of SLEV, which they characterized as 'broken or bad English.' Yet SLEV is used increasingly with Kwéyòl and Standard Saint Lucian in the work of writers to portray the language and culture of Saint Lucians in a realistic way.

In the past, across the Caribbean (and even further afield), creoles were described in such disparaging terms that even the speakers of these language varieties tended to accept the lower status ascribed to creoles and discouraged their use by children in the expectation that learning the standard would lead to success in education. Spitzer attributes the following example to a critic, Leopold: 'The Sierra Leone patois is . . . a standing menace and a disgrace hindering not only educational development but also the growth of civilization in the colony' (Spitzer 1966: 411). A similar comment was made about French Creole in Saint Lucia: 'Patois is making [Saint Lucians] backwards; it is nothing but palawala and it is merely a ploy to keep us back' (Yarde 1989).

Such sentiments and the attachment of creoles to slavery have historically influenced the status of these languages, and countries like Jamaica and Guyana in which the creoles are lexically related to the standard variety have been no exception. Jamaica had a long history of colonization by the British, and consequently, English has been the official language in that country for decades. At present, it has higher status than Jamaican Creole, although the latter is widely used in the literature and lyrics of reggae and exported via these media to the rest of the world. The language situation in Jamaica is also one that is described as a continuum, with a basilect variety that is widely spoken by the masses and mesolectal varieties that approximate to Jamaican Standard English. In an early description of the situation in Jamaica, Alleyne said.

> [T]he mass language . . . referred to as 'dialect,' arose out of a contact situation with English, and . . . English remains the language official, the language of the elite, and the language of the colonial or former colonial power. . . . [I]n the case of someone speaking the mass language of Jamaica and an Englishman, there is a great deal of

> communication difficulty, there is some breakdown, and some disruption of communication, but it is said that it is not total.
>
> *(Alleyne 1976: 36)*

More recently, comparing the situations in Barbados and Jamaica, Roberts made a similar point, noting that in both countries there is ‘a spectrum of varieties related to the English Language,’ but in the case of Jamaica, there are ‘more varieties distant from English’ (1988: 6). Yet, De Camp (1971), cited in Rickford (1987: 18), observed that many Jamaicans do not recognize the heterogeneous situation that exists in that context since

> Many Jamaicans persist in the myth that there are only two varieties; the patois and the standard. But one speaker’s attempt at the broad patois may be closer to the standard end of the continuum than is another’s attempt at the standard.

Jamaican Creole is used widely in the country, and it is highly valued by its speakers. The current situation in Jamaica is one in which decreolization towards Jamaican Standard is unlikely, as more widespread use of the mass language is becoming the norm. This has led academics like Devonish (1983) and Cooper (2003) to advocate the use of Jamaican Creole in education. Devonish (1983) provided this explanation in support of the establishment of the Jamaica Language Institute for Creole Language Standardisation and Development:

> Creole in Creole-speaking societies is a vital natural resource which should be properly exploited in the process of developing the human resources of these societies. Like all other natural resources, however, language remains of limited usefulness if left undeveloped.
>
> *(Devonish 1983: 308)*

In a later paper, Carpenter and Devonish (2010) described progress made by the Jamaica Language Unit (JLU) with the implementation of a bilingual project in Grades 1–4 in three primary schools in Jamaica:

> [I]t was revolutionary in a context where traditionally English was being taught as the presumed mother tongue of children who were speakers of Jamaican . . . teachers in the classroom had yet to fully accept Jamaican as a language distinct from English rather than as a non-standard dialect of English. Many of the assumptions and practices associated with English as a Mother Tongue (EMT) were alive and well.
>
> *(Carpenter and Devonish 2010: 169)*

In a later report on the Bilingual Education Project (BEP), the authors stated:

> [T]he major achievement of the BEP was to demonstrate that a fully bilingual programme involving the use of an English-lexicon creole and English could be implemented in a Caribbean setting. Its main goal, which was to document the steps that need to be taken to do this, has also been achieved.
>
> *(Devonish and Carpenter 2014: 180)*

Cooper (2003) presented a critique of stories by the group Sistren, using Jamaican Creole to validate the richness of the Creole for literary purposes and its use as a tool for critiquing literary works. She said:

> *Mi a go shuo unu se me kyan yuuz Jamiekan fi taak bout aal kain a big sobjek. But some a wi jus cyan get it inna we hed seh we can use Jamiekan fi reason. An we a use language; a no language a use we. So fi wi language can do whatsever we want it fi do. (2003)*
>
> *(I will show you that I can use Jamaican to talk about all sorts of erudite subjects. But some of us just can't get it into our heads that we can use Jamaican to reason (for critical thinking). And we use language, language doesn't use us. So it is with our language; we can do whatever we want it to do.)*

The validation of Jamaican Creole for literary purposes is something that writers had been working on for a long time. They, like writers across the Caribbean, used the creoles and creole-influenced vernaculars (CIVs) in their writing 'to express the cultural realities of the people' (Simmons-McDonald 2003: 190) and in so doing have elevated the status of the creoles and contributed to their increased validation in recent times.

Some considerations related to culture and identity

Just as language played an important role in the lives of slaves on the plantations in circumscribing notions of personal and collective freedom, it plays an even bigger role in determining and defining notions such as identity and perhaps more importantly in shaping the destinies of speakers of creole language varieties. Kramsch (1998: 8) made the following point:

> Language is not a culture-free code, distinct from the way people think and behave, but rather, it plays a major role in the perpetuation of culture, particularly in its printed form. . . . Language is intimately linked not only to the culture that is and the culture that was, but also to the culture of the imagination that governs people's decisions and actions far more than we may think.

Kramsch further stated that 'national cultures resonate with the voices of the powerful, and are filled with the silences of the powerless' (1998: 9).

The imposition of English as the official language during colonization was the means by which English was established as the voice that would articulate a particular course of development for the people of the Anglophone Caribbean. It was a reality in which the creoles would be rendered powerless. However, some writers subvert that very notion of the powerlessness of the creoles by using processes in writing that Ashcroft *et al.* referred to as 'abrogation' and 'appropriation' (i.e. use of the 'english' varieties) as 'a medium of power' (1989: 38). The power stems from the capability of writers to manipulate the range of varieties expertly to assert the cultural realities of the Caribbean while at the same time 'contributing to the liberation and transformation of a colonized mentality' (Simmons-McDonald 2003: 195). Condé (1998) stated: '"the creole" was a means of communication to be understood by both masters and slaves.' As such, 'it can be seen as the first example of the Caribbean syncretic culture.' She continued, 'when Creole became widespread in each island, at its outset, it was not perceived as a unique linguistic creation, but rather as a distortion, a perversion of the model of the European colonizer's language' (Condé 1998: 102). The validation of alternative varieties of English, 'english'/creoles and CIVs through their uses in literature is one of the ways by which writers assert their culture and identity that are bound up in the concept of 'creolization' or *créolité*, the French equivalent used by Pépin and Confiant (1998: 97), which involves the assumption of a rich linguistic heritage that allows for the adoption of what they perceive to be 'an identity of co-existence.'

Rickford observed that the transplantation of English around the world has dramatically transformed it, particularly in Commonwealth and Third World countries in which English exists with pidgins and creoles (Rickford 1998: 58). The examples presented thus far demonstrate this, but perhaps the contribution to world literature by the work of writers from the Caribbean cannot be more strongly demonstrated than in the work of Nobel Laureates for Literature Vidia Naipaul and Derek Walcott. The following extract from Walcott's play 'The Sea at Dauphin' uses SLEV for authentic presentation of character.

> Malice! Compassion! What it have in this morning before sun even wipe his eye, that I must take this dirty tongue from you, eh? When I did working your age with Bolo, you think I could show my teeth in disrespect? And this new thing, compassion? Where is compassion? Is I does make poor people poor, or this sea vex? Is I that put rocks where should dirt by Dauphin side, man cannot make garden grow? Is I that swell little children belly with bad worm, and woman to wear clothes white people use to wipe their foot? In my head is stone, and my heart is another, and without stone, my eyes would burst for that, would look for compassion on woman belly. I born and deading in this coast that have no compassion to grow food for children, no fish enough to buy new sail, no twine. Every day sweat, sun, and salt, and night is salt and sleep, and all the dead days pack away and stink, is Dauphin life. Not I who make it!
>
> *(Derek Walcott (1970) Dream on Monkey Mountain and Other Plays, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, p. 53)*

What is most striking about this extract is that it represents, for the most part, a direct translation from Kwéyòl. Isaac (1986) reported the existence of a continuum in the Saint Lucian context with a variety of English similar to Kwéyòl, in syntactic structure which consists of 'calqued forms' that represent direct translation from Kwéyòl. She presented the continuum as a pyramid, with Kwéyòl at the base, leading sharply into the English Lexicon Variety, with phrases and sentence patterns mirroring those of Kwéyòl and forming the basilect. Mesolectal varieties containing fewer similarities to Kwéyòl but having features similar to some Caribbean Creole English varieties occur above the basilect and taper to Saint Lucian Standard English at the apex of the pyramid. Garrett (2000) discussed a continuum which, if graphically presented, would be similar in some ways to that of Isaac's.

Examples of calques on the French Creole constructions in the previous excerpt include the following: *'What it have'*; *'Is I does make poor people poor . . .'*; *'Is I that put rock*s *. . .'*; *'I born and deading in this coast . . .'*; *'Not I who make it!'* Walcott captures a variety closest to what Isaac and Garrett would consider basilect SLEV while including phrases from other mesolectal forms: *'you think I could show my teeth in disrespect?' 'and woman to wear clothes white people use to wipe their foot?' 'Man cannot make garden grow?'* The interweaving of these varieties captures the rich texture of the fabric of Saint Lucian English while hinting, through the primary use of the basilect, at underlying Kwéyòl nuances in phrasing.

The character (a fisherman) chides Bolo for showing disrespect by speaking rudely – ‘dirty tongue’ – and disclaims responsibility for the hardships endured by fishermen, eking out an existence on the Dauphin coast. The images are of nature; the dawn ‘before sun even wipe his eye’ – and of abject poverty – a life of deprivation conveyed by the image of children with extended tummies, suffering from worms, and women wearing the hand-me-down rags of white people. The experience of the fisherman speaker is given authenticity and presented with realism through the use of the vernacular and the weaving of the varieties that represent the voice of Saint Lucian folk.

The selections illustrate some of the ways in which writers make variable use of the vernacular to convey message and enrich meaning through the evocation of authentic language to portray life experience and culture. The literature, like the music, has international reach and has achieved wide acceptance, recognition and validation as a part of world literature. It is not that English has been ‘subverted’ and new lects created based on its lexicon; it is rather that English itself has been enriched by its interaction with speakers of other lects and languages. As Rickford said, ‘English is enriched too, by its new geographical and social contexts, and by the new content of the millions who use it . . . and it is gifted with ideas and perspectives, rhythms and metaphors which it would not otherwise have had’ (198: 58).

Conclusion: creoles in the future

Language change is a dynamic process, and languages go through change over time in a gradual way. This is no different with the ‘english’ varieties that are creoles, CIVs and dialects. These are vehicles of communication used by people for a variety of everyday purposes and, as such, they continue to be studied by linguists, who not only engage in the description of their grammars but also chronicle the process of change in these varieties. This of itself indicates that if these activities can be undertaken with so-called ‘english’ varieties, they are languages that can be studied in the same ways and subjected to the same types of analysis as English. It is therefore important to note that there is nothing inherent in a given language to lead one to conclude that some languages are inferior.

Languages have different systems for conveying meaning, and it is the study of these systems that leads to an understanding of how the languages work. The circumscription and restriction of creoles to functions that exclude education and other official areas have resulted not from an understanding of the systems of the languages or how they can be used in a wider range of functions for the benefit of the people but from the perception of a dominant group who made value judgements about language and determined that certain languages did not have the capacity for dealing with abstraction or serious thought or for literary purposes.

However, the creoles are the varieties with which the masses identify, and they are important to their identity as a people, an identity of ‘creoleness.’ Wilson Harris observed that the term ‘creoleness’ is peculiar, as it may sustain ‘a conservative, if not reactionary purist logic’ (Harris 1998: 26). He asserted that creoleness ‘signifies . . . a cross-cultural nemesis capable of becoming a saving nemesis,’ the latter implying ‘recuperative powers and vision.’ Embracing the notion of ‘creoleness’ is seen as a force for forging a particular identity and for achieving liberation from the hegemony of the colonial language. This has already been manifested in West Indian literature, in which writers use the full range of lectal varieties available to them to explore issues of identity and to assert the realities of a creole culture that is part and parcel of West Indian life. Ashcroft *et al.* showed (1989) that writers have used that mastery to ‘deconstruct’ the colonial language of power through the use of vernacular languages, either minimally or extensively in their texts. Condé (1998: 102–103) listed many specific examples of texts that attempt such deconstruction. She argued that by using the strategy of embedding creole in the texts, writers 'injected the marginalized and despised culture into the heart of the dominant one and in so doing, destroyed the latter's hegemony' (103) She wrote:

> The control of language is one of the primary aspects of colonial oppression – the dependency of the periphery upon the center. Language is a site of power: who names, controls. The politically and economically alienated colonized are first colonized linguistically. In their attempt to gain freedom and self-determination, the colonized must put an end to the pre-eminence of the colonial language.
>
> *(Condé 1998: 103)*

The power for achieving such freedom and self-determination is realized in the use of the vernaculars ('englishes') of the region in the literature, the lyrics of songs to express the experience and culture of a people. Through these forms of expression, 'creoleness' can become the 'saving nemesis' to which Harris referred. The significant contribution of West Indian writers to the international recognition and acceptance of creoles as 'alternative English varieties' presents a compelling medium through which the full potential of these languages can be appreciated.

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21

English and English teaching in Colombia

Tensions and possibilities in the expanding circle

Adriana González

Introduction: some background information about Colombia and English in Colombia

Colombia is an ethnically diverse country. It has a population of 48,258,494 inhabitants, according to the 2018 national census. The census identified as minority groups indigenous peoples, Afro Colombians, native people from the Archipelago of San Andrés, and the Roma population. Besides Spanish, the language used by the majority of the population, there are 64 indigenous languages (Landaburu 1999) and two creoles: a Caribbean English-based creole called San Andrés Creole or Islander, (Bartens 2003) and Palenquero (Schwegler 2011). Despite the promotion of the different languages that the national constitution promulgates, people associate bilingualism with the mastery of Spanish and another Western language, mainly English. The use of two or more languages from indigenous peoples and the sign language of the deaf are forms of 'invisible bilingualism' in the country (De Mejía 2011).

Native bilingual and multilingual communities are often marginalized and impoverished in many countries, and this is no different in Colombia. Indigenous peoples suffer severe social and economic problems and ethnic discrimination (Behrman, Gaviria, and Székely 2003).

English in Colombia

The presence of English in the country reflects diversity. The Colombian islands of San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina have the highest presence of English. Native inhabitants of the archipelago could be considered as belonging to the outer circle, as they use San Andrés Creole, English, and Spanish in a diglossic and often triglossic situation (Moya 2006, 2014). In contrast, English in continental Colombia resembles an expanding circle context in that English is primarily a language that people learn at school.

English in San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina Islands

The sociolinguistic profile of the San Andrés Archipelago includes the use of Spanish, English, and Creole. 'Spanish is the language of business, banking, the government, and education. Creole is the language of informal and everyday situations; and English is restricted mainly to religious services' (own translation, Sanmiguel 2006: 112). English is also used in communications with foreign tourists. However, Bartens (2013: 102) questions the state of the islands as a case of classical diglossia,

> Standard English is spoken by older people and those who have lived abroad. The former tend to speak Standard Caribbean English, the latter mostly Standard American English. Standard English is also the only language of sermons in some churches. In other churches, only Spanish or a mixture of Standard English, Creole, and possibly Spanish is employed.

Bartens (2013: 102) adds that islanders use Spanish in formal interactions and that it has displaced San Andrés Creole in colloquial conversations in the domains of family or peer groups. Moya (2014) states that Spanish is more present on the islands because of the increasing population that speaks it. As a consequence, it has an important role in the official life of the territory.

Several authors and local academics from the islands say that English had a stronger presence in the life of the community before the 1950s when the island was not a free port. Native islanders feel an inadequacy with their general proficiency in English and report attrition among younger generations (Bartens 2013). The decrease in the use of English is a consequence of the Colombianization policy promulgated by the national government in the 1950s promoting the use of Spanish. O'Flynn de Chaves (1990) states that not having English as a means of instruction in schools and the fact that fewer young people go to church have affected the use of English in the community. She says that the Baptist Church 'is the institution that has contributed the most to the maintenance of English' (1990: 23, own translation).

English remains, however, a language of prestige on the islands. It is 'ideologically linked to the British heritage and non-black speakers' (Ramírez-Cruz, Gooden and Pisin 2016: 4). It still maintains its use in the church, as a means of instruction in bilingual schools, and as a *lingua franca* with foreigners. However, Moya (2014: 56) states that the presence of English on the islands is decreasing gradually and remaining only in religious spaces.

As English is a high-status language, many islanders 'claim that their native language is exclusively English. It is very offensive to them to imply that there is another native language on the island' (O'Flynn de Chaves 1990: 24, own translation). Moya (2006, 2014) found the islanders do not distinguish Creole from English. Villar Bernard (2017) states that the undifferentiated use of Creole and English in bilingual classrooms has a strong influence on the low English learning outcomes. She concludes that there is a need for different pedagogical approaches to allow San Andrés Creole speakers to achieve better language performance. Although many islanders believe that the main bilingualism of the islands is English–Spanish, different studies show that San Andrés Creole–Spanish is the most common bilingual situation for the indigenous population (García León 2014; Sanmiguel 2006).

Regarding the language structure, English on the archipelago of San Andrés shares many features with San Andrés Creole. The preference for unmarked verbs and nouns and the flexibility in the use of markers of time, mode, and aspect are salient features. Bartens (2003: 114) provides two examples of San Andrés English that represent this feature: 'The three from civil society that was selected was Dr Juvencio Gallardo, Mr Felix Mitchell Modem who represent the youth and this host, Juan Ramírez Dawkins' and 'It read as follow:'.

The phonological system of this variety contains almost the same consonant system of English, with the exception of interdental fricatives /Ɵ/ and /ð/, a main characteristic of some other creoles and varieties of English. These sounds may be used by people that have studied English formally and use them when they talk to native-speaker foreigners (Dittman 1992: 58). San Andrés Creole speakers pronounce them as alveolar stops /t/ and /d/: 'thin' [din] and 'that' [dat].

The triglossic situation of the archipelago has changed in the last two decades. As noted previously, standard English tends to be the language of sermons in some churches and is spoken mainly by older islanders. The increasing use of Spanish on the islands has displaced San Andrés Creole from nuclear family and peer group interactions (Bartens 2013: 102). Efforts to resist the loss of Creole and English motivated the design and implementation of the Trilingual Education Project (Morren 2010). Creole was the means of instruction in pre-primary and first grade, with the later introduction of standard English and Spanish. Bartens (2013: 102) argues that the Colombian government policy to reintroduce standard English, and the high contact with Spanish due to migration, have intensified the endangerment of San Andrés Creole. To maintain access to the three languages, various researchers have advised some form of trilingual education for the archipelago (Dittman 2013; Sanabria James, Sanmiguel and Schoch Angel 2019). They argue that multilingual and multicultural education respects the culture of islanders, constructs equal relations of power, and supports social cohesion. This education allows the co-existence of their Creole and their English variety with Spanish, the language they associate with their Colombian identity.

English in continental Colombia

English use outside the islands of San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina suggests that mainland Colombia represents an expanding circle context. This classification is 'due to the pedagogical status of English as a foreign language, its lack of official status, its restricted uses, and the increasing number of learners' (Vélez-Rendón 2003: 188). As in most expanding circle contexts, most people look to inner circle varieties as classroom models (Bonilla-Carvajal and Tejada-Sánchez 2016). While Colombians have mixed attitudes about a preference for American or British English, there is a stronger preference for the American variety in spelling and pronunciation. Englishes from the outer circle are considered to be of lower prestige and linguistically impure.

English was always mandatory in high school and, since the launching in 2005 of the English Education policy 'National Program of Bilingualism' (NPB), it has since been mandatory in elementary schools (Sánchez and Obando 2008; Correa and González 2016).

Depending on the socioeconomic status of the population, proficiency in English can vary considerably. Since Vélez-Rendón (2003) outlined a sociolinguistic profile for Colombia, the number of people who can use English has increased significantly, mainly as a result of the national English education policies (Fandiño-Parra, Bermúdez-Jiménez, and Lugo-Vásquez 2012). In terms of English proficiency, for the last eight years, the Education First English Proficiency Index reports have placed Colombia at a very low level for the period 2011–2016, both globally and in Latin America. In 2017, for example, Colombia occupied the 60th position among 88 countries (Education First 2018).

The requirements for teaching English in Colombia are diverse. The implementation of the NPB has highlighted two major issues: the shortage of qualified teachers and the low language proficiency of many teachers, both pre-service and in-service (Cárdenas-Ramos and Chaves 2013; Kostina 2012; Viáfara 2016). Although employers prefer a candidate who has a teaching degree, a native speaker or anyone who grew up or lived in an English-speaking country and who holds an international teaching certification or has a good score in an international English proficiency test may be an English teacher. The last decade has seen an expanding number of English teachers employed who do not have the academic qualifications and teaching experience desired (Ramírez Ospina 2015).

The shortage of qualified English teachers is a particular problem in public education. Educational authorities have passed laws that allow graduates from any major to teach English in high schools (González 2007; Álvarez Espinal 2018). In elementary education, teachers of English are usually educators who hold bachelor's degrees in preschool, primary education, arts, Spanish, or social sciences. As part of their teaching load, they have to teach some hours of English, even if they do not have the language proficiency to do it. The lack of the requirement for an English language teaching (ELT) degree, especially in elementary education, has generated ample academic debate for two main reasons (Correa and González 2016, Quintero and Guerrero 2013). First, such professionals teach a subject which they did not study, and that has produced stress and job dissatisfaction for many of them (Álvarez Espinal 2018). Second, the teachers' knowledge of ELT is poor. A significant consequence has been the general mistrust of English teachers' work in public elementary schools.

English in Colombia: landmarks of a growing demand

It is possible to explain the rapid expansion of English in Colombia as the result of two issues to which Mufwene (2010) attributes the spread of English as a global language. One is the prescription of English in schools 'of almost every country of the Outer and Expanding Circles.' And two, its use as 'the primary lingua franca for business, navigation, science and technology, and academia' (p. 57). The prescription of English in schools reflects the national language education policies that have mandated a stronger presence of English throughout the educational system since 2002. The second issue is a consequence of Colombia's globalisation agenda.

Fairclough states that in understanding the relationship between globalization and language, it is crucial to distinguish five leading agencies or sets of agents, 'academic analysis, governmental agencies, non-governmental agencies, the media, and people in everyday life' (2006: 5). The participation of these five agencies in Colombia is evident, mainly in the ways that they all construct discourses about bilingualism and English, which are tightly related to the promises of prosperity and economic growth (Salamanca 2007; Valencia 2014). The introduction of English as part of a language policy began in the 1940s in cooperation with American and British governments. Binational Colombian-American and Colombian-British language centres offered educational and economic support for the development of the country and the promotion of the English language and culture (García et al. 2007).

The higher demand for and consequent offering of English in Colombia has grown in the past 40 years, and English has become more visible in the school system since the government's attempts to reform ELT in the 1980s under the legislation known as *Revolución Educativa* (Educational Revolution). In the decade 2010–2020, the expansion of English has been related to two factors: one, the admission of the country as a member of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2018 (Miranda and Valencia-Giraldo 2019) and two, the increase in the number of foreign visitors. The economic climate and the high democratic stability of Colombia were seen as important justifications for joining the OECD. The social transformation in the last two decades and the peace agreement that the government and the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC) guerrilla group signed in 2016 has attracted more tourists, scholars, diplomats, and investors.

The use of English in higher education is also expanding. Since the 1990s, English has become increasingly important for undergraduate and graduate students in the majority of Colombian universities, especially those that are keen to promote internationalization. The motivations to study English include access to scholarships for graduate programmes and academic exchanges. The number of universities that demand at least reading skills in English from all their undergraduates and which promote the acquisition of communication skills has increased in the last ten years as a consequence of the NPB (Berry and Taylor 2014; Cronquist and Fiszbein 2017). Major research universities demand candidates for professorships and doctoral studies to have the ability to communicate in a foreign language, English being preferred. Although this requirement has provoked reactions both in favour and against, there seems to be an agreement on the importance for professors and graduate students to have competence in English (Granados Beltrán 2013; Miranda and Valencia Giraldo 2019). There is very little research on the status of English learning in non-formal education in the country. Still, the growth of programmes, the market demand for EFL teachers, and the number of new language institutes is increasing.

Current English language education policies

Since 2002, Colombia has set agendas that seek to increase educational coverage and quality to make its citizens competitive in a globalized world (Ministerio de Educación Nacional 2016a) especially with the competent use of English and information and communication technologies (ICTs). Typical citizens identify English–Spanish bilingualism and technological skills as *sine qua nons* for the education of all Colombians.

The NPB set the levels of English proficiency expected. The programme aims to ensure citizens are able 'to communicate in English with standards comparable internationally so that they may be able to involve the country in the processes of international communication, global economy, and cultural opening' (Ministerio de Educación Nacional 2006a: 2). Several projects have been established within the framework of the NPB, including the creation of national standards for English learning, the search for better standards in English teacher education and professional development (PD) programs, and the assessment of teachers' and students' language proficiency. The Ministry of Education (MoE) designed the national standards according to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR). The national agenda projected as targets for the year 2019 the following minimum levels of proficiency: B1 level for high school graduates, B2 for EFL teachers and graduates from university programmes, and C1 for graduates from English teacher preparation programmes (Ministerio de Educación Nacional 2006a).

After the launch of the NPB, debate generated changes in the implementation of the policy. However, other than extending the deadline to 2025 for the proficiency targets and changing the names of the program, the scope and philosophical framework have remained the same. After the initial phase of the NPB (2006–2010), the policy name was 'Programme for the Strengthening of the Development of Competences in Foreign Languages (PSDCFL) (2010–2014)'. In 2014, the programme's name changed to Bilingual Colombia. However, in 2015, the policy name was altered to National English Programme 'Colombia very well (2015–2025)'. The MoE is prioritising the production of textbooks and teaching materials, all coordinated by the British Council (Programa Nacional de Inglés 2015).

Tensions and possibilities in the expanding circle

The current status of English in Colombia reveals tensions between the different actors who participate in ELT as decision-makers or implementers of the language policies. I address these tensions, along with possibilities, in the following.

Tensions

Use of the CEFR as the model to set the standards and levels of proficiency for students and teachers

This issue is one of the main sources of tension. The MoE chose the CEFR because it had substantial academic research to support it (Cely 2007; Hernández 2007; Ministerio de Educación Nacional 2005). Some local voices, however, criticized the adoption of CEFR scales because the educational, social, linguistic, and economic reality of Colombia meant that Colombia was not comparable to Europe. As De Mejía (2011: 8) noted,

> the emphasis on English at the expense of other foreign and vernacular languages present in the country, as well as the adopting of the CEFR as a guiding model, has generated a series of criticisms from academics from some of the leading universities in the country, as well as defensive statements by the Ministry of Education and by the British Council, the agency which coordinated the development of the 'Standards' document.

Currently, however, there is little of the initial controversy of the early 2000s about the adoption and use of the CEFR, even if some authors acknowledge its deficiencies (Fandiño, Bermúdez-Jiménez and Lugo-Vásquez 2012; Usma 2015). Some scholars continue to argue that the adoption of CEFR scales is a major reason English teachers and students did not attain the proficiency standards envisioned for 2019. Indeed, the MoE has postponed their implementation until 2025 but without providing any official explanation (Alonso Cifuentes, Díaz Mejía and Estrada Nates 2018).

The notion of bilingualism and its promises

One of the most criticized aspects of the policy has been the reduction of bilingualism to English–Spanish and the exclusion of other foreign languages and indigenous languages. In 2012, De Mejía (2012) believed that English was the priority for policy-makers, but she expected them later to 'add other languages within the framework of the Standards document' (p. 153). However, there exist no clear initiatives to include the indigenous languages or other foreign languages in the national targets in a coherent national policy.

Becoming a bilingual nation (in Spanish and English) was supposed to bring prosperity for all Colombians, as it would make the country competitive internationally (Guerrero 2010; Sánchez and Obando 2008). That promise is still part of government discourse, but there is no evidence that English–Spanish bilingualism *per se* will guarantee better living standards or a more equal society (Correa Villegas 2017). Guerrero (2018: 16) argues that this promise fails because, while linguistic capital may be necessary, it is not sufficient. Social, cultural, and economic capital 'are necessary to access the benefits promised'. The benefits of becoming bilingual in Spanish and English are less evident in rural areas. Moreover, achieving the national targets is more difficult than in urban areas, and this is a major challenge for an equitable and democratic education (Bonilla and Cruz-Arcila 2014; Ortega 2019). Finally, these promises have not improved the lives of English teachers, especially those in the public sector. They have complained for decades about their low work conditions and salary (Cabeza, Zapata and Lombana 2018; Magisterio, 2018).

English as a foreign language teachers' responsibility in the attainment of the goals

MoE representatives argued that the levels of proficiency identified as targets for English teachers would raise the quality of education and improve ELT (Ministerio de Educación Nacional 2006b). In the National Standards booklet, they highlight the importance of English as a foreign language (EFL) teachers' commitment for the success of this project. However, critical reviews say that real major problems remain and warn about the risks of making teachers responsible for the success of the achievement of the proficiency goals (Correa and Usma 2013; Cárdenas-Ramos and Chaves 2013). Studies from the last quinquennium show how the low English proficiency of some teachers is often given as the cause for the failure to attain targets (González and Llurda 2016). This has been used to justify the presence of native speakers of English.

Educational authorities seem to ignore the unequal social conditions surrounding education in general and ELT in particular (Cárdenas-Ramos and Miranda 2014). The need for more investment to improve not only schools and classrooms but the general living standards of the population should be a priority. 'Investment in the social and political environment outside as well as in the schools themselves (infrastructure, resources, reduction of the number of students in classrooms, etc.) are necessary conditions for changing the face of education' (Libman 2009: 5). Specifically, for the successful implementation of language policies, Menken (2008: 185) recommends that educational policy makers,

> Ensure schools have all of the resources needed, through the provision of superior programming that is long enough in duration to offer sufficient support for English acquisition and native language development, superb instruction, high-quality materials in the language(s) of instruction, ample funding, and other necessary features.
>
> *(p. 185).*

The role of foreign agencies

In many of the initial debates about the policy, local scholars questioned the dominant role of external actors, mainly the leading role of the British Council (De Mejía 2011). Official government voices viewed the presence of the British Council as a guarantee of quality in ELT (Van de Putte 2009). Other voices expressed their concern about its role in Colombia (Valencia 2014) because of academic colonialism and the commodification of ELT that has come from the adoption of the tests, teacher development courses, teaching materials and experts related to the British Council and British publishing companies (Correa and González 2016). Although the visibility of the British Council has somewhat lessened, the institution remains the major consultant for the MoE (Ministerio de Educación Nacional 2016b).

In the last decade, other foreign agencies have taken an active role either in the teaching of English or in the offering of professional development (PD) programs for teachers. The Fulbright Commission, the Peace Corps, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), international publishing companies such as Pearson, and private corporations like Heart for Change and Volunteers Colombia organize immersion programs in

Colombia or abroad and hire native speakers to teach English (Ministerio de Educación Nacional 2006b). Their actions, sometimes in association with local universities, have been subject of criticism because they have supported native-speakerism (González and Llurda 2016; Viáfara 2016).

The language proficiency of English teachers

The language proficiency of English teachers is a main source of academic tension. Scholars and policymakers concur in the importance of having English language teachers who are competent speakers of English. However, there are major differences in the language proficiency among English teachers depending upon whether they teach in public or private schools; in urban or rural settings; and at primary, secondary, or tertiary levels. Scholars question the imposition of a B2 proficiency level of the CEFR for all English teachers. This level may be too high for some teachers. Local studies show that many rural teachers feel unfair pressure in having to meet goals designed for urban schools, where there is access to more teaching and technological resources and more PD opportunities (Bonilla and Cruz-Arcdila 2013, 2014).

The use of international certifications for professional development and promotion of English as a foreign language teachers

The In-service Certificate in English Language Teaching (ICELT) and Teaching Knowledge Test (TKT) represent the main instruments that the Ministry of Education has promoted as part of the quest for quality in ELT. González (2009) questioned the uses of the ICELT and the TKT as alternative and additional certifications to teach English. More recently, Ramírez Ospina (2015) found that, as alternative certifications for teaching, the TKT and the ICELT actually allow some teachers to join the profession without adequate preparation. Moreover, she warns about the preference of these qualifications above a university-based degree, as is the case in some private language centres, where university-educated English teachers also need the TKT or the ICELT as an endorsement of their training. The qualifications have become instruments of exclusion, inequality, standardization, and commodification. They are expensive and remain out of the reach of the majority of Colombian teachers (Usma 2009). Banfi (2018: 63–64) argues that mass certification systems that function as quick-fix options and which may include short intensive courses plus a foreign certificate and/or an exam that validates prior knowledge and provides access to teaching positions and sojourns in English speaking countries do not appear 'to have hit on lasting, system-wide solutions that can yield teachers with the required knowledge and skills and in sufficient numbers to cover the current needs'.

Possibilities

English in Colombia represents a potentially interesting case study within the framework of the parameter of possibility defined in Kumaravadivelu's post-method pedagogy (2003, 2006). The place and roles of English in Colombia, as part of the expanding circle, may 'tap the socio-political consciousness that participants bring with them to the classroom so that it can also function as a catalyst for a continual quest for identity formation and social transformation' (2003: 37). The following possibilities thus emerge:

More opportunities to learn English

Even though the Colombian government has not addressed some of the fundamental problems that require attention in education, there is more expenditure for ELT initiatives than before (Giraldo 2018). The inclusion of English in the national curriculum for elementary education has introduced the language earlier in the lives of students. This measure has had some positive effects, because local governments have more generous budgets that allow extended school hours of free English instruction in public schools (Programa Nacional de Inglés 2015). Private schools promote extracurricular activities and summer camps for their students. In higher education, universities have designed language policies that include more English courses that develop communication skills. They promote the use of the language as a means of instruction and an opportunity for international academic exchanges. As a consequence of more English instruction, universities include proficiency exams as a graduation requirement (Martínez 2016).

More professional development opportunities for English as a foreign language teachers

The teachers' language proficiency and the methodologies used in ELT have been issues of concern for decades. Teachers and teacher educators see them as part of the agendas of PD that the national and local governments should finance (González 2012). Local researchers have found that there is a gap in the teaching of English in public and private schools. In both sectors, teachers' language proficiency and the methodologies differ markedly reflecting the different socioeconomic contexts.

Several measurements report the English language proficiency of the majority of teachers in the public education system as very low. Therefore, English instruction is seen as an essential component of the variety of PD programs that the universities, multinational agencies, and publishing companies offer (Buendía and Macías 2019; Correa and González 2016). The PD programmes conducted by Colombian universities have been successful because they address teachers' language proficiency and ELT methodologies and include teachers' voices, empower them, and are context-sensitive (Giraldo 2014; Sierra Piedrahita 2016).

The construction and visibility of local knowledge

The creation of local knowledge on ELT, teacher education, and teacher development through research in these fields has given voice to Colombian scholars (Le Gal 2019). In the last decade, the number of studies, academic events, and national and international publications have increased significantly (Cárdenas 2014; Uribe-Enciso 2016). Two factors have influenced this. First, the implementation and appropriation of the national language policy has motivated and framed many studies, and second, the number of university professors that have obtained doctoral degrees and have established academic networks nationally and internationally has increased (Usma 2015).

The search for new pedagogies to teach World Englishes and English as a lingua franca

Within the framework of the national English policies of the last 15 years, ELT has been dominated by the promotion of consulting agencies, advisors, materials, teacher training programs, and tests from the inner circle, mainly the United Kingdom and the United States.

The MoE has, however, proposed some different approaches so that English teachers' language immersion programmes take place in territories of the expanding circle and the outer circle. In the early 2010s, a program on the islands of San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina valued the Colombian variety of English and its speakers as a model for language acquisition and development (Colombia Aprende n.d.b). However, this program has been discontinued. More recently, the MoE has financed language immersion experiences in India (Montoya 2019).

The notion of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is relatively new in Colombia. Macías (2010) introduced the topic as a possible counter to the dominant tradition of EFL and the power of native speakerism. Although there are some attempts to introduce ELF awareness (Sifakis 2019) in teacher education programmes worldwide, as yet, no publications report this type of development in Colombia.

The collaborative construction of English language teaching agendas between policy-makers, scholars, and teachers

Scholars, mainly from the influential research public universities, have expressed different concerns about the lack of dialogue with stakeholders and about the control of foreign agencies (De Mejía 2011). De Mejía (2007: 38) concluded that it was necessary to adopt a broader view of bilingualism and bilingual education involving all the educational actors. After various discussions and the participation of local researchers as reviewers and co-authors of official documents and curriculum guidelines, there has been more space for teachers' voices and decisions. Successful experiences in teachers' professional development programs in different regions of the country have proved the importance of increased stakeholders' participation (Miranda 2018).

The construction of a more democratic and pluralistic society

Despite the unequal access to quality education in Colombia, advances in ELT are evident in the last two decades. English may represent a possibility for establishing a more plural and inclusive society if it encompasses perspectives such as WE, English as an international language, and ELF and if English is viewed as just one language within a multilingual country, not as a language to be imposed top-down in all educational contexts. Within this framework, I argue for the need to maintain critical applied linguistics approaches to ELT (Pennycook 2010) and teacher education (Hawkins and Norton 2009) in the expanding circle. In Colombia, constructing otherhood through multicultural perspectives in language teaching and learning will support post-conflict peace initiatives and democratic practices.

Conclusion

This chapter addresses the situation of English in Colombia, an expanding circle country. Before dealing with the sociolinguistic status of the language, I described the linguistic diversity of the nation, focusing on the Caribbean English variety spoken in the islands of San Andrés, Providencia, and Santa Catalina. I analysed the English language-education policies, showing how, over 15 years, they have transformed the teaching and learning of the language, teacher education, and the PD of English teachers. I also discussed the tensions and possibilities that English brings to academic and everyday life in Colombia in an attempt to contribute to the transformation of English teaching and teacher education in the country.

Suggestions for further reading

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Section 3

Emerging trends and themes

22

English as a lingua franca in the European context

Barbara Seidlhofer

Introduction

The sociolinguistic situation in continental Europe is very different from most other contexts discussed in this volume (but see Saraceni this volume), and the place of English is not adequately accounted for by reference to the Kachruvian circles. It is worth remembering that when Kachru first proposed his concentric model he did so 'tentatively' and recognized that demarcations between the circles were not always easy to make (Kachru 1985: 12, 13–14). Developments in global English over the past 35 years have made such demarcations even more difficult and confirm how right he was to be tentative. As Modiano points out, 'the complexities of European society, which differ radically from postcolonial speech communities, challenge established sociolinguistic precepts' (Modiano 2006: 234). Continental Europe is usually assigned expanding circle status, and one can, of course, see that there are obvious differences in the role and status of the language here as compared with the inner circle, where English is a first language, and the postcolonial settings of the outer circle with its various 'nativized' varieties. But there are considerable differences too in comparison with other expanding circle contexts such as China, Japan and Korea, which are three separate nation-states and are the subjects of chapters in this book. Although Slavic Englishes are also thought to warrant separate treatment (see Proshina this volume), Europe is, for the purposes of this book, considered one geo-political entity, but it is obvious that linguaculturally, it is a very diverse area, a whole continent, in which English plays a distinctive and unique role.

Unlike the other continents (except Antarctica), Europe is home to a relatively small number of languages: *Ethnologue* (Eberhard *et al.* 2019) quotes 288 for Europe as a whole, which accounts for only 4% of the world's indigenous languages (www.ethnologue.com/region/europe). The European Union (EU), with some 513 million inhabitants in currently 28 member states (at the time of writing still including the United Kingdom), recognizes 24 official languages, and about 60 other indigenous and non-indigenous languages are spoken in its geographical area. The role of English as such is similar within the EU and outside it in countries such as Iceland, Norway, Switzerland and Serbia, but for the treatment of some key issues, this chapter will focus on the European Union (except the United Kingdom and Ireland) and its language policies.

For all kinds of reasons, English has become the *de facto* 'extraterritorial' lingua franca throughout Europe. This has, however, brought about resistance and controversy, due to the continued symbolic significance of national languages that European policy-makers are still insisting on. In contrast with the other (national) languages of Europe, where of course regional lingua francas also exist, the role of English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) is not a national one; it fulfils different roles from national languages. And since 'language is as it is because of what it has to do' (Halliday 2003: 309), ELF is developing along supranational trajectories different from those in communities of speakers for whom English is a native language (ENL).

All this seems familiar enough. However, ELF is quite literally an emerging theme in the European context in that there is a marked discrepancy between the EU's discourse about language and communication on the one hand and the reality on the ground on the other. The forceful promotion of 'multilingualism' as an official policy is in stark contrast with the actual practice of European citizens and institutions alike increasingly converging towards one lingua franca. This discrepancy between the ideal and the real has been largely ignored by both policy-makers and the academic mainstream, and only fairly recently have there been signs of any serious debate on this important issue.

The European legacy: territory, people, language, culture

It may be difficult to see why policy-makers hesitate to prepare the way for what is obviously needed: a common means of communication, both in the institutions of the European Union and in Europe at large. So why do we, after more than 50 years of a political movement towards integrating Europe, still have a top-down policy that is in stark contradiction with bottom-up practice? Why is there no vigorous public debate of the pros and cons of different language options? Why is there such resistance to openly acknowledging and engaging with the pragmatic solution that apparently most people are actually subscribing to? Why are official communications and websites suggesting that there is a fully functional multilingualism in EU institutions, while, unofficially, one learns from the people involved that this is simply not the case?

As I see it, a large part of the explanation for this puzzling state of affairs is the difficulty Europeans experience in reconciling their relatively recent past reality with current ideals and aspirations for the future. The proclaimed ideals of integration, harmonization and transcultural understanding are radically at odds with what most Europeans have been brought up with: an education in and socialization into what Florian Coulmas once called 'the ideological dead weight of the nineteenth century' (Coulmas 1991: 27), characterized by a conflating of political loyalties with linguistic loyalties and of language with culture. This means that the unification and formation of nation-states in the nineteenth century with its close association of nationhood and language still shapes the mindsets of many of today's Europeans. And this sense of independent national lingua-cultural identity has, of course, been strengthened by a long history of conflict, with the changing fates and roles of dominating and dominated countries distributed over the continent in relatively close geographical proximity. It is no wonder that the question as to 'who has to learn whose language' is inextricably linked in people's minds to issues of power.

With most of the member states having joined the EU in the 1990s and after 2000, the majority of today's decision-makers were still socialized into mindsets characterized by a strong sense of personal identification with nationhood, bred by long tradition and reinforced by two world wars and their aftermath. And this identification with a nation has been supported and symbolized very strongly by national languages. Linguistic standardization played an important role in forming and confirming European nations, and the monolingual individual came to be seen as the unmarked case. Strangely though, the very processes that had supported nation-building, such as convergence on a shared means of communication, were only partly carried over to the supranational EU level. So although the principle of giving up emblems of individual identity for the greater good of shared community values and visions for the future should obviously be the same at both levels, it was implemented in the case of a common currency, but no such convergence was engineered in the realm of a 'common language'.

Instead, the thinking that prevailed was that as a logical consequence of the intricate relationship between nationhood and linguistic belonging, a great deal is at stake when it comes to the relative importance and power of individual languages: in this line of reasoning, if a language is dominant, the nation that 'owns' it is bound to be dominant, too. So insistence on the (theoretical) equality of all languages seemed mandatory for a union in which all the member states are claimed to be equal partners.

An optimistic reading of this situation would be that it may be a generational problem that will resolve itself when today's young people get to the age at which they may be involved in the formulation of policies. For they have grown up in an increasingly globalized world in which many physical boundaries are easily overcome: mobility has increased sharply, supported by cheap flights and EU projects; digitalization affords especially the younger people access to often virtual communities, and they habitually switch between their local and non-local networks that they value as distinct but equally important, with each having their own pragmalinguistic ground rules (Seidlhofer 2007; Dewey 2009; Motschenbacher 2013; Kalocsai 2014; Pitzl 2018a). In this view, the hope is that a more relaxed and flexible attitude towards the use of linguistic repertoires will gradually assert itself enough to make it possible for top-down policies to be realigned with reality, to the extent that anachronistic ideas of language loyalties cease to obstruct the direct intercultural communication that may well be necessary for enhancing mutual understanding and further integration within the larger community.

English as lingua franca as the *de facto* lingua franca of Europe

On the ground, English in Europe is firmly established as a language of wider communication, enabling people to link up about common interests, needs and concerns across languages and communities. It has entered the continent by being encountered and used by speakers from all levels of society in practically all walks of life. Where the impact of English in Europe is probably most obvious is in the domains of the media/social media, the internet, tourism, popular youth culture, advertising and entertainment (Truchot 2002: 18f.; Phillipson 2003: 72f.; Seidlhofer *et al.* 2006; Berns *et al.* 2007; Pennycook 2007; De Houwer and Wilton 2011; British Council 2018) and particularly in recent years also migration (Guido 2018). It is in these domains that English has evidently been spreading beyond the elites. In addition, the (striving for) increased European integration has led to the creation of various informal communication networks and contact situations among 'ordinary Europeans' (Labrie and Quell 1997: 23). In these situations, English often functions 'as a direct mediator between participants in a discourse who would otherwise have to rely on translation or a third party' (Breidbach 2003: 20).

English impinges on the lives of all European citizens, in many different ways: academics, business executives and hip-hoppers use English in their everyday activities; people listen to English pop lyrics, encounter foreign visitors to their countries, play online games, use social media and watch their favourite series on their electronic devices, often with an original soundtrack in English. Due to the internationalization of the economies of European countries, English also forms an integral part of the professional lives of a growing number of Europeans. Many multinational, but also national, companies have adopted English as their company language, no matter whether they have subsidiaries in English-speaking countries or not (Sherman and Nekvapil 2018; Melchers *et al.* 2019: 185).

These are voluntary uses of English in situations of the users' own making. Mention was made earlier of the increased movement of people within Europe and how this calls for some common means of communication. But of course the same applies as much if not more to the involuntary enforced migration into Europe that has increased sharply over recent years, where gatekeeping encounters are carried out via ELF (Dorn *et al.* 2014; Guido 2018). It is, of course, not always English that is used to mediate interactions between refugees and resident Europeans, but in many cases, it is the only means available. As Maryns (2017) reports:

> English is increasingly used as a contact language in (semi-) bureaucratic settings for communication with foreign-language speakers. In view of the rapid increase of English as a lingua franca in the EU, further investigation of the use of English as an interview language in institutional encounters is needed, particularly in those settings where complex multidiscursive and language ideologically anchored processes may affect the representation of discourse in ways that are often beyond the control of those to whom it matters most.
>
> *(Maryns 2017: 756)*

Turning now to European education systems, English is the most important foreign language taught in its own right from the primary level onwards, and it is increasingly employed in 'content-and-language-integrated learning' (CLIL), mainly at the secondary level (see e.g. Dalton-Puffer *et al.* 2010) – where, in almost all cases, CLIL equals CEIL ('content-and-English-integrated learning') in geography, biology and many other subjects. The predominance of English as a language for learning is also acknowledged by European institutions themselves. For example, the 2017 edition of the Eurydice network's *Key Data on Teaching Languages at School in Europe* reports that, in the vast majority of EU member states, over 90% of pupils in secondary schools study English, either as a compulsory subject or as an elective, and in lower secondary education, it is 97.3% of students that learn English. This tendency is still on the rise, especially in the states of Central and Eastern Europe but also in Portugal. Generally speaking, children start learning English at an ever younger age: 'The proportions of students learning English rose during the last decade. The change is the most profound for the youngest – primary education – students' (Eurydice 2017: 13). The strong presence of English in school curricula is continued in the tertiary sector, where one of the most significant trends is the teaching of courses and degrees exclusively in English (Ammon and McConnel 2002: 171; Dimova *et al.* 2015; Murata 2019; Dafouz and Smit 2020). According to Wächter and Maiworm (2014), 'The number of English-taught Bachelor and Master programmes has risen by almost 1,000% in the period since 2002' (back cover blurb). This process is stimulated (somewhat paradoxically) by policy efforts to create a common European higher education area (the Bologna Process; see https://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/higher-education/bologna-process-and-european-higher-education-area_en), where student and staff mobility results in a strengthening of the most readily available common language.

This trend in tertiary education goes hand in hand with language choice in scientific research, where English is perceived as a *sine qua non* for accessing information and communicating with fellow academics internationally (Ammon 2001; Truchot 2002; Lillis and Curry 2010; Plo Alastrué and Pérez-Llantada 2015; Tatsioka *et al.* 2018; Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada and Swales this volume).

Accordingly, the majority of European academic associations embrace English as the dominant, or indeed sole, language for the exchange of ideas (Crystal 2003: 88f.). In order to secure an international audience, the use of English in scientific conferences and publications is similarly unquestioned. Many academics tend to see themselves more as members of the international scientific community with a default common language than as members of national communities.

Even though the EU eagerly presents itself as a multilingual area, the supremacy of English is being established step by step in European politics and various European and international organizations with representations in Europe, for example, the UN, NATO, OPEC and the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE). Official multilingual policies are often abandoned in practice in order to facilitate the working process. For example, van Els (2005) reports that all internal and external communication in the European Central Bank (ECB) in Frankfurt is conducted only in English. This restriction to English 'amounts to a tacit agreement within the ECB which everyone adheres to, but it is in no sense a matter of official policy. This characterizes the manner in which the EU deals with the problems of internal communication' (van Els 2005: 269).

Generally speaking, the situation between Reykjavik and Rethymno is that individuals usually have one first language (sometimes more) and are often exposed to other languages spoken locally, but most of them also have contact with English – which can be extensive or minimal – in their professional and private lives. Since the end of World War II, English has continually gained importance in Europe (Hoffman 2000; Truchot 2002: 7), so that in the early twenty-first century, the significance of a certain command of English is closely comparable to that of reading and writing at the time of industrialization in Europe (Carmichael 2000: 285f.). Accordingly, proficiency in English is becoming something like a taken-for-granted cultural technique (Neuner 2002: 7; Breidbach 2003: 20; Linn *et al.* 2016) like literacy or computer skills, with the consequence that, on a global scale, 'the competitive advantage which English has historically provided its acquirers (personally, organisationally, and nationally) will ebb away as English becomes a near-universal basic skill' (Graddol 2006: 15). 'Having English' in Europe has thus become a bit like having a driving licence: nothing special, something that most people have and without which you do not get very far.

The contradictions of European Union language policy

As explained on the EU Commission's website,

> The EU's motto 'united in diversity' symbolises the essential contribution that linguistic diversity and language learning make to the European project.
>
> Languages unite people, render other countries and their cultures accessible, and strengthen intercultural understanding. Foreign language skills play a vital role in enhancing employability and mobility. Multilingualism also improves the competitiveness of the EU economy.
>
> *(https://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/multilingualism/about-multilingualism-policy_en)*

'Unity in diversity' is, of course, an appealing slogan, but as a realistic proposition, it presents formidable challenges, for, as I have already indicated, the present quest for it is beset with the counter-influence of past history. Europe is 'a continent where the tradition of "one language, one state, one people" is . . . deeply entrenched' (Wright 2000: 1), where national languages have great symbolic importance, with long traditions and close ties with their speakers' sociocultural identities (see also Wright 2013). Linguistic diversity within the state has in the past been deliberately suppressed by standardization in countries such as France and Poland in the interests of national unity and sociocultural cohesion. The independent status of European national languages, often hard won, is therefore highly prized, and it is not surprising that it should be jealously guarded.

The ever-growing demand for learning English described previously is thus at odds with the forceful promotion of Europe's multilingual image, in which the notion of linguistic diversity figures like a mantra. Thus, in a document from the European commission (2008: 5), we can read:

> The current challenge is to minimise the obstacles that EU citizens and companies encounter and to empower them to take advantage of the opportunities presented by multilingualism. It is also to show that languages can work as an asset for the benefit of the European society as a whole.

We see here a foreshadowing of a development over recent years, when responsibility for multilingualism passed from the Directorate General for Education to the Directorate General for Employment (and since 2014 seems to have disappeared altogether as a named, specific portfolio). As Leech (2017) describes it in a succinct description of EU multilingualism policies, '[t]he move would seem to reinforce an awareness that language competence is not only a right or a basic skill but an important factor in economic growth and labour mobility' (31).

Bringing about recognition of linguistic diversity as a social and economic advantage is an ambitious policy objective, especially when this linguistic diversity appears not to be high on the list of priorities of the citizens themselves, who predominantly go for English if given a choice, plus a few other 'big' languages. That this trend is not what the policy-makers would ideally want to report can be seen from a certain reluctance to confront the real issues, as becomes evident in EU commentaries. A Eurydice document on teaching languages at school in Europe reports:

> The sometimes very broad range of possible foreign languages included in the curricula of several countries . . . may reflect the determination of educational policy-makers to diversify school provision for foreign language learning. However, statistical data on this provision indicate that in secondary education, English, French, German, Spanish and Russian represent over 95 per cent of all languages learnt in the majority of countries. . . . Pupils thus essentially appear to opt for learning more widely used languages. *This may be attributable either to pressure from families or a lack of qualified teachers in other languages*.
>
> *(2008: 11, emphasis added)*

The last sentence, highlighted above, comes across as an attempt to 'explain away' precisely what seems to be at issue here: surely the questions that need to be explored in this context are just why there should be 'pressure from families' and 'a lack of qualified teachers in other languages'. When over 90% of learners opt for the most widely used language, English, then exhortations to choose other languages instead will be to no avail as long as English is conceptualized as just one out of several 'foreign languages' on offer, and treated accordingly in school curricula and syllabuses.

A case in point: European Union interpreting

That English is a special case that calls for a reconsideration of our 'inner linguistic landscapes' is evident not only in the area of education but also in the professional sphere, especially in EU institutions themselves. As explained on the website of the EU Directorate-General for Translation,

> What a long way we have come since the end of the 1950s, when four languages only were spoken in the institutions of the European Communities! Today, no fewer than 24 official languages are used in the European Parliament, which is an immense linguistic challenge.
>
> Each time new Member States have joined the EU, they have added to the number of official languages.
>
> . . .
>
> All official languages enjoy equal status.

It is clear from the quotation given earlier about the educational provision for the teaching of foreign languages and the preferences of families that all official languages do not, in fact, enjoy equal (social) status. What the EU seeks to do is to designate them as equal by making them official by legislation, and this can only be done by the process of intervention by translation. The quotation continues:

> The 24 official languages make a total of 552 possible combinations, since each language can be translated into 23 others. In order to meet this challenge, the European Parliament has set up highly efficient interpreting, translation and legal text verification services. Very strict rules have been put in place to ensure that these services function smoothly and that the costs remain reasonable.
>
> *(www.europarl.europa.eu/about-parliament/en/organisation-and-rules/multilingualism)*

It will be obvious that, especially with the relatively recent enlargements of the EU, providing adequate translation and interpreting services has become a complex and costly undertaking. Furthermore, there will obviously be occasions when it is simply not practicable or convenient to call on these services, and the multilingual ideal will be of less pressing concern than people's immediate communicative needs. It is therefore not surprising to find that alongside policy statements such as the one quoted previously, we also have reports from within the EU institutions, which reveal that legal provisions protecting citizens' linguistic rights and pronouncements of principle in support of multilingualism co-exist with actual practices, especially on less public occasions such as informal talk and study groups, of converging on one lingua franca, which increasingly is English (see e.g. Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2013).

The growth of English in EU institutions has been accelerated by the substantial rise in the number of member states, and this has resulted in an even more complex linguistic situation.

This can be illustrated in a particularly interesting way by looking at how conference interpreting works in European institutions. While it had been feasible to provide interpretation out of and into all official EU languages in the early years of the EU, the addition of many ‘smaller’ languages such as Czech, Danish, Estonian, Romanian and so on in recent years has brought with it quite radical changes in the interpreting process. An important principle of interpreting services has always been that all interpreting should be into the interpreter’s first language. This would now mean that large numbers of interpreters would be required to allow for all language combinations – for instance, from Finnish into Portuguese, from Bulgarian into Hungarian and vice versa and so on. Since it has turned out to be impossible to find native-speaker interpreters who could interpret into and from all these languages, more and more use is now being made of so-called ‘relay interpreting’. This involves the use of a ‘larger’ pivot language, now more often than not English, into which the speaker’s speech (in, for example, Latvian) is interpreted. As a second step, the English translation is then rendered in the required other languages by the respective native speakers. Interpreters also work out of their own languages into the pivot language, thus breaking the principle of only interpreting into their first language. That is to say, ‘small’ languages are often dealt with by their native speakers working from and into two languages, interpreting into English and vice versa, in a process called ‘bi-active’. Their (non-native) English speech is then rendered into various other languages by their native speakers. Melchers et al. (2019) give a succinct description of this intricate process and offer the following intriguing comment:

> Three interesting and symptomatic points arise from these changes in interpreting practice. One is that since the pivot will often be English, the position of English is strengthened – all information will have ‘passed through’ the language. The second is that combining relay and biactive interpreting means that no native speakers of English will be involved: an expansion of English appears to result in a reduction of the significance of native speakers. Consequently, the third observation is that the English that occupies such an important position will be an ‘off-shore’ variety not controlled by native speakers. It might come closer to the types of form and practice often recorded from lingua franca situations.
>
> *(183)*

The massive presence of a non-native language is a situation that many professional translators and interpreters experience as a potential threat both to the demand for their services and to their self-image, which sets great store by a special expertise in rendering fine nuances of meaning in their first language (e.g. Albl-Mikasa 2014). Others, however, recognize this new situation as a welcome opportunity: ‘ELF brings a refreshing – if unexpected – dose of reality to translation theory, and can help contribute to its renewal’ (Hewson 2009: 119; see also Taviano 2013, 2018 and several contributions in Anderman and Rogers 2005).

A way forward and the English as a lingua franca alternative

The developments associated with globalization described previously are due to a new phenomenon that requires quite some conceptual adjustment because the notion of ‘a language’ and its native speakers have traditionally, over millennia, been inextricably linked in our minds, perhaps especially so in the post-nineteenth-century Europe of nation-states. What interests us here are the sociolinguistic consequences of this unprecedented state of affairs. One important implication that ELF researchers and (some other) applied linguists recognize is that the lingua franca – especially if it is used on a daily basis, as is now the case for increasing numbers of Europeans – ceases to be perceived as the property of the ancestral speakers in whose territories it originated. Instead, ELF gets appropriated by its non-native users, who – like hitherto just native speakers of a language – become acknowledged as agents in the processes that determine how the language spreads, develops, varies and changes (Brutt-Griffler 2002; Widdowson 2003: Chapters 4 and 5).

This switch of mindset is of great relevance for European language policy. One case in point is the issue of combating the proliferation of official languages and contested proposals for settling on one, two or three working language(s) – English, plus French, plus German. Van Els (2005) discusses various options that have been suggested and leaves no doubt as to which solution he favours:

> There is a [further] modality that perhaps has a better prospect of success. This one, however, does impose a very drastic restriction, i.e. to only a single working language. It may seem surprising, but in this modality the language handicap for non-natives, as opposed to the variant with a number of working languages, is significantly reduced. In the first place, they only need to develop competence in one foreign language. Secondly, and this is very important, this one foreign language will also become – and to an increasing extent – the property of the non-natives. If they constitute a large majority, as in the EU, they will, without doubt, use the working language as their language and share in the fashioning of this language to meet their own needs. Native speakers will notice – sometimes to their great annoyance – that their language is frequently being changed in unorthodox ways.
>
> *(van Els 2005: 276)*

A crucial advantage of opting for one working language is that this scenario would offer a way of avoiding the danger of what has been termed ‘hegemonic multi-lingualism’ (Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2010), namely the use of two or three ‘big’ working languages at the cost of many ‘small’ or less prestigious languages – which allows the native speakers of those dominant languages to retain ‘ownership’ of their respective language while at the same time requiring speakers of all the other languages to develop high proficiency not just in one but in two or even three languages.

The one working language van Els is talking about in the previous quote is English: *‘Without any doubt, English will be the working language’* (2005: 278, original emphasis; similarly also van Parijs 2011), and from what the author says about the role of non-native users’ share ‘in the fashioning of this language to meet their own needs’ it is clear that by ‘English’, he means ELF.

This is also the view that Wright (2009) presents in a comprehensive and highly enlightening consideration of the role of language issues in the European Union, especially the role of English, ‘the elephant in the room’ in her title. Her article presents similar arguments as van Els’ but is much more detailed in its argumentation. Thus she also presents the case for the acceptability of ELF as the lingua franca of the EU rather than perpetuating ‘the unresolved clash between top-down policy and bottom-up practice, and the unacknowledged language problems this causes in both the European institutions and the wider world’ (Wright 2009: 97). She observes:

> At present, the linguistic side effect of current social phenomena is linguistic convergence towards a single lingua franca. Language policy cannot work against these social

> currents and impose multilingualism from the top down. It alone will not reverse the trend to use English as a lingua franca. If the move to English is halted, it will be because of other, external factors that we cannot yet foresee. We can do little to influence this and the lesson that we should take from the nation-state experience is not that language policy can be imposed from the top down but that this only works when it is in harmony with other social, political and economic developments.
>
> *(Wright 2009: 107)*

Crucial to the acceptability and functionality of English as the common means of communication is, of course, its explicit conceptualization as ELF rather than ENL, the native language of the British and the Irish. This is what van Els is referring to in his proposal and what Wright emphasizes too. Importantly, she argues that while it is understandable that the predominance of English has often been discussed in terms of Gramscian hegemony, this approach cannot simply be mapped from colonial situations on to Europe:

> in the European setting, there is no elemental link between centre, power and English. The majority of those in positions of authority using English within elite networks are not native English speakers. They have acquired English as a second language and use it as a lingua franca.
>
> *(Wright 2009: 105)*

So in Europe today, it is simply not the case that English emanates from the native-speaker ‘centre’ in a way that is designed to benefit ENL speakers (Seidlhofer 2003). Although obviously it has its origins in the ‘centre’, it has become appropriated as an expedient communicative resource and so has developed independently under its own steam. Though after Brexit in early 2020, the English of the ‘centre’ no longer has an official status in Europe, since the language is already in practice de-centralized and de-nationalized, its use as a lingua franca is unlikely to be reduced in the future. On the contrary, less hindered by its symbolic significance as a national language, the likelihood is that its lingua franca use will be enhanced. This observation is not, however, to be confused with visions of the emergence of an actual pan-European variety ‘Euro English’ due to Europe’s liberation from ENL speakers, as proposed by Modiano (2017) – see the numerous responses to his position paper in Bolton and Davis 2017 and Hilgendorf 2020 (and Saraceni this volume).

It may be true, of course, that ENL speakers do have some advantage in that they are the only ones that do not need to learn the underlying code of the most widespread European lingua franca from scratch. But it does not follow that they are therefore more adept in its actual communicative use, and there are studies that suggest that ENL speakers may actually be at a disadvantage when they fail to adjust their verbal behaviour in intercultural encounters (e.g. Sweeney and Hua 2010; Subtirelu and Lindemann 2016; Jenkins 2018): ‘They may not have understood the new rules of engagement, or even grasped that there are such new rules’, as Wright (2009: 105) aptly puts it.

It is precisely these rules of engagement that ELF research into intercultural interactions is seeking to understand more deeply. Over the last decade, ELF research has gathered momentum, and corpora of spoken ELF discourse are available to make detailed investigation possible. VOICE, the Vienna–Oxford International Corpus of English, comprises data from a range of domains of use and provides free online access and download to ELF researchers (www.univie.ac.at/voice/). ELF interactions in academic settings are captured in the ELFA corpus (www.helsinki.fi/elfa; see Mauranen, Pérez-Llantada and Swales this volume). VOICE has a European focus but also includes speakers of non-European languages. For Asian ELF contexts, the Asian Corpus of English (ACE, https://corpus.eduhk.hk/ace/) is available; it has the same architecture as VOICE and thus allows cross-corpus comparisons.

While many corpora offer samples or extracts of longer texts, these ELF corpora contain complete speech events, that is, from the beginning of an interaction to the end. This decision was taken in order to allow for qualitative analyses of the corpus texts, in the sense that corpus users would not be limited to sampling the corpus in essentially context-deprived fashion, homing in on individual words and word clusters via the usual corpus tools. Instead, it should be possible to read and make sense of entire speech events, both as a frame for what the participants experience and as an analytic construct for the observer/researcher.

A further important asset of VOICE is that it offers users ample contextual information about the speakers, the location, the purpose of the interaction and so on, so that researchers can understand 'what is going on', thus again enhancing support for conducting qualitative descriptive work.

The insights emerging from such empirical ELF studies help us perceive and understand how people from diverse linguacultural backgrounds appropriate and adapt English for their own needs. ELF speakers make use of their multifaceted plurilingual repertoires in a fashion motivated by the communicative purpose and the interpersonal dynamics of the interaction. They draw on the underlying resources of the language, not just the conventional encodings of ENL, and adjust and calibrate their own language use for their interlocutors' benefit. Thus they exploit the potential of the language while fully focused on the purpose of the talk and on their interlocutors as people rather than on the linguistic code itself. Most of these studies, then, take an emic perspective and observe people absorbed in the *ad hoc*, situated negotiation of meaning. And now that we are able to investigate these naturally occurring ELF interactions closely, the general picture that is emerging is certainly not one of inarticulate, linguistically handicapped non-native speakers incapable of holding their own in interactions with both other non-native as well as native speakers of English but of an agreed-upon lingua franca employed in a fashion that is appropriate to the occasion – and appropriated, negotiated and shaped by all its users. The volume of empirical work on ELF interactions has snowballed over the last decade; overviews can be gleaned from Jenkins *et al.* 2011; Seidlhofer 2011; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Mauranen 2012; Jenkins *et al.* 2018. There are also ethnographic, even longitudinal studies investigating the use of ELF in various settings, such as Smit (2010) and Björkman (2013) in higher education and Ehrenreich (2009) in multinational corporations.

Descriptive studies of ELF interactions highlight the variable, creative, often hybrid forms that result from the use of linguistic resources. More importantly, they point to the pragmatic processes that are enacted by means of these forms and serve to mediate meanings and relationships (Seidlhofer 2009b). To mention just a few examples, some studies have emphasized the crucial role of accommodation in ELF talk (e.g. Jenkins 2000; Cogo 2009; Hülmbauer 2009; Seidlhofer 2009a) and the ways in which speakers perform their cultural identities (Pölzl and Seidlhofer 2006; Baker 2015) and make use of their multilingual repertoires (Vettorel 2014). Interlocutors can be observed adjusting their language to position themselves and their interlocutors in different ways to achieve their communicative purposes (Klötzl and Swoboda 2019). Thus they can be seen fine-tuning their perception of what is going on, enhancing intelligibility by (consciously or not) adaptively modifying sounds and structures, by making them simpler, or more regular, increasing redundancy or explicitness (Hynninen 2016). They may seek to enhance understanding by the use of paraphrase and repetition or by adjusting speed of delivery. In all these ways, ELF users may endeavor to cooperate in signalling understanding or lack of it. But the purpose of the interaction also leads them to produce complex structures and utterances, to put resources from more than one language code to communicative use, thereby creating new words and phrases (Pitzl *et al.* 2008).

These descriptive findings demonstrate quite clearly that ELF communication is a creative process in that the meaning potential of linguistic codes is exploited to produce forms expediently adapted as appropriate to the requirements of the moment (Pitzl 2009, 2018b). Apart from the message speakers want to convey and the purpose they wish to achieve in conveying it, these requirements also have to do with a host of other factors that affect how accessible and acceptable the message may be: the physical conditions of time constraints and online processability and what social relationship and shared knowledge is mutually presupposed by the interlocutors. To understand ELF, then, is to be aware of the essential nature of linguistic communication and of language in general beyond the knowledge of particular languages (Firth 2009; Seidlhofer 2011; Widdowson 2015, 2020). Thus, an appropriate way of conceptualizing what goes on in ELF interactions may be the notion of *languaging*, or rather *translanguaging*, the harnessing of all linguistic resources that help make communication happen (Hülmbauer and Seidlhofer 2013; García and Wei 2014). And it is this that the study of ELF as communication helps us see with particular clarity.

The descriptive findings, in turn, bring us back to the theoretical challenges mentioned previously since they raise important issues about what ‘English’ is and how it can be described. They reveal that the widespread assumption that one cannot communicate effectively without adhering to the norms of native English is a myth. ELF users get high-stake jobs done, they shape policies and they negotiate business contracts; they engage in banter and trouble-telling/problem-swapping and language play. The very linguistic ‘abnormalities’ of ELF talk in reference to the norms of Standard English draw attention to the essentially normal functions they realize as a natural and actually occurring use of language.

What needs to be stressed is that this *natural* English is not the *national* English of its native speakers. It cannot be if it is to serve its essential function as a means for making the concept of unity an operational reality rather than an ideological illusion. As a lingua franca, English is necessarily complementary to other languages in Europe and not in competition with them. And since this is the way English is used, it would seem to make sense to make provision for this in the way it is taught.

Conclusion and implications for language education

There is no doubt, then, that ‘English’ has a special status among European languages and that it is high time to act on this insight, also – indeed, especially – as far as language education policy is concerned. The more widely English is used, the greater the demand for it in European education systems: ‘The more people learn a language, the more useful it becomes, and the more useful it is, the more people want to learn it’ (Myers- Scotton 2002: 280). This well-nigh universal demand for English is obviously not motivated by an overwhelming desire of European citizens to communicate or identify with native-speaking neighbours in Britain or Ireland. As we have seen, English has therefore ceased to be a ‘foreign language’ in the sense that other European languages are. Of course, there are still people that want to learn English because they want to, say, study in Britain, communicate with their friends in the United States or emigrate to New Zealand and for whom therefore ENL would constitute an appropriate target. But given the differences between various native varieties of English, it would be impossible to prepare those learners for effortless communication with their chosen group of native speakers, and anyway, they will pick up the variety they are aiming for as and when the situation requires it. From the point of view of language education policy, what needs to be recognized and acted upon is that by far the majority of all European citizens need English primarily as a lingua franca for communication with all sorts of people in different domains, more often than not 'non-native' speakers of English.

It would therefore seem obvious that if educational policy is to take account of reality, English – conceived of as a lingua franca – needs to be taken out of the canon of 'real' foreign languages and recognized as a co-existent and non-competitive addition to the learner/user's linguistic repertoire. English would then be removed from contention with other 'smaller' languages and thereby, far from reducing diversity in language choice in educational institutions, actually enhance it – and the same could be said for other lingua francas, for example, regional ones. It is only when English is persistently conceived of as belonging only to its native speakers and as a foreign language like any other that it constitutes a threat.

And yet in the documents put out by the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe, that is how English is actually represented – just like other foreign languages, defined by its native speakers. The focus has so far remained very much on 'cumulative' proficiency (becoming better at speaking and writing English as native speakers do) and on the goal of successful communication with native speakers. It is true that a general shift in curricular guidelines has taken place from 'correctness' to 'appropriateness' and 'intelligibility', but by and large, 'intelligibility' is taken to mean being intelligible to native speakers, and being able to understand native speakers. This orientation is clearly discernible in some of the specifications of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) (Council of Europe 2001) and still survives, despite protestations to the contrary, in the 2018 *Companion Volume with New Descriptors*:

> I can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible. I can take an active part in discussion in familiar contexts, accounting for and sustaining my views.
>
> *(Spoken Interaction/B2)*

> Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction, and sustained relationships with native speakers quite possible without imposing strain on either party
>
> *(Overall spoken interaction/B2, Council of Europe 2001: 74, 2018: 83)*

> I have no difficulty in understanding any kind of spoken language, whether live or broadcast, even when delivered at fast native speed, provided I have some time to get familiar with the accent.
>
> *(Listening/C2, Council of Europe 2001: 27, 2018: 167 f)*

In a similar vein, Hoffman (2000: 19) describes the English of European learners as spanning 'the whole range from non-fluent to native-like', as though fluency in English were not a possibility for those whose speech does not mimic that of a native speaker.

In accordance with such views, the focus in curricula, textbooks and reference materials is still largely on Anglo-American culture(s), plus sometimes 'exotic optional extras' such as postcolonial literature and rare appearances of outer circle speakers, but again through a predominantly British ‘lens’. In policy statements and curriculum specifications, Standard British English or American English norms are taken for granted as the relevant measures of proficiency.

The advocacy of ‘authentic’ materials constitutes a kind of pedagogic mantra, and teachers are expected to help their learners cope with ‘real English’, which is taken to be the English used by native speakers in their speech communities in, say, the United Kingdom or the United States. This ‘real English’ can now be described with unprecedented accuracy thanks to the availability of huge ENL corpora. The effect of this, of course, bolstered by the economic might of the publishing and testing industry, has been to further consolidate the position of ENL as the only English that counts and in so doing to necessarily ensure the continuation of its conflict with other competing ‘foreign languages’ and provide further confirmation of fears that it will prevail and dominate.

When the only descriptions of English available were those of ENL, it is understandable that they should have been deferred to, but, as I have pointed out earlier, a considerable volume of descriptions of ELF interactions has now been undertaken, and what this shows is that English in Europe is in reality very different from English as it is conceived and depicted by European educational policy. Consequently, what is required is a critical reconsideration of how far the taken-for-granted assumptions that have informed the teaching of English in the past still remain relevant in the present (for a summary of the central arguments, see Seidlhofer 2011: Ch. 8 and the exchange Swan 2012; Widdowson 2013).

And indeed, there has been a great deal of research activity investigating the pedagogic implications of the recognition and study of English as a lingua franca, which have been followed through in various practical proposals for an ELF-informed pedagogy and teacher education (e.g. Bowles and Cogo 2015; Vettorel 2015; Bayyurt and Akcan 2015; Kohn 2018; Sifakis *et al.* 2018; Sifakis and Tsantila 2019, Dewey, this volume). How far, or how quickly, these proposals will succeed in bringing about a change in current pedagogic ways of thinking, of course, remains to be seen. As with the implications of ELF for other language practices and policies in Europe discussed in this chapter, they challenge well-entrenched institutional orthodoxies and vested interests which are unlikely to be easily overcome.

Suggestions for further reading

Linn, A., (ed.) (2016) *Investigating English in Europe. Contexts and Agendas*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. (This book summarises insights from the Leverhulme research project ‘English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?’, which resulted in the six-volume series ‘English in Europe’ published between 2015 and 2018. It provides a kaleidoscope of perspectives on the current and evolving role and status of English across Europe.)

Mauranen, A. and Ranta, E. (eds) (2009) *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. (This was the first substantial collection of research articles reporting on conceptual issues and empirical studies of English as a lingua franca interactions, with a distinct European focus.)

Phillipson, R. (2003) *English-Only Europe?* London: Routledge. (This book criticizes the predominant position of English within Europe and presents a fervent argument for a strong EU language policy to protect and ensure equal linguistic rights for all European citizens.)

Seidlhofer, B. (2011) *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. (This book provides a detailed theoretical account of the nature of English as a lingua franca, in Europe and elsewhere, and discusses the implications of this unprecedented sociolinguistic development for educational policy and practice.)

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23

Developmental patterns of English

Similar or different?

Edgar W. Schneider

Introduction

World Englishes are spoken today on practically all continents and in a wide range of different social and cultural contexts, with many different contact languages involved. This diversity of input factors quite naturally should make us expect widely different outcomes of the individual evolutionary processes. Contrary to this expectation, however, surprising similarities between many World Englishes have been observed, with respect to both their sociolinguistic settings and their linguistic properties. For example, on the social side, we can observe the emergence of a 'complaint tradition' (discussed further later), of local varieties of English adopting the role of local identity carriers and of processes towards codification in a wide range of different countries. In a similar vein, linguistically speaking, phenomena like plural uses of noncount nouns, progressive forms of stative verbs, the formation of hybrid compounds, or the occurrence of innovative (but basically similar) verb complementation patterns have also been found to transcend regional and linguistic boundaries. Of course, this is not to deny the diversity that of course is also there, naturally and unavoidably. For example, certain regional pronunciation phenomena of English in Nigeria reveal transfer from Yoruba, and some rules of the grammar of colloquial Singaporean English can be accounted for as substrate phenomena from Chinese and other local languages. So an interesting question to ask is therefore: How can differences or similarities between World Englishes be accounted for by their developmental patterns?

To some extent, an answer to these questions also depends on definitions and delimitations. The older term 'New Englishes', as coined by Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) and others, focused on second-language varieties of the 'Outer Circle' only, thus circumscribing a relatively more homogeneous and consistent category of language varieties. 'Postcolonial Englishes', in contrast, the term preferred by Schneider (2007), also includes native-speaker colonial settler varieties like American or Australian English and emphasizes the common origins of 'Inner' and 'Outer' circle varieties in shared processes of colonial history and similar postcolonial developmental trajectories. Kachru's term 'World Englishes', the broadest of all, includes all 'Inner Circle' varieties, has a special interest in 'Outer Circle' (typically second-language or 'L2') varieties and recognizes a fuzzy boundary in the 'Expanding

Circle', encompassing countries where English did not have colonial foundations but is nevertheless spreading rapidly these days as a 'Foreign' or an 'International Language'. The question of how similar or different these varieties are also needs to consider these categorical distinctions, although the recent ongoing dynamism of the global spread of English has increasingly rendered some of these distinctions blurred (see Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017; Schneider 2020). Basically, a broad understanding of 'World Englishes' is adopted here.

Similarities and differences: a broad survey

In the first main section, a general survey of similarities and differences is given, essentially by listing and exemplifying pertinent observations from a range of different countries and contexts. Indirectly, this is meant to give some substance to later, more abstract discussions of the topic. I look at extralinguistic and intralinguistic observations in turn. Readers who are interested in more extensive documentation and discussions of these and other similar phenomena are referred to Schneider (2007), where the subject is dealt with in greater detail and with an eye on an even wider range of relevant observations, or to other sources such as Schneider (2020) and Schreier, Hundt and Schneider (2020).

Sociolinguistic settings

First, we need to look at extralinguistic contexts, that is, the historical processes by which English came to be spoken in new lands, and the sociolinguistic settings which determine its uses today. The similarities which can be observed across many locations ultimately result from constants in sociological group interaction, as it were, deeply rooted patterns of group interaction, delimitation, segregation and integration. The core idea of all of this is that in all postcolonial Englishes (in the narrow sense, i.e. excluding both ancestral English countries and those where English has no colonial background), a gradual diminishing in the social distance between English-speaking settler populations and indigenous populations emerges due to the recognized need to share territory and life resources, and this process is reflected in language use, the symbolic use of forms of English.

The first similarity is trivial: English was transported to new locations, introduced into regions where other indigenous languages had been spoken, by English-speaking traders, missionaries and settlers. World Englishes have been shaped by the contact between English-speaking migrants and local, resident populations who, initially in any event, had no choice in the matter.

Importantly, though perhaps not quite as naturally, the burden of linguistic adjustment typically fell upon the indigenous populations. Why shouldn't the English immigrants have worked towards acquiring the established local languages? Some actually did, especially missionaries. Much more commonly, however, sooner or later, we find a growing number of the indigenous population working towards acquiring English, and we find the gradual growth of bilingualism amongst them. The reason is simple, if unsettling: the unequal distribution of power and wealth in colonial settings. The representatives of the British Empire were the carriers of political power, explicitly or implicitly, and dealing and trading with the Europeans meant new opportunities, so from the early days of colonial history, a knowledge of English promised a share in these attractions for indigenous people.

Consequently, contact forms of English can be observed emerging (Schreier & Hundt 2013). Indigenous speakers of English transfer their own pronunciation habits, lexical expressions and also patterns of sentence composition from their respective native languages into their way of speaking English. When this happens with many indigenous speakers increasingly using English for communicating amongst themselves, and when English is taught by local teachers who themselves have adopted it through such processes, then the shape of the language as spoken in a given location is gradually appropriated and transformed. English undergoes a process of nativization. The outcome of this is a distinctly local, new dialect of English, with sound patterns, word choices and syntactic habits which are characteristic of speakers from that locale, not necessarily transparent to an outsider. A 'New English' has been born.

Another shared feature to be found in the majority of countries in which such indigenous varieties have developed is the occurrence of what has come to be known as the 'complaint tradition' (Milroy & Milroy 1985), where educated, typically high-status speakers deplore the quality of local linguistic performance and linguistic usage and perceive the local English as becoming increasingly deficient. Typically, this is done in public, as in the 'Letters to the Editor' sections of quality papers. Teaching authorities and gatekeepers defend old norms. For example, British norms of pronunciation or usage are upheld as the only correct ones and are imposed upon the educational system, even if this turns out to be unrealistic as a goal. If we take Nigeria or Hong Kong as examples, British English norms and an RP-like pronunciation are linguistic targets in the school system, even though the vast majority of not only students but also most educated speakers do not speak this model. At the same time, you typically also find linguists and others who suggest that the educated local variety of English should be accepted as correct and as a model for others. Thus, discussions about what are appropriate norms are widespread in many countries which are at a certain developmental stage, as we can see in Africa and Asia at present.

Typically, such a public struggle for what is and what is not correct in matters linguistic is followed by an increasing tendency towards the acceptance of a new, local variety of English as appropriate even in formal contexts. It is adopted by some first, then spreads gradually in a society until even policy makers accept it. It seems that, at present, many societies where 'New Englishes' in the narrow sense are spoken are not yet quite ready for this step of an endonormative orientation, while postcolonial 'Inner Circle' countries have passed through it. For Australians and New Zealanders, the local variety is nowadays accepted, even required in certain public domains and in the media, while this is clearly not yet the case in, say, Cameroon or Hong Kong. In Singapore, one can hear educated speakers saying that they are proud of their accents and that they can recognize other Singaporeans by the way they speak in international contexts, but this definitely does not reflect the government's official position.

Accepting a new variety as adequate in formal situations and as a norm in education naturally requires the codification of the variety. Typically, this happens first in the form of dictionaries and then grammars. An important example is the *Macquarie Dictionary* in Australia, which recorded and established a newly respected local variety of English, at least at the lexical level. In Singapore and Malaysia, the *Times-Chambers International Dictionary* of 1997 was the first to include a wide range of indigenous words alongside its core vocabulary. In some other countries, local dictionaries have been published or are in preparation (see Lambert 2020 for a survey).

Of course, a variety that is being codified and is on the point of being accepted locally cannot be too diverse. For it to be a national icon, only limited internal variation is permissible. In the process of nation-building, which frequently emphasizes the unity of a nation which has grown out of multicultural roots, there is an emphasis on homogeneity in public discourse. Perhaps this is more a matter of perception than real. Differences between social and ethnic groups do not fade away and usually persist, but they tend to be downplayed, at least at the beginning, where slogans such as 'unity in diversity' are common.

Another sign of the newly established self-confidence that comes with new nationhood and the cultural acceptance of indigenous language forms and cultural habits is the appearance of literary productivity in a New English variety. In many countries of Africa and Asia, indigenous writers have produced highly influential and acclaimed artistic products which employ and reflect local language habits and thus testify to the cultural appropriation of English in these contexts. Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, Amy Tan and Salman Rushdie are internationally recognized examples.

It is noteworthy that this pull towards English in the postcolonial period has occurred even in the absence of a substantial number of English 'native speakers'. It is not individual speakers who are modelled; it is the language and the promises of personal growth, improvement and prosperity that come with it that give it its impetus. That also means that English in many of these countries spreads via indigenous models rather than through the adoption of so-called 'native-speaker' models. English speakers in Asia primarily use the language to communicate with other Asians, so they use a form which is successful in such contexts, intelligible to other Asians. They do not need automatically to strive for, say, British models.

Finally, a shared trait that can be observed in many postcolonial Englishes after the stage of endonormative stabilization described previously is the emergence of increasing internal differentiation. Regional, social and ethnic differences are again allowed to develop, backed by the shared process of successful nation building and the creation of a national variety. This results from the fact that, after a period of emphasis of the development of national unity, the members of a young nation re-focus on their individual group alignments. This is what we find in Australia and New Zealand now, where, for example, the emergence of new regional speech differences is reported.

While the similarities are striking, given the global range of contexts under discussion, it would be unwise to downplay the differences between countries, languages and contexts where English has been and is being appropriated. Here are some points worth noting.

Demography, the purely numerical relationship between settlers and indigenous people, clearly plays a central role: the more English speakers there are, the stronger their power base (and hence the importance of English) is likely to be, and the more readily exposure to English is available. This facilitates the acquisition of English and decreases the likelihood of strong contact effects. Obviously, when English immigrants constitute the majority of the population, as was the case in settler colonies such as Australia or New Zealand, the situation is quite different from one where only a handful of missionaries were around, as in the early phase of the English outreach to Tanzania.

However, communicative patterns and language diffusion are not only shaped by purely numerical relations. Another important aspect is the social relationship between English-speaking newcomers and local people, and here, again, quite a wide range of different patterns occurred. Clearly, this has to do with the amount of respect paid to indigenous cultures and correspondingly with the form of dominance or involvement practiced. Traders were interested in exchanging commodities, a process which required communication on a restricted range of topics and between partners of roughly equal standing. Missionaries tended to live together fairly closely with indigenous populations and thus provided linguistic models. Settlers usually built their own communities, largely separate from indigenous populations, and the relations between them soon tended to be marked more by competition than collaboration – which implied distancing, seclusion and even outright hostility. Political dominance of a region by the Empire, supported by military presence or occupation, created a mixture of alignments ranging from close collaboration with those natives who served the occupants' interests and purposes to more distanced attitudes with many others, who had less immediate contact with the rulers and felt subjugated. In British colonial history this specifically took the form of Lord Lugard's principle of 'indirect rule', which implied that, to a certain extent, indigenous power structures were recognized but exploited by the British: a stratum of local leaders were educated in British institutions with the intention of making them friendly to British interests (Brutt-Griffler 2002:56–57) . These people were 'sandwiched' between the Europeans and the local masses, who would thus be ruled by their traditional leaders, but these leaders, to some extent, served the interests of the foreign occupants. All these differences were reflected in the relative amount of language contact and language acquisition.

Both the numerical and the social relationships between the parties involved in a colonization process were determined by the primary motivation for expanding to some other territory. Accordingly, a number of different colonization types have been distinguished, notably by Mufwene (2001), who distinguished between 'trade', 'exploitation' and 'settlement' colonies. Yet, even within these types of colony, a range of different social structures exists, causing different contact situations and linguistic outcomes.

Consequently, the social and political setting to some extent also determined the form(s) of English introduced, varying from standard to nonstandard. A classic example of a formal institution would be the Malay College of Kuala Kangsar (MCKK). This was set up in Malaysia as an elitist education which transmitted standard forms of English, thus sowing the seeds of the prescriptive attitudes to be found to the present day in neighbouring Singapore's 'Speak Good English Movement'. Conversely, lower-class people like rural settlers, prisoners or soldiers introduced vernacular forms of English to settler colonies such as New Zealand and Australia but also to the exploitation colonies of Africa and Asia.

Certainly the time frame and historical setting of contact with and the re-rooting of English plays a major role. In America and the Caribbean, the history of English goes back almost four centuries. Even in India, English has been present for four centuries. Australia and South Africa have been shaped by a little more than two hundred years of English, while Singapore, Hong Kong and New Zealand have had a little less than that. Kenya experienced large-scale English settlement only about a hundred years ago. However, interestingly enough, in many contexts, the evolution and indigenous appropriation of English has become more vibrant after independence.

An interesting and important sideline of the demographic aspect mentioned previously is the question of how many people of British descent remained in a country after independence (typically around the 1960s). When in countries such as Singapore, Nigeria or Hong Kong the British pulled out, many of the English-speaking resident population returned home, thus making access to genuinely British speech models more scarce and modifying the conditions for the further use and spread of English. However, in many countries and contexts, globalization has taken over the former role of colonization, strengthening the further diffusion of English. One major difference resulting from this situation is the fact that language teaching duties and the role of linguistic models fell more strongly upon local speakers of English.

Linguistic processes and features

In this section, we look more closely at linguistic processes and features. That there are linguistic differences between varieties is fairly obvious. It comes as no surprise that, for example, Indian speakers of English sound different from Nigerians or that different loan words can be found in English texts from Pakistan and Botswana, and so on. There are also differences of a purely syntactic nature – for example, Singaporean Colloquial English features a relative pronoun use of *one* (e.g. *That boy pinch my sister one very naughty*) or a passive with *kena* (*The thief kena caught by the police*), both of which are unique and distinctive to that variety. Most New Englishes feature similar examples which can normally be accounted for by some kind of contact effect and local language transfer. More interestingly, and perhaps surprisingly, many similarities have also emerged from all these contact processes, despite all the differences in input languages and varieties and in their respective historical and social settings.

The processes and the broader typological effects to be observed in such situations of language contact include the following:

Koinéization

Both in the dialect contact between speakers of different regional and social dialects of British English and in the evolution of new lingua franca forms for interethnic use, there is a tendency for an intermediate, 'middle-of-the-road' variety of English to emerge, that is, a dialect which encompasses many forms and patterns which are widely shared and from which strongly dialectal forms disappear.

Emergent bilingualism

When two groups who speak different languages are in continuous contact with each other, it will be necessary for them to communicate with each other, and so some speakers will gradually acquire (elements of) the other group's language. While this may go both ways, typically the lower-status group adjusts to the politically dominant one, so in most of the cases under discussion here, the consequence is that first some, and then more and more, speakers of indigenous languages acquire English. In extreme cases, this process may lead to complete language shift.

Substrate transfer

Both on an individual and on a communal basis, the growth of bilingualism implies processes of second language acquisition. Characteristically, in such situations, second-language usage is marked by the transfer of some first-language phenomena on all linguistic levels (sounds, words, structures, pragmatic habits), either because these are persistent and deeply rooted in one's language behaviour (like motoric articulatory movements in sound production) or because they are employed to fill gaps in one's expressive potential in the target language. These gaps can be caused by the target language, English, having no words for indigenous concepts, a situation which frequently results in the lexical transfer of indigenous cultural terms into English.

Sequence of contact effects

The sequence of such transfer phenomena appearing in a new variety of English is not haphazard. Quite to the contrary, there are strong similarities across regions and varieties. Characteristically, the earliest traces of English being influenced by indigenous languages are to be found in the lexicon: words travel easily. And here it is also typical to have certain semantically defined groups of words appearing in a regular sequence: The oldest loans which English adopts from indigenous contexts are typically place names, soon to be followed by designations of plants and animals and then by words labelling local customs and cultural objects and relations in general. Phonological transfer tends to be next; grammatical influences come last, and most reluctantly.

Contact effects in line with cline of contact intensity

Thomason and Kaufman (1988) were the first to point out that there is a characteristic sequence of such transfer effects which correlates strongly with the intensity of social contact between two groups. Light and superficial contact results in lexical borrowing. More intensive mutual involvement produces morphological transfer (e.g. appending the inflectional morphemes of one language to words of another) and structural transfer. An example of this is the combination of English words by employing syntactic rules internalized from one's knowledge of an indigenous language. This is illustrated in the subjectless clause patterns of Singapore English as in *Can or not?*, which employ the Chinese syntactic option of omitting a subject noun phrase. In the case of extremely strong dominance or intertwining of two social groups, creolization or language alternation may result (cf. Thomason 2001; Schreier & Hundt 2013; McLellan, this volume).

Structural nativization

All of these processes together result in the evolution of a 'New English', the gradual growth of a new dialect of English which has been 'nativized' or 'indigenized'. This means it is marked by a distinctive set of lexical, phonological and grammatical properties which can be theoretically accounted for by looking into the history and development of the variety of English concerned and the effect of contact processes.

Adoption of indigenous forms

It was stated previously that these innovative forms appear originally through acquisition processes and thus in the speech of indigenous users of English. However, in the course of time, they also spread to the resident population of British descent, in particular to lower-class immigrants, who tend to have more intimate contacts with the indigenous population. Again, this applies more immediately and widely to lexis than to grammar. Indigenous words are used in English texts by just about everyone and also in formal contexts. Grammatical patterns used by members of an indigenous ethnic group are adopted much more reluctantly by British immigrants or their descendants, but it also happens: We have reports of white overseers and plantation owners' wives in the Caribbean speaking forms of local creoles and of so-called 'white babus' in India who sound like Indians speaking English (Kachru 1983:228).

Appropriation of innovative linguistic forms for social purposes

In the course of time, these innovative linguistic features (words and sound patterns more so than grammatical details) tend to be accommodated for social purposes. Using them becomes a symbolic expression of some attitude or group membership. Like in many other societies, in Malaysia, using distinctively local mesolectal forms of English signals a desire for social solidarity. In general, 'New Englishes' are deliberate expressions of local identities and symbols expressing a strong sense of identification and belonging.

All of this tends to result in structural outcomes which are surprisingly similar at times. For more details, the reader is referred to the *Varieties of English* handbook volumes (Kortmann et al. 2004; see 'Suggestions for further reading') and to Kortmann and Lunkenheimer (2012).

Explanations and models

Various frameworks have been proposed to account for these similarities and differences and to categorize World Englishes into groups of related varieties. In the following, I distinguish between models which are static ("Categorial models") and those which recognize internal evolutionary trends ("Cyclic models").

Categorical models

Kachru's three circles

Braj Kachru, one of the main founding fathers of the field of World Englishes as a scholarly discipline, is probably best known for his conceptualization of these varieties as belonging to one of three circles, the 'Inner', 'Outer' and 'Expanding' Circles (typically represented graphically as concentric circles or overlapping ovals). Inner circle countries, such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada or Australia, are those where English is spoken natively by the vast majority of the population. In outer circle countries such as Ghana, Zambia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka or the Philippines, English fulfils important internal roles (typically as the language of administration and education, often explicitly as an 'official' language); usually these cases are the product of an earlier colonial phase. The expanding circle comprises countries without such a colonial history but in which English is used and is now spreading as a foreign language. Egypt, Indonesia, Thailand, Korea, China, Japan and Saudi Arabia are examples. While this categorization is clearly useful and has been highly influential, it essentially builds upon a metaphor and is thus inherently fuzzy. Some multilingual countries in which English is spoken widely, but not predominantly, as a native language, such as South Africa and Canada, fail to fall clearly into any of the categories. It also seems that some thirty-plus years after its inception, the model has become somewhat dated in that it ignores the strong proportion of first-language English speakers in countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and others. Such difficulties notwithstanding, however, the impact of Kachru's model primarily stems from his emphasis on the important and essentially independent status of the outer circle, a position that implies that inner circle countries have no longer any privilege as to the 'ownership' of English. In terms of international communication and visibility, outer circle countries thus have a right to establish norms of their own. This position was voiced most articulately in Kachru (1992) and has influenced many scholars from such countries.

English as a Native Language – English as a Second Language – English as a Foreign Language

This framework, described, for instance, in McArthur (1998:42), is actually a little older than Kachru's, and in its terminology, it is a little more descriptive: The language situations portrayed by Kachru as 'circles' are simply labelled 'English as a Native Language (ENL)', 'English as a Second Language (ESL)' and 'English as a Foreign Language (EFL)' countries. Apart from the political implications of Kachru's proposal, the two schemes are quite similar; the limitations noted previously apply here in much the same fashion. However, this scheme implies a hierarchy, because in a sense, ESL and EFL are judged against the ENL model, while Kachru's line of thinking emphasizes the plurality of Englishes without attributing a superior status to any of these classes.

Cyclic models

Moag, Llamzon, Schmied

Some cyclic models have also been proposed. These regard emerging new varieties as going through characteristic developmental processes. Among earlier proposals along these lines, those by Moag, Llamzon or Schmied focused on specific countries or regions rather than similarities or differences between countries. All of them are suggestive more than descriptive and not worked out in great detail.

Moag (1992; originally published in 1982) suggested that Fiji English has gone through four different phases, which he called (with the labels being largely self-explanatory) 'transportation', 'indigenization', 'expansion in use and function' and 'institutionalization'. As a possible fifth phase, he expects a 'restriction of use and function', thus giving expression to the view that in the long run, English will lose ground and fall back to foreign language status. However, he believes another developmental track is also possible, with 'English inexorably becoming a native language in some societies' (Moag 1992:247).

Llamzon (1986), adopting this line of thinking to the Philippines, perceived a decline in English there and thus focused upon the 'restriction phase'. It remains to be seen, however, whether he gave undue weight to the disappearance of native-speaker models and, as I suspect, underestimated the dynamic effect of indigenous uses of English (cf. Borlongan fc. 2021).

Schmied (1991) applied Moag's idea to the growth of English in Africa. He suggests that after the first three stages (which he calls 'contact', 'institutionalization' and 'expansion'), two alternative paths of further development are possible. In some countries, such as in Nigeria, 'recognition' leads to 'adoption', while in others, most notably in Tanzania, 'repression' of English results in 'deinstitutionalization' (194–197).

Schneider's 'Dynamic Model'

Inspired by these developmental frameworks, Schneider (2003, 2007) developed a 'Dynamic Model', which claims to identify an underlying, fundamentally uniform evolutionary process which has been effective in all instances of the postcolonial diffusion of English. Since its publication, this model has been applied by other scholars and to other contexts (Schneider 2014; Buschfeld et al. 2014; Deshors 2018).

The model builds on similarities in the social dynamics between the two parties involved in a colonization process and ultimately upon theories of sociolinguistic accommodation and identity symbolization. In colonization, settlers move into a territory inhabited by people with different cultural roots and a different linguistic background. In the beginning, both groups perceive each other as distinct from each other. In the long run, these boundaries get increasingly blurred. Typically, after having shared the land for many decades or even centuries, both groups recognize that this need to co-exist will continue for good, and they move more closely towards each other, both socially and linguistically. Frequently this happens after political independence from the erstwhile mother country (in our case, mostly Great Britain), and it also typically involves a stage of nation-building intended to diminish ethnic boundaries and to develop a pan-ethnic feeling of nationhood. The model assumes that the political history of a country is reflected in the identity re-writings of the groups involved in these processes, which, in turn, determine the sociolinguistic conditions of language contact, linguistic usage and language attitudes, and these affect the linguistic developments and structural changes in the varieties concerned.

Schneider posits that evolving World Englishes typically proceed through five characteristic stages, with the aforementioned political, sociolinguistic and structural patterns observable in each:

- During the 'Foundation' phase, English is brought to a new territory, which leads to incipient bilingualism, the borrowing of toponyms and other minor processes.
- 'Exonormative stabilization'. During a stable colonial situation, the politically dominant 'mother country' determines the norms of linguistic behaviour, and elite bilingualism spreads amongst some representatives of the indigenous population, with lexical borrowing continuing.
- 'Nativization' is the most vibrant and interesting of all the phases. With ties with the settlers' country of origin weakening, and interethnic contacts increasing, bilingual speakers forge a new variety of English, shaped strongly by phonological and structural transfer – though conservative speakers resent such innovative usage.
- 'Endonormative stabilization' implies that, after independence and inspired by a process of nation-building, a new linguistic norm is increasingly observed to exist (and perceived as remarkably homogeneous in many cases). The new norm is beginning to be codified and to be accepted in society and is employed culturally in literary representations.
- 'Differentiation' may conclude the process. In a stable young nation, internal social group identities become more important and get reflected in increasing dialectal differences.

Certainly this is a very rough sketch (for more details, see Schneider 2003, 2007), and certainly, like any model, this one abstracts strongly from complex realities (so that in many real contexts, subsequent phases overlap and not all constituent phenomena can be observed), but the basic pattern seems well established and is based upon observations drawn from a wide range of different countries. More recently, the model has been expanded (via the idea of internal and external 'forces' exerting similar influences) to encompass non-postcolonial and other emerging contexts as well (Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2017; Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider 2018).

Discussion: further issues

Let us now consider some additional issues which are relevant in this context and in the evaluation of these models.

Of 'native speakers' and 'first languages' – or for what it's worth

One of the most interesting aspects of the 'Dynamic Model' is its claim of validity for both postcolonial ENL countries and ESL nations. Is it really possible and realistic to treat first-language and second-language English-speaking countries jointly, under one and the same framework? Conversely, is there still sufficient reason to insist on the difference between 'native' and 'second' language usage as a primary criterion; isn't the difference between first and second languages (and first- and second-language English countries, in some contexts) getting increasingly blurred? The concept of native speakers, typically applied to English speakers from Great Britain or the United States, has been consistently challenged over the last few decades on several fronts. Aren't children who grow up speaking English as their first language in, say, Singapore or Lagos, also 'native speakers' of English? So, surely their language competence and usage can be provided with the same degree of authority. In highly multilingual contexts, even notions such as 'native' or 'first' language seem difficult to pin down accurately, given that many children grow up speaking several languages from early childhood, each restricted to different context situations or interlocutors. In many such countries, some speakers tend to switch to using English almost exclusively in their professional and even private lives at a certain age, so that English becomes their 'primary' or 'first' language, even if it may not have been the first one acquired. The notion of 'native speaker' stems from nineteenth-century British nationalism, and it still tends to be highly politicized: In Singapore, the Asian national languages are 'ethnic mother tongues' by definition, irrespective of usage realities (so, for instance, differences between Chinese dialects spoken by parent generations and Putonghua are disregarded, and Eurasians, who speak English 'natively', are denied an official mother tongue because by definition English must not occupy that culturally loaded role). In Cameroon, I have come across cases where children are instructed to view their grandparents' ancestral African languages as their own 'mother tongues' even if they do not speak them at all. So – the native speaker concept does not seem helpful and sufficient to adequately describe complex realities.

Are the categorical models, which were certainly most useful and influential in the 1980s, still adequate, given the rapidly changing contexts of the use of English in recent decades in many countries? We can conclude that distinctions such as the one between the 'Inner Circle' and the 'Outer Circle' were perfectly appropriate for the twentieth century but may no longer be so for the twenty-first in the face of radically changing situations.

Adstrates and global patterns of ethnic and grassroots diffusion

A few more complicating factors need to be considered when looking at present-day similarities and differences between World Englishes and their causes, only a few of which can be addressed here. An interesting phenomenon which has contributed both to the complexity of language situations in individual countries and to similarities between otherwise unrelated locales are 'adstrate' communities – groups of immigrants other than (and usually coming later than) the British-descendant settlers. Throughout history, there have been certain strands of migrants who originate from the same source or region and who then move to many different countries. For example, the Chinese now live all over Asia, and South-East Asia in particular, so one interesting question is whether any features of an ethnically marked Chinese influence can be observed in the Englishes of various regions. Indians are perhaps the most interesting and obvious case in point. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Indian labourers migrated to various countries where there was a need for cheap manual labour, and so we find strong Indian population groups in countries as diverse as in South Africa, Trinidad, Guyana or Fiji (Hundt & Sharma 2014). Again, there are both similarities between these global 'Indian Englishes' on account of their 'Indian-ness' and differences between them caused by local adjustments and linguistic adoptions. Similarities or differences caused by these migratory processes are worthwhile topics for future research.

Another related case in point, possibly increasing the diversity of current Englishes, is the fact that English is increasingly spreading as a global language resource, in migration and in 'grassroots' forms and contexts outside the domains of formal education that have traditionally shaped it in many ESL countries (Meierkord & Schneider 2020).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the outcome of the task of establishing similarities and differences between World Englishes in terms of their evolutionary patterns and properties needs to be critically assessed. Essentially, this is a categorization process, an attempt at pattern recognition or of finding order in what appears to be chaos. As such, it represents a fundamental trait of human beings: seeking patterns to help us cope with complex realities. Insights gained from such a comparative approach can be useful, for example, by transferring successful strategies (say, in language teaching or of language policy) from one context to another. But we should also recognize the inherent limitations of such a comparison. For one thing, categorization means establishing prototypes; boundaries between such categories typically are fuzzy and overlapping rather than sharp and clearly delimitated. They are based upon the observation of properties which themselves are always changing, so we are talking about network-like family resemblances here rather than about a mosaic structure. Second, the results of such an undertaking always depend on one's purpose, for instance, with respect to the level of specificity aimed at. We can be looking at the forest, establishing broad, non-specific categories, or at the trees, introducing finely graded distinctions and thus positing many and precisely defined categories but thereby weakening the comparative perspective.

Finally, in the realm of World Englishes, the recognition of similarities or difficulties also depends on the stylistic level that is being focused on. The notion of a 'glocal' (both global and local) development, of there being both centrifugal and centripetal forces in the evolution of Englishes, is helpful here, but these two sides of the coin are not equally represented in all contexts. In writing and in transnational or global usage contexts, more similarities are likely to be found. On the other hand, differences from one variety to another will probably surface more strongly in speech and in local contexts, emphasizing friendliness, proximity and identity through the use of local idioms, including indigenized varieties of English.

Suggestions for further reading

Kirkpatrick, T. A. (2007) *World Englishes: Implications for International Communication and English Language Teaching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (A very accessible survey of the topic, strongly considering the applied perspective and consequences for language teaching.)

Kortmann, B. & Upton, C. (eds.) (2008) *Varieties of English 1: The British Isles*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Schneider, E. W. (ed.) (2008) *Varieties of English 2: The Americas and the Caribbean*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Burridge, K. & Kortmann, B. (eds.) (2008) *Varieties of English 3: The Pacific and Australasia*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mesthrie, R. (ed.) (2008) *Varieties of English 4: Africa, South and Southeast Asia*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

(These four accessibly priced paperback volumes, each one on a major world region, consist of a large number of articles which in some detail describe the historical origins and the phonological and morphosyntactic characteristics of almost all the major World Englishes.)

Schneider, E. W. (2007) *Postcolonial English. Varieties Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (A systematic discussion of the 'Dynamic Model' outlined previously, with a chapter on the linguistic processes involved and a historical survey of the evolution of English in 17 countries around the globe.)

Schneider, E. W. (2020) *English Around the World*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (An accessible and lively introduction to the field of World Englishes, including historical surveys, discussions of relevant issues, and many text samples.)

Schreier, D., Hundt, M. & Schneider, E. W. (eds.) (2020) *The Cambridge Handbook of World Englishes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (A voluminous collection of articles which together provide a systematic survey of the major issues and innovative thinking in the field.)

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24

Mixed codes or varieties of English?

James McLellan

Introduction

This chapter is based on the premise (truism) that speakers and writers of World Englishes have access to other languages in the linguistic ecosystem of their national or local community. These languages contribute to the variety of English used for their intranational communication. They include languages learned as a first language in the home and those acquired informally through social interaction in the community and formally within the educational domain.

In these contexts, English can be considered an overlay, as the other languages are not usually replaced by English but are retained, and they function as communicative resources for the construction of varieties of English. Fijian, Malaysian, Bruneian, Indian, Kenyan and Nigerian Englishes provide excellent examples.

This chapter investigates the consequences of this pattern of multilingual overlaying and the hypothesis that World Englishes are by definition code-mixed varieties, mainly from a linguistic perspective but with some reference to sociolinguistic issues. A revised discussion section covers some developments in the field subsequent to the 2010 publication of this chapter in the first edition of this handbook. These comprise the mixed code as a 'third code', distinct from the contributing languages, the rise of social media and computer-mediated discourse (CMD) in the second decade of this millennium and the broader implications for the World Englishes field.

The linguistic analysis draws mainly on a corpus of Brunei online discussion forum texts and highlights single Malay nouns and nominal groups inserted into English main-language texts. In so doing, they exert influence on the main language, English, causing reshaping through the influence of Malay, even in texts which have no Malay insertions or alternations (Muysken, 2000).

Sociolinguistics, being "the study of speakers' choices" (Coulmas, 2005), leads us to pursue a line of enquiry which suggests a threefold choice, between

- using the local language(s) monolingually,
- using an exonormative variety of English monolingually,
- using a mixed code which can be regarded as a separate variety which is unmarked in some multilingual contexts.

Background and frame of reference

Much of the scholarship in World Englishes (WEs) has understandably sought to relate these Englishes to the L1 or inner circle centre (cf. periphery) varieties spoken in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. This tendency also applies in related fields such as English as an international language (EIL) and in the debates over English as a lingua franca (ELF). In seeking to make these linkages between WEs and the Centre varieties, we may fail to take full account of the intranational roles and functions that are central to the definition of the institutionalized, norm-developing Englishes found in parts of West and East Africa, the Caribbean and South and Southeast Asia.

An alternative framework is proposed here, influenced by the pioneering work of Mufwene (2001, 2004) and drawing on theories of language contact (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988; Thomason, 2001). This takes the institutionalized varieties as autonomous and describes them in terms of their contact with other languages in the contexts in which they developed. For example, Singapore English (whether 'standard' or 'colloquial') can usefully be described with reference to other languages in the Singaporean linguistic ecosystem (e.g. Bao, 2005). Singapore English can thus be distinguished from neighbouring Southeast Asian Englishes in Malaysia, Brunei and Indonesia by virtue of the unique patterns and processes of contact which have brought about its development in the local context in parallel to Singapore's development from colony to independent nation state. Likewise, Malaysian and Brunei English have been found to differ, partly as a result of the different roles of English in these neighbouring multilingual polities but in part also through the mediation of the distinct varieties of Malay which distinguish Brunei from Malaysia.

One criterion for claiming the existence of these varieties is that they have intranational, as distinct from international, functions (Platt *et al.*, 1984: 2–3). They are used between inhabitants of the country concerned and have a tendency to become identity markers and even objects of pride for their users. The archetypal example of this is the oft-cited remark of Singapore's former Ambassador to the United Nations T. T. B. Koh about Singapore English (e.g. Tongue, 1979: 4):

> when one is abroad in a bus or train or aeroplane and when one overhears someone speaking, one can immediately say that this is someone from Malaysia or Singapore. And I should hope that when I'm speaking abroad my countrymen will have no problem recognising me as a Singaporean.

There is nothing new or original in this autonomous approach to the analysis of World Englishes. It is in some respects a regression towards older contrastive analysis paradigms, which sought to account for 'interference' and 'transfer' features but then became entangled in arguments over behaviourist approaches to second language acquisition.

The languages in the linguistic ecosystem of each national or local community contribute to the variety of English used for their intranational communication. These may comprise languages learned as a first language in the home, as well as those acquired informally through social interaction in the community or learnt formally within the educational domain. This aspect of language contact has been more thoroughly researched in the field of pidgin and creole linguistics. One model of pidgin and subsequent creole language development posits one or more local vernacular 'base' languages which supply grammatical features and a 'lexifier' language, which is usually a colonial language of wider communication (Holmes, 2001: 83; Mufwene, 2001: 3–4; Thomason, 2001: 159–162; Todd, 1974: 1–11). The base language, for example, Motu in Papua New Guinea, may be referred to as 'substrate', and the lexifier, for example, English for Tok Pisin, as 'superstrate'.

Investigation of varieties of English from this 'substrate' perspective will naturally tend to foreground differences rather than commonalities, but it will also portray the indigenized Englishes as autonomous and dynamic and as part of a multilingual ecosystem.

This chapter thus investigates both the linguistic and the sociolinguistic consequences of this pattern of multilingual overlaying and the hypothesis that World Englishes are by definition code-mixed varieties.

Review of relevant literature: 'substratum' perspectives and the notion of a separate 'third code'

Two relevant frameworks for such an investigation are Mufwene's (2001: 3–6, 106–124) theory of the feature pool and Kachru's (1994) dual notions of 'englishization of local languages and 'nativization' of English. These both point towards a conceptualization of World Englishes as code-mixed varieties, which develop in contexts where speakers and writers have other code choices as well as English available to them. Chitravelu (2007: 236–237) labelled these paradigmatic choices as a research priority within multilingual Southeast Asian societies.

Mufwene's feature pool theory seeks to explain processes of language contact: creolization and koinéization. Features from both the superstrate languages of the colonizing powers and those languages spoken in the colonized territories are available for selection for the creation and development of new varieties. One example, discussed by Mufwene (2001: 52) with reference to Melanesian English pidgins, is the inclusive/exclusive first person pronoun distinction, which derives from local vernacular languages: 'yumi': inclusive, 'mipela': exclusive. Both of these would be expressed by 'we/us' in English. A similar inclusive/exclusive first person pronoun contrast is found in Malay: 'kita': inclusive, 'kami' exclusive.

A modified version of Kachru's nativization/englishization model was used by Rosnah *et al.* (2002) to investigate both processes in the context of Brunei: englishization of the Brunei variety of Malay alongside nativization of English. For the purposes of this chapter, the main focus will be unidirectional, investigating the influence of Malay, especially Brunei Malay, on English texts. Exemplification is principally from Negara Brunei Darussalam (Brunei), where Bahasa Melayu (Malay) is the official language, and where the Brunei variety of Malay is an important marker of national and ethnic identity and the main lingua franca (Martin, 1996; Jaludin Haji Chuchu, 2003). Although high levels of multilingualism can be found in Brunei, the salience of Brunei Malay makes it easier to identify its influence in English texts produced by Bruneians. Ożóg's (1987, 1993) pioneering studies provide initial descriptions of features of Brunei English as a code-mixed variety, emphasizing the influence of both the standard and the Brunei varieties of Malay (see also Chitravelu & Rosnah, 2007).

In common with other research into aspects of language contact, the question can be approached from both linguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives. One challenge, as pointed out by Gardner-Chloros and Edwards (2004) with specific reference to codeswitching research, is to merge these two strands. In pidgin and creole linguistic research, an earlier focus on the lexifier or 'superstrate' languages has been counterbalanced by greater attention to the roles played by the 'substrate' languages (e.g. Migge & Smith, 2007).

A focus on the 'substratum' thus serves to counterbalance the bias in research towards the 'English' in World Englishes and may shed more light on the contribution of the local languages. 'Substratum' is, however, a contested term, as the substrate/superstrate model might be seen as implying superiority of the colonizers' languages over local indigenous languages. Hence it is used with reservations, for want of a better term, and appears in this chapter in inverted commas.

Codeswitching research literature (e.g. Myers-Scotton 1993: 8) has raised the important argument as to whether code-mixed texts constitute a separate 'third code' distinct from both languages which contribute to the mix. This issue has also been discussed recently in the context of World Englishes by Kirkpatrick (2007: 127–128). The separate third code argument has been advanced in contexts such as the Philippines (Marasigan, 1983); the Puerto Rican community in New York (Poplack, 1988) and the former Zaire, now Congo (Blommaert, 1999; Meeuwis & Blommaert, 1998). These researchers argue that the mixed code has become the normal, unmarked choice for interaction and that monolingual communication is a marked choice.

Brunei English examples

The data examples discussed in this section are from McLellan (2005), with some reworking of the categories used in that study. They are taken from two Brunei online discussion forums; thus, they are examples of computer-mediated, as opposed to spoken or written, communication. Computer-mediated discourse is defined by Herring (1996: 1) as "communication that takes place between human beings via the instrumentality of computers". Data from such sources do not, of course, allow for analysis of phonological influence deriving from substrate languages; hence, the focus is on lexis and syntax.

A corpus of 211 texts, with a total word count of 31,513, was initially categorized according to five language classifications, as shown in Table 24.1.

Categories 2, 3 and 4 are those in which some measure of language alternation (codeswitching occurs). These categories apply to the whole text, calculated by means of a word count and a count of the phrases (syntactic groups). Table 24.1 shows that 49.8 per cent of the texts (those in categories 2, 3 and 4) show some measure of language alternation, whilst 50.2 per cent (categories 1 and 2) are monolingual English or monolingual Malay. Hence the major interest lies in category 2, main-language English (i.e. with some Malay insertions) and category 3, equal language alternation. Texts in category 4, main-language Malay with some English insertions, should not be considered Brunei English. The same five categories were subsequently used by Deterding and Salbrina Sharbawi (2013: 108–109), who applied them to a separate corpus of texts from the Brunei public online forum 'Have Your Say' (HYS). Their results in terms of the five categories were similar to those of McLellan (2005).

The same categorization is also applied below the level of the text, to syntactic groups, with a principal focus on single nouns and noun phrases, regularly found to be the

Table 24.1 Presence/absence of language alternation in corpus of 211 postings

	Language classification	*Number of postings*	*% of total*
1	English only (E-)	83	39.3
2	Main-language English (ML-E)	36	17.1
3	= Language Alternation (=LA)	12	5.7
4	Main-language Malay (ML-M)	57	27.0
5	Malay only (M-)	23	10.9

commonest code-switching constituent across a range of language pairs (Myers-Scotton, 2006: 226–229).

Example text (1) shows a text classified as equal language alternation (=LA).

(1) [1]

Auction stuff: *Frankly speaking,*/[1] baiktah jangan dibali barang2
good-DM NEG-IMP PASS-buy RDP-thing

yg kena \[2] *auction* /[3] atu, bukannya apa \[4], *if we buy them, in a way, we are*
REL PASS DEM, NEG-3s-POSS what

helping those who have used /[5] duit ketani \[6] *for their personal interest, to*
money 1pi-POSS

pay for their debts./ [7] Mana tia yang dulu\[8] *the famous* /[9]7 org atu?
Where DM REL before ABBR-person DEM

Inda kedengaran.\ [10] *Has the trial started?? It's so sad, isn't it, how our beloved*
NEG hearing

country /[11] jadi cemani.
become like-DEM

Free translation:
Auction stuff: Frankly speaking, it's better not to buy the things that are being auctioned, isn't it right, that if we buy them, in a way, we are helping those who have used our money for their personal interest, to pay for their debts. Wherever are the famous seven people from before? We don't hear of them anymore. Has the trial started? It's so sad, isn't it, how our beloved country has come to this.

(Data source: Brudirect HYS, posting 2.58)

[1]: See endnote 1 for abbreviations and glossing conventions used in this chapter.

In this text, English is predominant by the word-count criterion: 43 words as against only 21 Malay words. It has 11 English-only syntactic groups, 3 mixed groups and 9 Malay-only groups and is thus classified =LA. As indicated by the forward and back slashes, there are ten switching points within this short text, demonstrating a high level of bilingual proficiency on the part of the anonymous producer, and a comparable expectation of equivalent bilingual proficiency on the part of the reader. Texts with complex switching of this type challenge the asymmetric matrix-language-frame model of codeswitching (Myers- Scotton, 1993, 2002, 2006), which claims that the matrix language supplies the syntactic frame whilst the embedded language supplies only lexical items. In text (1) and in text (8), subsequently, both Malay and English contribute both lexical items and syntactic structures.

Text (1) is also notable for mixing Brunei Malay with a formal standard and grammatically accurate variety of English. Outside of the Malay sections, the English shows no 'substratum' influence. The use of the Brunei Malay noun phrase 'duit ketani' ('money our' = 'our money'), inserted into a stretch of English, illustrates that code choice is deliberate and strategic here, since the writer could equally well have used the English noun phrase 'our money'. The Malay phrase is presumably chosen for its emotive and rhetorical effect.

The examples in the following section are of nouns and noun phrases from the 'substratum' language, Malay, and show a variety of patterns of alternation, for which different motives are suggested.

Single or 'bare' nouns

This is the simplest category, where a single Malay noun is inserted into a stretch of main-language English text, as in example set (2).

(2) Bare/single Malay nouns in ML-E environments.

a] *Jones can give all he's* 'alasan' *to the public like 2 players are still schooling* lah
reason DM

Jones can give all his reasons to the public, such as that two players are still at school (2.28)

b] *maybe after all I live under* tempurung
coconut shell

maybe after all I live under a coconut shell, (3.28)

c] JPM *for this matter should be thankful that they have avenue to look at* rakyat *argument*
PM's Department people

The Prime Minister's Department should be thankful that they have an avenue to look at the people's arguments, (3.40)

d] *So* rakyat *could make formal complain*
people

So the people could make formal complaints (3.40)

e] *There are ample parking spaces in most* masjid
mosque

There are ample parking spaces in most mosques, (4.1)

In 2b, 2c and 2d, as shown by the free translations, morphological markers required by English syntax do not occur, suggesting that the insertion of the single Malay nouns influences the syntax of the sentence. In 2a and 2e, the cotext shows that the Malay nouns are to be interpreted as plural (reasons, mosques): Malay nouns can reduplicate to show plurality, but reduplication only occurs when plurality is not retrievable from the surrounding context. In 2a, the Malay noun 'alasan' is flagged by the use of inverted commas: the message topic is the national soccer team coach giving explanations to the local media for the poor performance of the team. 2b is a reference to the Malay idiom 'katak dibawah tempurung' (frog under a coconut shell), which describes someone with limited horizons and little knowledge of the wider world. The use of the Malay noun causes deletion of the required English indefinite article. The lexeme 'rakyat' ('people') would require the definite article in both 2c and 2d to conform to standard English syntax. In 2b, the mixed noun phrase 'rakyat *argument*' follows the modifier-head word order of English, but the possessive ('s) is not attached to the Malay noun. In 2e, the reference is clearly plural: in this posting, the writer is complaining about Bruneians' tendency to double-park outside mosques at the Friday prayers.

As with 'duit ketani' in (1), there may be cultural or emotive reasons for the switch to the Malay single nouns 'rakyat' and 'masjid': the writers may feel that the English terms 'people' and 'mosques' do not carry the same emotional and rhetorical weight.

Many similar examples of Malay lexemes have been found to occur in the English-language print media in Brunei and in Malaysia in both news report texts and in headlines (Lowenberg, 1991; David & McLellan, 2007; David *et al.*, 2009).

Noun phrases

In example set (3), all the texts contain more than one word of Malay, and the Malay head-modifier nominal group structure is maintained. There are no examples of Malay nouns and their modifiers following the English modifier-head structure: forms such as *'malam pasar' or *'melayu bangsa' do not occur.

(3) Malay nominal groups in Main-language English environments

a] *BAN* pasar malam
market night

Ban the night market, (1.26)

b] *as for the men out there who resort to* 'pujuk rayu' *or coercion to demand sex* . . . .
persuade coax

As for the men out there who resort to coercion to demand sex, (2.12)

c] *the Concept* MIB *had suppressed certain group of individual especially* puak2 lain
RDP-group other

the MIB concept has suppressed a certain group of individuals, especially other ethnic groups, (3.39)

e] . . . *and there is no more* bangsa melayu
race Malay

and there is no more Malay race, (3.41)

f] *Are we still* berkonsepkan MIB? *I wonder*
concept

Are we still following the MIB concept? I wonder, (3.41)

g] . . . *when I went for* jalan-jalan
RDP-walk

when I went for a walk around, (3.45)

These are all set phrases in Malay which collocate closely. 'Pasar malam' occurs frequently in English speech among expatriates resident in Brunei, in preference to the English equivalent 'night market'. 'Puak2 lain' shows the use of the numerical abbreviation for the plural reduplication: in more formal written text, this would appear as 'puak-puak lain'. In example 3b, there is flagging of the Malay phrase, and this is a rare case of a parallel English translation being provided. 3c shows the Malay head-modifier order applied to the mixed nominal group 'Concept MIB', even though it occurs in an English syntactic frame with the definite article present. The absence of the indefinite article in 3c before 'certain group', also omitted in 3g, and the absence of plural marking on 'individual' in 3c, are further evidence that the grammatical systems of both English and Malay are operative here, signifying a further challenge to the matrix language/embedded language distinction.

Malay influence in English-only texts

Even in texts which are English-only with no Malay insertions, there is evidence of 'substrate' influence from Malay. These are among the characteristic features of Brunei English, which may also be found in neighbouring Southeast Asian Englishes where Malay or related Austronesian languages form part of the linguistic ecosystem. They have also been analysed as shifts between formal and informal varieties of English, or between acrolects, mesolects and basilects, where the basilectal varieties – Manglish in Malaysia, Singlish in Singapore, Taglish in the Philippines and Brulish or Brunglish in Brunei – show the greatest amount of 'substrate' influence.

Features discussed by other researchers include the absence of plural marking. Example set (4) shows instances of absent plural marking from English-only texts in the online discussion forum corpus.

(4)

a) *I hope the management would train their staff properly so that next time <u>incident</u> like this wouldn't happen again* (2.11)

b) *the Concept MIB had suppressed certain <u>group</u> of <u>individual</u>* (3.39)

c) *But I guess the effort will be futile because as the BB* said the <u>customer</u> would just shop outside the border* (3.42)
* = abbreviation for 'Borneo Bulletin' (newspaper)

Variation between count and non-count nouns is another frequent feature of Southeast Asian Englishes (Platt *et al.,* 1984: 46–52). In set 5, there are two examples from the corpus which show 'advice' used as a countable noun, as also noted by Cane (1994: 354) with specific reference to Brunei English.

(5)

a) *Just <u>a</u> simple comment and <u>advice</u> to all out there. We all know how "upset" we are with the current situation in Brunei* (1.15)

b) *<u>An advice</u> to THOR*, lift the veil from your inner eye* (1.57)
* = pseudonym of previous message poster

In verb phrases, the past conditional 'would' occurs in place of 'standard' English 'will' as a future tense auxiliary (Svalberg, 1998: 336–337). The examples in set (6) from the discussion forum corpus support Svalberg's analysis.

(6)

a) *I would make sure that those who applied have the means to service the loan. Otherwise, I <u>would</u> be accused in the future of generating bad loans and also mismanagement* (2.3)

b) *I hope the management <u>would</u> train their staff properly so that next time incident like this <u>wouldn't</u> happen again* (2.11)

c) *They intent to monopolise the market using the copyright act as an excuse. So they are the one initiating all the raids because they <u>would</u> end up making lots of money* (3.42)

d) *But I guess the effort will be futile because as the BB* said the customer <u>would</u> just shop outside the border* (3.42)
* = abbreviation for 'Borneo Bulletin' (newspaper)

e) *I am going on leave now and <u>would</u> be back in January 2002 to share my views, advice, proposals (all constructive of course)*(3.20)

Svalberg (1998: 338–339) also discusses instances of the past perfect found in non-past contexts. Examples 7a and 7b show this occurring:

(7)

a) *But let us be rational that the Concept MIB had suppressed certain group of individual . . .* (3.39)

b) *My father had just retired from Government service and has limited funds to do a few vital renovation to his house at Kampong Rimba* (4.32)

For similar examples to 7b from her corpus, Svalberg (1998: 339) offers the plausible explanation that in Brunei English the past perfect has a "stage setting" function when used in discourse contexts where the time reference has yet to be established. An alternative analysis, proposed by Noor Azam and McLellan (2000: 9–10), is that in Brunei English, both have/had and will/would occur in free variation. Examples 6d and 7b offer support for this view.

Parallel studies by Deterding (2000) and by Poedjosoedarmo (2000) of Mandarin and Malay influence on Singapore English show that it is not always easy to determine whether distinctive constructions in World Englishes arise from 'substratum' influence. Nor in the case of Singapore can one be certain whether the influence is from Mandarin, other Chinese languages or Malay. In Brunei, however, where Malay is the predominant 'substrate' language, the lack of inflectional morphology for signalling tense and aspect in Malay may be a contributory factor to the variability found in Brunei English.

Rich intrasentential alternation

Moving outside the original corpus, similar patterns of language alternation continue to occur in Brunei public online forums, even though moderators of these attempt to separate postings and discussion in English and in Malay.

Example text (8) is taken from a recent posting on the Brunei Subreddit forum (www.reddit.com/r/Brunei/), and can be compared with text (1):

(8)

Things like this happened exactly at my school. before the hm visit, there's many broken

facilities such as the /[1] dewan \[2] *wasnt in good condition.* /[3] Kali sdh ada \[4] *danger*
hall time ABBR-already have

HM */[5] kan \[6] *visit* /[7] tarus \[8] *rushing* /[9] kan cat sini buat atu buat ani \[10] *like literally*
ABBR-will directly ABBR-will paint here do that do this

*nonstop day and night for 2 weeks i think. Then, the MOE*** /[11] ikut buat \[12] *visit* /[13] sebelum
follow make before

sultan datang \[14] *to make sure everything is in good position . . . .*
Sultan come

* : ABBR His Majesty (the Sultan)
** : ABBR Ministry of Education

Free translation:

Things like this happened exactly at my school. Before HM's visit, there were many broken facilities such as the hall that weren't in good condition. As soon as there was a danger of HM visiting everyone was directly rushing to paint here, do that do this like literally nonstop day and night, for 2 weeks I think. Then the MoE followed and made a visit before the Sultan came to make sure everything is in good position.

This short extract contains a high total of 14 switches within a word-count of 67 words, 48 English and 19 Malay. The phrase-count shows 11 English, 4 Malay and 5 mixed, a total of 19. It is categorised as Main-language English since the Malay and the mixed phrases ($n = 9$) do not equal or outnumber the English phrases. The extract demonstrates a high level of interplay between the Brunei Malay and English grammatical systems. The constraints of Myers-Scotton's (1993) matrix-language frame theory are challenged:

- 'Kali sdh ada *danger*' is a Malay verb phrase with an English object
- 'kan *visit*' and 'tarus *rushing*' are mixed verb phrases
- 'ikut buat *visit*' is a Malay serial verb with an English object.

Although English is predominant in text (8), decoding requires English–Brunei Malay bilingual competence. I contend that this is a text which should be classified as Brunei English, unlike those classified as Main-language Malay (see discussion in Saraceni, 2018: 124–127). Text (8) also shows how CMD texts are akin to informal spoken interaction, as this extract mirrors the way bilingual Bruneians alternate languages in conversation.

Discussion

Brunei English: a code-mixed variety and/or a third code?

In all the examples drawn from the Brunei online discussion forum corpus, there is no suggestion that the 'substrate' Malay insertions impede the intelligibility of the texts for the targeted readership. In fact, the converse is more likely: texts producers draw on lexical resources of both languages in order to achieve message clarity, aware that their readers, who are fellow members of this online discourse community, have comparably high levels of bilingual proficiency in English and Malay.

Clearly, example texts (1) and (8) can be classified neither as pure Malay nor as pure English. McLellan's (2005) study concludes that the Brunei CMD context is unlike the research contexts out of which the separate third code hypothesis has evolved. In Brunei CMD, on the contrary, monolingual English and monolingual Malay postings are unproblematic, as shown by the frequency of their occurrence (Table 24.1). The variable language choices within the threads of postings on the same topic also demonstrate this clearly. Those who choose English-only or Malay-only are not necessarily making a marked choice, as they know that their texts will be fully accessible to their intended readership, as are the texts showing intricate patterns of language alternation.

Hence a more valid model, based on the evidence presented here, is a continuum of code choices, as presented earlier in Table 24.1, available to members of the Brunei online discourse community, with categories 1 (English-only), 2 (Main-language English) and 3 (equal language alternation) all qualifying as sub-varieties of Brunei English, but not category 4 (Main-language Malay).

Brunei English in social media domains

Since the original publication of this chapter in 2010, there have been major advances in the field of social media research, concomitant with the rapid development and expansion of the various social media platforms. This is relevant in the Brunei context, as Brunei is among the most highly connected nations in proportion to its population, with 94% of the population being internet users and 82% mobile social media users (Hootsuite: We are Social, 2019). The most popular platforms are Whatsapp and Instagram. Research into language use of Bruneians in social media domains (e.g. Wood, 2016) shows that these platforms are important for the development of Brunei English, owing to their popularity among younger bi- and multilingual Bruneians. ʻAqilah Aziz (2019) compares Whatsapp two-party chats with multiparty groups, showing that patterns of mixing between Brunei Malay and English are similar to those found in face-to-face spoken interaction. ʻAqilah's findings differ somewhat from those of earlier studies of Brunei public online discussion forum discourse: in social media domains such as Whatsapp she found a majority of monolingual English and monolingual Malay messages over code-mixed messages: 65.5 per cent monolingual in chats, and 72.6 per cent monolingual in groups.

Developments in the World Englishes field since 2010

Here I briefly highlight some of the advances in the field which relate to the notion of World Englishes as mixed codes. Pennycook (2010: 683), specifically mentioning this chapter, refers to "the hybridity and linguistic bricolage in which English participates". Schneider (2016: 9) makes reference to Brunei English in his exploratory survey of "Hybrid Englishes". The question of "border crossings" is addressed by Saraceni (2018), as it was previously in the Brunei context by Chitravelu and Rosnah (2007). Languages, including World Englishes varieties, are seen as bounded, but this perception may be challenged through evidence from code-mixed texts and translanguaging practices which make it hard to determine where these boundaries lie. My suggestion (previously) of a boundary between the first three of the five categories, which are part of Brunei English, and categories 4 (Main-language Malay) and 5 (Malay-only), which are not, is wholly arbitrary. This is not part of the text producers' conscious choice when posting messages. Further reflection along these lines may lead us to challenge the whole notion of delineated bounded languages and language varieties, per Saraceni's (2018: 122–127) discussion.

Conclusion

The examples presented and analysed in this chapter are all part of in-group, intranational discourse practices between Bruneians. The international intelligibility of Brunei English is particularly salient in a small nation which depends on international connectedness for its economic wellbeing. This has been studied by Deterding (2013) and by Ishamina Athirah Gardiner and Deterding (2015). To capture the wider aspects of international (ELF) communication of Bruneians, where recourse to Malay would impede intelligibility, a linear model such as Kirkpatrick's (2007: 34–36) identity-communication continuum is needed.

One major focus of World Englishes research has been the search for features in common between the varieties, a tradition which goes back at least as far as Platt *et al.* (1984), for which the underlying rationale is the investigation of issues of mutual intelligibility. It is hoped that the approach taken in this chapter has demonstrated the potential for further research into all the languages that coexist in local and national linguistic ecosystems rather than just the national or local Englishes in isolation. Researchers and users may then come to realize that World Englishes are by definition code-mixed varieties, deriving their features from a diverse pool, as described by Mufwene (2001).

Note

1 Transcription and glossing conventions used in this chapter:

Citation from the online discussion forum postings is verbatim.
English text is in *italics*.
.
"-2", in the top line of text following nouns, signals reduplication of the noun (e.g. barang2 = barang-barang, 'things').
Numbers following the free translation indicate the posting in the corpus from which the example is taken.
/ \ : slash and backslash marks denote English>Malay and Malay>English switches, numbered within full-text extracts.

Abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses

1s	first-person singular pronoun
1pi	first-person plural inclusive pronoun
1pe	first-person plural exclusive pronoun
3s	third-person singular pronoun
3p	third-person plural pronoun
AV	active verb
ABBR	abbreviation
DEM	demonstrative
DM	discourse particle/marker
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
INT	interrogative particle/marker
PASS	passive
POSS	possessive
RDP	reduplication
REL	relative

Suggestions for further reading

On Brunei English/English in Brunei:

Deterding, D., and Sharbawi, S. (2013) *Brunei English: A new variety in a multilingual society*. Dordrecht: Springer.
McLellan, J., and Chin, G. V. S. (eds.) (2016) Special issue of *World Englishes* 35(4) on English in Brunei.

On world Englishes as mixed codes:

Makoni, S., and Pennycook, A. (2007) *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
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25

Semantic and pragmatic conceptualisations within an emerging variety

Persian English

Farzad Sharifian

Introduction

Numerous books and journal articles have been published dealing with the linguistic, sociolinguistic, and sociopolitical aspects of the spread of English worldwide. However, there is a place for approaching World Englishes from the point of view of other recent advances in the study of language, such as cognitive linguistics and cultural linguistics (Sharifian 2006, 2015, 2017a, 2017b; Polzenhagen and Wolf 2007, this volume). This chapter explores the study of World Englishes from the emerging perspective of *cultural conceptualisations* (Sharifian 2003, 2008a, 2011). As a preamble, the following section elaborates on the notion of *cultural conceptualisations*, followed by examples of the application of this framework to the study of Aboriginal English and African English. The remaining sections of the chapter will discuss how the semantic and pragmatic aspects of Persian English may be characterised in terms of Persian cultural conceptualisations.

Cultural conceptualisations

Rather than describing an objective reality, languages are largely used to communicate the ways in which their speakers *conceptualise* experiences of different kinds. Even the very basic notions of ‘time’ and ‘space’ are the product of human conceptualisation and are not, as sometimes thought, concrete structures that exist independently of a particular conceptual system. Moreover, the resources that we use in our conceptualisation of experience are not limited to our cognitive life. We use our bodies as well as objects and entities around us in making sense of the world. Our conceptual system interacts with culture at a further level, in the sense that we constantly negotiate and renegotiate our conceptualisations with other members of our cultural group. What emerges from our constant interactions is a system of conceptual structures such as *schemas* (or the more complex ones called *models*), *categories*, and *metaphors* between the members of a cultural group across time and space. I refer to such conceptualisations collectively as *cultural conceptualisations* (Sharifian 2003, 2008a, 2011).

Languages embody the cultural conceptualisations of their speakers and also often act as archives for the sociohistorical developments of the conceptualisations of their speakers.

Cultural conceptualisations have a collective life. This level is technically referred to as *emergent level* (Johnson 2001), but the discussion of this falls beyond the scope of this chapter. Furthermore, cultural conceptualisations are *heterogeneously distributed* across the minds in a cultural group in the sense that they are not equally imprinted in the mind of every individual member of the cultural group. Without wishing to enter too much into theory here, I maintain that World Englishes should be differentiated and explored in terms of not just their phonological and syntactic dimensions but also in terms of the cultural conceptualisations that underpin their semantic and pragmatic levels. The following section provides examples of this approach to World Englishes from the studies that have been conducted so far.

Cultural conceptualisations in World Englishes

Thus far, the framework of cultural conceptualisations has mainly been used to explore two cluster of varieties of World Englishes: Australian Aboriginal English and African Englishes. Recent research on Aboriginal English has shown that various features of this indigenised variety of English are associated with Aboriginal cultural conceptualisations. Even everyday words such as 'family' and 'home' evoke cultural schemas and categories among Aboriginal English speakers that largely characterise Aboriginal cultural experiences (e.g., Sharifian 2005, 2006, 2007, 2011). The word 'family', for instance, is associated with categories in Aboriginal English that move far beyond the usual referent of the 'nuclear' family in Anglo-Australian culture. A person who comes into frequent contact with an Aboriginal person may be referred to using a kin term such as 'brother' or 'cousin' or 'cousin brother' (Malcolm & Sharifian 2007: 381). The word 'mum' may also be used to refer to people who are referred to as 'aunt' in Anglo-Australian culture. Such usage of kinship terms does not stop at the level of categorisation but usually evokes schemas associated with certain rights and obligations between those involved. The word 'home' in Aboriginal English usually evokes categories that are based on family relationships and not so much the building occupied by a nuclear family. For instance, an Aboriginal English speaker may refer to their grandparents' place as 'home'.

Polzenhagen and Wolf (2007) investigate cultural conceptualisations in African English by analysing linguistic expressions from the domains of political leadership, wealth, and corruption. They observe that the African cultural model of 'Community' is characterised by conceptualisations of kinship, such as COMMUNITY MEMBERS ARE KIN and LEADERS ARE FATHERS. Polzenhagen and Wolf also observe that the African model of 'Leadership and Wealth' are both largely metaphorically conceptualised in terms of EATING. This is reflected in sentences such as *They have given him plenty to eat*, which is used in Cameroon when a new government official is appointed (see also Wolf and Polzenhagen 2009). Against this background, the following section focuses on the case of the emerging variety of Persian English from the perspective of cultural conceptualisations.

English in Iran and the emerging variety of Persian English

There has been an unprecedented growth in the use and learning of English in Iran in the last decade. New language schools are opening across the country on a daily basis, and the number of Iranians attending English classes is increasing exponentially. The motivation for this heightened interest in learning English varies from individual to individual; some pursue this as part of their attempt to travel or migrate to other countries, and others have educational or occupational motivations. There are also people who learn English due to the ‘prestige’ associated with it.

English is also increasingly being used on the internet and in electronic communications, even between Persian-speaking people themselves (see, for example, www.xzamin.com/forum/). Several years ago, the Iranian government launched a satellite transmitting three channels. Most programs carry an English translation either in the form of subtitles or an optional dubbed voice. All of this appears to be leading to the emergence of a variety of English that I would call ‘Persian English’. A thorough treatment of the linguistic structures of Persian English falls beyond the scope of this chapter, as the main aim here is to provide examples of cultural conceptualisations in this variety, as detailed in the following section.

Cultural conceptualisations in Persian English

I maintain that many lexical items and phrasal expressions in Persian English instantiate Persian cultural conceptualisations. These include everyday words from various domains such as greetings. In this section, I elaborate on this theme by providing several examples.

âberu

Aryanpur Persian-English Dictionary (1984) defines *âberu* as ‘respect, credit, prestige, honour’. Some other bilingual dictionaries also give ‘reputation’ as an English equivalent of *âberu*. I argue that *âberu* captures a complex cultural schema that overlaps with the concepts given by the bilingual dictionaries but also includes elements that are not covered by them. The closest concept to *âberu* in other cultures is that of ‘face’ (e.g., Brown and Levinson 1987; Leech 1983; Spencer-Oatey 2000; Hill et al. 1986; Ide 1989; Matsumoto 1988), and in fact *âberu* literally means ‘the water of the face’ [*âb*=water, *ru*=face]. Originally ‘face’ was a metonym for how a person as a whole would appear to others, that is, their social image. The inclusion of *âb* in the concept is associated with its connotative meanings that include ‘healthy appearance’ and ‘sweat’. In the first sense, ‘water of the face’ could be interpreted as the healthy appearance of one’s face, which is reflective of things such as wealth. In the second sense, ‘the sweat of the face’ is a metonym for cases where one is sweating due to losing face.

Âberu in contemporary Persian captures conceptualisations of the social image and status of a person and/or their family, both nuclear and extended, and their associates and friends. This social image and face is tied to a large number of social norms in relation to financial status; behaviour, both linguistic and non-linguistic; and social relationships and networks. It is hard to find something that one does or has that would not have any implications for or impact on one’s *âberu*. Due to the significance of this schema in the life of Persian speakers, the word is used very frequently (the interested reader can google ‘aberoo’ to see the number of websites that contain the word) and in many different forms of expression in conversation. The following are some examples of its usage:

Âberu rizi kardan (pouring *âberu*) ‘~to disgrace’
Âberu bordan (taking *âberu*) ‘~to disgrace’
Âberu kharidan (buying *âberu*) ‘~saving face’
Âberu dâri kardan (maintaining *âberu*) ‘~maintaining face’

> *Bi âberu* (without *âberu*) '~disgraced'
> *Âberu-dâr* (*âberu*-POSS) '~respectable, decent'
>
> As a Westerner who has lived in Iran, O'Shea (2000: 101) maintains that, for Iranians, '*Aberu*, or honour, is a powerful social force. All Iranians measure themselves to a great extent by the honour they accumulate through their actions and social interrelations'.

This accumulated *âberu*, or the lack of it, determines who one would expect to marry, the kind of career one is expected to pursue, and, in general, what sort of behaviour is expected from a person from a particular family background. In a sense, a family's *âberu* acts as a pointer for social classification and stratification.

The cultural schema of *âberu* is expressed through words such as 'honour', 'reputation', 'pride', and 'dignity' in Persian English. The following examples written by Persian-speaking expatriates are from various webpages:

> I think the problem is more giving too much value to your social picture. We have even an important word for it in Farsi, Aberoo, that I don't know of a good English equivalent for it. So maybe we should pay less attention about how people think about us, and try to be the way, that we would like ourselves to be. Back in Iran, I was always frustrated by arguments like 'We should not do this, since our "Aberoo" would be compromised'. (http://freethoughts.org/cgi-bin/mt-comments.cgi?entry_id=594)
>
> Some of us eyeranians [Iranians] have this weird concept of *Aberoo* or honor of our outside persona we try to protect so dearly at any cost. (www.eyeranian.net/?p=992)
>
> Thank you for your valuable insights. First of all: The Nuclear Energy issue is a matter of national pride for each and every Iranian. If Iran stops now it will be a shame for the entire country. In Persian, there is a saying "Aberoo e ma miree". It means our dignity and respect will be gone. (http://muslimunity.blogspot.com/2006/03/impact-of-sanctions-on-iran.html)

It is clear from the first two quotes that some Iranians have developed a conscious awareness of, and some even a negative attitude towards, this cultural schema. This is more common among the Persian speakers who live outside Iran and is likely to be a consequence of exposure to cultures in which 'face' does not play a significant role in people's lives.

As mentioned previously, Persian English is also increasingly being used among Persian speakers to communicate with each other, partly due to its convenience, English being the main language of the Internet. In cases of intracultural communication, the word *âberu* is often used without an attempt to render it in English, such as in the following cases:

> [G]ood idea, we only have our aberoo left in that game and putting in the subs is a good way to blow it and become the Saudi Arabias of 06.
>
> *(from an archive of www.irankicks.com/ikboard/)*
>
> Many important concepts in our culture, one's ABEROO, for example, is placed above almost anything else.
>
> *(http://freethoughts.org/archives/000318.php)*

> Please tell Reza that I hope some other Reza will be found to do some "Aberoo Rizi" for his Concert. Exactly the same as what he did for "AmAn"'s one.
>
> *(www.haloscan.com/comments/nazlik/111660745918695958/)*

While clearly showing that English is now being used for intracultural communication between speakers of Persian, these examples also suggest that the speakers are aware of the lack of an exact equivalence for the concept of *âberu* in English but fully recognise its importance in Persian culture.

Târof

Several authors have noted the significance of the notion of *târof* in Persian as a communicative strategy (Asdjodi 2001; Assadi 1980; Eslami Rasekh 2005; Hillman 1981; Hodge 1957; Koutlaki 2002). *Târof* is a cultural schema that underlies a significant part of everyday social interactions in Persian. Its realisation in conversations may be in the form of 'ostensible' invitations, repeated rejection of offers, insisting on making offers, hesitation in making requests, giving frequent compliments, hesitation in making complaints, and so on. Often, a combination of these occurs, in varying degrees, within one conversation, with all parties involved. It is often not easy to tease out genuine attempts from *târof*, and that is why speakers constantly ask each other not to engage in *târof* but to ensure that the communicative act is a genuine one. The following excerpt, from the author's personal data, reveals the instantiation of this cultural schema in Persian conversations:

(1) *L:* *Mive befarmâyin*
fruit eat:polite.form
'Please have some fruit.'
S: *Merci sarf shode*
thanks I have.had
'Thanks, I have had some.'
L: *Khâhesh mikonam befarmâyin, ghâbel-e shomâ ro*
please eat:polite.form worthy-of you DO-marker *nadâre*
it.is.not
'Please have some, they are not worthy of you'
S: *Sâhâbesh ghabel-e, das-e-toon dard nakone,*
its.owner worthy-is hand-of-your pain doesn't
'You are worthy, thanks'
L: *Toro khodâ befarmâyin, namak nadâre*
for.God's.sake eat:polite.form salt doesn't.have
'For God's sake please have some, it has no salt'
S: *Târof nemikon-am, tâze shâm khord-im*
târof don't-I just dinner had-we
'I don't do *târof*, we just had dinner'
L: *Ye doone portaghâl be oonjâhâ nemikhore*
one orange is not that much
'One orange wouldn't be that much'
S: *Chashm, das-e-toon o kootâ nemikon-am*
okay hand-of-your DO.marker short will.not-I
'Okay, I won't turn down your offer'

The general aim of the cultural schema of *târof* is to create a form of social space for speakers to exercise face work and also to provide communicative tools to negotiate and lubricate social relationships. It also provides a chance for interlocutors to construct certain identities and images of themselves, for example, to portray themselves as very hospitable. Persian society traditionally revolves around social relations. Almost all forms of social institution in Iran, from marriage to employment and business, hinge upon social relations. Usually a person's ability to exercise and respond to *târof* appropriately has a significant bearing on their social relationships. Beeman (1986) compares personal relations in Iran to an art that requires sophisticated verbal skills.

Several authors have noted the absence of the Persian concept of *târof* in English and have used various labels to describe it, including 'ritual courtesy' (Beeman 1986: 56), 'communicative routine' (Koutlaki 2002: 1741), 'ritual politeness' (Koutlaki 2002: 1740), and 'polite verbal wrestling' (Rafiee 1992: 96, cited in Koutlaki 2002). Koutlaki observes that *târof* 'is a very complex concept, carrying different meanings in the minds of native speakers [of Persian] and baffling anyone endeavouring to describe it'. Beeman (1986: 196) maintains that

> tæ'arof is the active, ritualized realization of differential perceptions of superiority and inferiority in interaction. It underscores and preserves the integrity of culturally defined roles as they are carried out in the life of every Iranian, every day, in thousands of different ways.

Some non-Iranian writers have naively described *târof* as 'insincerity' or even 'hypocrisy'. For example, de Bellaigue (2004: 14) states that

> You should know about *ta'aruf*. In Arabic *ta'aruf* means behaviour that is appropriate and customary; in Iran, it has been corrupted and denotes ceremonial insincerity. Not in a pejorative sense; Iran is the only country I know where hypocrisy is prized as a social and commercial skill.

The root of the cultural schema of *târof* dates back to pre-Islamic Persia, especially to the teachings of Prophet Zartosht (Zarathushtra) (Asdjodi 2001; Beeman 1986), although the word itself is Arabic in origin. The core principles of Zoroastrian religion are 'good words', 'good thoughts', and 'good deeds', known in English as three Gs. The use of kind words in Zoroastrian religion is not merely a virtue but a kind of prayer (http://www3.sympatico.ca/zoroastrian/Avesta.htm). It is also a pivotal part of one's identity as a Zoroastrian. It should also be emphasised that this use of kind words is not just a matter of verbal display but should be backed by good thoughts, and that is why I refer to the whole system as a cultural schema rather than just a set of linguistic strategies. In other words, *târof* is a conceptual system, which feeds not only into speech but also behaviour, as 'good deeds'. O'Shea (2000: 122) observes that *târof* in Persian has both physical and verbal manifestations. She notes that 'the former consist of activities such as jostling to be the last through the door, seeking a humble seating location, or standing to attention on the arrival or departure of other guests'. Assadi (1980: 221) also observes that 'Ta'arof is a generic term which denotes a myriad of verbal and *non-verbal* deferential behaviours in Persian' [emphasis added].

Two websites have discussed *târof* metaphorically in terms of 'war', 'dance' and 'game'. Taghavi (www.iranian.com/HamidTaghavi/Oct98/Tarof/index.html) likens *târof* to war due to the repeated exchanges that take place between interlocutors, during which they constantly make offers, reject offers, give compliments, and so on. The Persian Mirror webpage views *târof* as 'a verbal dance between an offerer and an acceptor until one of them agrees' (www.persianmirror.com/culture/distinct/distinct.cfm#art). On the same webpage, *târof* is considered an art that 'in the end becomes a ritual or a game that both participants are aware of playing'.

Since the inner circle varieties of English do not have an identical cultural schema for *târof*, speakers of Persian English may use words such as 'compliment' or 'courtesy' to refer it. They may also use the original Persian word in their use of English for intracultural communication with other speakers of Persian. A glance at some Persian chat rooms revealed examples such as the following:

A) *What do you do that is very Persian?*
B) *Me . . . I târof a lot*
C) *I always like watching Americans accept the offer and the immediate look of slight shock on the Iranians face before recomposing themselves. Hahaha*.
(www.xzamin.com/forum/read.php?forumid=4619&forumind=forum)

Interestingly, the website of the Iranian Singles Network (www.iraniansingles.com/) has a section under every person's profile with the title 'having etiquette/*târof* kardan', where the members need to specify the extent to which they like or exercise *târof*. As can be seen, *târof* here is translated as 'etiquette'. Other words that may be used in Persian English to capture the concept of *târof* are 'formal' and 'formality'. Consider the following example from a movie which was broadcast on Jam-e-Jam Satellite Channel:

(Speaker A is talking to speaker B at the door of B's house)

A: *Biâ too* (meaning 'Come in')
Subtitle: 'Come in'
B: *Mozâhem nemisham* (meaning 'I won't bother you')
Subtitle: 'I won't trouble you'
A: *Târof nakon* (meaning 'don't do *târof*'')
Subtitle: 'Stop being formal'
B: *Na joone to, bâyad beram* (meaning 'no, really I have to go')
Subtitle: 'Thanks, I have to go'

In light of the observations made so far in this chapter about *târof*, it is clear that it is not intrinsically a display of formality. In fact, the previous exchange does not reflect a formal conversation. Both speakers are using singular forms to address each other, which is one characteristic of a familiar style. If the conversation had been formal, they would have used plural forms: *biâyin* 'come:PL' instead of *biâ* 'come:SG', *nakonin* 'don't do:PL" instead of *nakon* 'don't do:SG, and *shomâ* 'you:PL' instead of *to* 'you:SG'.

Shakhsiat

Târof is closely tied to the concept of *shakhsiat*, which has been translated into English variously as 'character', 'personality', 'pride' (Koutlaki 2002), and 'integrity' (Eslami Rasekh 2005). Koutlaki (2002: 1742) observes that *shakhsiat* 'is a complex concept which could be rendered as "personality", "character", "honour", "self-respect", "social standing"'. She relates *shakhsiat* to politeness and the expected codes of behaviour, in the sense that those who observe ‘politeness’ are considered to have *shakhsiat*. Thus, it is conceptualised as an attribute that one can have developed to various degrees, depending on variables such as family background, level of education, and so on. *Shakhsiat* is at least partly tied to *târof* in the sense that one’s ability to exercise appropriate *târof* is an indication of heightened *shakhsiat*.

An important point about the concept of *shakhsiat* is that it is a multifaceted notion and a polysemous word. It can refer to one’s character if used in contexts such as (2):

(2) *Shakhsiat-e ajib o gharibi dâre*.
personality-a strange and peculiar has-he/she
‘He/She has a strange personality’

However, it is predominantly a concept that is defined in relation to the way one’s outward, including verbal, behaviour is perceived by society. Unlike *âberu*, which is very much tied to social stratification and social groupings, such as family status in the Iranian society, *shakhshiat* is primarily construed as the result of an individual’s concerted efforts in constructing a socially acceptable image of *shakhs* ‘person’ in the eyes of others. It is, however, a dynamic concept in the sense that people can gain or lose *shakhshiat*, for example, by not exercising appropriate *târof*.

Concepts such as ‘character’ and ‘personality’, and more so ‘individuality’, which are often viewed as the equivalent of *shakhsiat*, primarily capture the qualities that make up a person as an individual rather than a member of a social group. Koutlaki (2002: 1743) recognises that giving *shakhsiat* ‘to an addressee has to do with society’s injunctions about paying face, and also with group face wants’. As can be seen in the quote, *shakhsiat* is conceptualised as something that a speaker can give to an addressee, for example, by somehow saving their face in communication. Koutlaki compares *shakhsiat* to Brown and Levinson’s (1987) notion of ‘positive face’ and observes that, although the two notions are similar, there are also important differences between them. As indicated previously, *shakhsiat* is a person’s concern with societal face, whereas ‘positive face’ reflects ‘a person’s individual want to be desired, respected, and liked, and to have her wants shared by others’ (Koutlaki 2002: 1743). It may be said that in English, your ‘personality’ is defined by what you do when no one is watching you, but your *shakhsiat* is the result of what you do and say when people are watching you.

In Persian English, the cultural schema of *shakhsiat* is usually instantiated through the use of words such as ‘with/without character or high/low character’ (for *bi/bâ shakhsiat*), ‘honour’ (for giving *shakhsiat*). Someone who is *bâ shakhsiat* ‘with *shakhsiat*’ is often referred to as ‘gentle’ or ‘polite’. However, it should now be clear that the conceptualisations that are associated with such words in Persian English may not be exactly the same as those which characterise other varieties of English.

The cultural schema of *târof* also underlies the ways in which words such as *zahmat* ‘trouble’ are interpreted. The cultural schema profiles a request or a favour in terms of what must be gone through by the person who fulfils the request rather than the speech act initiated by the person who makes the request. Consider the following example.

(3) *Ye zahmat barât dâr-am, mishe in nâma ro*
One trouble for.you have-I is.it.possible this letter
barâm post koni?
for.me post do-you
‘I have a request, could you post this letter for me?’

Here the act of posting a letter may be construed in different ways depending on whether it is the intention of the speaker that is highlighted or the effect that it will have on the hearer. In cases such as this, if it is the intention of the speaker which is highlighted, then the act is construed as a ‘request’, but if its *effect*, or potential effect, on the hearer is foregrounded, then it may be construed as ‘trouble’. In Persian, most often the latter holds, that is, speakers construe their requests and whatever has been done for them as *zahmat*, ‘trouble’, for the person addressed. Note that sentence (3) could have been formulated as *ye taghâza azat dâram* ‘I have a request for you’, rather than *yek zahmat barât dâaram* ‘I have a trouble for you’, but this option is rare in Persian. The following examples (4–6) reveal other contexts in which a service, a favour, is construed as *‘zahmat’*:

(4) (An excerpt from a leave-taking conversation between a visitor and the host)

(a) *Bebahkhshin zahmat dâd-im*
Forgive (us) trouble gave-we
‘Sorry for giving you the trouble’

(b) *Khâhesh mikonam*, *khoone-ye khodetoon-e*
Please house yours-is
‘Please, it is your house’

(5) *Merci bâbate zahmat-i ke keshid-i*, *lebâsam- o*
thanks for trouble-the that through-you dress-mine-DO marker
otoo kard-i
iron did-you
‘Thanks for ironing my dress’

(6) *Zahmat bekesh ye châyi barâm biâr*
trouble take one tea for me bring-you
‘Please bring me a cup of tea’

In Persian English, the use of the word *trouble*, in the previous sense, is very common in the context of requests, services, and favours. It is also frequently used to express gratitude. A sentence such as *sorry to give you the trouble* is not so much an act of apology but an expression of gratitude. Other words that may be used in such circumstances are *bother* and *inconvenience*. Thus again, *so sorry to bother you* and *so sorry for the inconvenience* may be simple acts of thanking a person for favours such as making someone a cup of tea. They could also be used as part of ending a telephone conversation to foreground and acknowledge the time that the hearer has spent talking to the speaker on the phone. In the following section, I discuss the locus of *târof* in the act of greetings in Persian English.

Greeting in Persian English

Greeting in Persian English often follows the patterns of greeting in Persian. In Persian, greetings usually go far beyond the act of acknowledging the other person. The phrases that are used to refer to greeting in Persian include *salâm o ahvâl porsi* ‘greeting and asking about health’ and *salâm va adab* ‘greeting and expressing politeness’ and *salâm o târof*. This is due to the fact that the Persian cultural schema of greeting overlaps with other schemas such as *adab* (Sharifian 2004) and *târof*. The schema usually encourages enacting several, often repeated, communicative acts that reveal the speaker's care about not only the interlocutor but also his/her extended family (see Beeman 1986: 181; Taleghani-Nikazm 2002: 1811). In viewing *târof* as the Iranian style of war, Taghavi observes that in Persian conversations, 'greetings start with the inevitable exchange of an array of compliments and the ensuing battle to convince the other party of their relative high status. This is similar to diplomatic efforts preceding a war' (www.iranian.com/HamidTaghavi/Oct98/Tarof/index.html). O'Shea (2000: 79) observes that '[g]reetings take up a lot of time in Iran. Not only does one usually inquire about someone's health, but also about the health of any of that person's friends and relatives with whom one is acquainted'. The author of this chapter noted that in a language school in Iran, some teachers made the following exchange part of every greeting they made:

Speaker A: How's your folks?
Speaker B's response: Everyone says hello to you.

A very frequent part of greeting in Persian is sending greetings to family members, even if the speaker does not know the interlocutor's family. Often, the speaker just says *salâm beresoonid*, 'give my regards'.

The Persian cultural schema of *salâm o ahvâlporsi* also involves 'ostensible' invitations. Eslami (2005: 473) observes that in Persian culture, ostensible invitations 'are primarily used as opening or closing telephone conversations or in face-to-face encounters, which may function as a leave-taking act and an expression of good will on the part of the inviter'. She notes that 'by using invitation in leave-taking, the host not only shows respect *(ehterâm)* to the guest, but also enhances his/her own face by offering hospitality.' Eslami Rasekh rightly argues that such invitations are manifestations of *târof*, discussed previously. She maintains that 'offering such invitations are (sic) part of the art of knowing how to make *ta'arof* (ritual politeness), in order to be *bâ šæxsiat* (polite) and not to incur bad reputation: that is, to live up to the society's expectations' (2005: 479).

The fact that such aspects of the Persian cultural schema of greeting may surface in Persian English is reflected in Eslami Rasekh's (2005: 453) remark on her own experience that

> Over the years of my intercultural experiences in the United States and observation of other Iranian/American interactions, I have witnessed that Iranians sometimes take Americans' genuine invitations as ostensible (not to be taken seriously) and therefore reject them, while Americans may take Iranian ostensible invitations as genuine and accept them.

This is, of course, not to imply that all invitations that are offered as part of greeting and leave-taking among Persian speakers are ostensible. Usually the sincerity of invitations hinges upon how far the invitation is extended in the exchange, who is inviting whom, and in what context.

Terms of address

Persian has a rather elaborate system of honorifics and address terms which are largely associated with cultural conceptualisations that speakers of Persian learn as part of their socialisation into the language (Keshavarz 2001). For example, the concepts of *âghâ* and *khânoom*, which are usually rendered as *Mr* and *Mrs* in Persian English, are associated with a cultural schema that not only encodes gender but also expresses a certain degree of respect. Thus a speaker of Persian English may use *Mr X* or *Mrs X* to express some form of respect and not just to highlight the person's gender. In this frame, X could be a person's first name or surname. The latter involves a higher degree of formality and distance between the addressor and the addressee. If a person has a title such as Doctor, the formal form of address for him/her would then be *âghâye* or *khânoome Doctor (surname)*, which may be expressed in Persian English as *Mr/Mrs Dr (surname)*. It should be mentioned that the surname is often dropped in conversations. This is reflected in Persian English sentences such as (7), which was part of an email to the author.

(7) *Hello Mr Dr*.

Conceptualisations of emotions in Persian English

A major part of human life is the experience of emotions. However, the ways in which people conceptualise their emotional experience and the ways in which they express their emotions may vary across different cultures (e.g., Wierzbicka 1999). For example, people across different languages and cultures may attribute their emotional experience to different body parts; for some, the heart is the seat of emotions, for others it is the liver, the belly, or even the throat (see Sharifian et al. 2008). Moreover, different cultures may attach different meanings to emotional experiences of different kinds and may also value and express emotions differently.

As for the case of conceptualisations of emotions in Persian English, it appears that there are similarities and differences with other varieties of English (Sharifian 2017b). Inner-circle varieties of English abound with expressions that reflect the heart as the seat of emotions (e.g.*, she broke my heart*). Persian also has many expressions that reflect a similar conceptualisation, such as *del bâkhtan* (lit. 'losing heart') 'falling in love'. However, there are differences in terms of what the heart signifies in particular expressions (see further in Sharifian 2008b). For example, in Persian, *del* (fig. 'heart', lit. 'stomach') is also the seat of courage, as in *del dâr* (lit. *del*+possess) 'brave', similar to the expression 'brave-heart' in inner circle varieties of English.

A significant emotional experience among Persian speakers is 'grief', which has an important symbolic place in the religious and everyday life of many Iranians (see also de Bellaigue 2004). Many religious and cultural ceremonies provide a chance for Iranians to discharge their 'grief' in a space in which this emotional experience is construed as positive, as a sign of piety, loyalty, and so on. Good and Delvecchio Good (1988: 46) observe that

> "Sadness and grief" – *gham o ghoseh* – pose special problems of understanding for the psychological anthropologists or for the student of Iranian society and culture. They have dramatically different meanings and forms of expression in Iranian culture than in our own. A rich vocabulary of Persian and Azeri terms of grief and sadness translate uneasily into English language and American culture. 'Dysphoria' in Iranian culture is hardly the lack of happiness or pleasure of the individual, to be overcome by therapy or medical treatment – though it may be the focus of both. It is rather a core effect – the central emotion of religious ritual, an important element of the definition of selfhood, a key quality of a developed and profound understanding of the social order, and most recently a symbol of political loyalty.

Part of the complexity of *gham o ghose* comes from the dual role that it has for Iranians. On the one hand, it has religious significance, but it is also conceptualised in the everyday non-religious experiences of Iranian people, and the two influence each other in dynamic ways. In everyday experiences, *gham o ghose* captures a whole range of emotional states that one goes through from being hurt by what someone has said to being away from relatives or even having financial difficulties. Very frequently, people exchange these emotional experiences during speech events that are known as *dard-e del* (lit. 'pain of the heart'), which provide people with emotional spaces where they can find relief in communicating their *gham o ghose*. In this sense, it is a virtue to listen to and share others' *gham o ghose*. The person who does this is referred to as *gham-khâr* (lit. '*gham* eater'). A mother may refer to her caring daughter as *gham-khâr*.

Conceptually, *gham o ghose* does not refer to a state of being, as *sadness* does, but rather to a 'thing' that one can have or throw away. The verb for *gham o ghose* is *ghose khordan* (lit. 'to eat *ghose*') 'to grieve', which reflects the conceptualisation of grief as an entity. A thorough treatment of this complicated emotional experience falls beyond the scope of this chapter, but thus far, it should be clear that the emotional experiences that may be expressed as *sorrow*, *grief*, and *sadness* in Persian English may not exactly match what is captured by the use of these words in other varieties of English. Beeman (1988: 20) realises this when he makes the followings remarks:

> I am hampered in my own description of emotional expression in Iranian society by lack of terms sufficiently neutral to avoid the overtones that adhere to English words for expressing emotions. *Affection, anger, sadness, disappointment*, etc. are all words that carry a cultural load, but they are all we have at present.

As Behzadi (1994: 321) puts it, 'emotionally based cultural practices are an ecologically meaningful domain to study how people make sense of their emotional life events, the meanings of these emotional experiences, and how they are expressed.' He notes the use of two culture-specific emotion terms in Persian *ghahr* (not to be on speaking terms with someone) and *âshti* (to make up) and observes that they 'represent a complex culture-specific fusion of emotional dynamics, cognitive evaluations, and behavioral tendencies, which both codes negative and "distancing" emotions and initiates a set of social actions and gestures that lead to amelioration of that emotional state' (Behzadi 1994: 321; see also Beeman 1988: 25). These terms are very frequent in conversations among Persian speakers and are associated with their affectionate interpersonal relationships. Often when one's expectations in relation to interpersonal relationships with someone else are not met, the person enters the state of *ghahr*, which involves avoidance and distancing between the parties involved. *Âshti* is when this state of affairs ends and the two make up and reconcile, often with someone acting as a mediator.

Behzadi (1994: 322) notes the difficulty in translating *ghahr* and *âshti* into English and maintains that

> The difficulty is not limited to the absence of synonyms in the English lexicon; it is rooted in the cultural meaning of the terms, the associated behaviors, the culturally appropriate sequence of actions, the rituals and ceremonies involved, and their implications for the self and others.

English subtitles that are used in Persian movies mostly translate *ghahr* as ‘sulk’, as in the following examples:

Mina ghahr kard o raft ‘lit. Mina *ghahr* did and left’
Subtitle: Mina sulked and left.
To nabâyad ghahr mikardi ‘lit. you shouldn’t have done *ghahr*’
Subtitle: You shouldn’t have sulked.

This usage appears to be very prevalent, and these two notions often constitute major themes in Persian movies and Persian literature.

Conclusion

The analyses presented in this chapter provide further emerging evidence that different varieties of English express and embody cultural conceptualisations of their speakers. They also reveal how speakers may struggle to find accurate equivalents in English for these conceptualisations. In traditional second language acquisition (SLA) paradigms, some of the features that I have analysed in this chapter would be identified as ‘negative transfer’, a term that depends for its force on taking a so-called ‘native’ variety as a norm. However, I argue that, first of all, the norms of Persian English should be examined in the light of Persian cultural conceptualisations, not in terms of another variety such as American English. The use of these features and communicative strategies is, for many speakers, tied to their cultural and psychological interiority, and they may find it hard not to express cultural conceptualisations that they have internalised into their *cultural cognition* (Sharifian 2008a) throughout their life. It would be naïve to expect speakers to become a culturally and emotionally totally different person when speaking a second language. Of course, learning a second language in many cases expands speakers’ horizon towards new cultural, social, and cognitive experiences, but expecting learners to abandon old and adopt totally new sets of norms for their cultural and emotional experiences would in many cases be unreasonable and unfeasible.

Further, many speakers who share or speak culturally overlapping ‘non-native’ varieties will find that they hold similar conceptualisations and therefore find the expression of their cultural conceptualisations when communicating in English completely appropriate (that is transparent) during intercultural/international communication. In fact, it would not be hard to imagine situations where, for example, speakers of Persian English would offend speakers of a variety such as Pakistani English by following the norms of a so-called ‘native’ variety such as American English. If more than 80% of communication in English is now taking place between non-native speakers, it is high time to further research the cultural conceptualisations that these speakers draw on to negotiate their intercultural communication. The findings of such studies would then need to be included in English language teaching materials for awareness-raising and to develop learners’ *metacultural competence*, an absolute requirement for successful and effective international communication. But, of course, what needs to come first is attitude change among educators and learners about whose norms to follow in international/intercultural communication in English. In short, the ‘colonial’ assumptions that have been dominant in the traditional SLA paradigm should be abandoned.

This chapter makes another case for the study of World Englishes from the perspective of cultural conceptualisations by providing examples from the variety of English that is emerging among speakers of Persian. It shows that the analytical notions that I have covered by the term ‘cultural conceptualisations’, such as ‘cultural schema’, provide helpful tools for understanding culturally constructed levels of semantic and pragmatic meaning in World Englishes. The nature of the examples that have been chosen for investigation in this chapter suggests a methodological approach: researchers could begin to systematically construct comparative cultural maps showing how deeply rooted cultural concepts which have no equivalent in inner circle varieties are nevertheless instantiated in English, if only through borrowings. I hope this study also sets another precedent for similar explorations of cultural conceptualisations in other varieties of English elsewhere in the world. Finally, it is acknowledged that a thorough investigation of the emerging variety of Persian English requires much more systematic collection and description of data. However, the data presented in this chapter should suffice to support the argument made about the strength and the necessity of the study of World English from the perspective of cultural conceptualisations.

Suggestions for further reading

Sharifian, F. and Palmer, G. B. (eds.) (2007) *Applied Cultural Linguistics: Implications for Second Language Learning and Intercultural Communication*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. (A collection of essays that adopt a cultural-conceptual approach.)

Wolf, H. and Polzenhagen, F. (2009) *World Englishes: A Cognitive Sociolinguistic Approach*, Berlin/New York: Mouton De Gruyter. (An in-depth study of African English following a cultural conceptual approach.)

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26
In defence of foreignness[1]

Ha Jin

One unique glory English has is a body of literature created by writers to whom English is not a given but an acquisition. These migrant writers arrived at this language individually, unlike writers in or from formerly colonized countries, such as India and Nigeria, where English is an official language and where national literature is written in English. These non-native writers' struggles, survivals and achievements in this language are mostly personal affairs – their creative efforts mean little to collectives in the short run. Yet this is not to deny that there are similarities and overlapping interests between writers who acquired English and writers who inherited English.

It is safe to say that Joseph Conrad is the founding figure of this literary tradition, whereas Nabokov embodies its acme. Conrad's struggle in his adopted language is a commonly known fact; even in his later fiction we still encounter slips occasionally in spite of his linguistic prowess and the stark beauty of his prose. In contrast, Nabokov has been revered as a verbal adventurer and a virtuoso stylist. He is also known to have learned to read English before he could read Russian and to have grown up trilingual. The halo around this master's head tends to eclipse the fact that, like Conrad, Nabokov also had to strive to acquire English after he stopped writing fiction in Russian. Nabokov himself was quite candid about his struggle, as he states in his famous essay, 'On a Book Entitled Lolita': 'I had to abandon my natural idiom, my untrammeled, rich, and infinitely docile Russian tongue for a second-rate brand of English' (1977: 288). On another occasion, he confessed that 'the absence of a natural vocabulary' was his 'secret flaw as a writer' in English (1973: 106). Even so, few of us seem willing to reflect on the harrowing experience that this great magician of words went through.

His biographer Brian Boyd (1991), however, recorded his linguistic struggle in his initial years of writing in this language. Nabokov wrote his best English poem, 'A Discovery', two years after arriving in the United States. The poem was inspired by his stumbling on one of his own butterflies, a Grand Canyon, displayed as a standard specimen of the species in New York's American Museum of Natural History. Despite the confident poetic voice and the speaker's buoyant spirit, his biographer cannot help but remark: 'But the fair copy of the poem . . . showed all too painfully the occasional thinness of his English' (1991: 53). The 'thinness' can be discerned in these lines:

> 'I found it and named it, being versed/in taxonomic Latin; thus became/godfather to an insect and its first/describer – and I want no other fame.'

Boyd also mentioned the early exchanges between Nabokov and Edmund Wilson over Nabokov's English. Wilson chided his friend for his bold way of using his adopted language. The American man of letters had misgivings about the ability of the Russian new arrival who had just begun making his way in English, and Wilson never stopped carping about Nabokov's puns and mistakes. Their frictions eventually developed into the full-blown argument in 1965, when Wilson published his lengthy article 'The Strange Case of Pushkin and Nabokov', pointing out some 'solecisms' in Nabokov's translation of *Eugene Onegin*; in response, Nabokov wrote his well-known essay 'Reply to My Critics'. By then, twenty-five years after emigrating to the United States, Nabokov was already a master of this language, completely competent to engage his former friend polemically. He outshone Wilson in the debate.

However, in their early private exchanges over Nabokov's use of English, Wilson always got the upper hand, especially during Nabokov's beginning years in America. To Nabokov, the switch from Russian to English was excruciatingly painful; in his own words, it felt 'like learning anew to handle things after losing seven or eight fingers in an explosion'(1973: 54). He started writing his first English novel, *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*, when he was still in Paris. Soon after arriving in the United States, he resumed working on it. At the time he was diffident about his English, although the signature of his gorgeous and elaborate style was already manifest in the prose. Wilson read the proofs of the novel, was full of praise, and even provided a positive blurb. Yet, as usual, he did not refrain from quibbling about some verbal slips and quirks in the book. In his letter to Nabokov of 20 October 1941, he wrote: 'I hope you will get someone at Wellesley to read your proofs – because there are a few, though not many, mistakes in English.' He went on to point out several. In his reply, Nabokov lamented that he had returned the proofs to the press, unable to make the corrections any more, but he also argued that the narrator is supposed to 'write English with difficulty' (Kar- linsky 2001: 56–7). In other words, the verbal defects are characterized and can be somewhat justified. In fact the narrator of the novel admits this weakness, too: 'The dreary tussle with a foreign idiom and a complete lack of literary experience do not predispose one to feeling overconfident' (Nabokov 1941: 101). Despite the technical justification, Nabokov later did correct those slips Wilson had mentioned. Clearly, Nabokov was apprehensive about his ability in English and still had a long way to go before becoming a master of English prose. In retrospect, it is hard to imagine the amount of labour he undertook to develop from the relatively simple prose in *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight* to the rich, subtle style of Lolita, and to the confident playfulness based on deliberate distortion and misuse of English in Pnin.

In spite of Wilson's extraordinary generosity to his friend, he was also a pain in Nabokov's neck. He would not stop, privately and publicly, admonishing Nabokov to avoid using puns. Fortunately Nabokov ignored his chiding and continued with his word games, which gradually became a hallmark of his genius. Wilson gave a mixed review of Nabokov's *Nikolay Gogol* (1944) in *The New Yorker*, saying, '[Nabokov's] puns are particularly awful' (Wilson 1950: 78). From the very beginning of their friendship, Wilson compared Nabokov to Conrad, as he wrote in the same letter of 20 October 1941, 'You and Conrad must be the only examples of foreigners succeeding in English and in this field.' Nabokov was displeased with such a comparison, though we do not know in what wording and format he objected to it initially. Wilson certainly knew how to nettle his friend. Years later, when abbreviating the original New Yorker review into the essay 'Vladimir Nabokov on Gogol' for his book *Classics and Commercials* (1950), Wilson added this sentence as the conclusion of the piece: 'in spite of some errors, Mr Nabokov's mastery of English almost rivals Joseph Conrad's'. Affronted, Nabokov wrote back: 'I protest against the last line. Conrad knew how to handle readymade English better than I; but I know better the other kind. He never sinks to the depths of my solecisms, but neither does he scale my verbal peaks' (Karlinsky 2001: 282–3). By 'readymade' Nabokov meant conventional. In an interview in 1964, he was more explicit about this: 'I cannot abide Conrad's souvenir-shop style, bottled ships and shell necklaces of romanticist clichés' (1973: 42).

I have cited Nabokov's negative view of Conrad's English only to illustrate the two masters' opposite approaches to their adopted language. In Conrad's fiction, we can sense a linguistic boundary demarcated by the English dictionary – he would not invent words and expressions that might sound alien to the English ear. Except in a handful of sea stories, such as The Nigger of the Narcissus and Lord Jim, where some seamen's dialogues are occasionally put in substandard English, Conrad on the whole stayed within the boundary of Standard English. By saying that, I do not mean to depreciate Conrad's accomplishment. Even within such a boundary, he managed to do monumental work, and besides, he brought a clear foreign sensibility to his sinewy and elegant prose. It was no secret that he viewed himself as a foreigner taking refuge in England. The word 'refuge', referring to his own situation, almost became a catchword in his correspondence. He even claimed that English literature was not his tradition when he declined a knighthood from the British government and honorary degrees offered by a number of universities, including Cambridge and Yale. In his later years he always longed to return to Poland, though his sudden death prevented him from fulfilling this wish (Najder 1983: 489). We can surmise that the combination of Conrad's strict approach to English and his sense of being a foreigner in England, a country he loved, must have been a source of his anguish.

Like Conrad, Nabokov also depended heavily on dictionaries. His English got more artistically bookish and mannered as he grew as a stylist. However, he never confined himself to Standard English, and often pushed the limits of the language. Leland de la Durantaye summarizes the rationale of Nabokov's approach as follows:

> Nabokov prefers the obscure to the invented epithet. To invent words was, for him, only permissible in cases where there really was no word to name the thing – and he went to considerable length to verify this. But this conservatism knew limits. Inasmuch as the vocabulary existed, Nabokov respected it – but as to the company he placed it in and the contortions he put it through, he was far from conservative . . . Nabokov clearly shared Sebastian's [distrust of easy expressions] . . . and, like Sebastian, 'had no use for ready-made phrases because the things he wanted to say were of an exceptional build and he knew moreover that no real idea can be said to exist without the words made to measure'. Nabokov's verbal clothes were made from the fabric of the language as he found it – but special tailoring was always required.
>
> *(de la Durantaye 2007: 142)*

The second point in the above passage means 'to find new combinations of words'. It was a principle Nabokov practised throughout his career, in both Russian and English, whereas to invent new words, a much more cautious move, is predicated on acquaintance with the entire English vocabulary. Nabokov, known as 'a lexicomaniac', an epithet he might happily have accepted, was proud of his scholarship, gained from studying dictionaries. The famous photograph of him with his well-thumbed elephantine Webster bears witness to the pains he had taken to master English (Boyd 1991: 562–3). In fact, even the Webster did not establish a boundary for him but was more like a map, since he would make up words and new expressions without hesitation if they were unavailable in the dictionary. For example, in his novel *Pnin* we come across words like ‘radiophile’, ‘psychoasinine’ and ‘footnote-drugged maniac’. Even his first English novel contains invented words, such as ‘love-embers’, ‘a sexophone note’, ‘tipwards’ and ‘thought-image’. In addition to verbal inventions, there is also the occasional interplay between English and French and Russian, which takes place beyond the borders of English. At some places the narrator of *Pnin* simply speaks Russian, and Pnin’s former wife Liza’s maudlin poems are given in Russian and then transcribed in English (1981: 56, 181). Evidently, unlike Conrad, Nabokov worked in the periphery of the English language, whose frontiers stretch into foreign terrains.

Pnin is an important immigrant novel. Probably because its protagonist is a white Russian exile, readers might forget that Pnin is also an immigrant, and that, like millions of immigrants, he faces the same challenge of finding home in this country. At the end of the story, he flees Waindell College and vanishes into the American wilderness, where there seems to remain some hope, as this beautiful sentence suggests:

> [Pnin’s] little sedan boldly swung up the shining road, which one could make out narrowing to a thread of gold in the soft mist where hill after hill made beauty of distance, and where there was simply no saying what miracle might happen.
>
> *(Nabokov 1981: 191)*

The American promise, though almost shattered by the sadness and the ironies in the story, still lingers in the free space of the distant land. Indeed, unlike the fiction written by writers of minority groups, *Pnin* does not touch on one of the major American themes, race; but, like the fiction written by European immigrants, it depicts the torment and the frustrations that a new arrival in this country went through. In addition, the novel tackles a fundamental issue in the immigrant experience, namely language. No matter how hard Pnin worked at it, his flawed English could not improve once he had reached the stage where he could toss out expressions like ‘wishful thinking’, ‘okey-dokey’ and ‘to make a long story short’. In his adopted language, he appeared so silly and flaky that some of his colleagues thought that he should not be entitled to wander within the vicinity of the campus; but when speaking Russian and mixing with Russian expatriates, he was an entirely different man, erudite, articulate and even ath- letic. His is a typical predicament of an immigrant whose first language is not English. Technically, Nabokov faced two challenges that most writers of the immigrant experience have to confront. The first is how to present non-native speakers’ Englishes, and the second is how to render their mother tongues in English. In practice, the first challenge usually has an empirical basis, since most of the time the author can imitate a character’s accent and ungrammatical speech. This Nabokov handled masterfully. Pnin invites Professor Thomas Wynn to his housewarming party, giving him directions this way: ‘It is nine hundred ninety nine, Todd Rodd, very simple! At the very very end of the rodd, where it unites with Cleef Ahvnue. A leetle breek house and a beeg blahk cleef’ (Nabokov 1981: 151). Grammatically his speech is impeccable, which is congruous with Pnin’s pedantic personality, but it is heavily accented because he has trouble with some vowels. He speaks differently from most immigrants, who have grammatical problems as well, and some of whom can hardly come up with a complex sentence. In fiction writing, the rendition of non-native characters’ English speeches, despite the empirical bases, cannot but be somewhat artificial, created by the author, though the creations must be done well enough to give the impression of authenticity. If a man, as Vadim in *A Feather on the Breath of God*, says to his beloved, ‘When you put your head on my breast, my heart runs out of me’ (Nunez 1995: 147), we can tell that he is a foreigner, as his peculiar idiom authenticates his identity. This technical demand preclude Standard English, which is inadequate for presenting so many Englishes used by non-native speakers.

The second technical challenge – how to render foreign languages in English – is more complicated. First, once put in English, the rendition has little empirical basis, because English cannot possibly resemble the original sound. Second, there is a difference between the narrative language and the dialogue language; the former, theoretically, can be confined to Standard English as in translation. In essence, what the writer faces here is an interplay between English and a foreign language, and ideally speaking, English in this context should reflect the other language to some extent. As far as dialogue goes, I believe that few fiction writers object to this principle. Therefore, if a recent widow in *Christ in Concrete* laments, ‘Whom shall my children seek? Who will now put food into the open mouths of my little birds? – for they must live and blossom as tall-tall pillars in this land that swallowed their father – I must live so that they shall live!’ (Donato 1993: 42), we know she speaks Italian. The unusual idioms and the contorted syntax are meant to defamiliarize English a little to fit the character and the drama. Practically speaking, this approach is to force English to be closer to another foreign language so as to make the dialogue more characterized. As a result, the English cannot but become somewhat alien. In US immigrant fiction, this, however, is a conventional technique. It is the narrative language that complicates the issue of the interplay between languages.

As I stated above, theoretically it is possible to confine the narrative language to Standard English, but in practice many non-native writers don’t do so. This is mainly for two reasons: first, the writer’s mother tongue and foreign sensibility affect their English, making it peculiar to the native ear; second, Standard English is insufficient in presenting the experiences and ideas that the author describes. Nabokov knew these setbacks, but used them to his advantage. In Pnin the narrator cracks jokes and twists English words and idioms, calling ‘a curriculum vitae’ in a nutshell ‘a coconut shell’ and following the adverbial phrase ‘on the other hand’ with ‘on the third hand’. By so doing, the narrator virtually highlights his foreignness, since foreigners, with their childlike gaze at English, are more likely to come up with that kind of fascination with the most common features of their adopted language. In American fiction, even some non-characterized narrators, in the third-person point of view, cannot but preserve some foreignness in the narrative language. For example, the narrative language in *Christ in Concrete* heavily depends on the passive voice, which must be meant to reflect the way the Italian immigrants speak. The narrator describes the noise from a bathroom this way: ‘The toilet above flushed with watery roar, pish-thrash-gargled down the exposed pipe and trick-trickled away in its hollow metal throat’ (Donato 1993: 42). We can tell that he is a non-native speaker.

When my novel *A Free Life* came out, John Updike reviewed it in The New Yorker and cited some expressions as ‘small solecisms’ (2007: 101). The Chinese-language media reported the review widely, because Updike is revered in China as an eminent man of American letters. On the internet there were discussions about the examples Updike gave, and yet the Chinese who knew English could not see what was wrong with them. People offered different explanations, none of which, however, was convincing. Indeed, how can you say it is inappropriate to use the word ‘emplomaniac’ if, everywhere you turn, you encounter someone obsessed with his official position and career? Etymologically, emplo in the French origin means ‘employment and public office’, and an obsession with public office is of course a mania. A word like ‘emplo- maniac’ may sound alien to the English ear, but in the Chinese context it is the only suitable word. A mild expression is ‘office seeker’, but it does not convey the madness and perversion.

Once we enter a foreign terrain in our fiction, Standard English may have to be stretched to cover the new territory. Ultimately this is a way to expand the capacity of the language, a kind of enrichment.

Among the Chinese, there are some misperceptions of my way of using English. People often say I directly translate Chinese idioms. That is not true. I did use a good number of Chinese idioms because most of my characters speak Mandarin, but in most cases I altered the idioms some, at times drastically, to suit the context, the drama and the narrative flow. The Chinese idiom referring to a man dreaming of a beautiful woman beyond his reach is ‘a toad that wants to eat a swan’s flesh’; I used this idiom at least twice in my fiction, but I rendered it as ‘a toad dreaming of nabbing a swan’. ‘To hit a dog with a pork bun’ is a Chinese idiom referring to a bad venture that will not pay off, and I put it into English as ‘to hit a dog with a meatball’. Most times I tailored the idioms for the needs of the story.

At times Chinese idioms serve only as leads to something more colourful and more interesting. For instance, a Chinese expression describing a bald crown is *di zhong hai*, a sea within a landscape, which sounds funny mainly because it is a homonym of ‘the Mediterranean’ in Mandarin. In English there is no way to reproduce the humour if we simply transcribe the idiom, so the narrator of my story ‘A Pension Plan’ describes her boss’s crown this way: ‘with a shiny bald spot like a lake in the mouth of an extinct volcano’. Clearly, the expression may sound Chinese to the English ear, but it has actually shed its Chineseness. Sometimes even a common Chinese idiom would change meaning once it is put into English. ‘Rice barrel’ originally means a nuisance or a good-for-nothing, but in the story ‘Children like Enemies’ the narrator thinks about his son this way: ‘I wanted to yell at him that he was just a rice barrel thinking of nothing but food.’ Actually, the son, an accomplished bridge engineer, is not a nuisance, and his father takes him as a ‘rice barrel’ mainly because he keeps eating without interfering with his children’s changing their last name, Xi, which is unpronounceable to most Americans. In other words, despite the literal rendition, the meaning of the original idiom has changed in English, shaped by the dramatic situation. This kind of ‘stretching’ is to utilize the space between two languages to create something fresh and different in one language.

Another criticism of my way of using English is that my English is too poor and too simple. ‘The fourth-grade’, in an English professor’s words. That means high-school level. In this case, the Chinese hold Standard English, or dictionary English, as the yardstick – the more $50 words you can put down on paper, the better your English is.

They have failed to understand that writers of my kind do not work within the boundary of dictionaries. We work in the border areas of English, in the space between languages, and therefore our ability and accomplishments cannot be measured only by the mastery of Standard English.

Besides the technical need for a particularized English, there is also the concern about one’s identity. I often emphasize that a writer’s identity should be something earned. In truth, a part of one’s identity may also be something given, beyond the writer’s control. Just a few years ago, there was a consensus among Chinese literary scholars that those writers in the diaspora writing in Chinese produced Chinese literature, whereas those writing in other languages belonged to foreign literatures. They ignored the fact that, in world literature, some writers have dual citizenship. Conrad belonged to Polish literature as well as to English letters, although he never wrote in his mother tongue. Nabokov is also a Russian writer in spite of his insistence on being an American writer. Recently, however, Chinese scholars have begun talking about how to include in the Chinese literary canon those writers in the diaspora who write in adopted languages. To the individual writer, the categorization may not be that important – at most, it is like having an extra room in another building, since in world literary history, no significant writer does not have some kind of home. Yet it is the fate of most migrant writers who have written significant works to be claimed by more than one nation, because they exist in the space in between countries, a region where languages and cultures mingle and penetrate each other. Any valuable work that appears in this peripheral area is likely to be claimed by more than one country as something that can enhance their national soft power.

Most writers existing on the margin are aware of this duality in their identity. Even Maxine Hong Kingston, American born and having English as her first language, believes that her work is an extension of Chinese literature, as the heroine of *The Woman Warrior* celebrates at the end of the book:

> [Ts'ai Yen] brought her songs back from the savage lands, and one of the three that has been passed down to us is 'Eighteen Stanzas for a Barbarian Reed Pipe', a song that Chinese sing to their own instruments. It translated well.
>
> *(Kingston 1976: 209)*

In an interview, Kingston told the poet Marilyn Chin about her meeting with some writers in China:

> Here I was in America, where I had free speech and free press. And I spent this lifetime working on roots. So what they [Chinese writers] were saying was that I was their continuity. And they wanted help in figuring out where to go . . . God, I felt so terrific. Because they were telling me I was part of Chinese canon. And here I was writing in English.
>
> *(Skenzay and Martin 1998: 94)*

Although negligent about the Chinese writers' diplomatic and political savvy, Kingston did express her genuine elation at being embraced by the people of her ancestral land. The aspiration to cross the borders of languages and return to one's origin is commonplace among writers of minority groups in the United States, though there is probably no way to return. If we are rational about this, we can see that most writers working in the in-between space have been defined more or less by alienation and exclusion. One thing they can do is make the best use of their disadvantages and marginality, and they should not be possessed by the dream of return. They should rely on nothing but valuable work that can give one a solid identity. Then, the very notion of identity may become meaningless, if one has produced significant work.

To migrant writers, the periphery is their working space, much more essential for their existence than the other areas. They should not strive to join the mainstream or to attain a place in the cultural centre of a nation. They must hold on to their in-between- ness, tapping various sources, including the foreign, and making the best of their losses. They should accept their marginality, which shapes their ambitions differently from native writers.

T.S. Eliot in his poem *Little Gidding* defines the task for poets this way: 'Since our concern was speech, and speech impelled us/to purify the dialect of the tribe' (1944:

ll.126–7). That is a task, however, for native poets, who can stay at the centre of English, as Eliot lived in London, and strive to refine the language. But such a vision is unreasonable to non-native writers, nor is it applicable to many other kinds of writers. Despite using English as their national language, most people in former British colonies use their local dialects in their daily life. Most US immigrants have to speak foreign languages or corrupted versions of English at home. Therefore, it is infeasible for non- native writers to have the kind of ambition annunciated by T.S. Eliot. In fact, too much purification can sterilize and enervate a language. It is commonly known that the vitality and the prevalence of English are largely due to its impurity and its messiness. Like migrant writers, writers of the former British colonies and writers of the US immigrant experience are all keenly aware of the issue of how to use English differently from native writers. Salman Rushdie in his essay 'Imaginary Homelands' speaks at length about Indian writers' struggle with the language:

> Those of us who do use English do so in spite of our ambiguity towards it, or perhaps because of that, perhaps because we can find in that linguistic struggle a reflection of other struggles within ourselves and the influences at work upon our societies. To conquer English may be to complete the process of making ourselves free.
>
> *(Rushdie 1991: 17)*

Rushdie describes the use of English as a struggle both within and without, the victory of which will liberate the writers from the confinement of the colonial heritage. Evi- dently, he envisions an English that is not the conventional idiom, but an English capable of expressing the experiences of the colonized, the local and the peculiarities of the Indian life. Therefore, such a language has yet to be invented.

Among writers of the US immigrant experience, the search for a new English seems to be an individual effort associated with self-discovery and personal identity, perhaps because there are so many ethnic groups of immigrants that it would be impossible to form a united effort. David Mura's remarks about this matter exemplify a stand often taken by these writers:

> The trick, then, was to learn to write out of my sense of duality, or that plurality, to write not in slavish imitation of the European tradition but to use it and combine it with other elements of my background, trying to achieve a difficult balance. In order to understand who I was and who I would become, I would have to listen to voices that my father, or T.S. Eliot or Robert Lowell, did not dream of. Voices of my family, or Japan, or my own wayward and unassimilated past. In the world of the tradition, I was unimagined. I would have to imagine myself.
>
> *(Mura 1991: 77)*

That is an individual approach to English, though it may also represent a vision shared by many others, especially by writers of colour who were born in this country and who write about the Americanizing experience, having to look for a language different from the English they learned at school.

Personally, I believe that Chinua Achebe's position on this issue is wiser and more feasible. In the early 1960s, after the publication of *Things Fall Apart*, there was an intense debate among African writers over the use of English. Achebe was a key participant in the debate and wrote about the issue in a few essays. The following paragraph summarizes his position:

> For an African, writing in English is not without its serious setbacks. He often finds himself describing situations or modes of thought which have no direct equivalent in the English way of life. Caught in the situation he can do one of two things. He can try and contain what he wants to say within the limits of conventional English or he can try to push back those limits to accommodate his ideas. The first method produces competent, uninspired and rather flat work. The second method produces something new and valuable to the English language as well as to the new material he is trying to put over. But it can also get out of hand. It can lead to bad English being accepted and defended as African or Nigerian. I submit that those who can do the work of extending the frontier of English so as to accommodate African thought-patterns must do it through their mastery of English and not out of innocence.
>
> *(Ogbaa 1999: 193).*

What Achebe said is vital not only to African writers but also to migrant writers who came to this language individually and to writers of the US immigrant experience who look for idioms that can capture the emotions and thoughts of their characters. Essentially, the first method Achebe describes is similar to Conrad's approach, whereas the second method he suggests is close to Nabokov's approach. Achebe's phrases –'extending the frontier of English' and 'through their mastery of English' – point out the peripheral territory where we work and the boundaries we must be aware of so as to push and expand the limits of English. As a matter of fact, he also advocates a sense of responsibility, namely to enrich the language we share and use.

Indeed, the frontiers of English verge on foreign territories, and therefore we cannot help but sound foreign to native ears, but the frontiers are the only proper places where we can claim our existence and make our contributions to this language.

Note

1 This chapter was a keynote address at Brown University for the Conference 'Reassessing the Foreign Language Curriculum in the Age of Globalization', on 4 April 2008.

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27

World Englishes, social disharmonisation, and environmental destruction

Ahmar Mahboob

Introduction

> Western culture has made, through language, a provisional analysis of reality and, without correctives, holds resolutely to that analysis as final. The only correctives lie in all those other tongues which by aeons of independent evolution have arrived at different, but equally logical, provisional analyses.
>
> *(Whorf, 1941: 313)*

The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis (SWH), largely because of the influence of Lenneberg and Brown's (1956) adoption of it, is broadly known for and taught as positing a link between language and cognition. SWH has had a tremendous impact in the development of linguistics and in its strong version, known as linguistic determinism, is taken as an argument that language determines our thought patterns, whereas, in its weak version, known as linguistic relativity, it is used to advocate that differences in language can lead to differences in thought. However, what is often glossed over – and what is highlighted in the opening quote – is Whorf's analysis of how the west's understanding of the world and its approaches to knowledge construction are highly dependent on the semantics of English and other Standard Average European Languages (SAE) (Haspelmath, 2001; Whorf, 1941).

In recent years, some linguists (Lee, 1996; Pavlenko, 2016) have revisited SWH and have highlighted how a reduction of Sapir-Whorf's work to linguistic determinism/relativity has discounted the importance of language in developing more pluralistic worldviews and theories. A high dependence on SAE and, in particular, English, as norm-defining implies that the world views espoused and promoted through other languages are ignored in research and theory.

In an earlier paper, Ruanni Tupas and I (Mahboob & Tupas, 2020) explored how the semantics and usage of specific terms in Filipino English, Pakistani English and many Filipino and Pakistani languages have changed under the influence of SAE and identified some social consequences of these changes. This chapter extends my earlier work and investigates how World Englishes can potentially impact communities and the environment. In particular, this chapter will explore how the influence of English cyrptogrammar (Halliday, 1990) has impacted the ecology of languages in South Asia, with a focus on Pakistan. In order to do this, it is important to develop some needed definitions of language.

What is language?

In dozens of workshops and presentations for language professionals across various parts of the world, I start off by asking the audiences this question: How would you define language? Almost all of the responses fall into the following two categories: 1) language is a tool of communication and/or 2) language is a set of sounds, words, grammar, and so on. While both of these are useful ways of understanding language, they don't really define language. The first one tells us of one function or use of language, and the second one tells us of the structural components that make up (or ways of analysing) language. It is therefore necessary to first establish some relevant definitions of 'language'.

Language can be defined in many ways; four interrelated ways of defining language that are relevant here include:

1 language is a semo-genic system, which operates through sound (sign language and reading operate through sight; Braille operates through touch);
2 language is a sociosemiotic inheritance;
3 language is science; and,
4 language is a complex-dynamic system.

Language is a semo-genic system

A semo-genic system means a 'meaning' (semo)-'making' (genic) system, that is, a system (amongst many) that helps us to generate meanings, make sense, and participate in the world around us. This definition of language has a long tradition, including in the works of and inspired by MAK Halliday, who was one of Braj Kachru's (a pioneer in the field of World Englishes) PhD supervisors.

Work on World Englishes includes a number of dimensions. In 'Globalization, Literacy and Ideology' (Hasan, 2003, 2011; see Mahboob, 2015 for a longer discussion of Hasan's work in relation to World Englishes), Hasan highlights the importance of thinking of language 'variation' in multiple ways, including semantic variation. She points out:

1 varieties of English may exist in a number of places – not just geographically or nationally determined;
2 that they may be different from 'standard' varieties in only limited – but meaningful – ways; and
3 that they can have an impact on our everyday lives.

Hasan's work corroborates the necessity to look at language variation, including World Englishes, in more ways than just structural variations.

It is important to note that language is 'a' semo-genic system, not the only one. Language is only one set of sounds (within a range of frequencies) used by humans in different combinations to mean different things. Other sets of sounds (e.g. music, thunder, buzzing) also make meanings for us.

Writing systems (or literacy), while they make meanings, are different from language, as they operate through sight, a different sensory system: writing systems use our visual system, while language uses the auditory system. In fact, literacy is just one set of visual data that we receive and process constantly (as language is of sound). We use other sets of visual data to make meaning as well: think of sign language, colours, size, or of any other thing that you can see.

The limitation of defining 'language' to 'sound' is supported by words for 'language' in other languages. For example, in Urdu, the common term for 'language' is 'boli'. 'Boli', a word used across parts of South Asia, literally translates to 'spoken' – highlighting that *boli* is understood as oral only. In addition, *boli* is not restricted to humans but shared with others, as will be discussed in more detail later. Similarly, Chinese distinguishes between script (wen 文) and speech (hua 话).

Another way of realising that language and writing systems are not inherently related to each other is by looking at the nature of writing systems themselves. There are two broad ways in which writing systems operate:

1 symbols represent meaning;
2 symbols represent sounds.

Within the second category, there are two main types of scripts:

a syllabic (symbol represents syllable);
b phonetic (symbol represents individual sounds).

The Chinese script is an example of a writing system that represents meanings: people who speak different dialects of Chinese (which are mutually unintelligible) can engage with each other through writing. All other writing systems are either syllabic, for example, Hiragana, Cherokee, or phonetic, for example, Latin, Arabic.

Semantic scripts, such as Chinese, have an advantage over others because they exploit the visual nature of writing more efficiently and do not necessarily tie the oral rendering of the character to any particular sequence of sounds. In other words, people who speak Cantonese and Shanghainese and even Japanese can read and use the same Chinese characters in writing, even though they are mutually unintelligible languages. A lack of relationship between script and utterance is part of the reason that the China found it necessary to introduce a Romanised sound-based version of Putonghua Chinese (*pinyin*) to aid primary children develop literacy in Putonghua (one dialect of Chinese that is promoted as the language of oral communication across the country).

Scripts that represent sounds do not have this advantage. On the contrary, using symbols that represent sound can create problems in learning and using spelling systems. While spelling systems are supposed to represent the sound of the word/syllable, accents and pronunciation vary across the people who share a language. The spelling systems evolve at particular times and places and represent particular ways of uttering those words. These ways change across time, place, people, meaning, and usage; however, standardised spelling systems (phonetic scripts more than syllabic) do not represent or acknowledge these variations. An ability to use and control the standard spelling system contributes to an individual's ability or inability to succeed in and through education and hence their opportunities in life.

The differences between the types of writing system shows that writing systems are essentially visual; some of them can be linked to sound, but this is not an essential criterion for the existence of a writing system. One reason that this is not obvious to many people is that most people learn to use only sound-based scripts. Since most languages in the world use symbols that represent sound, their users can easily assume that spoken language and writing are interrelated or two 'modes' of languages. Furthermore, since a lot of our understandings about language and linguistics are influenced by and written in English, and because English uses a phonetic script, studies on language often assume reading and listening as two modes of language. However, after considering the nature of writing systems, we can note that writing systems are primarily visual and may, in cases (even if these cases are in majority), have a relationship with sound. Oral language and writing systems are not two modes of a continuum because they operate through different sensory systems, which can work independently of each other.

This understanding of the difference between language (an oral system), writing, and sign-language (writing and sign-language are both are visual systems) has multiple social implications. For example, by realising that reading is just one aspect of our visual system, we can notice that using literacy as a measure of ability, development, or success is discriminatory. For example, most measurements of development include literacy as a measure, a nation's development index includes a measure of its literacy rate, people with no literacy have no access to higher education or to certain types of jobs and employment opportunities. We would not discriminate against a person who has no sight, then why discriminate against someone who does not use one aspect of their sight? Or, looking at this another way, we do not discriminate against people who can't use sign languages (an aspect of sight), then why should we discriminate against people who can't read (another aspect of sight)?

In addition to sight and sound, humans also use the senses of smell, touch, and taste to make meanings. We live our daily lives by drawing from, integrating, interpreting, and acting/responding to our sensory stimuli. The sensory stimuli that we receive from our sensory systems has no meaning in itself. Our interpretive frameworks, which are developed socially (and include language, religion, culture, beliefs, etc.), look for, identify, and make meanings of particular patterns, sets, and sequences in the stimuli (collected through all sensory systems).

Language is a sociosemiotic inheritance

Language is a sociosemiotic tool that evolves and is transmitted from one generation to another. It is an inheritance: children typically learn language from their elders, who learnt it from their elders, and they from theirs, and so on. As our ancestral languages evolved and passed across generations, our ancestors captured the nuances of our environment (e.g., the names, properties, and uses of indigenous plants, animals, resources, etc.) as well as our ways of knowing, doing, and being. These ancestral ways evolved based on what was necessary in living with the environment and other species of the local region (or similar).

Since language is sociosemiotic and not material/biological, it does not transfer across generations through DNA but through social engagement and interaction. For language to flow through generations, the language ecology of the communities has to remain independent. If the language ecology of a community is disturbed, for example, by introducing new languages in a community, then it will impact the local language ecology, the local languages, the people, and the environment.

Changing languages has an impact on people, as the new language that people shift to may not have the grammatical or semantic resources to transfer all the ancestral ways of knowing, doing, and being.

A shift away from or a loss of one's language implies that one loses one's ancestral ways of knowing, being, and doing. This disconnect from ancestral knowledge and wisdom impacts people's lives and their relationships with others and the environment.

Similarly, the introduction of new semantic categories into languages that did not have those categories can have an impact on both the language as well as the people who speak these languages. We will look at examples of this in more depth later in the chapter.

Language is science

Science, at its core, is a system of classification and categorisation. Taxonomies, which are based on various ways of classifying and categorising, used in science are language. Another way of thinking about this is to observe that language gives us the words/phrases/terms that we draw on and use to understand and do things. The taxonomies in language create the classes and categories that we use to name and identify everything. Each language evolves in a different context. Thus, a taxonomy of any language will be primarily based on the context in which that language evolved. So, in language X, we will have a different set of meanings which represent the ways of knowing, doing, and being of the people who speak language X, and in language Y, we will have another set of meanings which represent the ways of knowing, doing, and being of the people who speak language Y. The vocabularies or taxonomies of each language will be different, as the people who develop these languages are different, they use language for different purposes, and they use it in different ways.

Taxonomies in themselves are worth some attention. In western academia and knowledge building, most taxonomies are either:

1 genealogical, a focus on hereditary ties between entities;
2 structural/functional, a focus on structural/functional features of the entity.

For example, in biology, there are taxonomies which focus on genealogy and evolution and taxonomies which focus on structural/functional features. Similarly, in linguistics, we have taxonomies that focus on the genealogy and historical relationships between languages (e.g. Indo-European languages, Dravidian languages) and taxonomies that focus on structural/functional features (e.g., subject-verb-object, languages, ergative languages).

It is possible that other languages have different ways of creating taxonomies; that is, they have different approaches to science; however, given the influence of English and other SAE on our sciences, as well as our disciplinary knowledge and approaches, our understanding of other ways of knowing and representing the world is limited and does not inform our taxonomies or ways of knowing, doing, and being. This is the point being made by Whorf in the opening quote for this chapter: western academia has been shaped by the semantics of SAE and does not have the means or the flexibility to expand to include alternative ways of being, knowing, and doing. As a consequence:

1 non-western approaches to knowledge and knowledge making are marginalised and mostly excluded from western education and universities; and
2 knowledge construction in other languages is influenced by English academic genres and practices.

One alternative way of taxonomising things (and this is only one possibility) is to focus on interrelationships. Notice that western taxonomies typically do not include or focus on interrelationship between species/entities. For example, while biologists create taxonomies based on genealogy or structural features of animals and plants, these taxonomies typically do not include any information about the interrelationships or interdependencies between life forms or the rest of the natural environment that cohabits the same region. A lack of this information contributes to a general unawareness that when one species of life form becomes extinct, it is not just that species that is affected but everything else in the system as well, especially those species that had interrelationships with it. Similarly, when linguists map language genealogy and structures/functions in their taxonomies, they do not focus on or include interrelationships and/or plurilingualism between the people who speak those languages. In many parts of the world, an individual speaks more than one language. In many parts of the world, the languages one knows represent one's relationships with people who speak those languages. In many parts of the world, since people speak multiple languages, language is not tied to identities but relationships. These and other potential ways of taxonomising a language are not included in linguistics, which is based on taxonomies of English and SAE.

Taxonomies affect people, communities, and nature. For example, as will be discussed in more detail later, the word/concept 'religion' itself and the associated taxonomies that relate to it (e.g. names of religions, characteristics of religions) evolved in English and other SAE contexts. The concept of 'religion' as used in English – a set of beliefs and practices – did not necessarily exist in other languages or parts of the world. For example, there were multiple practices across South Asia. Only a few of these were/are practiced in settled areas; many other were practiced by nomadic and/or remote communities, which outnumbered settled communities in pre-colonial South Asia. Not all of these practices did or have names. For many, like the Kalasha of the mountains of Pakistan, the name was given by the Europeans. And many Indigenous communities were converted into one of the major religions of the region (with Islam, Hinduism, and Christianity being dominant). The Kalasha people continue to experience the pressure of religious conversion on their people (Choudhry, Park, Golden, & Bokharey, 2017). The introduction of the concept of 'religion' and its associated taxonomies, which are either genealogical or structural in their orientations, into languages that do not have those words, concepts, or taxonomies can lead to social disharmonisation and conflict. We will look at examples of this later in the chapter when we focus on 'religion'.

Language is a complex dynamic system

Complex dynamic systems are natural systems, including language, that are inherently unstable and constantly changing in ways difficult to predict and are influenced by numerous internal and external factors. In their seminal paper, 'Language Is a Complex Adaptive System', The "Five Graces Group" (2009: 2), point out:

> (a) The system consists of multiple agents (the speakers in the speech community) interacting with one another. (b) The system is adaptive; that is, speakers' behavior is based on their past interactions, and current and past interactions together feed forward into future behavior. (c) A speaker's behavior is the consequence of competing factors ranging from perceptual mechanics to social motivations. (d) The structures of language emerge from interrelated patterns of experience, social interaction, and cognitive processes.

A study of World Englishes in many ways assumes a dynamic nature of language: it focuses on the dynamicity of features and use of English in a colonial and global world. Lasrsen-Freeman (2016) notes that English as a lingua franca research also identifies the following features of language as evidence that language is a complex adaptive system: emergence (new features of language may arise when the system is used), self-organisation (order in language emerges through use), open (language, as a system, is open to additions and changes), adaptive/feedback sensitive (our language assimilates and responds to use), dynamic (language is not static or restricted by 'rules'), unfinalisable (there is no end-point in what language is, nor do we ever stop developing our own language), inseparable from context (language is shaped by and in turn shapes our understanding of context), and variable (variation is always present across all strata of language).

Defining language as a complex dynamic system can raise many questions, such as: Should we write grammars of languages when grammars are not stable? This question applies to World Englishes as much as to other descriptive studies of language. While this is a complex question, a quick answer to it is: yes, but differently.

Descriptions of language can be of importance and use; however, they need to be written with a purpose/goal and be specific. For example, if one needs to train nurses, then it will be useful to have descriptions of how nurses use language in specific professional contexts (in the multilingual context of Pakistan). But it would be a quite impossible task to write a full grammar of the language of nursing. A large number of currently available grammars of languages are of little use as: 1) they are too ambitious in their scope, 2) do not consider language variation, and 3) the descriptions are too generic and not context sensitive. Regardless of such limitations, these grammars flood the markets. By studying language through these grammars, one develops a belief that language is a set of rules that is used for communication; one does not develop a sense of language dynamicity of variation nor how one can use it differently to achieve different purposes. It is possible to write grammars differently; for example, a grammar that is written of a select and relevant use of language and serves particular planned purposes: for example, a grammar of how nurses use language in specific professional contexts in Pakistan written with the purpose of developing training material for nurses in Pakistan. In writing such a grammar, the purpose of writing the grammar will help select the best approaches to grammatical categorisation and description.

Language, well-being, and the environment

The four definitions of language introduced previously are not exclusive but interrelated. When we talk about contact-initiated language change, as opposed to natural language change, the introduced concepts influence the semo-genetic potential of the language being influenced. So, for example, by introducing the concept of 'religion' to their colonial regions, differentiating between 'religions' in terms of genealogical (e.g., Abrahamic religions) and/or structural/formal (e.g., monothetic religions; fire worshippers) features, and not considering the relationships between or taxonomies of people who practiced different 'religions' in the same region, the western Europeans sowed seeds of social disharmonisation in the regions that they colonised.

The replacement of and influence on Indigenous languages by colonial languages has ongoing impact on the sociosemiotic capacities of the people who speak/spoke those languages. This, in turn, impacts people and their communities. When a person's language is changed in design, their view of the world along with their engagement with the world also changes. This has potential consequences for the community of people who adopt these new concepts. And, it needs to be noted, consequences of changes in human actions, beliefs, and practices impact not just humans or other living organisms but all aspects of our environment.

The deep semantics of a language influences the overall beliefs, perceptions, action, and practices of an individual. The deep semantics, or what Halliday (1990) calls 'cryptogrammar', of a language, is best understood by looking at syndromes of features within a language rather than at an isolated language feature (Halliday, 1990).

English grammar and speciesism

We grow up learning that there are three third person singular pronouns in English: he (human males), she (human females), and it (for everything else). While this is correct, we often do not realise that the English grammar slants the world in a way where humans are superior to all other living and non-living things (Dunayer, 2001). In the example of third person singular pronouns, English divides the world between humans and non-humans and then, within the human category, between two genders.

Similarly, in schools, we were taught to use 'who' for humans and 'that' for everything else:

> The mother who ran away.
> The cow that ran away.

The choice of the relative pronoun, we are taught, depends on the 'humanness' of the reference.

The use of 'humanness' as a feature of English pronouns suggests that humans are given a unique place in the cryptogrammar of the English language. This is why, to give something a human characteristic, we use the pronoun 'he' or 'she', and, in reverse, to dehumanise someone, we can assign him/her the pronoun 'it'.

In terms of World Englishes, a review of research on third person pronouns included in *The Mouton World Atlas of Variations in English* (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer, 2012) suggests that while varieties of Englishes may have variation in the use gendered pronouns, they do differentiate between 's/he' (human) and 'it' (non-human). This suggests that while the use of forms for gender representation within 'human pronouns' is inconsistent, the distinction between human and non-human is grammatically maintained in varieties of World Englishes.

This use of a 'human'-based distinction in the English grammar, rare amongst world languages (including in SAE), reflects how people who speak English and its varieties use 'humanness' as a feature to distinguish between things. In doing so, English grammar puts humans above all other beings and things. This is a feature that is reinforced through parts of its vocabulary, as discussed later, and influences how people see themselves in relation to other living beings and non-living things.

In contrast to English or Pakistani English, boli has a single third person pronoun, 'woh', and does not differentiate between humanness or gender. On the other hand, these languages assign a gender to everything, including non-living things, something that English does not do. This suggests that the grammar of these languages treats all living and non-living beings equally; this does not mean that all people who speak boli treat everyone and everything equally or fairly but that the grammar of the language is inclusive, so the tendency of the people would be to be inclusive. Evidence for this is found in Mughal miniature art. Mughal art has innumerable works depicting diverse wildlife and nature. It needs to be noted that the Mughal court was formed of artists and intellectuals, not politicians or industrialists. Not using 'humanness' as a distinctive feature between things suggests that the cryptogrammar of boli does not use humanness as a feature of discrimination in its grammar.

The influence and adaptation of English on/in local contexts and languages has also brought about a change in local policies and practices. For example, in the case of Pakistan, since all government policies and documents are written in Pakistani English, the cryptogrammar of English influences how the policies are formed; for example, policies give preference/protections to certain humans, and there is often a disregard of non-human life forms. This has real-life consequences.

For example, in South Asia, there were three recognised genders: males, females, and third gender. People who belonged to the third gender were traditionally known as 'khwaja sira', where 'khwaja' (a word borrowed from Persian) was an honorific. Khwaja sira included transvestites, transsexuals, and transgender people and were both recognised and respected in the community. Some khwaja sira held important roles in the royal courts (Lal, 1994).

English does/did not have three genders, and the British Raj did not recognise a third gender when it became the colonial rulers of India. This lack of recognition of the third gender in English led to the persecution of the khwaja sira. When the British took over India, khwaja sira lost their legal and official entitlements and recognition and were categorised as a 'criminal tribe' according to the British 1871 Criminal Tribe Act. This persecution of khwaja sira had and continues to have implications for this community. Many khwaja sira were forced into poverty and prostitution. Khan (2014) provides a short and pointed analysis of the impact of the British colonisation on people of the third gender:

> The colonial state declared 'obscene acts and songs' a crime and, in 1860, they inserted section 377 into the new Indian Penal Code, which criminalized sodomy and punished those who have carnal intercourse that the state considered against 'the order of nature'. Further, in 1871, laws to regulate these folk were included in the Criminal Tribes Act by the British Governor General of India. Through this act, 'persons of the male sex who admit themselves, or on medical inspection clearly appear to be impotent' were subjected to mandatory registration, surveillance, and control. Changes in inheritance laws meant that khwaja sara and hijra could not pass on sanads and hereditary stipends to their disciples. The British hoped to diminish their chances of survival by curtailing the various policies that ensured the economic viability of these individuals from being passed on to the next generation.
>
> *(p. 1287)*

The change in the social and economic position of khwaja sira also resulted in a shift in the lexical terms used to refer to them. Over time, khwaja sira were called hijra, chukkas, and khusras. All these terms are considered derogatory and project a negative stereotype of khwaja sira. Hijra was borrowed into English and continues to be used in Pakistani English, including in popular media. The use of the term hijra has a negative connotation, as opposed to the term khwaja sira, which includes a respected honorific.

In recent times, Pakistan has recognised people of the third gender, and their legal rights have been restored. Activists today are advocating the use of the term khwaja sira over hijras, chukkas, and khusras. However, this campaign has only recently started, and its impact on attitudes towards and status of this community cannot yet be studied. While there is some effort being put into changing the lexical item used to refer to the people of the third gender, there is little positive (public) discourse to support the community – for example, as far as I am aware, there is no mention of the third gender in Pakistani English textbooks or other mainstream educational material.

English lexicon and conflicts in South Asia

> It is the vocabulary of a language that most clearly reflects the physical and social environment of its speakers. The complete vocabulary of a language may indeed be looked upon as a complex inventory of all the ideas, interests, and occupations that take up the attention of

> the community, and were such a complete thesaurus of the language of a given tribe at our disposal, we might to a large extent infer the character of the physical environment and the characteristics and the culture of the people making use of it.
>
> *(Sapir, 1912: 228)*

The vocabulary of a language is its taxonomy. Linguists often study words in terms of their semantic relations, for example, hyponymy, synonymy, and antonymy. These semantic relationships allow us to see how language are taxonomies with patterns, links, and relationships between items. The vocabulary of a language contains ways of expressing things that have relevance to the community that speaks it; thus, they vary across regions and groups. Research on World Englishes provides ample evidence of lexical variations across varieties of English. People, including speakers of World Englishes, develop and use vocabulary that is necessary for them.

The vocabulary of a language also changes over time. These changes can be speaker initiated, changes initiated in language/regions, or contact initiated, changes initiated through contact with users of new languages. In the context of World Englishes, the vocabularies of World Englishes as well as the local languages have been influenced both by speaker-initiated changes and those that occurred as a result of language contact. In this chapter, we will focus on the later type of vocabulary change: language change influenced by a change in the eco-linguistic environment.

The vocabulary of a language is influenced by the location and context of its speakers. A language that develops in cold climates will be expected to have more words for snow and cold in comparison to a language spoken in sub-Sahara Africa. Similarly, the vocabulary of a language is influenced by how widely it is spoken: a language that is spoken very widely will include taxonomies of things across a wide region as compared to a language that is spoken in a small region.

The influence of the geographical area covered by a language on the range of its taxonomies is one of the factors why languages such as English, Arabic, and other global languages have far more developed vocabularies and taxonomies than languages spoken in limited regions. The English invaded almost all parts of the world, and the vocabulary of the English language expanded with it. With the increase in words, new taxonomies and taxonomical relations emerged in the language. We can find evidence of this in studies that contrast between varieties of World Englishes. These taxonomies, as was discussed earlier, are often organised genealogically or structurally/functionally.

When words and taxonomies are introduced into another language, these borrowings may, in some cases, interfere with the existing taxonomies that people live by and, in turn, possibly impact their behaviour and practices. Here we will look at three such words: religion, language, and family.

Religion

In South Asia, there was no religion before the Europeans invaded. This was not because people did not have belief systems or practices, it is because there are no words in local languages that capture the exact meaning and definition of ‘religion’ as ‘a belief system’.

The etymology of ‘religion’ itself is an interesting one. The Latin root ‘religio’ did not have the meaning of religion today. The word religion was used by the English to create a new category: a category that classified and grouped people based on their beliefs and deities. The English and the colonials were able to develop the taxonomies of ‘religion’ because they captured almost the whole of the world and learnt about different practices and beliefs.

In South Asia, on the other hand, people were not divided by religion. Mughal Akbar, a Muslim and the leader of India in early period of European incursions, was married to a Hindu and had people of all beliefs and practices as part of his court. Akbar practiced and promoted Deen-e-Illahi ('Deen' of God) and believed that all gods are one and there is no division between them.

Deen-e-Ilahi means 'one God' and recognises that people have different ways of representing and paying homage to God and that all of them are welcome. Akbar encouraged diversity of practices and celebrated them. This is one reason Akbar's period is seen as one of prosperity and integration. Deen-e-Ilahi was lost when Aurengzeb ousted his elders and took over the Mughal throne. This happened after the colonial traders were already established in South Asia and had started exerting their social, political, and military control.

Deen-e-Ilahi is grounded in some of the *boli* of South Asia. For example, in my *boli*, we make a three-way distinction between *deen*, *iman*, and *muzhab*. *Deen* is associated with deity; it can be any deity or none. *Iman* is the belief that we are all part of the same universe (dishonesty, cheating, or causing harm to anyone or anything are considered acts of breaking *iman*). *Muzhab* are individual and local ways of celebrating *deen*, *iman*, and life. *Muzhab*, by definition, recognises and respects diversity and is closer to the English word 'culture' than 'religion'. Akbar's Deen-e-Ilahi can be understood as one way in which these distinctions (captured in the vocabulary of local *boli*) were used to develop inclusive, diverse, and prosperous peoples.

In South Asian languages, we did not have a semantic equivalent of 'religion'. In Pakistan, people often mistranslate 'religion' into '*muzhab*' and adopt the English taxonomies for religion into local languages. *Muzhab* is a set of practices, not a system of belief. By resemanticising '*muzhab*' into 'religion', the meanings, interpretations, and implications of the concept changed. This has had a lasting influence on the region.

In addition, we need to realise that the pre-British India did not look anything like the one today. There were only a handful of settled cities in pre-British India; most people lived free in the vast lands that no one owned or claimed; they knew and interacted with other groups. The idea of land ownership did not exist in India, as it did not exist in most other non-European contexts. Islam was essentially a religion of some of the urbanised areas of South Asia, places that were important trading hubs. The free people across South Asia had a diversity of beliefs, languages, and practices, most of which are lost today.

In addition to the creating of 'religions', the British also created history that sowed the seeds of conflict between Hindus and Muslims. Histories written and sponsored by the British state that Islam was brought to Sindh by Muhammad Bin Qasim, who captured parts of Sindh from a Hindu Raja. The introduction of Islam into South Asia through violence establishes a history of violence and conflict. However, there is little evidence to support such a history of violence. There is much more evidence to suggest that Islam came into South Asia as it did to most other parts of the world, through trading. Geographically, Mecca is located at the midpoint between the Mediterranean and Yemen, which serves as a relatively closer sea journey to Ethiopia (an ancient civilisation) (Jasmin, 2006). This was an ancient trading route. Islam introduced a uniform and honest system of trading in Mecca, through which Arab traders gained recognition and wealth. Islam spread through these trading routes and was very likely already in South Asia by the late 600s (by the 660s, the capital of Islam had already relocated from Mecca to modern-day Syria). This also explains why Muslims were generally found in the settled areas of South Asia but not in rural areas, where a diverse number of belief systems co-existed, along with languages and cultures. It is also worth noting that while the concept of '*iman*' spread through trading routes, this was not accompanied with Arabic; in South Asia, the Mughals did not speak Arabic. The Muslims gained prosperity as traders, and their networks allowed them to manage influence over large regions. In South Asia, Islam was actually proselytised and forced upon Indigenous peoples across large regions, for example, many regions of the mountainous northern areas of Pakistan and Afghanistan, during the British period, as the idea of religious identity gained hold and started to impact policy and practice.

Language

In parts of South Asia, a region with thousands of languages, locals understood language through a multilingual lens, not a monolingual one. This led to different ways of understanding and referring to language in South Asia. For example, one term for language in Urdu, my mother tongue, is بولی (*boli*) (note: بولی is not the only word for language in Urdu). بولی can be used as a collective noun (unlike 'language', which is always a count noun). بولی are diverse, situated, contextual, and connect us to different people in different ways. Derivatives of بولی include words like '*bol*' (utterance), '*bolna*' (to speak), '*bolt*-a/i/ay' (verb, with gender markings).

بولی is also used to refer to non-human speech. Many South Asian languages do not differentiate between human 'language' and non-human 'communication' (like English and other western languages do), nor do they use 'humanness' as a category in their grammars. Humans have بولی, just like elephants and whales and cats have بولی; even the wind and the leaves have their بولی. Variations of forms and functions of بولی exist across many South Asian languages (e.g., Hindi, Nepali, Pushto, Sindhi, Punjabi, Balochi, Brahuvi), each with its own way of viewing language. This adds to the syndrome of features that suggest that the deep grammar of Urdu is environmentally inclusive.

Other languages across South Asia use different terms for language. For example, in the Torwali language, one of the languages spoken in the high mountain country of Swat, the local word for language is جیب (*jeeb*). According to Zubair Torwali (personal communication, April 5, 2019), linguist and language activist, جیب is used for both language and tongue. Torwali does not differentiate between language and tongue; from a Torwali perspective, language is about what is spoken.

The multilingualism and diversity in South Asian communities reflects the network of relationships (and intermarriages). There were and are at least two types of multilingualism across South Asia:

1 where people can speak multiple languages; and
2 where people can understand more languages than they can speak.

This second type of multilingualism, receptive multilingualism, still exists in other parts of the world, too. For example, the 500 members of the Warruwi Community on South Goulburn Island, Australia, are receptive multilinguals in nine languages (Singer & Harris, 2016). They all understand the nine languages but may choose not to speak all for various reasons, including as a sign of respect for other speakers.

In communities that were inherently multilingual and multicultural, introducing the taxonomies of 'language' (a countable noun, which posits independent entities, not interrelated) and naming 'languages' led to divisions and conflict. For example, in a place that did not name languages, there are now hundreds of languages, with each linked to an ethno-linguistic identity (instead of inter-relationships). In Pakistan, many of these groups are in continuous disagreements and conflict, even though the named languages are sometimes mutually intelligible (e.g. Siraki and Punjabi, Balochi and Brahuvi). These languages have their own indigenous taxonomies to understand 'language', which, as Whorf (1941) noted, is what is expected: their grammars and taxonomies reflect a different and pluralistic conceptualisations of the word 'language' in comparison to the one assumed in English. However, since all language planning work is done with an understanding of the word 'language' as defined in and through English, these policies often do not support plurilingualism.

Family

The concept of a 'family' in South Asian Englishes is that of a 'nuclear family' (parents and children). 'Family' is also frequently borrowed into other South Asian languages. This is because there is no translation equivalent of 'family' in most South Asian languages. The absence of a word for nuclear family across many South Asian languages suggests that people were not necessarily sociologically patterned in terms of biological relationships. Words like '*khandan*', '*kumba*', '*dabar*', and '*pariwar*' refer to much larger groupings of people which are organised along different sociological patterns.

The notion of a 'family' in English is based on genealogy, one of the primary approaches of creating taxonomies in English. In this case, the genealogical relationships are between humans. 'Family' is a taxonomy of how people are related to each other by blood. This taxonomy is also used in developing tools to collect data on kinship relationships in other languages.

Notice here that the idea of 'family' in English is linked to biological relationships. An 'unmarked' family is expected to include parents and their biological offspring. This implies that in English, the sociological organisation of humans is seen as one that is biologically grounded. While using biological relationships to creating sociological categories is one possibility, it is not necessary to do so. Sociological patterns, as is evident in the existence of diverse living arrangements around the world, do not necessarily need to be patterned on biological relationships.

By introducing 'family' into South Asian languages, the indigenous taxonomies were changed and/or lost. This has resulted in changes in ways in which people live and connect with each other. Family is now considered a nuclear family, and, with each generation, a family divides to form new families. Through this process, family divides people.

The use of South Asian Englishes and contact-initiated changes in local languages have altered the social structures and ways in which people live and engage with each other across the region. This has real-world consequences, as discussed subsequently, for example, breaking the social network by migrating (nuclear) family units or, in legal matters, where law is written in English and draws on concepts such as family.

World Englishes, social disharmonisation, and environmental destruction

In the previous section, we saw how the cryptogrammar of English and World Englishes is dissimilar from that of the languages of South Asia. These differences can be seen in syndromes of grammatical and the lexical features of the languages (Halliday, 1990). By introducing new ways of categorising and classifying the world, World Englishes influence the grammars and lexicons of local languages. For example, the use of 'human' as a category in English grammar is absent from Urdu. However, with the wide use and adoption of Pakistani English, the Urdu grammar has been influenced (as have other languages spoken that co-exist with a variety of World Englishes). This, along with a tendency to translate/adapt beliefs, concepts, definitions, terms, policies, and practices developed in English into local languages, influences and changes the grammar and vocabulary of local languages. For example, academic genres that are now emerging in multiple languages adopt the genre structures of English research papers (Fallatah, 2016); this impacts the grammar of the language and the meanings it makes.

The English vocabulary divides people and things in ways that are different from South Asian languages. The introduction of English has influenced the grammar and lexicon of local languages. This has resulted in differences between people that exist today that did not exist in the past. For example, people in South Asia today are divided based on religion and language.

This use of religion and language to divide people can be considered one way in which the Western colonisers used sociosemiotic weapons to achieve their goals. By introducing and continuing to promote the English language, the English (like other western colonising powers) altered the semo-genetic potential and the sociosemiotics of local/colonised peoples. They altered and/or replaced the sociosemiotic inheritance of local communities. By altering the taxonomies of the language, World Englishes influenced and altered local sciences: local ways of knowing, being, and doing (leading to a destabilisation of people and, consequently, the environment).

While not everything can be reduced to language, the health and vitality of a language can reveal quite a lot about its speakers. Some languages are healthy, expanding in their range of functions, uses, and speakers; others are weak and dying, losing their range of functions, uses, and speakers. The difference between the health and vitality of a language tells us about the health and vitality of the people who speak that language. If languages are oppressed, people are oppressed. And, when people are oppressed, they don’t take care of things around them. This results in damage to others, including the environment.

Part of the issue here is that the majority of current global academia is in English, and it evolved in the context of SAE. The taxonomies and approaches used in this work are based in the semantics and the cryptogrammar of English. Instead of expanding its base and learning from and supporting non-SAE ways of knowing, doing, and being, academia largely ignores them.

One consequence of the dominance of English in shaping academic knowledge, including but not restricted to linguistics, is that people around the world – who speak different mother tongues – are all trained in and through English (or material translated from English). This implies that graduates from universities around the world are trained to see the world in particular ways, using particular terms/categories and not others. This can influence practices and policies that are made assuming English (and other SAE) categories to be the norm.

Conclusion

World Englishes, both as the area of study and as the actual varieties of Englishes, have a major role to play in expanding the domains of English. So far, this work has focussed on the changes that the English language undergoes as it transitions and settles into another part of the world. Through a study of World Englishes, we note how local communities influence changes on the English language as they learn and adopt it. What we often do not do, and what this chapter has attempted to do, is to look at how English influences other languages, people, and the environment.

A look at the influence of English as a norm-defining language for local languages and people, as this chapter has done, can reveal that World Englishes have had a lasting effect on the social and environmental conditions of the people that adopt English – and that these influences are not always positive. Having identified the types of issues that contact-initiated language change can make, it is imperative that we use this understanding to educate people on how language can influence us, our lives, our communities, and our environment and how we need to take control of our languages in order to bring about social harmonisation and environmental stability.

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Section 4

Contemporary contexts, functions and variables

28
Online Englishes

Mark Warschauer, Sharin Jacob and Undarmaa Maamuujav

Introduction

The last few decades have witnessed some of the most rapid changes in human communication in world history. There are on average more than one million new users of the Internet each day. Today, over half of the world's population (4.39 billion) read, write, and communicate online (Kemp, 2019). An estimated 269 billion emails are sent every day (Campaign Monitor, 2019) and the Internet search engine Global Digital 2019 Reports is tracking some 5.1 billion unique mobile users and 3.484 billion active social media users around the world (Kemp, 2019). From knowledge workers to office staff to teenage youth, large numbers of people around the world rely extensively on computer-mediated communication.

In 2010, a disproportionate amount of this global communication was conducted in English. This trend continues today despite the uptick in global internet usage. Today, China has the most internet users, accounting for 20% of the worlds' internet usage (Hosting Facts Team, 2018), yet English remains the most widely used language on the Internet (Sitsanis, 2018). An estimated 25% of world Internet users are native speakers of English (Internet World Stats, 2019), and English has become the dominant lingua franca for cross-language communication online (Bokor, 2018).

Online communication is different than previous forms of interaction in many important ways. Online, large numbers of people from around the world can interact at the same time in a single forum. While interacting at a fast pace, they can still maintain a written archive of their communication. People can quickly encounter and get to know large numbers of strangers, and they can stay in constant close communication with friends at almost all hours of the day. They can publish their reports or multimedia documents for virtually free, and they can hyperlink parts of their texts to link to the words of others.

While online spaces allow large numbers of people to interact around the world in a single forum, social media can be seen as a natural evolution of the Internet, even recipatulating its roots as a platform for users to generate and exchange information. Social media can be broadly defined as a natural offshoot of Web 2.0, where users collaboratively modify and exchange user-generated content (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Within this definition, there are different types of social media, such as Wikipedia, YouTube, Facebook, and avatar games such as Second Life. Perhaps the type that is getting the most attention from the media are social networking sites, such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. These sites foster personal connection through the sharing of profiles, posting of content, and exchanging of messages among friends and colleagues. Social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter are known for their multilingual interactions in multiple spaces that traverse linguistic and cultural norms (Canagarajah, 2013).

For all of these reasons, online communication and social media are engendering their own styles, genres, and forms of English. Some people contend that it is resulting in the bastardization of English, the ruining of standards, and the misinformation of the public, while others contend that it is democratizing English by extending new forms of low-cost interaction, collaboration, and publishing to native and non-native English speakers around the world. While there are certainly elements of truth in both arguments, there is no doubt that online Englishes are challenging prior notions of whom the language belongs to, whose voices are heard, and who contributes to knowledge formation and dissemination.

Whose language?

Since the mid-90s, concerns about the dominance of English on the web have subsided as the Internet has become much more multilingual. The percentage of English online has fallen by about half, with the amount of online content growing rapidly in both major and minor languages (Pimienta, 2005). For example, Wikipedia alone has versions in 304 languages, 293 of which include 1000 or more articles, a number of which are endangered (Wikipedia, 2019).

The growth of multiple languages online undermines neither the Internet's use as a medium for communication *across* language groups nor the role of English as dominant lingua franca in such cross-linguistic contact. This lingua franca role both corresponds to, and has accelerated, the already prominent role of English in international media, political, and business communication at the advent of the Internet (Crystal, 2003). At first glance, the preeminence of English as the de facto global lingua franca would seem to privilege native English speakers, who can participate effortlessly in international online fora. However, by simultaneously facilitating daily communication in English by hundreds of millions of non-native speakers around the world, this trend also calls into question who controls English and sets its standards. In fact, there are over 700 million competent speakers of English across the globe, and less than half are native speakers (Jenkins, 2006). There is thus a growing movement around the world to teach a denationalized version of English based on local and regional standards of pronunciation, syntax, and usage rather than US or British English (Warschauer, 2000) and to use a simplified global English rather than US or British English in international business correspondence (McAlpine, 2006).

Stultified norms of what constitutes English are also being challenged by the widespread use of highly colloquial, informal, and hybrid forms of interaction referred to as *netspeak* (Crystal, 2004). These new forms are especially prominent in highly interactive forms of computer communication, such as electronic mailing (e-mailing), social media, instant messaging (IMing), Internet-Relay Chat (IRC or chatting), and short-messaging service (SMS, also known as texting). A great deal of public rhetoric is grounded in what Crystal (2001) calls a 'genre of worry' that focuses on the potentially corruptive nature of online registers and the idea that non-standard linguistic conventions associated with electronic media are spilling over into offline writing and conversation. Scholarly research surrounding these forms of computer-mediated communication (CMC) has tended to fall into two distinct camps: studies celebrating the unique nature of online registers and studies disavowing any significant difference between on- and offline communication save for medium. Of late, such scholarship has turned toward a more holistic approach to understanding online discourse, emphasizing the interplay of technical and contextual factors.

Electronic mail

E-mail, which predates the Internet, is an asynchronous form of online communication that allows users to write, send, save, and sort electronic messages. When it came into common use in the 1990s, e-mail was heralded as a revolutionary medium that would change the face of communication. Early examinations of the linguistic features of e-mail suggested that users' language tended to be less formal, less lexically sophisticated, and less grammatically and orthographically correct than paper-based prose (Crystal, 2001). Scholarly analysis of e-mail and similar forms of CMC also gave rise to preliminary discussions about electronic text as a new hybrid communicative mode that blurred the distinction between spoken and written language (Yates, 1996).

In spite of this auspicious beginning, in terms of transformative linguistic and generic potential, e-mail has continued, in Herring's (2004: 27) words, 'slouching toward the ordinary.' No longer on the cutting edge of information and communication technologies (ICTs), e-mail is viewed as passé by youth and is often used by adults in lieu of paper letters, announcements, and memos. The English language forms and grammatical conventions for personal and business interactions conducted via e-mail have come to mimic their print-based counterparts to a great degree (Crystal, 2001). Some exceptions include the aforementioned informality that often manifests in a lack of salutations, an extended range of punctuation (e.g. '!!!!!!'), and a reduced use of capitalization (Crystal, 2001).

Social media

Social media sites host users from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds in sharing content. Over the past few decades, critical social forces, from individual citizens to mainstream media, have formed complex networks of digital interaction (Castells, 2007; Lotan et al., 2011). Twitter represents a central microblogging site due to its potential for capturing events in a manner that transcends temporal and geographic boundaries (Lotan et al., 2011). Findings from a large-scale study found that 49% of posts are written in a language that is not English (Hong et al., 2011). To better understand this content, Eleta and Golbeck (2014) investigated how information travels across linguistic borders, classifying a series of network types that characterize how language is distributed within social network sites. Findings indicated that users choose their language based on the linguistic features of their network. The upshot of this possibility is that social media can facilitate linguistic diversity by shaping the experience of users. Examples could include enabling language selection and translation features and recommending linguistic resources for multilingual users.

Instant messaging and chatting

IMing and chatting are real-time or synchronous forms of online communication that came into popular use in the 90s. The primary difference between IMing and chatting is that IMing only allows dyadic communication, while chatting allows multiple users to exchange messages at the same time in what is known as a *chat room*. According to Pew Internet &

American Life surveys, around 53 million online adults (Shiu & Lenhart, 2004) and around 13 million online teens (Lenhart et al., 2001) use IM on a daily basis, with around 41% of working internet users using IM in the workplace (Madden & Jones, 2008). Messaging apps have been particularly popular among young people, with almost half (49%) of those ages 18–29 using messaging apps such as WhatsApp, Kik, or iMessage, and 41% using apps that automatically delete sent messages, such as Snapchat or Wickr (Duggan, 2015). Recent studies have shown that IM is more than just a communicative medium; it also serves as a way for youth to strengthen and expand social networks (Lewis & Fabos, 2005) and as a means of self-expression via customized user profiles, buddy icons, and away messages (Shiu & Lenhart, 2004).

Due to their synchronous nature, IM and chat interactions, more so than e-mail, tend to take on a highly informal, conversational format and have been catalysts for a great deal of public concern surrounding the possible deleterious effects of online communication on the English language. For example, in a *New York Times* article, a teacher expressed concern over abbreviations such as 'u, r, ur, b4, wuz, cuz, 2' appearing of late in student writing. According to the article, such abbreviations are part of an 'online lingua franca: English adapted for the spitfire conversational style of Internet instant messaging' (Lee, 2002: eighth paragraph). However, the media also has described this 'online lingua franca' as 'the bastardization of language' (O'Connor, 2005, cited in Tagliamonte & Denis, 2008: 4) and 'the linguistic ruin' (Axtman, 2002, cited in Tagliamonte & Denis, 2008: 4) of modern times.

Public concern about language change seems to stem from several discourse features that are commonly used in IM and other forms of online communication. One such feature is the tendency toward the aforementioned abbreviations. Other common features include acronyms and initialisms, which are abbreviations formed using the initial letters or syllables of a phrase. Abbreviations typically associated with IM and chat are *lol* (laugh out loud), *brb* (be right back), *afk* (away from keyboard), *asl* (age, sex, location). America Online, provider of AIM, the first widely used IM program, hosts a website with a list of AIM acronyms (America Online, 2008). Another discourse feature commonly associated with online communication is the emoticon. The word emoticon comes from a portmanteau of the words *emote* (or *emotion*) and *icon*, and it describes graphic or keyboard representations of facial and bodily expressions or emotional content. Common emoticons include :) (smiling face), ^_^ (Asian smiling face), ;_; (face with tears), @_@ (surprised face), and XD (mischievous face). Rebus forms of writing are also commonly associated with IM and, as will be discussed in the next section, SMS. Common rebuses include aar8 (at any rate), b4n (by for now), and cul8r (see you later).

Linguists, on the other hand, have proposed that IM language use is much less radical than the press suggests. For example, Baron's (2004) study based on a corpus of US college students' instant messages found that only 0.3% of words were common IM abbreviations, less than 0.8% were common IM acronyms, only 0.4% were emoticons, and that only 65.3% of contracted word forms were used. A study based on a corpus of Canadian teens' IM use findings yielded similar statistical results (Tagliamonte & Denis, 2008). This latter study also examined the extent to which IM language mirrors everyday language by comparing the use of discourse features such as personal pronouns, quotatives, and intensifiers in written text, IM, and spoken youth language. According to the authors, the analysis revealed that 'IM language is characterized by a robust mix of features from both informal spoken registers and more formal written registers – in essence it is a hybrid register' (Tagliamonte & Denis, 2008: 5).

In a qualitative study of CMC, Lam (2004) investigated youths' use of language in a Chinese–English bilingual chatroom. According to Lam, youth in this chat room code-switched between English and Chinese in order to express modality, convey humor and emotion, and mark social roles and relationships in their conversations. Much like the previous study, Lam's findings suggest that IM language is a hybrid register in several respects. First, the IM language of youth in the bilingual chatroom incorporated features of spoken Chinese as well as written English text. Moreover, Lam points out that use of Chinese discourse markers 'could be a simple yet pervasive way in which a Cantonese conversational tone is introduced into an otherwise English dialogue' (2004: 54), thus representing the global forms of English being used by adolescents in online spaces that attract interlocutors from around the world. She concludes that the use of such hybrid forms serves to help create a 'collective ethnic identity' (2004: 45) for Chinese immigrants.

Finally, though research in this area has just begun, initial studies indicate that messaging on youth-oriented social network sites, such as Twitter and Facebook, features the same kinds of informal elements found in instant messaging and chatrooms, such as written description of non-linguistic cues (e.g., 'hug,' 'wink'), use of non-linguistic symbols to display emotions (e.g., ♥), shortened forms (e.g., bday, pic, luv), and extensive code-switching between multiple dialects and languages (Chou, 2008).

Short-messaging service

Another electronic form of communication that is rapidly growing in popularity among youth and adults alike is short-messaging service (SMS), otherwise known as *texting*. Text messages are asynchronous and are constrained by a protocol that allows a maximum of 160 characters per message. This constraint on the number of characters has prompted widespread use of abbreviated forms of language often referred to as 'textese.' Much like the language associated with IM and chat, textese consists of abbreviation, logographic spelling, and rebus forms of writing. In recent years, there have been linguistic analyses of texting in several languages, including Swedish (Hard af Segerstad, 2002), Norwegian (Ling, 2005), and German (Döring, 2002, cited in Ling & Baron 2007). Save for one study on British English (Thurlow, 2003), there have been relatively few studies of the language forms associated with English-based texting. This can in part be attributed to the ubiquity of mobile phones and thus texting in Europe and Asia versus the high percentage of personal computers and thus IM and chat in the United States (see Ling & Baron, 2007).

As one exception, Thurlow (2003) examined the linguistic forms and communicative functions of youth's text message use. Findings revealed that the primary linguistic changes that youth made (abbreviations, contractions, acronyms, misspellings, and non-conventional spellings) were 'serving the sociolinguistic "maxims" of (a) brevity and speed, (b) paralinguistic restitution and (c) phonological approximation' (Thurlow, 2003: section 4). According to the authors, these changes were linguistically 'unremarkable' and 'would not be out of place on a scribbled note left on the fridge door' (2003: section 4). Thurlow's discussion highlights a theme that runs through much of the academic research and commentary on the potential linguistic changes associated with new ICTs – that technologies such as e-mail, IM, chat, and SMS do not, for the most part, bring about changes in language forms but rather amplify trends already underway. Studies consistently show that levels of informality and use of non-standard linguistic forms vary according to context and purpose. As Crystal (2008) points out in the following passage, rebuses and other abbreviated forms of writing have been around for centuries:

> Similarly, the use of initial letters for whole words (n for "no", gf for "girlfriend", cmb "call me back") is not at all new. People have been initialising common phrases for ages.

> IOU is known from 1618. There is no difference, apart from the medium of communication, between a modern kid's "lol" ("laughing out loud") and an earlier generation's "Swalk" ("sealed with a loving kiss").
>
> *(14th paragraph)*

In summary, electronic interaction today features many of the same types of abbreviations and colloquialisms similar to those that occurred previously when conversational English was put into writing. However, due to the sheer size and volume of the Internet and the amount of time many people spend chatting or texting online, such forms have become more widespread and controversial. Overall, they represent an expansion of the written use of colloquial English vs. formal or academic English. As such, they enable many people on the margins of power, including youth and immigrants, to communicate in a form that better expresses their sense of identity and community.

Whose voice?

The principal inventor of the Web, Timothy Berners-Lee, intended it to be a read-write medium in which it was as easy to create and publish material as it was to read and browse (Berners-Lee, 1999). However, the Web that emerged frustrated that vision, as online publishing in the Web's early days necessitated mastery of complex coding processes. The development of specialized Web design software partially solved this problem, but it was the development and diffusion of free blogging software and host sites that truly allowed Web-based publishing to become a mass phenomenon. The free hosting, the user-friendly interface that allows posts to be simply typed in, and the easy-to-publish solution that the blogging systems such as Blogger and Wordpress afforded opened up publishing to anyone who has access to the Internet.

Chesher (2005) analyzed authorship on blogs, comparing the conventions of authorship in the blogosphere to those in other electronic or print genres. Authorship in blogs tends to be strongly identified to a real or pseudonymous person through a username or display name for each blog and blog entry or through profile section that gives more information about the writer. The visual consistency of a blog, compared to a typical HTML Web page, also highlights personal ownership and authorship, and the reverse chronological order and specific time stamp on postings create a temporal link between author and reader. Blogs that are most successful, whether in reaching out to a few readers or hundreds of thousands, tend to have a strong authorial voice. In most cases, this personal voice is more easily achieved in blogs than in print journalism, such as newspapers, since blogging encourages an informal, idiosyncratic style and content. In addition, the sheer ease of publishing a blog, as compared, for example, to either setting up and maintaining a frequently revised standard website or becoming a writer for a print newspaper or magazine, makes authorship accessible to a greatly expanded number of people. Chesher (2005) concludes that the 'death of the author,' which was originally predicted by post-structuralists (Barthes, 1977), and which was supposedly going to be hastened by the decentred and collaborative nature of hypertext (Poster, 1990), is greatly exaggerated. As he states, 'the author is alive and well, and has a blog' (Chesher, 2005: para. 1).

In a study published by Herring and colleagues (2004), content and genre analysis were conducted on several hundred randomly selected blogs. They found that personal journals constituted 70.4%, filter blogs 12.6%, and the third k-log types 4.5% of their sample (Herring et al., 2004). Though Herring and her colleagues did not match blog purpose with blog topic in their analyses, the sample blogs they chose as illustrations for each of the three main purpose categories match exactly with the topical categorization suggested by Stone (2004), with personal journal blogs typified by personal experience topics, filter blogs typified by political topics, and knowledge blogs typified by technology topics. The majority of blogs analyzed by Herring's group fell on the simple side. A total of 90.8% of the randomly selected blogs they analyzed were single authored, and blogs in their sample were updated on an average of every 2.2 days. The typical blog entry contained 0.65 links to other material, and only 43% of blogs allowed comments by others. A total of 9.2% of blog entries contained images (Herring et al., 2004).

What is typical in a random sample blogs, however, is quite different than what is typical in people's experiences with blogs. That is because the majority of blogs are rarely visited, while a small number of *a-list* blogs dominate the traffic on the blogosphere (Shirky, 2003). Many of these high-traffic blogs feature complex networking features that enable highly innovative forms of communication and advocacy. For example, liberal blog Daily Kos, which remains one of the popular political blogs today, has evolved into a complex network of community that consists of their own editorial staff; a broad network of contributors who write front-page postings, known as stories; hundreds of people who write additional postings linked from the front page, known as diaries; and thousands of people who write threaded comments on stories and diaries. This popular group blog features extensive linking to other blogs and websites from within comments, stories, diaries, and user signature lines; tagging of all diaries and stories to create a folksomony (i.e., user-generated taxonomy) of blog topics; a search mechanism to find stories, diaries, or comments by tag, content, or author; an elaborate user recommendation system so that the most highly recommended diaries rise to the top of the list, while the most negatively rated comments disappear; a hierarchical system of participants so that those who receive the most positive comments achieve greater privileges to negatively rate others; and a main blogroll linking to other link-minded blogs on the front page and distinct blogrolls on other pages created by users (Kos Media, 2009). Launched by Markos Moulitsas (2019) in 2002, Daily Kos has an estimated total visits of 18.2 million as of August 2019 (SimilarWeb, 2019) and has established itself as a major force in US politics (Chait, 2007).

Today the state and the architecture of blogospheres have dramatically shifted, changing the conception of blogging as blogs take the shape of multiple kindred forms such as moblog, microblog, photoblog, and videoblog. What was typical in traditional blogging then is quite different now in an era of an ever-evolving social media ecosystem. With the advent of Twitter, Facebook, Snapchat, and other similar social media platforms that brought ascendancy to microblogging, everyone who is active in one or more of these social media networks has become a content creator. The networking and sharing features of these social media not only added value to popular blogging platforms but blurred the conventional notion of blogging. Many of the social media platforms are designed for 'progressive convergence of content creation, consumption, interpersonal and public communication' (Burgess & Green, 2018, p. 19). Further, based on the findings of mixed-methods study investigating the changing landscape of blogging in Scandinavia, Pinjamaa and Cheshire (2016) conclude that 'the future of blogging will be fragmented across various social media, with the blog remaining the core of self-expression' (p. 13). Despite the drastic changes taking place in the landscape of the blogosphere and social media, personal publication in an online arena will likely remain a prominent feature of Web-based publishing.

An important shift in the landscape of the blogosphere and Web-based publishing in general is tied to the prominence of YouTube and its influence in online communication, social media, and ordinary people's entries into participatory culture. YouTube's simple and 'integrated interface that enabled people to upload, publish, and view streaming videos without much technical knowledge, using standard web browsers and modest Internet speeds' and its feature to easily embed videos into different websites (Burgess & Green, 2018: 14) gave prominence to video blogging, or vlogs for short.

YouTube's exponential growth in content generation and user base, since its launching in 2005, elevated it to be a dominant digital media platform where user-created content is freely and easily embedded, shared, and circulated. With over '1.9 billion logged-in users' visiting the site every month (YouTube Press, 2019), YouTube features a wide variety of user-generated content, including video blogs, short original videos, and instructional and educational videos. Statista's 2018 report on the most popular YouTube content categories by uploads shows that 'people and blogs' accounted for 32%, making it the most popular content after gaming, which constituted 31% of the content. YouTube's ascendancy in online social media environment, without a doubt, shaped not only the landscape blogosphere but the Web-based publishing phenomenon in general. As Burgess and Green (2018) argue, 'YouTube has provided a platform for participation in digital media culture for a much broader range of participants than before, and indeed its brand trades on the social and cultural diversity of the voices it supports' (p. 96). With this and in increasingly wired online platforms, the new generations of digital era are becoming active participants in digital discourses, changing the notion of authorship and authority (Clark, 2010).

Beyond giving tens of millions of people new opportunities for authorship, the social media and blogosphere also offer a political voice to those on the margins of power. This is due in part to structural features of the social media platforms to occupy an intermediary format between the highly interactive form of computer-mediated communication and the more permanent forms of traditional online publishing; participation in digital media culture can simultaneously replace both institutions pointed to by political theorist de Tocqueville as vital for citizen participation: the meeting hall and the newspaper (de Tocqueville, 1937). Thus, in authoritarian countries such as Iran, blogging and social media have emerged as an important, if risky, form of citizen advocacy to challenge both the censored media and the restricted space for traditional organizing (see, e.g., Hendelman-Baavur, 2007). In the United States, the grassroots left, which was relatively dormant from the 1970s to 1990s, has found the blogosphere and social media a particularly potent organizing tool, using it more successfully than the right to mobilize funds and support for its favored candidates and causes and thus counterbalancing the right's dominance over talk radio (Chait, 2007). In 2008, online fundraising campaigns played a critical role in the election of the first African-American president, helping Obama first overcome a heavily favored Democratic competitor for the nomination and then defeat a popular Republican war hero (Lister, 2008). During the 2016 presidential election, 'nearly 110 million Americans participat[ed] in the online debate' and 'over 5.3 billion posts, likes, comments, and shares' were generated on Facebook alone (Blackmer, 2016). In addition, several studies that examine videoblogging (Lange, 2007; Gibson, 2015; Raun, 2016) support that participation in YouTube and videoblogging 'works both to build community and to enhance community-led forms of media representation and activism' (Burgess & Green, 2018: 99).

Of course blogging and social media are not a silver bullet for achieving social change. Burgess and Green (2018) argue,

> While the affordances of the technologies and media forms associated with the participatory turn have increased the number and diversity of producers, and undoubtedly

> moved a significant number of people toward cultural production, the question of audience engagement for diversity – and what platforms can or should be doing to encourage and shape that engagement is urgent.
>
> *(p. 100)*

Also, authoritarian regimes have the power to censor or block social media participation and arrest those who voice their opinions in social media platforms (see, e.g., Gray, 2008) or publish their own misinformation. The digital media and blogosphere are a complex and competitive social and political environment, with those seeking to spark, resist, or co-opt social reform movements all fighting for influence, together with millions of others without political agendas.

Whose knowledge?

If blogs and social media create new opportunities for expressing voice, then wikis create new opportunities for sharing and producing knowledge. Wikis are simply websites that any visitor can contribute to or edit (Richardson, 2006). Though there is no authoritative listing or account of the number of wikis, they are surely far fewer than blogs. They have been principally established so that groups of people can contribute their knowledge and writing skills to collaboratively create informational documents. For example, some of the largest wikis (based on statistics from S23 2007) include Richdex (an open source directory on a wide range of topics), WowWiki (an information source about the World of Warcraft online game), and wikiHow (a collaborative how-to manual).

By far the largest wiki, and one of the 15 most visited websites in the world (for listing, see Alexa Internet, 2020), is Wikipedia. Its English version alone includes more than 2,600,000 articles totaling some one billion words, more than 25 times as many as are in the next largest English language encyclopedia, the Encyclopaedia Brittanica (Wikipedia, 2009). Most remarkably, there have been some 236 million edits to Wikipedia since its inception in 2001 made by 5.77 million contributors (Wilkinson & Huberman, 2007).

Most of the textual analysis of wikis has been directed at Wikipedia, with much of the research focusing on its accuracy. Its breadth of content, ease of access, free cost, and links to external material make Wikipedia potentially highly useful to a vast online audience. The foremost question for casual users and researchers alike has been whether a collaborative process that welcomes the participation of novices as well as experts can produce satisfactorily accurate results. In a widely cited study on this topic, *Nature* (Giles, 2005) had a panel of experts compare content from 42 entries of approximately the same length on scientific topics from Wikipedia and the Encyclopaedia Brittanica. The experts identified 162 errors in the Wikipedia content (four of which were serious) and 123 in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica content (four of which were serious), thus suggesting that neither encyclopedia is infallible and that the 6-year-old open source Wikipedia is only slightly less accurate than the 238-year-old professionally edited Brittanica. In a related study, Chesney (2006) had 258 research staff judge the credibility of two Wikipedia articles, one in their area of expertise and one chosen randomly. In general, the researchers found the articles credible, even more so in their own area of expertise.

Focusing on linguistic features rather than accuracy, Bell (2007) compared articles in Wikipedia and the online version of Encyclopaedia Britannica on three measures: readability, syntax (specifically nominal vs. verbal nature), and use of fact statements vs. value statements. He found the two encyclopedias roughly comparable on all three measures. A similar study by Elia, focusing on lexical density, use of formal nouns and impersonal pronouns, and average word length, concurred that the language in Wikipedia 'shows a formal and standardized style similar to that found in Britannica' (2007: 18), even though its articles were twice as long on average and had far more hypertextual links.

If blogs served to suggest that the author is well and alive, wikis fulfill the prophecy of authorship fading away. In essence, the distance between the author and audience is eliminated when the audience can directly edit the author's work. In many Wikipedia articles, it is difficult to discern a principal author. For example, a review of the history (posted with each article) for the Wikipedia entry on the innocuous topic of *asparagus* indicates it has been edited hundreds of times by dozens of people over the last five years.

Wikipedia provides a fruitful source for researching the nature of collaborative authorship and editing. A study by Wilkinson and Huberman (2007) analyzed the impact of cooperation among editors on Wikipedia on article quality. Specifically, when controlling for age and visibility of articles, they found that both the numbers of edits and numbers of editors were strongly correlated with article quality. On the one hand, this seems intuitive, in that more attention should result in higher quality. However, the authors point out that in other areas, such as software development, industrial design, and cooperative problem solving, large collaborative efforts are known to produce ambiguous results.

In a study on the Hebrew version of Wikipedia, Ravid (2007, cited in Warschauer & Grimes, 2007) analyzed how this collaboration worked and how it differed between featured articles (which are generally recognized as being higher quality) and non-featured articles. Using a variety of social network analyses, he compared structures of dominance and heterogeneity among contributors in 432 featured articles and 410 non-featured articles. In general, he found a greater degree of inequality of participation in the featured articles. In other words, both featured and non-featured articles had large numbers of contributors, but a smaller circle of presumably more expert authors contributed a larger portion of the articles selected for their high quality.

One controversy surrounding Wikipedia has focused on it as a source for student research. The founder of Wikipedia, Jim Wales, provides the most commonsense answer to this, suggesting that although Wikipedia can help provide an overview of issues and a starting point for identifying primary sources, students are better off using primary sources as definitive sources in their research. 'For God's sake, you're in college; don't cite the encyclopedia,' Wales told one college student (Young, 2006: second paragraph.)

A more interesting question is how writing for wikis can affect the learning process. The potential of wikis for teaching and learning is hinted at by Ward Cunningham, inventor of the wiki, who commented that 'The blogosphere is a community that might produce a work, whereas a wiki is a work that might produce a community' (Warschauer & Grimes, 2007: 12). Cunningham's statement illuminates a central contradiction of CMC since its inception: it has served as a powerful medium for exploring identity, expressing one's voice, airing diverse views, and developing community, yet has proven a very unsuitable medium for accomplishing many kinds of collaborative work due to the inherent difficulty of arriving at decisions in groups dispersed by space and time (see meta-analysis comparing face-to-face and computer-mediated decision-making by Baltes et al., 2002).

Wikis turn traditional CMC activity around in several respects. Whereas e-mail and chat, the most traditional CMC genres, facilitate informal, author-centric, personal exchange, writing on a wiki facilitates more formal, topic-centric, depersonalized exchange. Each edit makes a concrete contribution to a collaborative written product, with authorships relegated to a separate page that only the most serious of readers are likely to notice. Wikis are thus an especially powerful digital tool for knowledge development and thus for education (for examples, see Mader, 2007; Wikipedia, 2009).

Finally, the existence of a 'simple English Wikipedia' – with more basic vocabulary and grammatical structures, fewer idioms and jargon, and shorter articles – further democratizes this knowledge tool, as it makes the process of accessing and disseminating information more accessible to learners of English, people with learning difficulties, and children (Simple English Wikipedia, 2009).

Wikis, and Wikipedia are just one way that control of the knowledge production process is being challenged. For example, in the area of scholarly and scientific research, online research databases and journals are also threatening academic publishers' control of knowledge dissemination (Willinsky, 2006).

Conclusion

When the Internet first emerged, there were simplistic notions of a single online English, which contrasted with both spoken and written English. In fact, there are many varieties and genres of online English, just as such diversity exists in the spoken and written realms. However, there are some commonalities across this diversity, and one important common trend involves the challenge to traditional gatekeepers of English language use, as exemplified by Wikipedia challenging the Encyclopedia Brittanica, the blogosphere challenging the mainstream media, or tens of millions of youth challenging notions of correct English.

None of these challenges are, in and of themselves, revolutionary. Non-standard varieties and usages of English have existed for centuries, and new media have continually emerged to either complement or replace the old. The significance of these changes in language and communication will in the future, as in the past, depend on the broader social circumstances in which they unfold. Kaplan's comments on the matter, first made in the early days of the World Wide Web and published in a then-new online magazine, still ring true today:

The proclivities of electronic texts – at least to the extent that we can determine what they are – manifest themselves only as fully as human beings and their institutions allow, that they are in fact sites of struggle among competing interests and ideological forces. (Kaplan, 1995: 28).

Youth, immigrants, and others may seize on new hybrid forms of online Englishes to express their identity, but they will require mastery of sanctioned varieties of English for social or economic advancement. Bloggers and social media users can challenge state authority and can be thrown in jail for doing so. And the viability of new sources of online knowledge, whether in Wikipedia or non-commercial journals, will be called into question by traditional gatekeepers.

Finally, we have only scratched the surface in this chapter of the ways that Englishes are evolving online. Multiplayer games, podcasting, and video publishing will all have their own impact on the evolution and use of English. And, in these audiovisual domains, as in the textual domains discussed in this chapter, the proclivities of new Englishes will manifest themselves as human beings and their institutions allow. However, that discussion will have to await another chapter, perhaps to be published on YouTube.

Acknowledgments

This paper draws in part on the first author's previous discussion of blogs and wikis in 'Audience, Authorship, and Artifact: The Emergent Semiotics of Web 2.0' (Warschauer & Grimes, 2007).

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29

The Englishes of business

Catherine Nickerson

Introduction

Braj Kachru's classic work on World Englishes distinguishes three groups of speakers of English: speakers of English as a first language (e.g. the United Kingdom, United States, Australia, etc.); speakers of English as a second language (e.g. Singapore, India, Kenya, etc.), who have developed their own norms for using English: and speakers of English as a foreign language (e.g. China, Italy, Brazil, etc.) in which norm referencing is made to an Anglo-Saxon variety of English, for example, American or British English (Kachru 1985). In this seminal work, Kachru presents three concentric circles, each of which contains a different set of nations depending on the status that English has within those nations and the way in which English is used. In these now-famous Kachruvian circles, the *inner* circle is composed of the Anglo-Saxon countries, in which English is used across all domains; the *outer* circle consists of those countries that were colonized (by Britain or the United States), where English was adopted in some domains as a result of this colonization and became widely used for institutional, legal and educational purposes, and the *expanding* circle consists of the remaining countries in the world, where there were no linguistic or historical ties to any of the English-speaking countries. Researchers interested in the use of English in business have also focused on these three different sets of countries and the groups of speakers associated with them and have shown that for the last three decades, English has increasingly become the dominant language of much international business. In this chapter, I will give an overview of the existing research on business English, focusing on the use of English as a first language, second language and foreign language in business organizations and the different situations in which it is used. In doing so, I will also discuss the relevance of the World Englishes framework for the Englishes of business.

The Englishes of business in the inner circle

Research has shown that English is used as a first language by numerous speakers involved in business interactions, using a variety of different business genres in order to accomplish a variety of different tasks, for example, in meetings, negotiations, email communication and so on. The speakers and writers that have been investigated belong primarily to the Anglo-Saxon countries, such as the United States, Australia and Britain, which are in turn often seen as holding an enduring hegemonic position in the way in which they determine the business norms that are followed by the rest of the world. Writing in 1995, for instance, Scollon and Scollon referred to this way of doing business as being characterized by the utilitarian discourse system, which they viewed as a style of discourse that dominates written business communication in particular, privileging clarity, brevity and sincerity (Scollon and Scollon 1995). As we will see later in this chapter, however, the philosophical debate around the dominance of business English has been less of a concern for many scholars of business English. In this section, I will first give an outline of what research has told us about the Englishes of business in the inner circle. I will then reflect on three ways in which first-language speakers of English have impacted our understanding of Business English (BE) and the way in which it has been viewed and how this may have changed in the course of the last decade, namely the initial dominance of research and research methods in the investigation of BE that were a reflection of first-language contexts, the first-language dominance of the textbook market designed to teach or train people in BE, and the recent research that has contributed information on the attitudes towards first-language (BE) speakers held by second- or foreign-language (BE) speakers from the outer and expanding circles.

Despite the obvious dominance of the United States as a business power, very few studies in applied linguistics have looked at American English as one of the major inner circle Englishes of business. This is despite the fact that the 1980 publication by Johns, which focused on business genres in the North American context, can be regarded as the beginning of scholarship into BE within the discipline of English for specific purposes (ESP) (Johns 1980). This is no doubt a reflection of the North American context where researchers interested in business communication generally do not have a background in either applied linguistics or ESP. Clearly a great deal of work in conversational analysis (CA) focused on encounters in American English, but the emphasis in CA has mostly been on the mechanics of spoken interactions in general and not on understanding more about specific genres such as business meetings (see Bhatia 1993 for a still-relevant discussion on models such as CA and their applicability or otherwise to business genres). One very important study of US business meetings that does use a CA approach, however, is the 1994 publication by Boden, which remains a definitive account of the role played by the discourse used in meetings in shaping business organizations (Boden 1994). Also in the 1990s, Yamada's studies on the differences between Japanese and US meetings represent important publications that reveal a great deal about the US business meeting and the language used within it. For example, Yamada shows that US participants use a meeting to come to a decision, whereas the Japanese use a meeting to exchange opinions (Yamada 2002). Similar accounts of negotiations in American English are included in the pioneering collection on negotiations edited by Ehlich and Wagner (1995) and in the study by De Moraes Garcez (1993) which compares point-making styles in US business negotiations with those in Brazil. For written business discourse, several language-based accounts of US English appeared in the same decade, with notable examples being provided by Yli-Jokipii (1994) for business letters, Swales and Rogers (1995) for mission statements and Graves (1997) for direct marketing letters and a rare account of differences between US and Canadian business culture as reflected in discourse. Since that time, US research has tended to focus on discourse approaches and CA in general and has had less to contribute to our understanding of American business English as a dominant variant of inner circle English.

Elsewhere in the inner circle, the work of Bargiela-Chiappini made a notable contribution in the discourse and genre tradition in the 90s through to the turn of the century and resulted in a number of influential publications on different business genres and how they are constructed in the United Kingdom. These studies include Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris (1997) on British (and Italian) business meetings, Bargiela-Chiappini (1999) on human resource management magazines, and Bargiela-Chiappini (2005) on British banking web-sites. Work by other researchers, such as the pioneering work by Charles (1996; see further discussion subsequently) on business negotiations, Nickerson (2000) on email in a multinational corporation and de Groot *et al.* (2006, 2011) on annual general reports, focuses on different aspects of the English produced by British inner circle speakers and writers in business settings. Most recently, Baxter's work on UK business meetings has shed new light on female leadership strategies in inner circle contexts (2010, 2011, 2014), and the work by Gimenez (2014) on four multinational companies in London (UK), working in telecommunications, banking, marketing and management consultancy, has revealed the range of communication strategies that are needed to engage effectively in computer-mediated communication in business. Gimenez found, for instance, that people frequently conducted two to three simultaneous "conversations", most of which were in a digital form involving different media at the same time, such as the telephone, instant messaging and email. In this scenario, being able to maintain an online presence effectively and select the most appropriate medium to package a message is likely to be more important than using the correct grammar or vocabulary (see also Kankaanranta and Planken 2010, discussed subsequently). It seems plausible that the increasing use of digital media and the type of multicommunication skills involved in business interactions that Gimenez describes will have also impacted the workplace elsewhere in the world and led to less emphasis on the surface features of the text.

In the Southern Hemisphere, the Language in the Workplace (LWP) project based at Wellington University in New Zealand has sought to fulfil the following three aims: i) to identify characteristics of effective communication between people, ii) to diagnose possible causes of miscommunication and iii) to explore possible applications of the findings for New Zealand workplaces. Over the past 23 years, approximately 2,000 interactions involving around 700 people in more than 30 different workplaces have been recorded, and the project team have investigated a diverse range of topics, including the use of humour, the discourse skills needed to run a meeting, the use of small talk and the use of leadership language (Holmes 2005; Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Holmes and Marra 2004; Holmes *et al.* 2011, 2012). Many of the participants involved in the LWP interactions are not only inner circle speakers from New Zealand, but they also represent a range of other cultures and language backgrounds – all now located in New Zealand – from both the outer and expanding circle countries. The profile that emerges is of a business context in which many different Englishes now co-exist side by side in a physical location that was traditionally part of the inner circle. A similar situation is also revealed for Australian business settings in the seminal study by Clyne (1996), the studies of Australian (and Chinese) management discourse by Yeung (2000, 2003, 2004a, 2004b) and the studies of Australian accounting discourse by Sin (an accountant) and Jones (an applied linguist) (Sin 2011; Sin *et al.* 2012) and most recently by Hong Yang and Farley (2019). I will discuss the co-existence of different Englishes in more detail subsequently.

As many of the researchers who are interested in BE are also practitioners who teach English for specific business purposes, the field has been dominated by discourse and genre analysis (especially Swalesian genre analysis and its extension by Bhatia), that is, the types of analysis that characterize the field of (ESP) applied linguistics. Recent examples of this for spoken discourse include Koester's work on negotiations (2014) and Handford's work on meetings (2010), both of which use data from the Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Business English (CANBEC). While CANBEC does include a small number of speakers from the expanding circle – Hanford reports that around 10% of the speakers use English as an additional language – the majority of those included in the corpus are from the United Kingdom. In addition, research into business discourse in general from the 80s until the beginning of the century was dominated by the study of the use of English as a business language, sometimes on its own in first language contexts (e.g. Charles 1996, UK English), sometimes in comparison with other languages used in business (e.g. Yamada 2002, US English and Japanese) and frequently in contrastive studies between inner circle users of English and those from elsewhere (e.g. Maier 1992, politeness strategies used by inner and expanding circle writers in business letters; Nickerson 2000, email used in multinational corporations by inner and expanding circle writers; van Mulken and van der Meer 2005, company replies to customer enquiries by inner and expanding circle writers). Scholars have also looked at the perceptions of speakers from one of Kachru's circles when evaluating the business English produced by speakers from another (e.g. James *et al.* 1994, expanding circle readers evaluating inner circle application letters), although more recently, perception studies like these have focused on pre-experienced learners of BE and how they are evaluated by business people regardless of their linguistic or cultural background (e.g. Zhang 2013). In general terms, as is the case in other areas of language for specific purposes, inner circle varieties of English have become less of a concern in BE research, while at the same time, the influence of the business context has become much more prominent.

To conclude this section, I will review the work of three scholars who have shed a different light on the English produced by inner circle speakers. The first of these is the corpus-based study by Nelson, which is a comparative study of general English and British and US business English, using sources such as company brochures, emails, annual reports, meetings and negotiations (Nelson 2000, 2006). Nelson's study shows that BE is quite distinct from general English, at least on the basis of the inner circle sources that he refers to. In addition, he found that when he surveyed textbooks that were intended to teach BE, these were in fact presenting language that had little to do with the reality of his BE corpus. I will return to this point later in the next section of this chapter in the context of similar findings for users of BE in the outer circle.

The second study that highlights inner circle BE is provided by Charles and Marschan-Piekkari (2002) in their extensive investigation of language use at a major multinational corporation, Kone Elevators. Charles and Marschan-Piekkari conducted interviews with 110 staff, representing 25 corporate units in ten different countries in Europe, Mexico and the Far East, about the role played by language in all forms of horizontal communication at the corporation. The study provides a fascinating insight into the interaction between the inner circle speakers of English at Kone and the BE speakers of other languages and shows that, although Kone had adopted English as its company language 30 years before the study took place, there was a shadow structure in existence at the corporation which did not always run parallel to the formal organizational structure but which was based on those individuals who were most able to function effectively in English. The decision to adopt English as the company language dominated the discussion that the researchers held with the middle management at Kone, as exemplified by the observation by one top manager, who commented, "There is actually no other practical barrier than language when we have co-operation and meetings with each other" (Charles and Marschan-Piekkari 2002: 19). The researchers report that the majority of the transactions that took place at Kone were between speakers of English from the outer or expanding circles and that communication problems were caused by the insufficient language skills of one or more of the interactants. However, one of their most interesting findings was that the outer and expanding circle speakers had much more difficulty understanding the inner circle speakers of English within the corporation than they did the speakers of other varieties of English. As a result of this, Charles and Marschan-Piekkari recommend that staff at Kone be encouraged "to understand and negotiate global Englishes to ensure that they are exposed to the communication strategies, expressions and accents they will be dealing with at their particular organization" and also that native English speakers be included "in communication training to help them understand how to communicate effectively with non-native speakers" (2002: 23–26).

Perhaps the most important finding in the Charles and Marschan-Piekkari study was that some of the employees at Kone were disempowered as a result of the corporation's decision to opt for English as the main corporate language. This supports findings by both Gimenez (2002) and Chew (2005) in the early years of the century for the Argentinean and Hong Kong business contexts, respectively, discussed later in this chapter, where there was also evidence of an imbalance of power experienced by some of the expanding and outer circle employees they interviewed. Likewise, a third set of studies on the impact of inner circle English in the business context is provided by Rogerson-Revell in her discussion of meetings which took place at the European Commission (2007, 2008, 2010). Rogerson-Revell (2008) for instance, reports on a survey of the participants in three EU meetings, each one with between 21 and 44 participants, in which she asked about people's perceptions of being required to use English in the meetings. While almost three quarters of the participants who did not speak English as a first language reported that they felt uncomfortable using BE, such that they felt they would often keep silent and not claim the floor or interrupt another speaker, many of the inner circle speakers also reported that they knew that they needed to take this difference into account and modify their language use. Interestingly, her analysis showed that the expanding circle speakers were in fact less likely to participate but also that the inner circle speakers did not dominate in terms of actual talk time. In a later study, Rogerson-Revell (2010) looked in more detail at the evidence for accommodation in the meetings; she found that both sides engaged in accommodation, that is, adopting specific normalization strategies and convergence strategies, although she also found that certain inner circle varieties of English with a strong regional accent remained problematic.

In this section, I have looked at some of the ways in which research has shed light on the Englishes of business in the inner circle, including in the interactions between inner circle English speakers and outer and expanding circle speakers, that are now everyday occurrences in the world of international business. I have also shown that several scholars have presented evidence that inner circle speakers may benefit just as much as their outer and expanding circle colleagues from language and communication training to help them in understanding how to accommodate their use of English. The world Englishes (WE) framework is clearly still of relevance in understanding the role played by inner circle varieties of BE, especially as other forms of BE may be considerably more prevalent in the global business arena and perhaps of increasing influence. In the next section, I will discuss English in business contexts in outer circle countries where it is used as a second language, such as India, Malaysia, the Philippines and Hong Kong.

The Englishes of business in the outer circle

Speakers of English as a second language are those speakers who, according to the WE framework, are those in the outer circle, which means they have developed their own norms for using English. In India alone, 90 million people claim to speak English as an additional language. One of the areas in which English is in widespread use in outer circle countries is in business, where it is frequently not only used for international communication in interactions with business people from outside of a particular country but also in intranational communication. Business people in countries such as India, Malaysia and Singapore, for instance, will need to use English at least part of the time. Indeed, many business people in countries such as these will find themselves in situations where they are using English almost all of the time in interactions, either with other colleagues or other business contacts with whom they do not share another language.

One area of the world in the outer circle where there has been a great deal of research focusing on the use of English in the business context is Hong Kong. Hong Kong's City University and the Hong Kong Polytechnic University, for instance, have been actively involved in research into professional communication in the region for several decades, and this has resulted in a wealth of information on the genres that are used, as well as on the co-existence of English, Cantonese and Putonghua. The Teaching English to Meet the Needs of Business Education in Hong Kong project, for instance, was a comprehensive survey carried out at the end of the 90s involving 19 researchers from five different universities (Bhatia and Candlin 2001; Jackson 2005). It collected information from several key stakeholder groups, including management professors, business students and banking employees, and revealed a complex situation. Cantonese co-existed with English, and the respondents reported difficulties with the language demands posed by the tasks they were required to complete (e.g. Chew 2005). Numerous other studies have also signalled this complexity, including Baxter *et al.* (2002), who describe the management communication that took place at the Hong Kong Jockey Club, which suggested that 'most of the participants were highly competent in the use of spoken and written English as their second language' (2002: 117–118), and the classic study of the English language needs of textile and clothing merchandisers by Li So-mui and Mead (2000), which confirmed that English was used extensively at work but also that the participants in the study had to switch between English and Cantonese as a result of their international contacts (in the United States, Japan, Korea, Canada, Italy, the United Kingdom, etc.) and local contacts, as well as needing to be proficient in Putonghua, to do business with Mainland China and Taiwan. More recently, studies by Cheng and Mok (2008), by Evans (2010) and by Flowerdew and Wan (2010) confirm the co-existence of English, Cantonese and Putonghua across a broad range of different industries, as well as an increasing need for high levels of proficiency in English writing in particular. As business people become more senior, this proficiency is often needed in a specific area of expertise, for example, in auditing and surveying.

A similar situation exists in the context of Malaysia, where English is also commonly used as an additional language in the business context, alongside other languages such as Bahasa Malaysia, Tamil and Cantonese (Nair-Venugopal 2001). Briguglio (2005), for instance, reports that Malaysian English dominated both spoken and written communication at the multinational corporation she studied, and Kassim and Ali (2010) underline the fact that proficiency in English is viewed as a key to advancement as a global engineer in the Malaysian engineering industry. Diglossic situations are also reported in both Singapore and India in the call-centre sector, where Clark *et al.* (2008) for Singapore and Nickerson (2009) for India, show that customer representatives need to be able to code-switch on the spur of the moment between Singaporean and Indian English, respectively, and a more standard variety of inner circle English. This may prove to be characteristic of call-centre communication in outer circle locations, such as India, Singapore and the Philippines (see Bolton this volume). Indeed, Martin (2014) has recently suggested that it may make more sense to view the English experience in countries like the Philippines as in fact having "circles within circles", where there is a local inner, outer and expanding circle (2104: 50) (see also Martin this volume). Nair-Venugopal has summarized the realities and expectations of the business context within outer circle countries as follows:

> The language of local team work interactions and negotiations on the shop floor tend to be the dominant local language (which may well be English as a localized community norm or lingua franca) especially in sites of outsourced operations (perhaps with the exclusion of call centres). However, many business organizations in postcolonial sites continue to expect their middle and top management to be proficient, if not fluent, in English and aspire towards the use of idealized norms i.e. 'good', 'proper' or 'quality' English, which remain abstractions.
>
> *(Shanta Nair-Venugopal, interview in Bargiela-Chiappini et al. 2013: 80)*

In this section, I have discussed the Englishes of business as they exist in the countries in the outer circle. I have suggested that speakers located in these countries may use their own norms for English in interaction with business people from their own country with whom they may not share a common (regional) language but that they may also need to be proficient in one of the varieties of English associated with the inner circle countries if their job requires them to interact with people from elsewhere. The picture that emerges is complicated and constantly shifting, as many of these countries are among some of the most rapidly evolving economies in the world. In the next section, I will go on to discuss the Englishes of business used in the expanding circle.

The Englishes of business in the expanding circle

For the time being, at least, English is the undisputed choice as the language of international business for countries within the expanding circle. Although Graddol (2006) predicted that languages such as Chinese, Hindi and Arabic may eventually come to play a more prominent role, this seems unlikely to occur in the near future, especially with the exponential rise in the importance of the internet and the transfer of knowledge across different business organizations (see Porter 1990; Friedman 2005, for a discussion on these issues that remains of particular relevance for how they impact the business world). Numerous studies have also investigated the nature of English and attitudes towards it when it is used to facilitate international business, and this has led to an increasing interest in English as a business lingua franca (Business English as a lingua franca; BELF). Work on BELF has often referred to situations in which there are no first language speakers of English present; that is, English is being used as a lingua franca and it is an additional language for all those involved. BELF interactions can therefore include interactions between first language speakers of two different European languages (e.g. Swedish and Finnish), between first language speakers of two different Asian languages (e.g. Japanese and Putonghua) and between first language speakers of English and those who use it for business as an additional language, for example, a business meeting that involves Dutch (expanding circle) speakers, Australian (inner circle) speakers and Malaysian (outer circle) speakers. In addition, as I have noted previously, the presence of inner circle speakers in business interactions can lead to more complexity and may therefore require more accommodation on the part of (all of) those involved (e.g. Rogerson-Revell 2010).

The term BELF was first introduced by Louhiala-Salminen *et al.* (2005) in a study on two cross-border mergers dating from the late 90s involving Finnish and Swedish partners and their corporate language policies. The central aim of the study was to identify the cultural and linguistic challenges that were faced by the employees at Paper Giant and PankkiBanken/Scandi Bank as a result of the decision to use BELF (Louhiala-Salminen *et al.* 2005: 403). The research team looked at the communicative practices in both organizations, the perceptions held by Finnish and Swedish employees about each other and the discourse produced in spoken and written BELF interactions within the corporations in meetings and in emails. The findings revealed that for both organizations and both nationalities, English was used about 20 percent of the time, with many of those interviewed reporting difficulties on the telephone and in meetings where they needed to respond quickly. The other findings in the study suggest that BELF was not associated by those who used it with the culture of any of the inner circle countries, 'Rather, it can be seen to be a conduit of its speaker's communication culture' (Louhiala-Salminen *et al.* 2005: 417). In other words, BELF was viewed as a neutral choice, and a Finnish or Swedish cultural identity and associated discourse strategies characterized the Finnish-BELF and Swedish-BELF that the employees used. Later studies, such as those by Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen (2010) and by Kankaanranta and Planken (2010), confirm that BELF users in Europe see English as a necessary business skill but not one that they associate with any one of the inner circle countries in which English originated. These studies on BELF also report that business people noted that being a competent BELF user "calls for clarity and accuracy of content (rather than linguistic correctness), and knowledge of business-specific vocabulary and genre conventions (rather than only 'general' English)" (Kankaanranta and Planken 2010: 380).

Other studies within the European context have also pointed to a widespread use of BELF, often in combination with other languages. Poncini's (2004) longitudinal study of an Italian company, for instance, is an account of a set of multilingual encounters, where English is only one of the languages used. The study focuses on several meetings which took place at the company, involving 36 participants (almost all from expanding circle countries), 14 different cultures and several different languages. Although the meetings were officially held in English, Poncini reports that they were successful because the participants used a combination of code-switching, where necessary, to explain a point, along with judicious pronoun choice (e.g. the use of an inclusive 'we' to include everyone at the meeting), specialized terminology and various positive evaluation strategies. This all helped to create a positive and collaborative atmosphere in the meetings. These findings are similar to those by Rogerson-Revell (2008, 2010), discussed earlier, which showed that many of the speakers used accommodation strategies in order to achieve a successful interaction. In addition, with specific reference to the performance of the speakers of English from the expanding circle, Rogerson-Revell comments that, "despite concerns from some participants that communication in English can be problematic, the analysis illustrates the overall positive linguistic performance of speakers in the meetings themselves" (2008: 338). As was the case with the Scandinavian studies in Finland and Sweden, the participants in Rogerson-Revell's meetings from the expanding circle countries appeared to be using English for pragmatic reasons as a means of achieving a business transaction while at the same time being aware of the need to work together in collaboration with the other meeting participants to effectively organize the interaction.

A series of studies from Radboud University in the Netherlands have also focused on the use of English across the European Union (e.g. Gerritsen *et al.* 2007; Hornikx *et al.* 2010; Planken *et al.* 2010). In the 2007 study, for instance, the research team analysed the use of language in glossy advertising in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Germany and Spain. One of the aims of the study was to investigate whether the English used in advertising in glossy magazines in these five expanding circle countries had any of the characteristics of the English used in outer circle countries, that is, where English is a second language. The study surveyed more than 2,000 advertising texts across the five countries and found that two out of every three texts contained English. However, the amount of English included was very small. Only 13 percent of the total number of words in the advertisements was in English, that is, in advertisements where the text was a combination of English, together with Dutch, French, German or Spanish, and only 7 percent of the total number of English words showed any evidence of the development of a nativized variety of English. Recent publications by the research group using Kachru's WE framework, which are based on more than a decade of their empirical findings, continue to place countries like the Netherlands within the expanding circle (e.g. Gerritsen *et al.* 2016; Gerritsen 2017; see also Modiano 2017, for a discussion on the position of English in a post-Brexit European Union, and Saraceni this volume).

Further work on the use of BELF in expanding circle countries is exemplified by the work of the English as the Language of Asian Business (ELAB) group, who pioneered empirical research into the use of English in business contexts in the Asia-Pacific region with a view to understanding its nature and use and the attitudes held towards it (Bargiela-Chiappini 2012). More recently, Du-Babcock and Tanaka have investigated the use of intra-Asian English as a lingua franca used among Asian business professionals from Hong Kong and Japan and have deconstructed how English contributes to leadership and decision-making in intercultural meetings (Du-Babcock and Tanaka 2013, 2016; see also Du-Babcock 2013). The work of these scholars and those of the ELAB group indicates that English is on the increase as an international business language throughout the region not only in outer circle countries like India and Hong Kong, with their historical links to English, but also in expanding circle countries like Japan and Thailand, where the need for English has dramatically increased in the last two decades. In addition, it is also possible that BELF is selected in the Asian context to level the linguistic playing field between the participants, in much the same way as it was in the Scandinavian joint ventures discussed by Louhiala-Salminen *et al.* (2005). An early study by Thompson (2006), for instance, at a multinationally staffed international cooperation agency in Japan, showed that whereas Japanese was preferred for interpersonal interactions, English was selected for ideational discussions because it was associated with directness and status-neutral grammar. As was the case with the use of BELF by the Swedish and Finnish participants, English was viewed in the Japanese context as a complement to the interactants' first languages; it did not impact their culture, and they used it for pragmatic reasons to accomplish their work. Unlike the Finnish and Swedish speakers, however, the Japanese speakers in Thompson's study purposefully did not use their own cultural and discourse patterns when they chose to speak English. Rather, they viewed and used English as a language that would allow them to deselect the indirectness and observance of status that would generally categorize their use of Japanese.

The final two studies I will review in this section shed some insight into the use of BE in Mainland China and the Gulf Region, as areas of the world which have been in a period of rapid socioeconomic development since the publication of the WE framework in 1985. As a result, in both cases, the importance of English as a business language has increased dramatically. Over the course of the last decade, Zhang has consulted and reported on business education in Mainland China, with particular reference to the study of business English (e.g. 2007, 2013, 2017). His work shows that BE is approached not only as the study of English as it is used as a business language but also through the study of business as an academic discipline through the medium of English and also through the study of business as a social context beyond the walls of the university. The sociocultural context that is formed by business is therefore viewed in multiple ways through the lens of (business) English. His own investigation of how international business professionals view the English business writing produced by students is a good example of how the world of business works; that is, the business professionals tended to focus on the tone of the messages rather than on any inaccuracies they perceived in grammar or lexis. For example, they tended to include boosters to make a message more positive, and they replaced any negative expressions with positive ones (Zhang 2013). As was the case with the European users of BELF reported on by Kankaanranta and Planken (2010), the professionals viewed business writing first and foremost as a business activity, and they were therefore focused on “mutual intelligibility rather than native-likeness” (Zhang 2013: 152). In a similar way, Goby *et al.* (2016) investigated managerial communication in the Gulf and showed that the use of English as a lingua franca is widespread, especially where it is used as a mutually intelligible business lingua franca. As the authors note, English and Arabic now co-exist happily across the region, particularly for the latest entrants to the workforce, both for local employees and expatriate employees alike, although “managers in the region are likely to be dealing with varying levels of language proficiency and fluency, often within the same organization or even within the same meeting” (2016: 42). As a result, they recommend that managers learn to manage their interactions effectively, particularly those managers from the inner circle countries.

In this section, I have given a brief overview of some of the research studies that have focused on the use of English by speakers originating in the countries within the expanding circle. I have shown that English is in increasingly widespread use as an international business language across these countries and the English used is not associated with an inner circle variety of English.

Conclusion

The studies I have reviewed in this chapter suggest that, in the domain of business, English transcends national and cultural barriers. It is used as a first language for some speakers in business, but for millions (perhaps billions) more, it is used as an additional language as a business lingua franca. As I have shown in this chapter, business English within all three of Kachru’s circles has been well documented and discussed as a separate entity by numerous scholars. In reality, however, particularly in multinational corporations with an increasingly global workforce, all three situations may well occur simultaneously. In many cases, because of the constant changes in the business world and the exponential rise in knowledge transfer and the use of new media over the past two decades, the boundaries between these three situations have become blurred. Inner circle countries are increasingly multicultural in nature, many outer circle countries have become an economic force to be reckoned with, and English has become a fact of corporate life for most – if not all – of the countries located in the expanding circle. Across the World Englishes framework, business English can no longer be seen as the preserve of inner circle users. For the vast majority of those business people who use it on a daily basis, BE is simply a neutral and shared communication code which allows them to get their work done (Louhiala-Salminen *et al.* 2005; Bargiela-Chiappini *et al.* 2013); they neither associate it with the inner circle varieties of English nor do they try to reproduce them. As the world continues to look to the BRIC countries, that is, Brazil, Russia, India and China, and to the other emerging nations around the globe for new and innovative economic solutions, it seems plausible that BELF will continue to take centre stage, posing a new set of challenges for all those involved with using, teaching, researching and writing about the Englishes of business.

Suggestions for further reading

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Zhang, Z. (2017) *Learning Business English in China: The Construction of Professional Identity*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. (An exploration of the relationship between business English and the construction of professional identity.)
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30

The increasing use of English medium instruction in higher education

Ernesto Macaro

Introduction

In English medium instruction (EMI) publications, it has become commonplace to begin by stating that, in higher education (HE), EMI is increasing worldwide. Given the title of the current chapter, we can make no exception here. Therefore, after a definition of EMI, I will bring together evidence of the growth of EMI followed by a summary of the drivers which are leading to that growth. We will then explore a number of controversial issues in relation to EMI, including agency in decision making, which groups have access to EMI, which variety of English is currently accepted in EMI classrooms, and whether EMI is effective as an educational system in HE. The chapter will conclude with an examination of the competencies of EMI teachers and English language specialists and the possibly changing roles of these two groups of practitioners.

Defining English medium instruction

The quest for a definition of EMI is rendered difficult by the diversity of contexts in which it is operating, by the different disciplines which claim to be taught through EMI, and by a controversy as to which geographical contexts should be included/excluded. The definition that I and colleagues at the University of Oxford have been working with over a number of years is:

> The use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English.
>
> *(Macaro et al. 2018)*

We accept and indeed welcome the controversial nature of this definition because it helps to highlight the contentious issues that are currently spinning off from EMI's introduction in a variety of countries (see Macaro 2018 for a whole chapter dedicated to the problems of EMI definition). The first challenge, then, of defining (or even recognising EMI in action) is the diversity of contexts. In the introduction to their wide-ranging book on EMI in the Asia Pacific, Walkinshaw et al. (2017) begin by warning the reader of a potential fallacy: "[an] assumption that there is only one type of EMI, when in fact EMI practices are heavily context-dependent" (p. 5). The 'diversity by context' of EMI is brought about primarily by the point at which it is introduced (e.g. at the undergraduate/postgraduate/doctoral level); how it is introduced (e.g. piecemeal or as a planned consensual strategy); the amount of English being used at the individual lesson level, course level, discipline/faculty level or institution level; and the nature of the English language support being offered (see models of EMI subsequently).

The second challenge, that of which 'academic subjects' or disciplines qualify as EMI, is equally controversial. The previous definition states "academic subjects (other than English itself)", and therefore it would clearly exclude English as a foreign language. It would also exclude English for specific purposes (ESP), as teachers of these courses are, essentially, teaching aspects of the English language *related to* a content subject rather than the content itself (but see subsequently). Clearly physics is an academic subject not in itself related to English, other than the fact that a great deal of physics research is published in the English language. Nevertheless, we can be fairly confident that, say, a Japanese student can get a degree in physics without having anything like a working competence in English. However, can we say the same thing about American literature, translation studies involving English, or, even more acutely, studying pedagogy in order to teach English (e.g. TESOL)? Clearly not; the English language here is inseparable from the content. What about disciplines related to digital technology: Are they possible without a working knowledge of English? As a result of these disciplinary relationships with the English language, we might conclude that 'academic subjects' are on some kind of EMI continuum whereby, at one end, the defining feature of a 'hard-core' academic EMI subject (chemistry, engineering, sociology) is its potential *not to be taught* through the medium of English and/or with little or no reference to English but that someone (institution, faculty, or individual teacher) makes a decision to teach it through English.

This brings us to our third challenge of defining EMI: Which contexts can legitimately claim to be EMI contexts? Recall that the previous definition refers to "countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English". Clearly problems arise when making a distinction between official languages and majority languages (Singapore, Nigeria, South Africa). Leaving that thorny problem aside, we have the contention by some authors that majority Anglophone countries (the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) should also be considered EMI countries in some circumstances. A key 'circumstance' would be when the composition of the majority of *a particular class of students* in one of those countries is one where the students' L1 is not English. For example, Humphreys (2017) proposes a "broader view" of EMI by arguing that English as an additional language students in Australia should be considered to be operating within the definition of EMI. Further, Pecorari and Malmström (2018) launch themselves into critiques of definitions (including the previous one) of which one is that constraining EMI to non-Anglophone majority countries is problematic. They give the example of a Spanish student studying a subject through EMI in Spain as opposed to studying the same subject in English in the United States and seem to suggest that the only important difference is the amount of exposure to English (i.e. greater in the latter). In arguing for retaining the limitation of EMI for non-Anglophone countries, I would point to a number of additional differences in these contexts, including policy decisions, student language proficiency, teacher language proficiency, teacher expertise in teaching through English, student choice in enrolment, the number and makeup of international students in the class who do not speak the L1 of the majority of the population, and the previously mentioned diversity of EMI provision in non-Anglophone countries.

The growth of English medium instruction

The growth that has been best documented is that found in Europe, although even here, precise figures for courses taught through English need to be regarded with caution. Nevertheless, all show a strong general growth trend. According to Brenn-White and van Rest (2012), by 2008, EMI masters programs in Europe had risen to 1,500 from 560 in 2002. By 2010, the same authors reported that the MastersPortal database now contained 3,543 programmes at the masters level, followed by a further 19% increase in just one year (2011). Maiworm and Wächter (2014) put the figure at 8089 in 2014. A more recent attempt at growth figures is by Sandström and Neghina (2017). Sampling 1617 institutions within the European Higher Education Area they arrived at a figure of 2900 undergraduate programmes taught through English, with these constituting only 27% of the total number of EMI programmes, the remaining 73% being at the masters level. According to O'Dowd's (2018) survey, only 7% of European universities reported not offering any EMI courses at either the undergraduate or postgraduate level.

Despite references to 'growth' and 'increasing trends', authors writing on the topic of EMI in Asia (e.g. Barnard & Hasim 2018; Galloway et al. 2017) are unable to provide figures showing growth trends at the supranational level because no single portal or database exists. The situation appears to be the same for sub-Saharan Africa (but see Mcllwraith 2012) and for Central and South America. One is therefore limited to describing the situation in individual countries, and space allows only a few examples, such as the following.

In Japan, the Top Global University Project, a ten-year initiative, set a number of targets for 37 universities, among which were to more than double the number of international students by 2023 and to increase the number of courses taught in English from approximately 20,000 to nearly 56,000.

In the Seoul metropolitan area (South Korea), in 2011, nearly one third of university classes were taught through EMI (Kim 2017), largely influenced by the 'Study Korea Project', which had a similar main aim of attracting international students.

In China, a 2001 national policy required that, by 2004, between 5% and 10% of courses were to be offered through the medium of English. By 2006, nearly 98% of institutions had implemented some EMI provision (Zhao & Dixon 2017). The extent of the EMI offer is now "a key indicator" (Hu & Lei 2014: 558) when judging the performance of universities in China, with those being graded as excellent offering 10% of all courses in English, whereas those graded poor tend to offer no EMI courses at all.

Finally, Baker and Hüttner (2017) cite OECD figures in non-Anglophone countries which estimate that 25% of PG programmes are now being offered through the medium of English.

Drivers of English medium instruction

One of the undisputed drivers for the introduction and growth of EMI is the desire to increase the international profile of the institution. In their survey of 745 universities, Egron-Polak and Hudson (2010) report that no less than 87% claimed that internationalisation formed part of their institutional strategy. Internationalisation goes hand in hand with increasing the status of a university, particularly in international league tables. Taking Denmark as a case study, Hultgren (2014) found evidence of a correlation between the number of EMI programmes on offer and higher-ranking universities. In a recent world ranking (Times Higher Education), universities in Japan and China were shown to have made notable advances (University World News 2019), and although these advances cannot be directly attributable to the EMI offer, it would be difficult to discount that possibility, given the previous discussion. A fundamental component, therefore, of internationalisation for a university is the percentage of international students and teachers that it attracts. Attracting international students is not only a symbolic element of internationalisation, it is also a way of increasing a university's income, especially in countries where there is falling domestic enrolment, perhaps through a diminution in the birth rate.

Not all drivers of EMI are solely for the institution's benefit. There is a widespread belief, often stated in policy documents or on university websites, that studying an academic subject through the medium of English will improve home students' English proficiency through the considerable increase in exposure to the language. This might in turn enhance opportunities for student mobility. From a national perspective, however, increasing student mobility may come at a cost: an increase in 'brain drain' resulting from greater employability in richer countries. On the other hand, in some contexts, English may be considered a neutral language where the national languages are in dispute due to competition or even hostility among ethnic groups (Galloway et al. 2017).

The process of financial globalisation is also a driver of EMI as nations increasingly see a need to operate at the supranational level. Agreements emanating from the 2012 Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Summit included the encouragement of greater student mobility within the region. The Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has explicitly stated the need to provide students with "the English Language, the language of our competitive global job market, the lingua franca of the ASEAN" (Minh 2013).

In the European Union, the Bologna Process (Bologna Declaration 1999) had the intention of promoting mobility among students of its member states by standardising university levels and qualifications. It certainly did not have in its stated aims the enhancement of English as the academic lingua franca. Nonetheless, the plurilingual aspirations of the EU have been clearly undermined by the movement of students among European HE institutions. Whilst 25 years ago the 'Erasmus Programme' required students to have a working competence of the language of the receiving institution (e.g. the Italian language if you were a German applying to study history of art in Italy), this is no longer the case when it comes to EMI programmes; quite the contrary. Most universities in Europe now impose a level of English competence on international students wishing to enrol in their EMI courses (Sandström & Neghina 2017) at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels.

There are two further drivers of EMI which can be thought of as 'vertical and horizontal forces'. There is a two-way vertical force between higher education and secondary education. University education in Hong Kong, for example, is virtually all through EMI. This has contributed to making it very difficult for most parents to accept a policy of Chinese medium instruction in secondary schools, a policy attempted post-1997 when Hong Kong became a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China.

In Europe, the widespread promotion of content and language integrated learning (CLIL) in secondary schools helps to create a two-way vertical effect CLIL/EMI. Italy, for example, is (to my knowledge) one of the very few European countries to make some CLIL compulsory in upper secondary schools. Although no official figures exist, it is increasingly clear that English is by far the predominant 'language' that is being 'integrated' in Italian secondary school classrooms (see Macaro et al. 2019b), thus putting additional ‘home-student pressure’ on universities to offer EMI at the undergraduate level and beyond. EMI may even offer additional attractions to these students who are transitioning from school to university in that EMI classes are often smaller than L1 medium of instruction (L1MOI) classes.

There are also one-way horizontal forces at play. The private education sector in non-Anglophone countries often attempts to brand itself as offering either ‘a bilingual education’ (of which one language used is clearly English) or indeed ‘only English’, stating emphatically that the home language is *not* used for instructional purposes (see Macaro 2018: 58). This then puts pressure on state sector schools to offer as much CLIL or EMI as possible in order to compete for students.

Running parallel with these drivers of EMI is a rapid increase in the number of providers of professional development (PD) for EMI teachers. A one-hour internet search carried out in 2018 found 32 organisations offering EMI teacher education of some kind, 22 of which appeared to be linked to universities, 6 of which appeared to be government institutions or private companies, and 4 of which appeared to be freelance EMI course organisers and/or trainers. For example, we have Anglophone-based providers (University of Southampton, Cambridge Assessment, Monash University, the British Council) and also some based in non-Anglophone countries (University of Copenhagen, Freiburg University, University of Padova). The latter either have courses open to academics outside their institution or courses restricted to teachers within their institution. Thus the EMI phenomenon is experiencing a certain degree of commodification. The very existence of these providers potentially acts as a further driver for increasing EMI courses. However, the extent to which this PD is research evidence based cannot easily be gleaned from the websites of those offering it.

Last, research on EMI has increased exponentially in the last decade. In our systematic review of EMI (Macaro et al. 2018), we identified only five research studies in HE published between 1995–2005 which investigated EMI practices. In the period 2006–2010, this had risen to 14 studies and in the period 2011–2015 to 64 studies. Now, whether published research is a driver of educational policy is a moot point, but it is probable that the fact that the output is growing may lead teachers and institutional managers to consider that they should take notice of the growth of EMI.

Having attempted to identify what EMI is and what the pressures on HE institutions to increase it are, we now turn our attention to the many controversial issues that surround it.

Controversies in English medium instruction

Agency in English medium instruction

The introduction and growth of EMI in HE is not without its critics. A number of authors publishing in the field refer to the lack of agency being experienced by teachers who are one of the key groups of stakeholders (Hu & Lei 2014; Soren 2013), and we have seen from the few national examples previously that in some countries, the decision is taken at the ministerial level. In some contexts, governments have intervened either through direct policy or through financial rewards in order to achieve their internationalisation objectives through EMI. This ‘top-down approach’ may lead to a lack of commitment on the part of EMI teachers in providing the best possible EMI experience for their students.

Models of English medium instruction

Alongside the issue of who decides to implement EMI programmes is the question of what model of EMI provision to offer students and, by implication, teachers. In my assessment to date, the following are the possible models:

1 The 'Pre-Programme Selection Model'. Here students are selected on the basis of their level of English at moments of transition, between secondary and undergraduate education or between undergraduate and postgraduate education. English for academic purposes (EAP) and ESP may then be offered as support to students once they have begun their course. Whilst some may argue that this is the only realistic model of EMI, it has potential disadvantages. The most obvious is that it bars (some would say penalises) potentially excellent content students purely on the basis of their proficiency in English. The education system in question may not therefore be promoting the (potentially) best architects, scientists, and doctors. In fact, the model may well be enhancing the 'Matthew Effect' already present in a particular society whereby the rich get richer and the poor get poorer because only wealthier parents can afford private tuition in English in order to get their children to entry standard. Moreover, it may be that this model breeds an environment in which it is considered that the entry test 'has done its job' and so some may question why students should need specialised support. EMI teachers may feel they do not need to consider the difficulties being experienced by their students when the latter are faced with classes in English, often in unidirectional lecture format.

2 The 'Concurrent Institutional Support Model'. Here all undergraduate students who are eligible to enroll in a university course are also eligible to enroll in an EMI version of it. Additional EAP/ESP support is offered, perhaps even individualised support, focusing not only on reading and writing but on listening and speaking in class. Clearly this is the more egalitarian model, but it is expensive in terms of institutional resources. Not only will English language specialists within the institution need to acquire greater understanding of the content the students are studying, but EMI teachers will need even more in-depth PD than in model 1 in order to sufficiently adapt their pedagogy to the linguistic difficulties their classes of students, perhaps at different proficiency levels, will be experiencing.

3 The 'Preparatory Year Model'. Here the vast majority of students are required to undertake an intensive year of English before beginning their EMI programme. In other words, it is assumed that for most students, the level of English attained in secondary education is not sufficient for them to thrive in a full EMI context. Again, this is a very resource-heavy model. It also means that students will be hitting the job market a year later than otherwise, and that may have financial implications for them. Furthermore, it will have implications for the relationship between content teachers and English language specialists in terms of whether they have joint responsibility for what goes into the preparatory year.

The (additional) 'Multilingual Model'. This model can be mapped onto any of the previous models. It is one where some, or a combination of, the following may feature: some sessions are taught in L1, some are taught in English by the same teacher; some sessions are taught in L1 by some teachers and in English by others; all sessions involve some element of switching between the two languages; there is a gradual wedge-shaped increase from L1MOI teaching and learning to EMI teaching and learning. Although this model sounds attractive, it is not without its problems. First, difficulties arise with codeswitching if there are international students in the class who do not speak the L1 of the majority population of the country. These students might also resent a multilingual approach because they believed they had signed up for a 'pure EMI course'. Second, it may undermine institutional or national aspirations to drive through a more complete EMI programme. Third, it will require principled decisions as to when to use which language rather than an ad hoc approach (Macaro & Tian 2015) and in what circumstances codeswitching may lead to misunderstandings (Ishamina & Deterding 2017). Nevertheless, the model, when mapped onto model 2, is likely to be the least elitist and the most supportive of students.

The question of elitism in EMI needs further attention both by researchers and by policy makers. It is something that has already been the subject of comment in the EMI literature. An interesting example comes from Hamid et al. (2013), in the context of Bangladesh, whose teacher respondents observed how EMI was separating students from their L1MOI peers. One teacher commented: "Yes, finally they [the students] like it because when they can speak in English they see that they are different from their friends and it is essential for their career" (p. 153). Similar conclusions are drawn by Sultana (2014) in the same country, who found that first-year undergraduates from public Bangla-medium schools experienced greater problems than students from private EMI schools when they entered English medium universities both academically and socially. A study by Lueg and Lueg (2015) at Aarhus University, where a choice of an EMI or Danish MOI programme was freely available, found that students were more likely to choose an EMI course if they were from higher socioeconomic status backgrounds, and the higher the status, the more they expected EMI to deliver better employment prospects. In a study of EMI undergraduate students in Italy, we found evidence (Macaro et al. 2019b) of self-selection on the basis of whether the students had taken part in a study-abroad programme in an Anglophone country, even though technically, most Italian universities do not bar students from enrolling in EMI programmes based on their language level.

Student proficiency levels

The level of proficiency needed to benefit from an EMI class or lecture is yet to be determined and remains a controversial issue. Institutions set the bar at different levels of the International English LanguageTesting System (IELTS) or the Test of English as a Foreign Language. In Europe, Sandström and Neghina's (2017) survey found that different countries had different English language requirements for undergraduate entry to EMI programmes ranging (on average) from 6.5 IELTS in Sweden to below 5.0 in Austria. However, over and beyond this issue of variability in entry requirements is whether international exams based on general English proficiency are suitable for identifying potential success on an EMI course. A number of EMI papers report students being concerned that their level of proficiency is not adequate for studying through the medium of English (Hengsadeekul et al. 2014; Kirkgöz 2009) and in particular some lamenting that they find technical vocabulary difficult (Uchigara & Harada 2018). Both these student concerns need further investigation. What kind of proficiency do they particularly wish could be higher – listening to lectures or writing assignments? Why is technical vocabulary singled out as being the most problematic when studies such as that of Lessard-Clouston (2010) found that technical vocabulary amounted to no more than 2.7% of word tokens, whereas 87.2% were from the General Service List, and even non-technical academic vocabulary amounted to no more than 4.9%

of word tokens. Could it be that students do not find technical vocabulary difficult as such but struggle with the teacher explanations of the complex concepts that technical vocabulary represents? In Uchigara and Harada's (2018) study, not only was vocabulary size clearly linked to academic achievement, but their Japanese students reported being more confident in EMI classes if they had a larger *aural* vocabulary. This was not the case with written vocabulary. In other words, it may well be that it is in aspects of the EMI lecture experience where the solutions to students' linguistic difficulties reside.

The linguistic and cultural impact of English medium instruction

EMI continues to be the subject of major concern among academic commentators, particularly in terms of the impact EMI is likely to have on the home language and culture (Phillipson 2008). Empirical evidence of concerns in some areas of the world exist (e.g. Hopkyns 2017 in the United Arab Emirates). Kirkpatrick (2011: 2) proposes that the widespread increase in EMI is a form of Englishisation and 'may actually be inimical to cultural diversity and the fostering of civic and intercultural awareness'. He also points to the fact that, in the ASEAN, regional politicians appear to be completely unconcerned about the effect of the 'English as a Lingua Franca' policy on their local languages (Kirkpatrick 2010).

Researchers are beginning to turn their attention to the concept of 'domain loss', where the national language might gradually be replaced by English. One particular concern is that technical and scientific vocabulary of the home language may gradually disappear from academic discourse or, indeed, that new vocabulary of this type might never be coined in the L1 (Macaro 2018), particularly in those countries which do not have a large population. If this type of domain loss does occur, will there come a time when academic textbooks are no longer financially viable to be published in the L1? Hultgren (2016) concludes that the research evidence on domain loss overall is, as yet, quite thin. This of course does not mean that this form of linguistic loss is not occurring, merely that we do not as yet have the concrete evidence.

The EMI phenomenon and its fast moving developments should of course not always be viewed in a negative light. One positive finding in a study in Turkey by Macaro and Akincioglu (2017) was that females were more likely than their male counterparts to consider that EMI was improving their level of English and felt more motivated to study through EMI than males. Given that STEM subjects (e.g. science and engineering) have traditionally been male-gendered subjects and language learning has tended to be a female-gendered subject, it should be welcomed if it proved that EMI were leading to more female scientists and engineers.

Which English in English medium instruction?

The controversy surrounding EMI's impact on language and society is also linked to the question of which variety of English can be used for teaching and learning content subjects in non-Anglophone countries. Perrin (2017) observes the "paradoxical situation" in which students whose L1 is not English are being taught by teachers whose L1 is also not English but who may effectively be encouraged to function according to native speaker norms. This situation is also observed by Jenkins (2014), who has argued for the adoption of an English as a lingua franca (ELF) model of communication among (primarily) non-L1 speakers of English. Nonetheless, in his survey of Chinese student attitudes, Perrin found that respondents complained of problems understanding the accent and pronunciation of their non-L1

English teachers. Also in China, He and Zhang (2010) found from a large sample of students that 41.6% would prefer to sound like a native speaker of English, with a slightly larger group (43.3%) claiming that they would be satisfied with retaining a Chinese accent, the emphasis being on intelligibility and comprehensibility. Gundermann (2014) studied student attitudes in a German university and found that although the number of miscomprehensions due to pronunciation were few in number, students nevertheless showed a preference for native-speaker varieties of English. Roberts et al. (2019) carried out a training 'intervention' with English teachers who were potential future trainers of EMI teachers in a Ukraine university with mixed results in that "conservative views on native speakerism, and a monolithic view of English, persisted in some participants" (p. 17).

The body of stakeholder-based research into what variety of English to adopt (or the acceptable distance from the native speaker model) in the EMI context is still quite thin. The issue is no doubt made additionally contentious by the very strong influence of international academic publishing, which for the most part insists on publishing in 'Standard English', which to all intents and purposes is native-speaker English. Isaacs, Trofimovich and Foote (2018) have developed a six-level comprehensibility scale using experienced EAP teachers (from Canada and the United Kingdom) with the construct of comprehensibility defined as (I paraphrase) how easily a listener can understand and the amount of effort involved in adequately understanding L2 speech (i.e. not every word) and in a context which is familiar to the listener. The authors readily acknowledge the challenge of developing a comprehensibility scale to fit every context. Baker and Hüttner (2017) found quite diverging views as to what acceptable levels of English were in different educational (national) sites and also divergence of opinion as to the varieties of English to be used for teaching and learning in EMI classrooms. The task of arriving at consensus regarding which English to use in EMI may be made easier by the rapidly increasing English as a lingua franca in academic settings (ELFA) corpus, whereby the various contexts in which academic talk is collected can be compared and reflected upon (see www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/english-as-a-lingua-franca-in-academic-settings).

Does English medium instruction really impact English proficiency?

As touched on previously, universities adopting EMI and students enrolling in EMI programmes make the assumption that studying academic subjects through the English medium will lead to high levels of language proficiency. This belief about EMI's role in language development is underpinned by a parallel notion often expressed in CLIL (Pérez-Cañado 2012) that massive exposure to the language, plus a stronger motivation to use the language for real purposes, will result in significant increases in proficiency. This belief, at face value, makes sense. However, EMI in HE research has yet to establish that students make such dramatic increases.

Of the 83 studies reviewed by Macaro et al. (2018), only 7 attempted to measure improvement in English proficiency, and even these studies were only able to provide equivocal evidence because of a lack of true control/comparison groups, variability in test-types, and small sample sizes. Rogier (2012), for example, in the United Arab Emirates tested students via IELTS who had already been selected for entry into an EMI course and found that they only made half a band gain over two years, which would not seem to be a dramatic increase compared to, say, an intensive but relatively short English as a foreign language (EFL) course. In China, Lei and Hu (2014) found conflicting results in that EMI students scored higher than L1MOI students on one national test but not on another.

Of course, it is all too easy to critique research methods in this particular field of applied linguistics. The reality is that arriving at a secure research design poses researchers many problems: What kind of test will not favour a ‘general English’ group over an the EMI group and vice versa? Should we be measuring all language skills or only receptive ones? When comparing language improvement between EMI and L1MOI students, what additional learning opportunities do researchers have to control for (e.g. EAP and ESP support)? Given that language learning is not a specified goal of EMI (unlike, in theory, CLIL), can we assume that EMI students are actively attempting to improve their English rather than just intending to survive linguistically in order to pass their content exams?

Does English medium instruction maintain standards in academic subjects?

This issue has been the subject of a great deal of discussion, both in the published EMI literature and in discussions I have had with university content teachers. EMI students also report that they believe that content learning is at best slower or not as efficient and at worst definitely poorer (e.g. Kırkgöz 2009; Kang & Park 2005).

Whilst we should never discount ‘stakeholder voices’, we nevertheless should also be looking for hard evidence of the impact of EMI on academic content learning. Again, the research evidence here is scant and varied in its approaches. It nevertheless makes interesting reading and offers directions for further research. In an early study in the Netherlands, Vinke (1995) found that in a post-lecture comprehension test, EMI students did not perform as well as L1MOI students, a finding also confirmed by Hellekjaer (2010). In an experimental study using reading texts (law, computer science) in L1, L2, and combinations of L1 and L2, Roussel et al. (2017) found that accessing content in the L2 was never the best condition. On the other hand, Dafouz et al.’s (2014) study (at a more holistic level, using exam grades) comparing EMI students in Spain with their L1MOI counterparts did not find important differences in content learning, although some possible differences were found in terms of the different content subjects under scrutiny. A somewhat different angle is provided by Tatzl and Messnarz (2013), who found that undergraduate EMI engineering students performed equally well in problem-solving tests whether these were in L1 or in English.

Nevertheless, I have argued elsewhere (Macaro 2018) that it is highly likely that carefully controlled research designs will demonstrate a slowing down of content learning through EMI as opposed to L1 MOI. From the admittedly limited research cited previously, it appears that there is a negative impact on content learning but that some students seem to be able to catch up. I would propose therefore that the issue is not *whether* it takes longer to reach the same level but *how much longer* it takes. If policy makers (and students) are convinced of the possible advantages of EMI (easier access to published research in English, greater employability, etc.), then within each particular educational context, some kind of consensus will need to be arrived at in terms of how long a reasonable ‘slow down’ is in content learning and whether there is sufficient documented evidence that students do indeed catch up.

Are content teachers competent to teach in English?

Several studies have reported that EMI teachers have concerns about whether their level of English is sufficient to teach through the medium of English. Interestingly, at least one study (Fortanet-Gómez 2012) has demonstrated a distinction between the proficiency in English needed for a non-L1 speaker of English to present at an academic conference and the competence needed to teach via EMI. In the latter, there is strong evidence from sources (research; professional development programmes) that teaching through English to non-L1 English speaking students requires much more than a high level of proficiency as measured by IELTS or the oft-cited C1 level on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.[1] As Bradford (2018) points out with specific reference to Japan, over-emphasising or 'foregrounding' (p. 9) a concern with levels of English proficiency masks the kinds of problems which could be overcome by pedagogical development. Cheng's (2017) respondents also regarded as more beneficial those PD programmes where the focus was on pedagogy and the "enrichment of educational theories" (p. 97).

A survey of 463 EMI teachers in six broad disciplines (Macaro et al. 2019a) in seven countries found that 63% of respondents believed that pedagogy had to change when switching from L1MOI to EMI (14.5% said it didn't and 21% were 'not sure'). Interestingly, there was a significant difference in beliefs about pedagogical shift according to whether respondents had taken part in PD (those that had were more likely to believe that it did). As one teacher put it (cited in Macaro & Han 2019), teachers needed to be aware of

> how the students feel in many different ways – their areas of concentration, how well you can deliver effectively of those content in English, whether the way you teach actually help their understanding – it is not just lecturing or giving a talk, not just to your colleague – that's how I understand it.
>
> *(p. 8)*

Other key findings from the (Macaro et al. 2019a) study were that:

1 nearly two-thirds of respondents had not taken part in any PD to enable them to teach EMI more effectively;
2 there was considerable variability in the length of PD programmes among those that had embarked on them;
3 only a minority of EMI teachers seemed to know whether their institution offered them any kind of certificate of competence to teach via EMI, contributing to the overall impression that rarely is there a coordinated EMI strategy;
4 overwhelmingly, respondents felt that certification of their competence was important;
5 there was only moderate enthusiasm for giving up considerable amounts of their time in order to achieve competence and thence certification.

One form of PD for EMI teachers which seems to be gaining traction is collaboration between content teachers and English language specialists. Researchers (e.g. Lin & Lo 2018) call not only for more PD of this kind but also for carefully designed evaluations of such PD collaborations. Macaro et al. (2016) evaluated a PD programme in Turkish universities involving collaborative planning centred around a 'collaborative planning tool' which focused the collaborating pairs of teachers around planning for different vocabulary types in the teacher's speech, the relationship between the teacher's talk and supporting materials (handouts and slides), and the students' potential comprehension difficulties in the teacher's talk. On the whole, we judged the PD to have been successful in that most teachers responded positively to the collaboration, and their conceptualising of what teaching through English involves went through a process of development.

What the previous study also threw into sharp relief was the changing role of the English language specialist, their contribution to delivering quality EMI programmes, and *their* own professional development. In Macaro et al. (2016), most EMI teachers mentioned the lack of focus (during the preparatory year programme) on subject specific language. Therefore, English language specialists need to become more attuned to subject disciplines. Whilst we cannot expect them to develop content expertise to any reasonable level, they should at least be fully familiar with the kinds of linguistic challenges that students are facing, particularly in the classroom setting. EAP and ESP need to shift from a focus on written language to the spoken language.

Conclusions

It would seem from the EMI literature that the introduction and development of EMI in HE produces many challenges. These should cause policy makers and university managers to pause and evaluate their situation and their procedures. I am not confident, judging by the current rate of growth, that this pausing and evaluating will take place unless research presents them with hard evidence that the quality of education in their setting is being undermined by poor teaching and learning. To date, sufficient hard evidence does not exist, and "policy makers and particularly university managers, are not going to be swayed by sociolinguistic and sociocultural objections to the implementation of EMI as proclaimed in books on the subject" (Macaro et al. 2018: 68). Nor will they be comprehensively swayed by the beliefs of teachers and students.

Ultimately it will be the impact on content learning (if that proves to be the case) that will force evaluation and reconfiguration. If research demonstrates a negative impact, not only will policy makers fear that they may be producing engineers who could end up building unsound bridges and doctors who might make unsound diagnoses, but they will also fear that the internationalisation aspirations of their institutions will be undermined, because international students will simply opt to go elsewhere or, indeed, stay at home.

Note

1 I have been unable to locate a study which provides an overview of figures for EMI teacher language requirements, but in personal communications to me in conferences and workshops, B2 and C1 levels on CEFR are the ones most mentioned.

Suggestions for further reading

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31

The Englishes of popular culture

Andrew Moody

Introduction

One of the longstanding and rarely challenged conventions of sociolinguistic research is that linguistic data should be both 'spontaneous' and 'naturally occurring'. This convention was probably derived in early sociolinguistic work from traditions in dialectology, an approach that was careful to exclude speakers who were not authentic speakers of the particular region being examined. Within sociolinguistic work, however, the notion of authenticity was extended to the collection of speech styles. Not only were individual speakers to be deemed authentic speakers of a particular variety, but the authenticity of their speech styles (e.g. 'casual style' representing 'authentic vernacular speech' versus 'careful style' representing 'standard speech') was also open for assessment. In his early work on the stratification of /r/ in New York, Labov (1972: 61) addresses the problem of authenticity in what he calls the 'observer's paradox' by noting that 'our goal is to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed'. Although the principled privileging of spontaneous and naturally occurring data has been a very important feature of the examination of language use within speech communities, it has also facilitated a sustained neglect of linguistic data from popular culture, a neglect that has only recently begun to be reversed.

It is both appropriate and significant that the sociolinguistic importance of data from popular culture be examined in a handbook of World Englishes. In the same way that World Englishes represent the interaction between local norms of divergence and global norms of convergence, the development of multiple *popular cultures* that are inevitably related to one another, yet, at the same time distinct from one another, is a feature frequently attributed to the global spread of Englishes through popular culture. In Edward Said's (1993: xxv) description of the whole of American identity and culture as 'a complex but not reductively unified one', he continues to note that 'partly because of empire, all cultures are involved in one another; none is single and pure, all are hybrid, heterogeneous, extraordinarily differentiated, and unmonolithic'. In much the way that World Englishes theorists celebrate the plurality of English varieties, Storey argues for plurality as the goal of globalization of cultural products, 'to build a world culture that is not a monoculture, marked only by hierarchical distinctions, but a world culture which values plurality, in which diversity and difference exist in horizontal relations' (Storey 2003: 120). English, in part as the language of Anglo-American popular culture, has spread around the world as a language of popular culture.

But what is meant by the term 'popular culture', and how is it related to globalization? In his textbook introduction to the study of popular culture, Storey (2006) outlines six distinct definitions of 'popular culture'. The series of definitions begins with a possible definition that popular culture – in opposition to so-called 'high culture' – is 'simply culture which is widely favoured or well-liked by many people' (2006: 4). Storey's sixth definition rejects this opposition and instead relies upon a 'claim that postmodern culture is a culture which no longer recognizes the distinction between high and popular culture' (2006: 9). Across the six definitions, several common features of popular culture are noteworthy in understanding the global spread of English to popular cultures. First, Storey (2006) notes that popular culture is usually associated with mass media, especially media that are free, or at least very inexpensive, for public consumption. These media may include television, film, radio, online media, social media, comic books, newspapers, magazines, music, and fashion. Second, Storey (1999, 2006) discusses the important role of consumer culture in the development of popular culture and stresses that popular culture is intended for consumption and, therefore, may include artefacts like advertising, branding, and activities associated with becoming a 'fan' of certain pop culture (e.g. blogging, collecting, 'fanzines', 'Stan culture', etc.). Finally, to the degree that the development of consumer cultures largely results from what we identify as economic 'globalization', there is a natural dialogue between global and local expressions, identities, and products within popular culture:

> The process [of globalization] is much more contradictory and complex, involving the ebb and flow of homogenizing and heterogenizing forces and the meeting and mingling of the 'local' and 'global' in new forms of hybrid cultures. Roland Robertson (1995) uses the term 'glocalization' (a term borrowed from Japanese business) to describe globalization as the simultaneous interpenetration of the global and the local. In other words, what is exported always find itself in the context of what already exists; that is, exports always become imports as they are incorporated into an indigenous culture.
>
> *(Storey 2003: 112)*

To examine English within popular culture requires us to simultaneously examine both the global spread of English *and* the global spread of popular culture. To the degree that English is indigenized according to local norms and values, so is popular culture. This chapter will review much of the literature about English in popular culture and suggest a methodological approach that will capture the glocalization of both language and culture as related phenomena. To this extent, it will be argued that English can and should be examined as a language *of* popular culture.

The Englishes *of* popular culture and English *in* popular culture

This chapter seeks to develop a theoretical and methodological framework that will justify the examination of Englishes *of* popular culture. To date, most work on English used in popular culture genres has instead focused on English *in* popular culture. The distinction between the two terms – *of* and *in* – determines the ownership of the language. Those studies that examine language *in* popular culture do not attempt to account for the variability of language in pop culture. Instead, these studies treat language phenomena within pop culture data the same way that sociolinguists treat phenomena in 'naturally occurring' or 'spontaneous' genres or speech styles. The use of English *in* a popular culture, therefore, is not substantially different from the English of the popular culture's broader speech community, and there is no attempt within these approaches to take into account the possible effect that a pop culture genre may have on particular instances of language use. An examination of Malaysian English on the radio, for example, may choose to treat the data as generally representative of that English variety and, without taking into account the influence of the pop culture genre, this approach would constitute an example of English *in* popular culture.

On the other hand, studies that examine the language *of* popular culture choose to see language as a specialized genre-specific variety that belongs to pop culture. In these studies, the language variety is regulated by the popular culture apart from the larger speech community. Attempts to understand and explain the use of language do not usually generalize conclusions to the entire speech community. For example, an examination of spelling conventions used in computer-mediated communication (CMC) may choose to treat the conventions solely as a feature of the communication medium and without antecedent within the larger speech community. In that case, we would call this approach one that studies the Englishes *of* popular culture. Review of previous studies of the English and popular culture, therefore, will attempt to make clear the distinction between the two types of research strategies.

Sociolinguistic studies can also generally be divided into two large categories: those that study *variation* and those that study *interaction*. To the degree that sociolinguistics has recently begun to focus on language use in popular culture, these two types of sociolinguistic studies are closely related to the tendency to focus either on the Englishes *of* popular culture or English *in* popular culture. The examination of linguistic variation focuses on differences between formal features of language used by various speakers or within variable contexts. In the case of pop culture, variationist approaches to sociolinguistics that account for performativity suggest that there are varieties of English that may be thought of as pop Englishes. These Englishes *of* popular culture tend to say something unique about the variety of language used specifically within pop culture genres. Alternatively, the examination of linguistic interaction within popular culture attempts to use data from popular culture to generalize about interactions or attitudes within a speech community. These studies do not tend to find varieties that are unique to popular culture, but instead look for interactional patterns that may be indicative of more general patterns of linguistic usage in their speech communities. Although the distinction between Englishes *of* popular culture and English *in* popular culture does not provide a perfect mechanism for distinguishing all studies about language and popular culture, it does allow us two ways to see how traditional oppositions to pop culture data have recently been questioned within sociolinguistic work on English varieties. Therefore, despite the fact that the *of*/*in* distinction does not form unambiguous compartments with which to classify studies of English and popular culture, the distinction is nevertheless useful in organizing the two broadly complementary approaches.

The Englishes of popular culture

Adams (2000) argues that 'ephemeral language', which includes forms that are derived from or influenced by popular culture media, should be examined as possible sources of innovation in American English. Although many of the forms or innovations of 'ephemeral language', by definition, do not retain long-term currency within the language, they can serve to illustrate larger trends of language change, and they can be used to illustrate the language of a particular moment. Similarly, Eble (2003) argues that the study of lexis from slang is an area that is typically marginalized in mainstream linguistics and sociolinguistics, despite the fact that slang maintains important links to popular culture and has had a special degree of influence in the global spread of American English. These studies point to the special nature of English as a popular culture language that is distinct from the forms of language used in other segments of society. In the same way, examination of specific popular cultural registers, such as Reaser's (2003) examination of sports announcer talk, suggest that the English of popular culture cannot be examined without reference to a larger sociolinguistic community or other linguistic issues within a society.

Few studies have attempted to study the features of English across multiple genres or media of popular culture. Instead, the majority of studies that examine the Englishes *of* popular culture focus on a particular media format or pop culture genre. For example, the kinds of communicative activities that Bhimji (2001) describes in her analysis of 'talk radio' are exclusively found in the genre, and the unique combination of activities – and the linguistic form of those activities – is highly characteristic of 'talk radio' discourse. Other generic approaches to the Englishes *of* popular culture include analyses of advertising (see Faulkner 2000; Mika 2004), computer-mediated communication (see Ooi 2002; Herring 2004; Warschauer *et al.*, this volume), and short-messaging services (SMS). In particular, Thurlow (2003) challenges claims that SMS is a site of linguistic innovation that is distinctly different from other types of face-to-face or computer-mediated communication. Similarly, Rojo-Laurilla (2002) argues that SMS messages do not demonstrate gendered differences that are usually found in the speech community. In each of these cases, the language of the pop culture genre is understood as a feature of the genre, not in connection to broader sociolinguistic events or circumstances.

Examinations of the Englishes *of* popular culture incorporate various types of linguistic approaches, but one approach, critical discourse analysis, has afforded especially good insights into how language functions differently within popular culture than in other segments of society. For example, Godeo (2006) examines the role of language in the construction of identity in the problem pages of British men's magazines. In an innovative corpus study of pop song lyrics, Bertoli-Dutra (2014) examines a corpus of 6,290 songs to identity the lexico-grammatical and semantic choices made to express particular ideas or emotions uniquely within song lyrics. Warner (2005: 293) examines the discourses of institutions as they are 'reproduced, resisted, or modified' in the medium of 'talkback radio'. Gaudio (2003) argues that the commercialization of conversation is one effect of the spread of Starbucks within popular culture. Finally, Dovchin (2016) introduces the notion of a 'linguascape' to the examination of English lyrics used in Mongolian popular music. The 'linguascape' expresses attitudes and beliefs about English from different 'modes' (or domains) to provide a linguistic resource that is available for unique expression in popular music.

One particular strand of research with approaches examining the Englishes *of* popular culture focuses on 'mock Englishes' (see Rivlina 2020). These are not actual Englishes of use by speech communities, but are instead attempts to approximate English within specific popular culture genres. Cutler (2003) offers one of the first examinations of this type of English in her description of the French *chanter en yaourt* 'singing in yogurt': a form of singing that might be compared to 'scatting' in which words and phrases resembling actual English words are chosen for characteristics of rhyme and meter. Moody (2013) describes this type of pop English as it is used in the song 'Prisencolinensinainciusol' by Italian artist Adriano Clentano in 1973. This type of code-approximation (Lee 2014) is not a new feature of English within globalizing markets of popular culture, but instead represents a long tradition of borrowing of musical and linguistic resources and blending the boundaries between those two types of resources. Similarly, Moody and Matsumoto (2012) examine the performance of a pop culture variety of English called *Lu-go* (lit. 'Lu-language') by the Japanese comedian Oshiba Ruu (note that 'Ruu' could also be read in English as 'Lu'). Mock Englishes model a form of linguistic creativity that has been highly influenced by English as an international language *of* popular culture.

English in popular culture

By examining English *in* popular culture, researchers examine varieties of English as they exist within the society at large and are not necessarily exclusively representative of pop culture or of a pop culture media. These studies attempt to examine language in society by using data that have been drawn from popular culture genres. Perhaps the most obvious way to do this has been to collect data from genres that are 'unscripted' and therefore presumably closer to 'naturally occurring' data. For example, Brownlow *et al.* (2003) compare and contrast the linguistic behaviours of men and women in unscripted televised interviews to speculate on the types of messages that are sent with various sociolinguistic features. Thornborrow and Morris (2004) examine unscripted interaction from the reality TV show *Big Brother* in order to understand the social functions of gossip. However, Thornborrow and Morris also question the naturalness of the reality game show setting, which 'has been designed to provide entertainment and elicit "performance" in a context which is highly constrained in terms of its enforced sociability and heightened competitiveness between participants' (2004: 268). Nevertheless, gossip in the game show does illustrate many of the authentic features and evaluations of gossip in other segments of society.

The search for authenticity within data drawn from pop culture, and especially that drawn from movies, highlights many of the arguments in favour of adopting such data for linguistic description, but it also illustrates the problems. In his examination of compliments and responses in film, Rose (2001) notes that the data from film are very similar to data drawn from a corpus of naturally occurring speech. However, the gender distribution of compliments and the gender association with specific compliment response strategies were somewhat different when comparing film and natural data. For example, natural data suggest that female to female compliments are the most frequent (more than 50%), that male to male compliments are the least frequent (less than 10%), and that mixed gender compliments are more or less equally distributed male to female and female to male (about 20% each). Within Rose's (2001) film corpus, however, male to female compliments were the most common (40.9%), female to female compliments were the least frequent (9.1%), and male to male compliments accounted for 23.5% of all the compliments collected. These results suggest that the usefulness of film data is limited and cannot be relied on *a priori*. Similarly, Taylor (2004) examines the script of the film *Notting Hill* and the actual language that is used in the movie to conclude that the performance of a script may make the language more authentic, rather than less.

A number of other scholars have begun to look at the language of popular culture without any reference to the authenticity of the language. For example, Weatherall (1996: 59) examines potentially sexist language in the British soap opera *Coronation Street* to conclude that there is no quantitative evidence of 'a pervasive bias against women in language'. Similarly, Richardson (2006) looks at the imaginative portrayal of a 'spin doctor' on the US television show *The West Wing*. Examination of the character is noteworthy in the way that this kind of character portrays a sociolinguistically sophisticated performance and because it elicits an audience reaction about 'spin' as a type of workplace talk. With reference to sociolinguistic portrayal of phonological variants of speech, Elliott (2000) observes the decade-on-decade decrease in the occurrence of non-rhotic speech (i.e. r-less speech) in American film speech from the 1930s to the 1970s to conclude that the decrease results from a shift away from a prestige norm of r-less speech towards a prestige norm of rhotic speech. While this analysis primarily treats the changing norms of rhoticity as a language phenomenon that is not artistically manipulated, it also attempts to examine some of the effects of social factors derived from the film:

> . . . sociolinguistic accommodation to the pronunciation of a co-star, pronunciation modification towards the prestige norm by male speakers when addressing female co-stars, and the use of different pronunciations to portray a character's status, moral qualities, and, in a few cases, regional origin.
>
> *(Elliott 2000: v)*

Elliott's analysis charts the change of prestige norm in the movies against the development of a rhoticized prestige variety of 'General American' speech at the same time in the United States. While there is reference to the way that language in the movies reflects a change in language attitudes within the general culture, there is also some attention given to the way that language variety can be used to portray attitudes towards the character.

The use of language variety to portray stereotypical features of characterization is the goal of Lippi-Green's (1997) examination of dialect in Disney animated feature films. In addition to using characterizations that are easily identifiable as 'good guys', 'bad guys', and 'bad guys who transform to good', the movies tend to link language varieties with 'specific national origins, ethnicities, and races with social norms and characteristics in non-factual and sometimes overtly discriminatory ways' (1997: 101). Hence, Lippi-Green observes that 40 per cent of characters who speak a non-native variety of English are villains (i.e. 'bad guys'), while only about 20 per cent of the speakers of US English are 'bad guys'. In a study that responds in many ways to Lippi-Green's examination of Disney films, Bleichenbacher (2012) examines the degree of multilingualism portrayed in a small corpus of 'multilingual Hollywood movies' to see if the movies use foreign languages or accented English to introduce discriminatory ideas about characters. Similarly, Mesthrie (2002) examines the text of a popular radio series in Natal from the 1940s to compare distinctive grammatical constructions that do occur in Indian South African English at that time period, but whose grammatical functions are greatly distorted in association with stereotypes about the ethnic group. As such, Mesthrie claims that the language portrayed in the radio programme is a type of 'mock language' that amplifies linguistic and social stereotypes about the ethnic speakers portrayed. While the attention brought to ethnically or racially biased portrayals of speakers in popular culture may be somewhat recent, the discriminatory practices are not new. Porter (1999) examines the portrayal of Lowland Scots in popular street ballads from seventeenth-century London to conclude that the misrepresentation of Lowland Scots speech echoes derogatory designations of the speakers and reinforces a language ideology that marginalized the speakers. Using the framework of language ideology, Shuttlesworth (2008: v) examines the way that 'dialogue of twentieth century novels and plays written by [United States] Southerners is transformed into film dialogues'. In many cases, the transformation of dialogue reflects language ideologies and prejudices about Southern speakers that operate within Northern American society.

Trudgill (1983) was one of the earliest studies to examine the attitudes towards regional dialect in popular culture to conclude that identities may be performed in the appropriation of other varieties. In particular, Trudgill examined the occurrence of features of American pronunciation in British popular music in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s to conclude that the influence of American pronunciations weakened over time and that expression of an 'English' identity in British pop music simultaneously developed. As an early sociolinguistic approach to language variation in popular music, Trudgill (1983) is certainly important, but the study was an innovative approach to sociolinguistic theory in that it was one of the first attempts to examine linguistic performance (see the section 'Performativity' subsequently). Performed identities not only reflect stereotypes and attitudes towards the varieties (and, of course, their speakers), but they also allow for the expression of multiple identities both within a popular culture and over time. Simpson (1999) extends Trudgill's original analytical framework to examine the pronunciation of English in pop music over a longitudinal selection of recordings. Changes in pronunciation, according to Simpson, parallel 'broader cultural, cross-cultural and sociopolitical changes' (343) that can be observed in British society. Similarly, Speicher and McMahon (1992) examine attitudes towards African-American English and note that the language variety is closely associated with the commercialization of rap music and widely perceived as a recognizable variety. These examinations of language attitudes are important indices about the general evaluation of language varieties within specific sociolinguistic contexts, but they are also informative about issues of ethnic and national identity formation. Rajadurai (2004) examines attitudes towards two varieties of Malaysian English – what she calls Standard Malaysian English and Colloquial Malaysian English – in classroom exchanges and commercial radio advertising. While Standard Malaysian English may be used in most functional domains in Malaysian society, shifts into Colloquial Malaysian English may be used to signify different generic needs. Specifically, Rajadurai argues that Colloquial Malaysian English is used in a 'defiant celebratory manner' (2004: 57) to denote a Malaysian national identity. Shankar (2004) examines the appropriation of film dialogue from 'Bollywood' films into the conversational exchanges of South Asian-American (Desi) teenagers, who use the dialogue to 'enact their own dynamics of humor, flirting, conflict, and other types of talk' (2004: 317) in ways that reinforce their Desi identity.

One theoretical approach that has been particularly useful in understanding the performance of identity in popular culture is 'language crossing', as described in Rampton (1995). 'Language crossing' is the use of stereotypical features of a dialect belonging to a group that the user does not belong to. Cutler (1999) describes the appropriation of African-American English by a white upper-middle-class New York City teenager and his identification with popular culture genres associated with hip-hop music. Since the global spread of hip-hop music (see Mitchell 2001), Pennycook (2003) argues that the appropriation of forms of speech from other groups represents an important area of research about the development of World Englishes and global media. Similarly, Lee (2006) examines various types of crossing in Korean and Japanese pop music to describe the creative force of English within those popular cultures.

Finally, a number of sociolinguistic studies of World Englishes like Lee (2006) have used popular culture as a site for language contact that does not usually take place in other media formats around the world. This feature of English in popular culture is especially prevalent within Asian societies (see Lee and Moody 2012). Unlike the previous studies that show English *in* popular culture, the use of English as a contact language *of* popular culture is often without precedent within the rest of the speech community. In this way, the use of English in pop culture is not clearly representative of how English is used in society, but nevertheless demonstrates the role of a number of ideologies associated with English within the cultures. For example, Omoniyi (2006, this volume) examines the interaction of language varieties in Nigerian hip-hop song lyrics as a linguistic response and reaction to globalization. In a more general way, Stern (1977) describes the spread of English within Flemish-speaking Belgium as deriving from the widespread American popular culture and as retaining specialized uses, particularly in advertising.

In terms of language mixing, English is used in a number of pop culture contexts in mixed (i.e. code-switched) form, where code-switching does not generally occur as a widespread phenomenon throughout the society (see discussion in McClellan this volume). Hence, Bhatia (2006) examines the language mixing – much of which is Englishization – that takes place in Hindi superhero comic books that have recently been introduced in India. Within a society that more clearly does not use English code switching, Moody and Matsumoto (2003) examine the structure of 'code ambiguation' within the process of Englishization of Japanese pop songs. Finally, Spitulnik (1996) describes the specialized media discourse of mixing English and ChiBemba within Zambian radio broadcasts.

Performativity and 'authenticity' in the sociolinguistics of popular culture

The review of literature examining the Englishes *of* popular culture and English *in* popular culture demonstrates that traditional prohibitions against using data that are not 'spontaneous' and/or 'naturally occurring' have weakened since the turn of the twenty-first century. The questioning (and to some degree rejection) of the 'spontaneous, naturally occurring dictum' has not taken place in a theoretical vacuum; from the mid- to late 1990s, sociolinguists began to question the rejection of these data. For example, Coupland (2003: 423) writes that 'playful, ironic, quotative or other "performing" informants have, until recently, been either hard to conceive or easy to ignore in sociolinguistics' (p. 423). The privileging of 'spontaneous, naturally-occurring' data in sociolinguistics had inadvertently re-introduced a bias inherited from dialectology, which treated some speakers as 'authentic' speakers of a dialect, while others were not. Bucholtz (2003: 399) attributes dialectology's valorisation of 'the rural population as the *authentic* source of traditional cultural knowledge and practice, including language' (emphasis added) to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Romanticism and the belief that rural cultures had not been affected by urbanization or industrialization. Sociolinguistic theory began by rejecting the belief in the authenticity of individual speakers, but retained a belief in the authenticity of speech styles; whereas casual speech was presumed to represent the vernacular and 'authentic' speech, careful speech was presumed to be inauthentic (Moody 2021). Eckert (2003) maintains that the ideology of authenticity is a social construction related to the belief that language is a natural object. The questioning of the social construction of authenticity has enabled the development of sociolinguistic theories of 'performativity', and the theoretical developments respond to a number of older attempts to account for performative language in sociolinguistics: Bell's (1984, 2001) approach to 'audience design' and 'referee design', Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1992) 'communities of practice', Rampton's (1995) approach to 'crossing', and Coupland's (2001a) dialect sylization were each instrumental in developing the idea that performative language was also an important object of sociolinguistic attention.

Within many of the papers already discussed in the previous sections of this chapter, the issue of 'authenticity' has been a primary concern when examining the performative aspects of English in popular culture. Coupland (2001b) also questions the implicit emphasis on authenticity within sociolinguistic conceptualization of style and later argues that 'language is every bit as much a means of *achieving* authenticity as it is a means to discrediting it' (Coupland 2003: 417). Bucholtz (2003) echoes much of this analysis and argues for recognition of listeners' and audiences' acceptance of authenticity as an act of 'authentication'. Moody (2021) suggests that the performative act of encoding *and* the audience's acceptance of the performance should be thought of as 'acts of authenticity', much like LePage and Tabouret-Keller's 'acts of identity' approach (1985), which was referenced in Trudgill's (1983) paper on British pop song performance. Coupland (2009) and (2010) argue for the centrality of 'authenticity' within the formal development of a sociolinguistic theory that accounts for performance (see Bauman 2000, 2011; Bell and Gibson 2011; Johnstone 2011).

Since the 2010 publication of this handbook, there has been tremendous growth in the application of performance theory to data from popular culture. Moody (2012b, 2019 in press) argues that the egalitarian and commercial natures of popular culture make pop culture genres ideal places to examine language ideologies of pop culture. Dovchin (2015) and Stæhr (2015) have both used performance theory to examine 'multiple authenticities' and 'enregisterment' from online interactions. Jaworski (2007) examines ways in which 'authenticity' and 'otherness' are encoded in the media, and Moody (2020a, 2020c) develops a 'world Englishes' approach that explains variable commitments to 'authority' and 'authenticity' in 'inner circle', 'outer circle', and 'expanding circle' media. Coupland (2014) describes much of the attention given to authenticity by the vernacularization of British broadcast media. Bucholtz and Lopez (2011) examine the ideological and indexical aspects of performance of African American Language (AAL) in Hollywood films, and Bell (2011) investigates the iconization of what he calls 'non-native English' in the film career of Marlene Dietrich. Similarly, Moody (2020b) examines the variable performance of AAL and other Englishes in a television sketch. Finally, Gibson (2011) examines both spoken and sung performance in the television show *Flight of the Conchords*.

Performative sociolinguistic analyses within the past decade have found their most frequent – and, in many ways, most powerful – expression in analysis of dialect in popular music. Building upon music critic Simon Frith's (1996) work, Coupland (2011) examines three live musical performances to explore the ways that place and genre interact to produce specific performances of 'voice' – a feature of popular music that entails dialect indexicality – and audience reactions to the performances. Moody (2012a) also examines recorded and live performances of English-singing musicians from Asia to demonstrate the ways in authenticity of performance are created and evaluated by audiences. Duncan (2017) examines the generic nature of Keith Urban's performance of Southern American dialect as an Australian performing country music and Jansen and Westphal (2017) note Caribbean and non-Caribbean characteristics of Rihanna's performance in English. Two important studies, written a decade apart from each other, examine the performance of Northern English dialect (specifically, Sheffield vernacular) by the band Arctic Monkeys. Beal (2009) examines the band's early albums and notes that the commitment to dialect features from the North of England distinguishes Arctic Monkeys from the trends of other UK bands, who tended to sing in what Trudgill and Hannah (1994) describe as a more standard variety of 'English English'. Flanagan (2019) examines a longer sample of the band's output and notes that non-standard features – phonological and lexis/grammar – appear less frequently in the band's later albums as the band enjoyed more international success outside of the United Kingdom. The final study to be discussed in this section on linguistic performance in song arrives at a somewhat different conclusion about that performance than do the other studies cited here. Eberhardt and Freeman (2015) scrutinize the performance of African American Language by the 'white Australian rapper' Iggy Azalea and conclude that her 'overzealous application of AAE [African American English] features' enables commercial success through an 'appropriation of African American language and culture, and the privilege that whiteness affords' (pp. 303). Whereas the other studies of music cited here tend to admire artists' performances of dialect within popular culture, Eberhardt and Freeman assess the performance negatively as linguistic appropriation, a form of discrimination derived from the larger construct of cultural appropriation. Moody (2021) explores some the factors that will lead to negative evaluations of linguistic appropriation, noting that this usually happens when at least two conditions are fulfilled. First, appropriation is usually only perceived when there is a clear contrast between the performer's *personal authenticity* (i.e. the actual language that the performer is known to use in non-performative situations) and the *cultural authenticity* of the performance (i.e. the language that is appropriate for a musical or cultural genre). These two types of authenticity may complement or conflict with one another in popular music (Barker and Taylor 2007), as well as other types of popular culture. The second factor that leads to an assessment of linguistic appropriation is related to the relative power and social stigma attached to the speaker's personally authentic language and the language being performed. When the performed language is less socially prestigious and ethnically different from the performer's ethnicity, the performance is open for assessment as linguistic appropriation by some listeners, even though other consumers or fans actively authenticate the performance.

The possibility that linguistic performances might be assessed as 'linguistic appropriation' highlights the fact that the artist's intentional *projection* of an authentic identity – one that is personally and/or culturally authentic – is not the only factor within a successful performance of language. As with LePage and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) 'acts of identity' approach to the projection of identity, the projection of 'authenticity' in linguistic performance entails that the audience engage with the performer in either authenticating the performance or rejecting it as inauthentic or appropriative. In either case, however, the features of the performance can be understood as either *focussed* or *diffuse*. In cases where the features of the performance are clearly understood and easily identifiable with the projection of a particular variety, the assessment of authenticity will take place in a *focussed* system of language features. Alternatively, the performance may take place within a *diffuse* system of features that does not allow for easy identification of variety that is being performed. In cases where performers are accused of linguistic appropriation, therefore, it could be argued that the focussed features of the performance – e.g. features of African American Language, in the case of Iggy Azalea – might more appropriately have been performed as diffuse and not so easily identified with AAL.

Vertical and horizontal analyses of popular culture

In 2007, Jennifer Hudson won the 2006 Academy Award for Best Actress in a Supporting Role for her performance in the musical movie *Dreamgirls*. Hudson's role in *Dreamgirls* as Effie White was her debut performance on film, and the Oscar win came as a surprise to many cinema fans worldwide who had never before seen her perform. To the US audience, however, Hudson first became familiar on the third season of the audience interactive game/reality television show *American Idol*, where she competed as a contestant until she was eliminated in the sixth round of nationwide votes (from a total of 11 rounds of votes). Since her Academy Award, Hudson continues to perform in movies, but returned to her primary medium of music. As a recording artist, she surprised many in the recording industry in January 2009 when her 2008 debut studio album, *Jennifer Hudson*, won the Grammy award for Best R & B Album. As an award-winning singer, actor, and television personality, Jennifer Hudson's career illustrates the diverse popular culture media that individual performers may work in. Starting with music and television, Hudson has moved successfully into movie roles (not limited to movie roles that require singing) and musical recording. This mixing of media is not a new phenomenon within popular culture; it certainly started long before Elvis starred as Clint Reno and sang the theme song in the movie *Love Me Tender*, and it probably started before vaudeville performers built shows around drama, music, dance, magic, and trained animals. Media are not static within popular culture, and performers are free to move across the different media. Therefore, to understand Jennifer Hudson's – and many other performers' – individual impact in popular culture requires observers to look beyond her performance in any single medium and to consider the full range of media that she performs within.

At the same time, popular cultures are interconnected globally so that a performer or performance style is not limited to a national boundary; instead, it may flow transnationally into a different society. Figure 31.1 illustrates these two types of flows as vertical and horizontal flows of performers, content, and linguistic forms. The organization of popular culture into 'vertical' and 'horizontal' lines of 'flow' and analysis is largely based upon the vertical and horizontal organization of manufacturing corporations. While vertical organization aligns the various processes within a production line from raw material to finished consumer good, horizontal organization replicates the vertical organization in different regions or consumer markets. To the degree that popular cultures rely heavily on vertical and horizontal flows, an understanding of the flows will inform studies of English *in* popular cultures as well as justifying the study of the Englishes *of* popular culture.

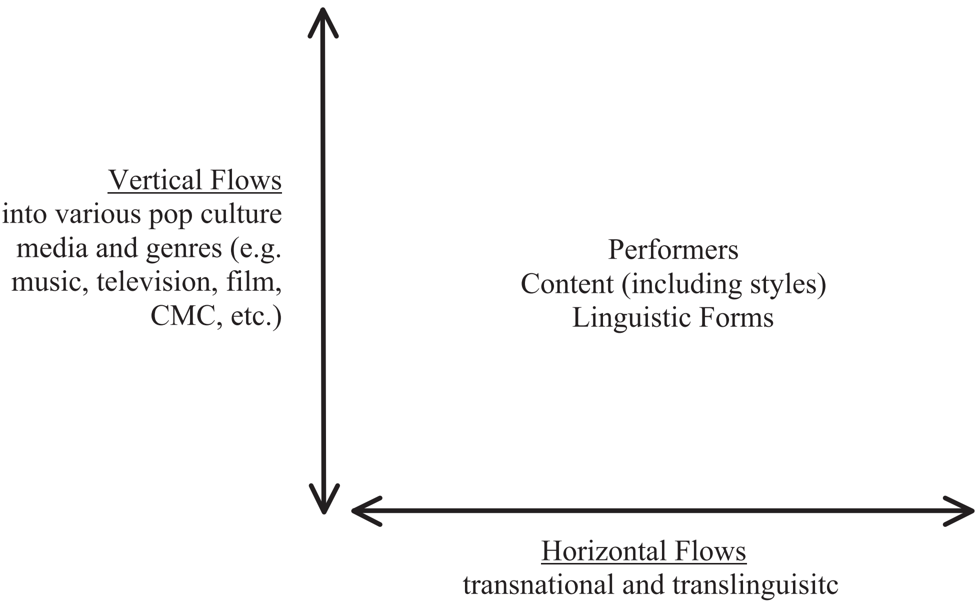

Figure 31.1 Horizontal and vertical flows in popular culture

Vertical flows in popular culture

In addition to offering celebrities the ability to perform within different media, popular culture also allows for the easy 'flow' of content and even linguistic forms between genres and media. In the same way that the 1994 movie *Quiz Show* is able to tell the true story of a television scandal in the 1950s, television shows like VH1's *Behind the Music* are able to promote the music industry's history and products. Music may also be written or selected to promote movies, TV programmes, or advertising, only to find that these media also promote the music. One example of this is Coca-Cola's 1971 'Hilltop' ad, which served as a platform for a new hit pop song. Based on the popularity of the song in the ad, advertisers rerecorded a longer version of the song to produce a US Top Ten hit that was also a number one hit in the United Kingdom and Japan: 'I'd love to teach the world to sing (in perfect harmony)' (Coca-Cola Company 2009). What is clear about popular culture is that the content and performers do not belong to a particular medium, but can instead percolate upwards into various types of media. This flow of popular culture performers and content is along the vertical axis of popular culture. Popular culture is, by its nature, a form of expression that is both mass consumable and integrative of different media expressions (Jameson 1991). As such, we see only a very limited range of possible forms of expression if we focus on popular culture in a single medium, such as film, music, or advertising. Instead, these media are inextricably linked, and the expression of language in any medium reverberates within others. This aspect of popular culture is characterized by the intertextuality that has come to define what Storey (2003: 70) calls a 'postmodern hyperconsciousness'. Movies may be made as adaptations of books, and books may be written as adaptations of a film, but the audiences of these two different media can be the same, and both forms potentially shape the audiences of the other media. Collins (1993) addresses this issue in adaptations of film and fiction and argues that popular culture audiences are intensely aware of the 'genericity' when a pop culture genre borrows from or recreates previous forms.

While the flow of pop culture content within different genres and media is somewhat obvious and easily illustrated, the flow of linguistic forms is less frequently recognized, but no less easily demonstrated. For example, in 1982, Frank Zappa featured his daughter, Moon Unit Zappa, in the song 'Valley Girl'. The lyrics of the song featured lexicon (e.g. *totally*, *barf out*, *I'm sure*, etc.) and pronunciations (e.g. the long [ɑːndʒriə] of *Andrea* instead of the more usual [æ] or the lowered vowel in [rɛːli] *really*) that were characteristic of upper-middle-class teenagers in Southern California's San Bernandino County. Although the lexical and phonological characteristics are actual speech forms within the speech community, they were somewhat rare and diffuse as a variety (see LePage and Tabouret-Keller 1985 for discussion of *focusing* and *diffusion* in the sense it is used here). The pop song not only associated the speech style with a character, but brought the features of the speech style into focus; after the popularity of the song, the speech style came into prominence and became known as 'Valley girl' speech or, sometimes, 'Valspeak' (Preston 2003). Once the linguistic forms gained prominence within popular culture, however, the forms began to spread from music into other creative genres: a movie called *Valley Girl*, inspired by the success of the pop song, was made in 1983, and a television spin-off, also entitled *Valley Girls*, from the show *Gossip Girl*, was proposed in early 2009, but never realized. These two other media formats – a movie and a proposed television show – only demonstrate in the most superficial of ways the impact that Frank Zappa's song has had within popular culture. One place to look for the impact of 'Valspeak' and the 'Valley girl' character is *Wikipedia*, the self-proclaimed online 'encyclopaedia' that is open to users to revise and update. Although the format of a 'wiki' – a web page that any reader may potentially edit and alter the contents – poses numerous problems when looking for accurate, authoritative, and reliable information, the format is also extremely useful in the gathering of information about the vertical spread of popular culture. In a review of Wikipedia's 'Valley girl' page, fans have listed a number of examples that suggest the extent of the vertical flow of this linguistic style and characters who use it: 3 from pop songs, 10 from films, 24 from animated programmes, 42 from television, 9 from video games, 2 from literature, and 1 from an advertising campaign (Wikipedia 2009). Although the linguistic forms of 'Valspeak' have been present within American speech communities for some time, Frank Zappa's song brought those characteristics into focus and into association with a particular social group in popular culture. Because of the vertical nature of popular culture media and products, the linguistic characteristics were able to flow into an unlimited number of popular culture media along with an understanding of the character that was originally developed within the song. In this way, linguistic features may flow vertically within a popular culture, suggesting that language used in a particular medium of popular culture can easily flow to become a language of popular culture.

Horizontal flows in popular culture

The vertical nature of popular culture explains how performers, content, and linguistic forms flow into different media genres and products. Interaction with any product from the popular culture, therefore, potentially entails interactions with other media and products, and consumers may or may not be aware of these products. However, as sociolinguists are intent on the examination of how linguistic forms are representative of linguistic processes within the greater speech community, we should be acutely aware of the interconnectivity of popular culture media and products. At the same time, globalization has enabled the flow of performers, content, or linguistic forms of popular culture beyond the society where they were originally produced and into other societies, cultures, and speech communities. The example of Jennifer Hudson and *American Idol* previously also illustrates the transnational and translinguistic flow along the horizontal axis of popular culture. *American Idol* is an enormously popular television show, but it is also based upon a British show called *Pop Idol* that was adapted to the US entertainment market. Likewise, the show has been adapted into a number of other forms as an international franchise in various countries, including *Australian Idol*, *Latin American Idol*, *Idols* (Denmark, Netherlands, Finland, South Africa, Serbia-Montenegro, and Macedonia), *Canadian Idol*, *Idols West Africa*, *Indian Idol*, *Indonesian Idol*, *New Zealand Idol*, *Hay Superstar* (Armenia), *Idol stjörnuleit* (Iceland), *Nouvelle Star* (France), *Pinoy Idol* (Philippines), *Idol* (Norway), *Idol* (Poland), *Deutschland sucht den Superstar* (Germany), *Singapore Idol*, *Malaysian Idol*, *Vietnam Idol*, *Music Idol* (Bulgaria), *Ídolos* (Brazil and Portugal), *Super Idol* (Greece), *Solo Idol* (Solomon Islands), *Super Star* (Arabic-speaking societies), *Megasztá*r (Hungary), and *Looking for You* (Bangladesh). There is little interaction between the various horizontal manifestations of *Pop Idol*, but the vertical format of the programme remains largely unchanged as it is exported from place to place. In each place where the programme has spread, it takes with it three basic characteristics: (1) a search (with open auditions) for new and undiscovered talent, (2) a televised competition that incorporates judges' opinions with audience participation and the systematic elimination of contestants, and (3) a recording contract for the winner of the competition. The vertical process that functions to create the products of *Pop Idol*, then, are simply moved horizontally to different locations. Zhou and Moody (2017) similarly examine the linguistic features that flow horizontally in pop music performed on *The Voice of China*, a television programme that has been created within a number of different languages and popular cultures.

The possibilities for horizontal transnational influences developing between various popular cultures are probably somewhat greater within an age of globalization than they were before, and there is increasing examination of the linguistic content of these horizontal flows (see Fairclough 2006; Pennycook 2007; Alim *et al.* 2009). Trudgill's (1983) examination of language in popular culture is one of the earliest studies of these horizontal flows. When rock 'n' roll–style music first began to find popularity in England, the performative pronunciation of the music – that is, distinctive linguistic features of American English – flowed along with the music into the performance repertoire of many British musicians. This is the historical background to Trudgill's study of eight features of American English in albums recorded by the Beatles and the Rolling Stones. The same kind of borrowing of linguistic features along with musical style can be found in early recordings of Dusty Springfield, an artist whom Randall (2009) describes as uniquely postmodern because audiences were frequently unable to classify her as British or American, black or white, or even male or female. In each of these cases, the language of the popular culture products – specifically, American and African-American linguistic forms found in rock 'n' roll, Gospel and soul music – flowed along the same horizontal path into the performance of those products within different societies.

In no popular culture product is the flow of linguistic features more clearly identifiable than in the horizontal flow of African-American pronunciation with hip-hop music into various cultures and languages. Describing the contents of his edited volume, Alim (2009) alludes to the influence of African-American Language on other languages within the global spread of hip-hop music:

> Hip Hop rhyming practices have altered poetic genres across the globe, with Japan being a particularly intriguing case where Hip Hop artists restructure Japanese in order to rhyme and flow (Tsujimura and Davis 2009), and along with Chinese (Lin 2009), Korean (see Pennycook 2007: 128), and Italian artists (see Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2003: 474–5), have produced similar poetic structures such as the *back-to-back chain rhymes* and *bridge rhymes* described in Black American Hip Hop.
>
> *(Alim 2009: 6, emphasis in original)*

Once the linguistic feature flows horizontally into a different language or popular culture, however, the flow may continue vertically into other media or products within that popular culture. The influence of AAE internationally, therefore, may not be limited to the music that it inspires, but would become recognizable within a range of popular culture media and products internationally influenced by AAE. This influence of AAE in popular culture genres and media worldwide, however, is easy to overlook if the sociolinguist only uses data that are from naturally occurring or spontaneous sources. Likewise, if the vertical nature of popular culture is not sufficiently examined in studies of pop culture linguistic data, the researcher may easily underestimate the extent of a linguistic flow.

Conclusion

Linguistic data from popular culture have traditionally been overlooked within the discipline of sociolinguistics. Although it is not always clear to what degree pop culture data accurately represent linguistic forms and features in a speech community, since 2000 linguists have increasingly turned to media-related and pop culture data for insights into linguistic phenomena. Data can certainly illustrate the role that English may take *in* a popular culture, but a more difficult task is to understand the possible roles that Englishes *of* popular cultures perform. To the degree that popular culture relies upon connections between very different media, a two-dimensional model of popular culture illustrates the manner in which performers, content, and linguistic features may flow either horizontally from one language or speech community to another or vertically from one genre or media format to another. This two-dimensional model, therefore, necessitates that popular culture data be multicultural (forming a kind of intercultural communication) and that they also usually be multimodal. To the extent that English is associated with the global spread of popular culture, English forms and functions can easily travel horizontally across different cultures (i.e. intercultural communication) and vertically within a popular culture (i.e. multimodal communication). In this way, the spread of popular culture not only distributes performers and content, but it also encourages the flow of English and various linguistic forms into a mosaic of Englishes of popular cultures.

Suggestions for further reading

Most of the work on English in popular culture is published in the form of journal articles, but there are several collections of essays and some recently published monographs that readers would find useful. Queen (2015) is an outstanding introduction to the examination of performance in popular culture and could easily serve as a textbook. Werner (2018) and Werner and Tegge (2021) are collections of essays; the earlier book is a general examination of language in popular culture, while the later volume focuses on uses within English-language classrooms. Lee and Moody (2012) collects essays discussing the influence on English in Asian societies. Dovchin (2018) offers an innovative and refreshing examination of popular music in Mongolia. Although it is not exclusively about popular culture media, essays in Aitchison and Lewis (2003) provide insight and justification for the examination of language in the media. Similarly, Fairclough (2006) examines the global spread of English from the point of view of critical discourse analysis and culture political economy and offers insights about linguistic flows in the media. For discussion of influences specifically in hip hop music, see Mitchell (2001), Alim *et al.* (2009) and Cutler (2014). Two volumes edited by Storey (2003, 2006) are textbook introductions to the use of cultural theory in the study of popular culture and useful in understanding many of the special issues involved with the study of popular culture. Finally, Pennycook (2007) offers one of the most complete descriptions of the horizontal flow of English into popular culture genres and media. Quaglio (2009) is a monograph analysis of the television show *Friends*, and Fägersten (2016) and Ensslin and Balteiro (2019) are edited collections exploring, respectively, language in television and language in video games.

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32

World Englishes and Philippine call centres

Kingsley Bolton

Introduction

The use of English as an international language in call centres in India and the Philippines has the potential to illuminate a range of issues relating to World Englishes, as well as a number of other questions concerning bilingualism, second-language acquisition and sociolinguistics. The background to this is that, since the early 2000s, large numbers of clerical, data management and other jobs have been exported from 'native' English-speaking societies, such as the United Kingdom and United States, to societies such as India and the Philippines, where there are now sufficient numbers of proficient language users able to perform tasks previously reserved for American and British employees. For the last two decades, many linguists have made the claim that English was no longer the sole possession of Britain and America, that it was truly a world language. Now it seems that such a claim is being vindicated, even at the cost of tens of thousands of jobs in the United States and United Kingdom, as these have been exported to India, the Philippines and elsewhere. In the early 2000s, this development not only caught the attention of the world's press, but it also gave rise to a series of debates in both the developed world and in those developing countries, such as India and the Philippines, where 'linguistic outsourcing' was becoming a key strand in the business process outsourcing (BPO) industries that were being established in such locations as Bangalore, Chennai, Mumbai (in India) and Manila (Philippines).

One influential book that appeared shortly after such news reports began to appear, and was widely cited in business and political circles, was Thomas L. Friedman's *The World Is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century* (first published in 2005). Both the title and the content of his book were stimulated by a visit Friedman made to the Indian information technology companies Infosys and WiPro in Bangalore, India, in 2004, where he witnessed the work that these companies were doing in writing computer software for US and European businesses and running the back offices of multinational companies, all of which involved such disparate tasks as computer maintenance, high- tech research, answering customer calls from all over the world and dealing with a range of other BPO operations. After its publication, Friedman's bestseller drew a hail of criticism, with the *San Francisco Chronicle* dubbing Friedman the 'High priest of free-trade fundamentalism' (Sirota 2006), and *The Economist* taking Friedman to task for his 'imprecision' and 'sloppiness' and the 'dreary failure' of his book (The Economist 2005: 81).

The links between Friedman's analysis and issues related to world Englishes might be somewhat indirect, but overall it seems clear that the use of English as a global language is essential to many of the processes Friedman describes. In his account of the workings of an Indian call centre, he provides the following description:

> There are currently about 245,000 Indians answering phones from all over the world or dialling out to solicit people for credit cards or cell phone bargains or overdue bills. These call center jobs are low-wage, low-prestige jobs in America, but when shifted to India they become high-wage, high-prestige jobs. The esprit de corps at 24/7 and other call centers I visited seemed quite high, and the young people were all eager to share some of the bizarre phone conversations they've had with Americans who dialed 1-800-HELP, thinking they would wind up talking to someone around the block, not around the world.
>
> *(Friedman 2006: 24)*

Friedman goes on to report that the call centre he visited, aptly named 24/7, received about 700 applications a day, but accepted only some 6 per cent of applicants. One major feature of the training of new recruits is the 'accent neutralization class', and Friedman describes how the teacher 'dressed in a traditional Indian sari' conducted the class, and 'moved seamlessly among British, American and Canadian accents' (2006: 27).

The role of English as a world language in assisting globalisation is highly contested, and a great deal has previously been written on this topic. It is perhaps important to note, however, that one crucial reason the role of language in call centres has attracted attention is that, in many respects, the call-centre and BPO industry provides a testing ground for a range of theories and approaches to language and globalisation, which in turn calls into question the relationships between such constructs as 'world Englishes', 'globalization' and 'global English'. The operations of English language call centres in India and the Philippines provide important sites for the investigation of language and globalisation in a region where localised varieties of Asian Englishes (e.g. Indian English, Malaysian English, Singapore English and Philippines English) have become established and have gained recognition, particularly over the last four decades or so (Bolton 2006, 2008). In order to investigate the impact of international call centres on the sociolinguistics of Asian societies, detailed fieldwork was carried out by the author of this chapter in India and the Philippines between 2006 and 2008. The context for this was the participation of the author in a research programme initiated by Stockholm University on 'High-level Proficiency in Second-language Use', in which I was responsible for an individual project entitled 'Linguistic Outsourcing and Native- like Performance in International Call Centres and Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) operations' (funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Fund, Riksbankens Jubiléumsfond, Dnr M2005–0459, whose generous support is gratefully acknowledged here). In the following discussion, I present a number of results drawn from this research (see also Bolton 2013, 2016, 2019).

Researching native-like performance in Philippine call centres

As stated earlier, the broad aim of the project on linguistic outsourcing was to describe the linguistic practices of selected international call centres and BPOs, particularly in the Philippines and India, and to investigate the extent to which 'native-like' linguistic behaviour is regularly expected of, and achieved by, call-centre staff (or 'agents') in such locations. Specific research questions included the following: (i) What expectations do employers have of native-like performance from their staff? (ii) How is such performance defined (and judged) by employers? (iii) What is the profile of successful call-centre agents (in terms of language background, education, etc.)? (iv) What strategies do agents use to pass as native users of the language? and (v) What are the characteristics of successful versus unsuccessful communication in such contexts?

The methodology adopted for this study involved a broad-based sociolinguistic research methodology, including extensive interviews with call-centre managers and trainers and call-centre staff and attendance at call-centre industry events, as well as the collection of recorded call-centre conversations. After initial exploratory visits to both India and the Philippines, it was decided to concentrate the initial stage of research on call-centre operations in the Philippines. The main reasons for this were essentially practical and pragmatic. During my two visits to Bangalore, access to call centres in the city was found to be heavily restricted, and despite having colleagues in the city with industry contacts, it was difficult to gain access to call centres during my stays there in 2007 and 2008. This was not the case in Manila, Philippines, where I gained relatively easy access to a number of Manila call centres and call-centre agents, and, eventually, obtained a substantial corpus of actually occurring telephone conversation data.

The linguistic data collected were of two broad types. First, a series of semi-structured interviews were carried out with call-centre agents or 'CSRs' (customer service representatives), as they are most commonly referred to. These interviews surveyed call-centre employees on their personal backgrounds, as well as details of their training and work experience. All interviews were recorded and later transcribed. Second, a corpus of authentic telephone conversations – involving a total of 1,413 telephone conversations in all – was obtained from a major Philippine call centre. A number of findings relating to this research are discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

Initial findings of research on the Philippine call-centre industry

In a society where unemployment is endemic and where currently some 10 per cent of the population work abroad as overseas foreign workers (OFWs) in jobs as engineers, technicians or seamen or as nurses, carers and domestic helpers, the growth of the BPO industry has been hailed as a 'sunshine industry'. In the early 2000s, India was the leading centre for BPOs and call centres, but in recent years, the Philippines has overtaken India as the leading outsourced 'call center capital of the world' (Winn 2014). In the Philippines, the BPO industry has boomed dramatically over the last decade or so, from 100,000 employees in 2005 to 300,000 in 2007 to around 900,000 in 2014. Today, an estimated 1.2 million people are employed in BPO operations in the Philippines, a figure that is expected to rise to 1.8 million in 2022 (IBPAP 2013; ABS-CBN News 2019). The range of services provided by Philippine call centre companies includes call-in queries, technical support, travel and consumer services and medical and legal transcriptions, while many Indian centres specialise in banking and financial services. The economic background to the operation of international call centres in India and the Philippines thus involves the rapid emergence of BPO activities from the late 1990s and their crucial economic importance to these two developing countries, where English is largely learnt as a second language, predominantly through education and schooling. The main driver of such job outsourcing, of course, has been economic. Both

India and the Philippines are developing societies, with widespread poverty, unemployment and under-employment, where (typically female) call-centre staff can be employed at a fraction of the cost of their counterparts in Europe and North America. India and the Philippines are both former colonies of the United Kingdom and the United States, respectively, and are societies where the English language has been retained in the postcolonial period as an intranational language of education and government, law, business and communications. In such 'Outer Circle' English-using contexts, the English language has also been nativised to a high degree, which has led to the emergence and recognition of such localised varieties as Indian English and Philippine English, often characterised by distinctive features of accent, vocabulary and grammar (Bolton 2008).

Within the telephone call centres, operations are typically of two kinds. Usually, staff are deployed to handle either inbound calls or outbound calls. As the name suggests, inbound refers to answering incoming inquiries, dealing with various aspects of customer service for a wide variety of products and services, ranging from financial services to various kinds of technical help. In those call centres that were visited by this researcher, the majority of call-centre staff (some 80–90 per cent) were involved in handling inbound calls. By contrast, outbound calls essentially involve calling customers or potential customers for sales and telemarketing purposes or even for matters of billing and debt collection. Outbound calls are much less popular among call-centre staff, as handling such calls often involves high levels of stress, often dealing with 'irate' customers.

The English language is relatively well established in the Philippines, where it has a wide range of functions in this outer circle society, including its use as a co-official language of government, law and education, as well as its extensive use in the business sector, mass media and entertainment (Bautista and Bolton 2008). However, the story of English in the Philippines is one greatly coloured by the effects of colonialism and its aftermath. Indeed, the Philippines experienced almost 400 years of colonial rule, first from Spain from 1565 to 1898 and then from the United States from 1898 to 1946. American colonial rule started with a brutal war which was then succeeded by the establishment of the first system of mass education that the Philippine islands had known, with elementary schools established throughout the length and breadth of the country. The medium of instruction in all schools was English, and, remarkably, as early as 1918, some 47 per cent of the population claimed to be able to speak English. In the period following Philippine independence from the United States in 1946, English-medium education in the schools gave way to a bilingual system in 1987, while, since 2013, a new system of 'mother tongue-based multilingual education' has been introduced into many public schools throughout the nation. Nevertheless, as noted earlier, a large proportion of Filipinos claim to speak English, with some 76 per cent reporting they understand the spoken language and 75 per cent claiming to read in English (Social Weather Stations, 2008).

The linguistic features of Philippine English (PE) have been described in some detail in the research literature, and these include distinctive features at the major levels of language, including phonology, lexis and grammar. Phonological features include the devoicing of sibilant consonants in words like beige, pleasure, seize, bees and cities, which are articulated as /s/; the rendering of 'th' sounds as /t, d/, in words such as this /dis/, thin /tin/. With vowels, other features may occur, including a loss of distinction between long and short vowels in such pairs as sheep/ship, full/fool, boat/bought and so on; the /æ/ vowel, in bat, cat, fat, hat and so on, may be replaced by the central low vowel /a/; and many speakers deploy a reduced vowel inventory compared with American English. At the supra-segmental level, intonation is typically 'syllable-timed' with distinctive patterns occurring in words such as elígible, establísh, cerémony.

At the lexical level, Philippine English has borrowed extensively from Spanish (*asalto* ‘surprise party’, *bienvenida* ‘welcome party’, *despedida* ‘farewell party’, *estafa* ‘fraud, scandal’, *merienda* ‘mid-afternoon tea’, *querida* ‘mistress’) and from Tagalog, the language of Luzon province, Metro Manila, and the basis of Filipino, the national language (*boondock* ‘mountain’, *kundiman* ‘love song’, *tao* ‘the common man’). Loan translations are also widely used, including *open the light/radio* for ‘turn on the light/radio’, *joke only* ‘I’m teasing you’, and *you don’t only know* ‘you just don’t realize’. Local coinages include such items as to *carnap, high blood, hold-upper* and *topnotcher*, while archaic items derived from late nineteenth-century American English include *comfort room* (CR), *solon* and *viand* (Bolton and Butler 2008). At the grammatical level, we find variable third-person singular marking, the overuse of the progressive, the variable use of articles and variation in tense and aspect, as in *We have done it yesterday* (versus ‘We did it yesterday’) and *He lived here since 1996* (compared to ‘He has lived here since 1996’). Other features include variation in transitivity and the use of prepositions (Bautista 2008).

The frequency and distribution of such features varies greatly according to social class and education, and linguists have long noted the existence of ‘edulects’ in Philippine society. Acrolectal Philippine English is associated with academics, bilinguals from English-speaking homes and English majors at university level. Thus, acrolectal Philippine English is perceived as approximating ‘near-standard’ American English. Mesolectal Philippine English is spoken by professionals who are non-English majors and who mostly use English in the workplace and who display a noticeably Philippine accent. Basilectal Philippine English is said to be spoken by such people as janitors and taxi-drivers and is associated with a broad Philippine accent and a rather low level of education (Tayao 2008).

Typically, in the observations and interviews that were carried out by this researcher, my judgement (and the judgement of Philippine linguists I discussed with) was that call-centre staff typically spoke varieties of English that ranged from mid-level to high-level ‘mesolectal’ Philippine English and that the majority of call-centre agents interviewed spoke English with what might be perceived as a distinctive Philippine accent, including the characteristic stress timing associated with Philippine English speech. However, despite the existence of the de facto norm of educated PE in use by many call-centre agents, a great deal of time and effort was spent in providing new recruits to the industry with courses on ‘accent neutralization’, which in practice meant instructing new staff in the basics of American English phonology. Other elements in induction training included grammar practice, an introduction to American culture and society and a course dealing with customer service management.

After training, the performance of individual CSRs within the call centre is continually monitored by their superiors, who are identified by such job titles as ‘team leader’, ‘line manager’ and ‘supervisor’. The ability to deal with customers on the telephone quickly and efficiently in English is highly valued by the employers, and CSRs who score highly in the various metrics applied to their work are often promoted rather quickly to positions of greater authority. In this, a high proficiency of English is a key merit, although it is not the only criterion involved in staff assessment.

Authentic call-centre conversations

As noted previously, the types of data collected by this researcher included two varieties of recorded data. The first type of data was collected from interview research with a group of 50 CSRs working for call centres in Manila, the characteristics of which are discussed subsequently. The second type of recorded data was secured in May 2007 from a major telephone company in the Philippines, which comprised recordings of more than 1,400 telephone conversations from a leading call centre. From mid-2007 until early 2009, these telephone conversations were systematically transcribed and a corpus of this material organised.

An examination of the specific characteristics of the dataset indicate that in total there are 1,413 complete interactions in the corpus. The vast majority of these, some 980, are inbound conversations where US customers are dealing with Philippine CSRs with queries regarding such goods and services as cable television subscriptions, cameras, computer parts, computer printers, computer software, credit card charges, digital cameras, hotel reservations and laptop computers. What is noteworthy from the initial investigation of the corpus is that in only very few of the calls are there breakdowns of communication between customers and CSRs. In the vast majority of cases, the linguistic and communicative skills of CSRs are sufficient to deal with customers' inquiries, product orders and service requests. The following transcription of an inbound query about a cable television bill is not untypical of a standard call-centre interaction in this particular call centre. In this interaction, the CSR is a speaker using an educated variety of Philippine English, approximating that style of speech associated with an upper-range speaker of mesolectal PE. Her caller is someone with a Southern US accent, who is calling to query a billing statement that he has received for a cable television service. The telephone call is quite short and lasts 5 minutes 30 seconds. The line numbers next to the speaker identifications indicate the line number of the transcript for purposes of reference.

Transcript: incoming call querying a billing statement for cable television

1 CSR: Thank you for calling – . My name is Faye. Can I have your first and last name?
2 Caller: – .
3 CSR: Thank you. Can I have your telephone number, please?
4 Caller: My phone number is – .
5 CSR: Thank you. And how may we help you today, Mr – ?
6 Caller: Well, uh . . . I . . . I've got this kind of bill here . . . and . . . I mean, we . . . we get this card in the mail and we paid . . . uh . . . like . . . what . . . 69 dollars or something to start with or whatever. And when I hooked it up and then we ain't had it hooked up two weeks and . . . uh . . . anyway we get this rebate we . . . we just got . . . we got the mail in here, but then, our first two months was supposed to be free. We're supposed to get like 59 dollars back, from that 60 something that we paid to begin with. And we've already got a 31 dollar bill . . . 31.40 cents.
13 CSR: Okay, I'll be glad to assist you with your concern today, Mr – . So you got a bill for 31 dollars and 47 cents, and this is for two months from April 11th until June 10th. Well, we got a payment from you of 49 dollars and 99 cents and this . . .
16 Caller: We are supposed . . . yeah, they said we will get that back.
17 CSR: Yes, it did. On page two of your bill, you will see that you were credited for 49 dollars and 99 cents.
19 Caller: Page two? Page two? I don't . . .
20 CSR: Yes.
21 Caller: I can't figure . . . I don't even . . .
22 CSR: On the back of page one.
23 Caller: Uh . . . okay, let's see. (sighs). Credit . . . Uh, where would that be . . . I don't know . . .

24 CSR: Do you see . . . yes.
25 Caller: Uh . . . . I see credit adjustment . . . 49.99. Okay, and then . . . all right. So where's . . . all right. So what was it all together . . . to start with 87 . . . what's this 87.95?
27 CSR: Okay, that is if you'll include the 49.99. But your monthly charge is 58.97, but you have to less 12 dollars and 99 cents for this part because this part is free until July 10th, and then you have to less 5 dollars and 99 cents for the home protection plan because this is free for 18 months. So your total monthly rate is 39 dollars and 99 cents, and you mentioned a while ago that you already have the redemption form. And you have 60 days from installation to send it back together with a copy of your first bill and the first 10 dollar credit will kick in after eight to ten weeks after you have submitted the redemption form. So if you'll apply the 10 dollar credit to your account for ten months, your monthly rate will be 29 dollars and 99 cents.
36 Caller: Uh . . . 29.99?
37 CSR: Yes, that's right.
38 Caller: Okay, I thought it was . . . uh. I thought it was . . . according to that . . . to that card . . . that flyer, the card we got in the mail, it was supposed to be like 19.99 a month or . . .
40 CSR: Well you can . . . that is only for the America's Top 100. The regular price of the America's Top 100 is 29.99.
42 Caller: Right, but I mean, wouldn't it be 19.99 for the first ten months? With rebate?
43 CSR: Well, you, because you have other charges. So the America's Top 100 with rebate will be 19 dollars and 99 cents, plus 5 dollars for your local channels, plus 5 dollars for the additional receiver fee. So that would be 29 dollars and 99 cents for ten months.
46 Caller: Uh . . . okay. Well, we was misled, so . . .
47 CSR: I apologize for that.
48 Caller: Uh . . . I guess that happens. Uh . . . so, so we owe this is for three months, 31.47?
49 CSR: That's correct. So, if you'll pay 31 dollars and 47 cents, then that will make you good until June 10th.
51 Caller: And we won't get a payment for June 10th, right?
52 CSR: That's right. And the next bill will be sent out on May 26th, but that will cover from June 11th until July 10th.
54 Caller: And that'll be 29.99?
55 CSR: That's correct. Uh . . . no, it would be 39.99. It will only be 29.99 once the 10 dollar credit will . . . begins to appear on your bill. So you have to submit the redemption form for you to have 29.99.
58 Caller: Well, that will be sent out tomorrow morning then.
59 CSR: Okay. So don't forget to include a copy of your first bill. Just a copy, don't include your payment with it.
61 Caller: Don't include your payment with it . . . just a copy of the first bill.
62 CSR: That's right and would you like to take care of your bill now, Mr – ?
63 Caller: Uh no, not right at this point.
64 CSR: Okay, not a problem.
65 Caller: All right. Well, I just needed to know what was going on.
66 CSR: Okay, is there anything else I can help you with?
67 Caller: No, thank you.
68 CSR: All right, so are we good now?
69 Caller: Yeah, I guess we have to be. Ha, ha! So thank you very much.

70 CSR: You're welcome. Thank you for calling. Have a nice day.
71 Caller: Uh huh.
72 CSR: Bye bye.
73 Caller: Bye.

In analysing this conversation, it is interesting, not least for purposes of exemplification, to apply the discourse-based approach suggested by Forey and Lockwood (2007), who have analysed 'generic' call-centre conversations in terms of such 'stages' as 'opening', 'purpose', 'gathering information', 'establishing purpose', 'servicing the customer', 'summarizing' and 'closing'. An application of their approach to the previous conversation then indicates that lines 1–4 comprise the opening stage, lines 5–12 the purpose stage, 13–16 gathering information, 17–25 establishing purpose, 27–53 servicing the customer, 54–61 summarising, and lines 62–73 closing. In general terms, at least, Forey and Lockwood's generic stages in call-centre communication seem to fit quite well the discourse of this particular conversation (see Table 32.1).

However, if we are concerned to see the extent to which the speech of the CSR approximates a 'native-like' command of English, a number of points might be made. In the previous exchange, is interesting to note that although the caller is quite evidently a native speaker of US English, his speech is nevertheless marked by a number of non-standard features at the grammatical level. These include the non-marking of *get* for past tense in line 7, the use of *ain't* in line 9, and *we was* in line 46. By contrast, there is only one comparable deviation from Standard English in the speech of the CSR, which occurs in line 28, when Faye uses *less* as a verb (instead of 'deduct' or 'subtract'). Otherwise, at the grammatical level, Faye's speech is generally faultless, although her intonation is syllable-timed throughout.

Otherwise, what is noticeable from this call and many others in the corpus is the skill and professionalism of the call-centre agent in dealing with a rather complex inquiry relating to the bill of the customer. Throughout the conversation, the tone of the CSR is helpful and polite, as she quickly and efficiently navigates a rather bewildered and initially disgruntled customer through the details of a complicated billing procedure. One emblematic exchange here comes in lines 17–22, when Faye directs the caller to page two of his bill, and when he protests at not being able to find the page in question, she gently points out that it is 'On the back of page one'. After having provided a further clarification and dealing with the customer's inquiry, she is able to diplomatically close the conversation by asking 'All right, so are we good now?', which succeeds in evoking a conciliatory 'Yeah, I guess we have to be', and a chuckle from her now-mollified customer.

Table 32.1 Generic stages in call centre communication

Generic stage	*Function of stage*
Opening	Greeting
Purpose	Identifying purpose of call
Gathering information	Collecting and checking information
Establishing purpose	Clarification, empathising, apologising.
Servicing the customer	Providing clear explanations and descriptions
Summarising	Summarising key points
Closing	Closing down the communication

Source: Adapted from Forey and Lockwood 2007.

Interviews with call-centre agents

In order to discover more about the background and working lives of individual agents, a total of 51 detailed semi-structured interviews were carried out with call-centre employees in Manila, Philippines, between 2007 and 2008. The questions asked in the interviews covered a wide range of topics, including agents' personal histories, on-the-job training, the agents' experience of working in call centres, the use of American (and other native-like) accents, difficulties in handling calls, health issues, attitudes to the call-centre industry and the perception of gender-related issues.

These interviews yielded a number of very interesting results. In broad terms, it appears that from the data, the 'typical' Philippine call-centre agent is a female graduate in her mid-twenties, who has attended private schools and college or university and who comes from a lower-middle or middle-class family. Interestingly, many of these call-centre agents reported having started learning English at a relatively early age (i.e. having an early onset time in the learning of English as a second language). Of this group of 51 CSRs, some 38 per cent reported learning English before the age of five, and 82 per cent before the age of seven, with the vast majority reporting having come from bilingual and multilingual homes. A clear majority of those interviewed also expressed positive attitudes to English and also to the industry in which they were working, expressing opinions such as the following:

> I think it's a big help . . . if you are a graduate of a four-year course and you don't have a job for now it's always an option . . . just go to a call centre. You apply, for sure you'll have a job. So I think it it's a big help somehow.
>
> *(CSR7, female, 24 years)*

> It is [positive] because it's a money-making industry [and] I see right now at least people are getting reacquainted with the English language although some patriotic people or nationalistic people are gonna say that we're not using our language properly any more but then again we just have to be realistic. English is a universal language.
>
> *(CSR40, female, 22 years)*

> [The] call-centre industry can help our economy uh to boost so that's the important thing right now, and uh it could provide uh jobs to people . . . as long as we can speak English, I mean we have we have plus points to have or to ah to enter a call-centre industry. So basic skills, basic computer skills, you know how to speak English then you have a way of a having a work in a call-centre industry so that's it I mean it boosts our economy and then it helps many people here in the Philippines to have a job. A decent one. That's the important thing.
>
> *(CSR12, male, 25 years)*

> I think uh we contribute a lot to the economy. . . . I think we can contribute and there's a lot of opportunity. . . . I'm just a housewife but I got the position, so there's a lot of opportunity with call centres.
>
> *(CSR4, female, 38 years)*

Not all comments from CSRs were totally positive, however, and a number of those interviewed discussed the stresses and strains of night work and the resultant health problems that occur as a result of prolonged employment in the industry. Some of those interviewed also expressed clearly ambivalent views on their work conditions and cited problems with sleep, health issues and family life. Cameron's (2000) comments concerning the gendered nature of call-centre communication also emerge from such interviews, when female agents discuss the ways in which they often need to placate irritated or 'irate' (a much-used adjective) callers.

The ambivalence of life in a call centre also finds expression in a recent song recorded by the Philippine pop band Cambio, entitled 'The call centre song'. The video of the song shows a scantily dressed young female walking the streets of Manila on her way home having finished the night shift in the call centre, while the first stanza of the lyrics expresses her less than enthusiastic motivation for having accepted such work, declaiming that: *Now let's get one thing straight, I don't really want to work this way, but I get paid for my American accent, I got money to pay the rent*. The second stanza notes the importance of speaking good English in order to get such work but also underlines the strongly material motivation for employment in the industry: *Now let's get one thing clear, I don't really want to be here, but they pay me for my perfect diction, I got money for my addictions*. This latter reference to addictions is also ambivalent, as there have been some suggestions that work in call centres has also increased drug use by night workers in this industry, who have taken to using various 'pep pills' on occasion. A less sinister interpretation would simply be her 'addictions' would be limited to the consumer goods that money can buy in a society where some 40 per cent of the population live on less than US$2 a day. Nevertheless, the song's video has a sultry girl walking the streets under the predatory gaze of male bystanders, and it is difficult to escape the implied and partly visual catenation of call centre, girl, and call girl. Finally, the girl gets home in the early morning, where her boyfriend is waiting, and she tells us, *I party all morning, work all night, get my honey in the broad daylight*.

Some of the most interesting interviews, however, were with neither the female call-centre employees nor the males, but actually with three interviewees who identified themselves as 'gays'. The use of 'gay' here, however, is not uncontested, as, in the Philippines, the term is often used to conflate homosexuality, transvestism and transgenderism. The use of this term here is largely motivated by the fact that the interviewees, two of whom were participants in transsexual (or *bakla*) culture, actually referred to themselves using the English word 'gay'. These three CSRs were not only gay, but also visibly, and proudly, so. The first of these, Joey, explained that the call centres provided a space for cross-dressing Philippine gays to gain work and to express themselves in work. And, he asserted, the gay workers in the industry were proving very successful:

> We gays are performing well. . . . I think it's because we are more confident, we are more spontaneous, and we could express ourselves more clearly . . . if you'll be visiting – you'd see a lot of cross-dressers, gays who are very confident with their sexuality. . . . we are like natural-born actors and actresses, so it's very easy for us to make a connection or establish rapport with the customers. Unlike with women, or with straight women, or men. That's why if you would really look deeper into our industry, the people who are getting the top posts would be gays.
>
> *(CSR36, Joey, 23 years)*

The second gay call-centre CSR interviewed was Chris, who was equally positive about the abilities of gay call-centre agents, asserting that gays were 'more eloquent' and 'more expressive' than either straight men or straight women. Chris explained this with reference to the trials and tribulations experienced by gays in dealing with the macho prejudices of mainstream Philippines society.

> We've been through a very rough time and we have this motivation and . . . call-centre jobs are the cream of the crop . . . we've been through a lot of challenges growing up . . . and we're up for the workload . . . we seek for a place in which we're widely accepted. And we find it very amusing to work in a call centre, because anything goes. We are not prejudiced by being gay. All we have to do is to just meet our metrics. And that's why a lot of gays are doing their best to be in this job that we're currently at. Because we are not threatened . . . we can act naturally. We can say our thoughts. We can express. We can talk to people.
>
> *(CSR26, Chris, 26 years)*

Chris also asserted that gays were emotionally better equipped for call-centre communication:

> Because we have the best of both worlds. We are a man, or we are men. Or we are women trapped in a man's body. So we understand the loopholes or the emotions of both men and women. We have fears of growing old, that's why we can easily adopt with elders, elder customer. We experience being young, and that's why we could connect with younger people who are fun-loving. So we could cater all . . . we are able to connect with people of all ages, of all gender, because we are all in one package. Different emotions, like men here, women there. Getting older here, younger experience, being younger there . . . we're conversant, we're good. And we're courteous, we're nice.
>
> *(CSR26, Chris)*

The third gay interviewee, James – like Joey and Chris – also came from a provincial town outside Manila and had also achieved a great deal of success in his call-centre job in Manila. Before joining the call centre, he had worked as a nightclub performer and in the theatre, explaining that earlier his dream had been 'to become a performer in Japan', but that immigration restrictions in Japan had decided him to pursue a career in call centres. He reported that his experience of performing had helped him in his call-centre work:

> Because when you're in a performance you build discipline, self-confidence, as well as you uhm you become more responsible and in a call centre . . . in a call-centre environment you need a lot of values and one of that is self-confidence because you will be talking to a lot of different people. You need a lot of courage and . . . as well as confidence to say the things you need to say to the customers.
>
> *(CSR37, James, 25 years)*

Like the others, James spoke very articulately about his work in the call centre and the ways in which he had learnt to master the 'emotional labour' (although this was not a term he used) required in call-centre interaction at work:

> Well, usually when dealing with irate customers you need a lot of patience. You need to go down to the deepest cause of the problem, you need to pacify them. . . . You need to put yourself in the shoes of your customers . . . you need a lot of patience and a lot

> of charisma . . . when it comes to irate customers I have handled them very positively because I know for sure that I'm also a customer and I say 'Ma'am you're not the only customer, I'm a customer too . . . we're here to help you, we're not here to argue with you.'
>
> *(CSR37, James)*

Another interesting aspect of James' work in the call centre was that he usually used a female name, 'Sunshine', when talking to customers, which he found immensely useful in calming down angry clients, who often assumed that he was a Latina living in the United States.

> It's 80 per cent sometimes they think that I'm Latina. Which is a good thing that I don't sound like a Filipino, because . . . they hate Filipinos. But usually I sound like American 80 per cent, 'cause when in calls my voice sounds soft and modulated and they don't know . . . that I'm not a Filipino . . . they call me Ma'am. And they don't know that I'm a boy . . . sometimes they won't even know that I'm a guy. Sometimes they always call me like B-I-T-C-H!
>
> *(CSR37, James)*

James was proud of his success, and also proud of the achievements of other gays in the call-centre industry, explaining their success in terms of the special quality that only Philippine gays could bring to the job.

> At the bottom line the gays play a very vital role in the call centre because first, you know, their bodies like they're physically able, they're like men, but they have a heart of a woman. They can easily cope up and sympathize and empathize with the customers. They know how to work well with the English language . . . and it's only gays and girls who has the capacity as well as the determination to explore more about the language, the English language. Because usually men, straight men, they're not into that.
>
> *(CSR37, James)*

What is easily retrievable from the discourse of the three call-centre gays quoted here is not only their own atheoretical, individually personalised descriptions of their call-centre experiences but also the inflections of critical and cultural theory that rise to the surface in their impressively articulate and self-aware reflections. In the previous extracts, for example, James directly links his performance in dance and theatre to the performativity of his call-centre work and the abilities of 'Sunshine', his stage self, to 'pass' as female and to 'cross' linguistic and cultural boundaries. Such discourses thus link not only to Piller's (2002) insights on 'passing' and second-language acquisition but also to other theorisations of 'crossing' and 'performativity' that have had a major impact on various branches of cultural studies and linguistics in recent years. Thus, for Piller, 'passing is an act, something they do, a performance that may be put on . . . a performance that is typical of first encounters, often service interactions, and each new encounter may present a new challenge to test one's performance' (Piller 2002: 191). For Auer, '[c]rossing is a particular kind of code-switching in which speakers "transgress" into a language or variety which . . . is not generally thought to "belong" to them' (Auer 2006: 490; Rampton 1995). Similarly, in her influential work on gender performativity, Butler asserts that 'There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; . . . identity is performatively constituted by the very "expressions" that are said to be its results' (Butler 1990: 25).

Commentary and conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to provide an overview of a wide range of questions that connect to the sociolinguistic investigation of the use of English in Asian call centres, with particular reference to the Philippines. What emerges, I would argue, from this overview of the research terrain is the awareness of multilayered possibilities to researching language use in the call-centre context. Thus, it may be argued, research on call-centre communication may provide new insights not only for World Englishes but also for such other branches of language studies as business communication, intercultural communication and second-language acquisition.

From Thomas L. Friedman's journalistic mapping of global business, knowledge and linguistic outsourcing, we move to the role of English as a language of modernity and economic development in Asia's dramatically developing economies, from the dynamics of Asian Englishes to critical discourse analysis, to the individual lives of young call-centre workers in the capital of the poverty-blighted Philippines. One important insight from the Philippine experience is that in fieldwork, the rhetoric of globalisation gives way to a consideration of lives lived locally, as Philippine men and (especially) women adjust their lives to secure what in many Western societies would be regarded as low-paid and low-status work in the global economy. The issue of call-centre work as a gendered occupation is highlighted not only by the numerical predominance of women in this sector but also, and interestingly, by the liminal, yet highly successful, role of Philippine gays in the Manila call-centre industry.

In 'The Call Centre Song' from the Philippine pop group quoted previously, the lines from the girl declaiming that *I get paid for my American accent . . . they pay me for my perfect diction* resonate with Bhabha's description of mimicry in colonial discourse as twinning not only mimicry with 'mockery' but also, if obliquely, with 'resemblance and menace' (Bhabha 1994). By extension, the Tagalog concept of *gaya* (to imitate or mimic) plays a central role in the culture of a Philippine gay community where transvestism is a dominant strain. As Tolentino (2007) has pointed out:

> The concept of gaya (imitate, mimic) foregrounds the transvestite's operation of mediating and transforming high and low. Gaya comes from the word *gagad*, meaning *uliran* (model). The concept points to a copy as gauged through the model; and as mentioned above, the model usually is western or American-based.
>
> *(Tolentino 2007: 184–5)*

For Tolentino, gaya culture is essentially subversive, involving 'performative, portable, transportable, and transgressive attempts at identity formation', although, ironically, while 'copies approximate the model, these can never be the model itself' (Tolentino 2007: 186). In this context, despite the brute force of capitalism in its transnational mode and the role of English as the international pidgin, sociolinguistic research can serve to uncover individual local experiences and linguistic practices that reveal fresh new insights into World Englishes, as well as the locally negotiated dynamics of language and globalisation.

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33

Translanguaging and multilingual creativity with English in the Sinophone world

Tong King Lee and Li Wei

Introduction

Multilingual creativity can be said to be immanent in the concept of translanguaging – the creative and critical deployment of semiotic resources in communication that transcends normative boundaries between named languages. The notion of language is pliable, extendable to encompass national languages, language varieties, regional dialects, registers and styles. What, then, is linguistic creativity? It is an innovative *effect* ensuing from the transgression of linguistic structures. Reflecting on linguistic creativity in the so-called 'non-native' varieties of English, Sandra Deshors et al. (2018) suggest that linguistic innovations are "a dynamic process in which linguistic and ever-changing social forces play an important part" (p. 10), which are "essential for the 'identity construction' of the speakers of a new English variety. Consequently, 'New Englishes' emerge and gain acceptance only through the nativization of linguistic innovations in the respective variety" (p. 11).

The non-nativity of English is not a problem as such for us but rather a niche where English dwells alongside and interacts with resources from other languages in a given spatial repertoire. Such *throwntogetherness* (Massey 2005: 140) is an immense source of multilingual creativity. Yet hitherto, the Sinophone regions have been by and large neglected in studies on linguistic innovation in non-native Englishes. In this chapter, we look at English as used in the Sinophone world through the theoretical lens of translanguaging, with a view to elucidating how English is variously appropriated in different cultures and societies to ludic and critical effects.

English in the Sinophone world

The term "sinophone" is used first and foremost in its descriptive sense, referring to communities that use the Chinese language in all its dialects and varieties, aligning with such terms as anglophone, francophone, lusophone, and so on. We note, however, that the term (usually with a capital S) has acquired a more critical sense in Sinophone studies, "the study of Sinitic-language cultures on the margins of geopolitical nation-states and their hegemonic production" (Shih 2011: 710). The Sinophone in this latter sense is a politicised notion.

Poised against the nebulous and all-encompassing rubric of "Chineseness", it rejects the "colonialist imposition" (ibid.) of the Chinese language – specifically, Standard Chinese or *hanyu* – across all communities using Sinitic languages and celebrates the linguistic multiplicities and specificities thriving "on the multifarious margins in China and outside" (ibid.) in resistance to a sweeping, pan-Chinese identity.

This more radical concept of the Sinophone "evinces multilinguality not only in sound but also in script" (Shih 2011: 715), and as such, it finds a conceptual parallel in the idea of English used in the periphery zones of Kachru's (1985) concentric circle model of World Englishes. More specifically, the themes of place-based articulations and the periphery-as-centre in Sinophone studies dovetail with our interest in how English is re-appropriated in diverse ways by communities that have historically adopted Chinese language and culture – understood in a most general sense. Just as the Sinophone pushes against the discursive hegemony of a monolithic, "standard" Chinese language, so the diverse Sinophone regions can, besides developing their own refractions of "Chineseness", further domesticate other globally dominant languages, in particular English, inflecting it with the idiosyncrasies of their local tongues and sensibilities to fashion their own brands of English.

In the following, we present three such brands of English that can be thought of as Anglophone articulations across the Sinophone or, equally, Sinophone articulations of English (Kirkpatrick 2015). Corresponding to the geopolitical topology of the Sinophone, we will look at creative and critical uses of English in three discursive or territorial spaces on "the multifarious margins in China and outside": New Chinglish as used in the written vernacular discourses of Chinese netizens; Singlish, or Colloquial Singapore English, as used in subversive forms of creative writing, commercial artefacts, and government communication channels; and Kongish, or hybrid Hong Kong English, as used in the social media site Kongish Daily and in social movement contexts.

Examples from New Chinglish

As a sociolinguistic phenomenon, New Chinglish must be distinguished from what is commonly known as Chinglish, or Chinese Pidgin English. The latter describes grammatically aberrant, stylistically unidiomatic, and often inadvertently humorous formations of English produced by Chinese-language users, indexing their inadequacy in native speaker proficiency in the language. New Chinglish, by contrast, is not an English as a Second Language/English as a Foreign Language concept; it is rather "a Translanguaging variety of English that has been reconstituted, re-appropriated, re-semiotized, and re-inscribed by Chinese speakers of English via new media" (Li 2016: 11–12). Because its words and expressions are consciously coined for their rhetorical and ludic effect, it would be erroneous to benchmark New Chinglish against "native" or "standard" English. It should instead be seen as a *sui generis* register, one that creatively mobilises resources from English and Chinese, critically engages with the social situation in the PRC, and actively taps into the affordances of social media.

The most salient variety of New Chinglish is Shitizen Chinglish or Net Chinglish. The term refers to a subversive English lexicon constituted by meshing two or more English words to produce new coinage inflected by linguistic resources from colloquial Mandarin (especially as used on social media) and/or by the sociocultural sensibilities of contemporary Chinese youth. Take, for example, the New Chinglish word *niubility*, whose root word *niubi* is transliterated from the Chinese 牛逼, originally a vulgar word that has come to acquire the sense of "awesomeness" (Li 2016: 17; Baynham & Lee 2019: 45–46). As with all slang expressions, our best recourse for a definition is UrbanDictionary.com:

> *Niubility*, often spelled as *newbility*, a Chinglish noun describing formidability, incredibility or awesomeness. It derived from the Mandarin Chinese vulgar term *niubi/newby* which literally translates to cattle's cunt or cow's pussy. It is believed that the word *niubi*, was made an adjective in the late 19th century by an imperial accident. The term *niubility* is often used to show astonishment or praise but can also be used for sarcastic effects. Other derivatives of *niubi/newby* include *newber*, *newbable* and *newbilization*.
>
> [Example] *You can see the niubility oozing out of Usain Bolt as he eased through the finish line*.
>
> *(www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=niubility; emphasis added)*

A few linguistic points are notable here. First, the word *niubility* apparently comes from the combination of *niubi* with "ability", deriving the meaning of formidable/incredible/awesome ability. Equally, however, it could have been derived from the inflection of *niubi* with the *-ility* suffix in English. Evidence for this second interpretation lies in other possible inflections of *niubi/newby* (*newber*, *newbable*, *newbilization*), suggesting that the Chinese word *niubi* has insinuated itself into English grammar to become a morphologically productive root. Second, the alternative spelling of *niubi* as *newby* is significant, indicating as it does the anglicisation of the transliterated form and its incorporation into the orthography of contemporary English: *newby* is more conceivable as an English word than *niubi*, thanks to the familiarity evinced by the presence of "new" but also the *-by* coda (think "baby", "hereby", and of course "newby" itself as a vernacular term for new boy or beginner). Last, as *niubi* passes from colloquial Mandarin into New Chinglish, its register undergoes a radical shift from that of a coarse word to that of a laudatory, though still vernacular, term.

As a second example, consider the term *geilivable* 给力 (Li 2016: 17; Baynham & Lee 2019: 46–47) with a similar morphological operation. Turning to UrbanDictionary.com again, we understand *geilivable* to be:

> a Chinese word in English alphabet, with its original form in pinyin *geili*. It used to be a regional dialect meaning something is cool or supportive. *Gei* means "to give" or "to be given." "Li" means "ability", "power" or "force." So together they mean "to give force (to)", "be capable of".
>
> *(www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=geilivable; emphasis added)*

What is interesting here is that there is a separate entry for the same term with an alternative spelling: *gelivable*, without the first "i":

> adj. A Chinglish word, be able to excite, make someone feel cheerful. *ge*- in Chinese means give, *li*- means power, strength or energy.
>
> 1. *Wow, China overtakes Japan as world's second-biggest economy, it is so gelivable!*
> 2. *It is gelivable that Spain won 2010 FIFA's World Cup, Spain FTW*.
>
> *(www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=gelivable; emphasis added)*

This second entry makes a technical error by truncating the original *gei* (給 'to give') into *ge* while giving it the same gloss. Yet it is this very error that also renders *gelivable* an alternative orthographic form of *geilivable*, entrenching it more deeply into the morphological terrain of English: while both are anglicised with the *-able* suffix, *gelivable* invokes "believable" and "relievable", making it a more plausible candidate for an English word than the "original" *geilivable*.

These examples demonstrate the translanguaging potential of New Chinglish – a kind of linguistic alchemy that consists of morphological recombination and orthographical morphing, giving rise to an unexpected and contingent lexicon at the interface of English and Chinese. Other examples include (Li 2016: 16, 2018: 12):

- *Z-turn* 折騰: Chinese netizens' translation of a warning by the former Chinese president Hu Jintao, *bu zheteng* 不折騰 (NEG. + verb), "Don't make trouble or cause turmoil", manipulating the sound (*Z-turn* and *zhe teng*), the letter shape, and the semantics.
- *Gambller* 干部: A deliberate ill transliteration of the Chinese term for government officials, *ganbu*干部, evoking the sound of the word "gambler" to give it a pejorative twist.
- *Don'train* 动车: Advanced high-speed trains are called *dong che* (*dong*, v. 'move') in Chinese. *Don'train*, which sounds similar to the Chinese term, refers to both the high costs that prevent ordinary workers in China from taking high-speed trains and government-imposed speed restrictions after a number of accidents on the railway.

Another key variety of New Chinglish involves the splicing of two well-formed English words to create portmanteaus. Although these word forms do not necessarily use elements from Chinese, there is nonetheless a semantic twist to them that reflects common sentiments among Chinese netizens. These portmanteaus can be seen as quirky and subversive translations of (mostly conventional) Chinese expressions, and specific phonetic attributes are sometimes sneaked into these forms to mimic how they might be pronounced by the Chinese. For example (Li 2016: 16, 2018: 12):

- *Democrazy* (democracy + crazy) 痴心妄想: mocks the so-called democratic systems of the west and in some parts of Asia where the ownership of firearms can be protected due to political lobbying and where, as in the case of Taiwan, parliamentarians get into physical fights over disagreements. The word became prominent after news of Trump's victory in the US presidential election broke.
- *Shitizen* (shit + citizen) 屁民: refers to how ordinary citizens in China feel about their status in society. The word plays on the phonological distinction between *-s* and *-sh*, which many Chinese speakers find hard to differentiate. Its Chinese equivalent, 屁民 (shit + people), pronounced as *pi-min*, also plays on sound, as "citizen" would normally be translated as 平民 *ping-min*.
- *Antizen* (ant + citizen) 蚁民: like *shitizen*, this highlights the self-perception of ordinary Chinese people as small and insignificant members of a large society.
- *Chinsumer* (Chinese + consumer) 在外瘋狂購物的中國人: refers to Chinese tourists buying large quantities of luxury goods overseas.
- *Smilence* (smile + silence) 笑而不語: refers to the stereotypical Chinese reaction of smiling without saying anything.
- *Propoorty* (poor + property) 房地產: describes the mounting costs property owners, especially the young, in China have to incur.

- *Circusee* (circle/circus + see) 圍觀: refers to a common phenomenon where crowds gather around an accident or around elderly people's dancing and singing in public places. It also makes use of the habit of adding a vowel after a final consonant that some Chinese speakers of English have.
- *Innernet* (inner + internet) 中國互聯網: alludes to the restriction of internet access and censorship of internet content in China.
- *Sexcretary* (sex + secretary) 女秘書: alludes to illicit arrangements between female secretaries and their bosses.
- *Profartssor* (professor + fart) 叫兽: mocks the lack of integrity of university professors; the Chinese translation uses a homonym, meaning crying animal.

Beyond the word level, New Chinglish also comprises English calques of Chinese stock expressions that are not meant to be understood according to conventional English usage. Here translation is the process by which an idiomatic Chinese expression turns into a deceptive New Chinglish expression that masquerades as English (often broken but sometimes apparently normal) while camouflaging its Chinese roots. To understand these grammatically malformed and/or semantically misleading expressions, one would need to back-translate them into Chinese; this back-translation exposes the tension between the *prima facie* English expressions and their underlying Chinese sources, thus creating a sense of humour. For example:

- *How are you*: a word-to-word translation from the Chinese *zenme shi ni* 怎麼是你 (how + BE + you), meaning *Why you?!*
- *How old are you*: a word-to-word translation from the Chinese *zenme laoshi ni* 怎麼老是你 (how + old + BE + you), meaning *Why always you?!*. This plays on the bifurcation of the word *lao* ('old'), which in the Chinese expression functions as an adverb meaning "always", but takes on the literal sense of "old in age" in the literal English version.
- *You can you up, no can no BB*: this means "If you have the ability then you do it. If you don't have the ability, then say nothing", a literal translation of *ni xing ni shang a, buxing bie bibi* 你行你上啊，不行別逼逼, where BB is the abbreviation of 逼逼 *bibi*, a colloquial reduplicative verb meaning "say unnecessary words".
- *You ask me, me ask who?*: this means "Don't look at me. I have no idea", a word-to-word translation of *ni wen wo, wo wen shui* 你問我，我問誰?
- *We two who and who?*: this means "We are the best buddies", a word-to-word translation of *wo lia shui gen shui* 我倆誰跟誰?
- *I will give you some colour to see see*: this means "I will teach you a lesson", a literal translation of *wo yao gei ni dian yanse kankan* 我要給你點顏色看看.

As a kind of mangled English, New Chinglish is *tactical* in Michel de Certeau's sense. It is "a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus", by virtue of the fact that it belongs to neither English nor Chinese. Deployed by Chinese netizens on social media to obliquely and cynically express their dissatisfaction with society while circumventing censorship, New Chinglish embodies a "tactic mobility" made possible by social media platforms. It constitutes "the space of the other" and represents "an art of the weak" (by operating anonymously in virtual spaces, netizens are "othered" and therefore "weak" in terms of social capital) – an art that "vigilantly make[s] use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the propriety powers" (de Certeau 1984: 37).

Examples from Singlish

Not all hybrid linguistic performances count as translanguaging. In order for translanguaging to have any efficacy at all as an analytic lens, it must differentiate itself from adjacent practices, in particular code-switching/mixing. Granted that the boundaries between translanguaging and these other practices are not always clear-cut in the empirical data, it is nonetheless essential to highlight the "unique selling point" of translanguaging, and that is the creativity and/or criticality emanating from the practice.

Both creativity and criticality have to do with *markedness*: in the case of creativity, a stylistic markedness in a piece of discourse produced either by an intentional departure from constructional norms, or through a recontextualisation or mediatisation (more subsequently) of that discourse in a way that reinvigorates its vitality, and in the case of criticality, a stance that disturbs top-down discourses or conventional thinking on particular issues. Our New Chinglish examples in the earlier section demonstrate the first leg of creativity, that is, stylistic markedness in the constitution of linguistic terms, as well as a critical-cynical stance toward the contemporary social situation in mainland China. We now turn to Singlish, with a view to elucidating how recontextualisation and mediatisation can produce translanguaging effects.

Our starting point is that the use of Singlish per se – or any other variety of World Englishes for that matter – is *not* by default an instance of translanguaging. This is because in the sociolinguistic setting of Singapore, Singlish is an unmarked register, for the most part used subconsciously by ordinary speakers on an everyday basis. By virtue of that, Singlish in and of itself does not evince creativity or criticality; it is rather the *pointed activation* of Singlish for rhetorical effects and critical purposes that transforms it into a resource for translanguaging.

A prime example of this is a 2018 book titled *Spiaking Singlish* by the Singaporean writer Gwee Li Sui. While Singlish has been extensively introduced in both academic and non-academic circles, this is the first primer to Singlish that is written in Singlish, thereby enacting a metatextuality that loops Singlish unto itself. In his introduction to the book, self-mockingly titled "Cheem Introduction" – where *cheem* literally means "deep" in Hokkien (the dominant Chinese dialect in Singapore), denoting the difficulty or denseness of texts or ideas – Gwee positions himself against language orthodoxy as embodied by so-called "cunning linguists". In the following passage, the emphases and parenthetical glosses of Singlish terms are added by us.

> *Dun siow-siow* ["don't be frivolous", "get serious"]: this book *Spiaking Singlish* is *sibeh kilat* ["very potent"]! It's hands-down the *cheemest* ["densest"] Singlish book in print ever or at least to date. By this, I dun ["don't"] just mean how it talks *chapalang* ["anything", "everything"] about Singlish. For that, you can always go consult those *cheem* ["dense"] publications on Singlish by cunning linguists, the kind I read I *oso* ["also"] *catch no ball* ["fail to understand"]. But my book is, in some ways, *lagi* ["more"] *steady poon pee pee* ["capable"] than those. What it does is to discuss Singlish directly in Singlish *wor* [Singlish particle]!
>
> *(Gwee 2018: 13)*

This passage alone exemplifies the main stylistic features of the book. It is replete with Singlish terms drawing on:

- Malay: *kilat, lagi*;
- Hokkien, the dominant Chinese dialect: *siow siow*, *cheem*, *sibeh*;

- Reappropriated English: *catch no ball* and the word "steady" in *steady poon pee pee*;
- Mixed sources: *chapalang*, a local variant of the Cantonese *hampalang* with Hakka and Teochew influences; *steady poon pee pee*, combining English, Hokkien (*poon*, 'blow'), and the onomatopoeic *pee pee* (mimicking the sound of whistles).

Vernacular orthography (*dun* instead of "don't"; *oso* instead of "also") and sentence-final particles unique to Singlish (*wor*) are also figured. The bits in English are partially ungrammatical ("The kind I read I oso catch no ball") or unidiomatic ("I dun just mean how it talks chapalang about Singlish").

Each of these linguistic terms or features is unmarked in the local parole, which means to say there is no translanguaging within their constitution – with the possible exception of *cheemest*, created contingently by attaching the English superlative suffix -est to the Hokkien *cheem*, in effect grammatically inflecting a Hokkien word as if it were an English word. The translanguaging potential of this passage lies rather in its exaggeration of the intensity of Singlish into a hyberbolic discourse, thus turning an unmarked register into a marked discourse. Put in another way, although Singlish can frequently be heard in conversations and read off social media, to amass this many Singlish terms and features, weave them into humorous narratives, and package them into the form of a glossary book (supplemented with Singlish cartoons) demonstrates what Agha calls the *mediatisation of mediation*, that is, "the lamination of a process of commoditization upon a process of communication" (Agha 2011: 173).

Let us look at one entry in the book to appreciate Gwee's creativity and criticality. The sixth entry "Buak Gooyoo" begins as follows. Again, the emphases and parenthetical glosses are ours.

> A good Singaporean knows all about punishment. When we were young, we *kena* [Malay passive marker] caned by our parents and, for some of us, by our principals too. During my time, we *oso* ["also"] *kena* pulled ears and knuckle-rapped and *niamed* or pinched by our teachers. In the army, we the men *kena drop-twenty* [be ordered to do twenty push-ups] plus several times of no-count-start-again, run-and-touch-or-kiss-tree-and-come-back kinds of *gilaness* ["tough", inflected into a noun by attaching the *-ness* suffix] *lah* [particle]. As civilians, we sometimes *kena saman* [to be fined, where *saman* is a corruption of "summons"] for littering, jay-walking, parking without coupon to have breakfast at the kopitiam ["coffee shop"], and so on.
>
> *(Gwee 2018: 46)*

The key term of the entry *buak gooyu*, literally "spread butter", means "to be reprimanded or punished" in Singlish. And although it does not appear in this opening paragraph, the narrative that accrues from the other corollary Singlish (*kena niamed*, *drop-twenty, saman*) and English ("caned", "pulled ears", "knuckle-rapped") terms explicates its meaning clearly. None of the terms and locale-specific references (*kopitiam*) would come across as particularly striking to a Singlish speaker; however, the way these are converged in exaggerated doses and carefully mixed with unmarked English renders the passage a literary *concoction*. The markedness of the text as a whole, as opposed to the unmarkedness of the Singlish terms it uses, is evidenced in the light-hearted humour that it generates, here by way of a nostalgic commentary on the ethos of punishment in Singapore.

To say that there is code-switching or code-mixing here between Singlish and English, although not technically erroneous, fails to do justice to the rhetorical thrust of the text as well as its tactical ambivalence with respect to the choice of register. The text is *uncanny*: it is certainly not in English "proper" (although there is quite a bit of that throughout), but nor is it in an unmarked Singlish that one hears in the streets (its high heteroglossia de-naturalises the Singlish it invokes). It sits on the verge of multiple registers but also transcends them. This, for us, is translanguaging, for it is not the switching or mixing that matters but the way diverse registers are transformed into a new discourse that is both mildly incomprehensible to foreign readers and creatively entertaining to local readers.

As a metatext, Gwee's narrative uses Singlish as an overarching medium to demonstrate, through an unravelling of its own discourse, how Singlish terms are used by ordinary people. This metatextual setup exudes a critical positionality: by subsuming "standard" English into Singlish discourse, Gwee advances an iconoclastic stance toward the language establishment, where English is privileged as the lingua franca as well as the language of government and administration. Just like de Certeau's (1984) pedestrian, who, by way of traversing the streets, effects a performative and agentive practice in resistance to top-down urban discourses, Gwee the writer punctures the existing language order from below by reframing English within Singlish.

Such criticality is semiotised in the form of an image that appears at the end of Gwee's introduction (Figure 33.1). The image re-appropriates the design slogan of the government's Speak Good English Movement (SGEM), subverting its ethos by re-inscribing its text as "Speak Good England and Singlish Movement", where *England* does not refer to England the place but is here a Singlish term referring to the English language.

Figure 33.1 A parody of the Speak Good English Movement design slogan

Figure 33.2 Singlish mediatised in an ecclesiastical context

Recent years have also seen the mediatisation of Singlish in the proliferation of artefacts where the register is appropriated to articulate a Singaporean identity. Figure 33.2 shows a series of products by TheSuperBlessed.com, a Christian gift shop that has attempted to incorporate a Singaporean identity into their products (bookmarks, pouches, notebooks, pin buttons, keychains) by juxtaposing Singlish expressions and fragments from ecclesiastical discourse. Let us first explain some examples in this product series (from Baynham & Lee 2019: 52–53):

- Tio Sabo? NO FEAR! No weapon formed against you shall prosper (Isaiah 54:17)

  Tio sabo means to be sabotaged or sneak-attacked in Singlish (where *sabo* is truncated from "sabotage"). This sets out the problem, which is dialogically resolved by the Isaiah quote, which assures one protection against attacking "weapons".

- MAI TU LIAO/I CHOOSE JESUS

  Mai tu liao means "delay no more" in Hokkien; the second part of the dyad indicates the desired action to be taken, that is, believe in Jesus. A vernacular expression slides into Standard English, completing the proposition: Believe in Jesus now.
- CHIO BU/You are altogether beautiful, my darling; there is no flaw in you. (Song of Solomon 4:7)

  Chio bu is a Hokkien expression meaning "pretty girl"; the quote from Song of Solomon, which has a resonant theme, can be seen as a poetic elaboration of the vernacular *chio bu* while transcending registers.
- POWDERFUL SIA!!/I can do ALL things through Him who strengthens me.

  Powderful is a ludic corruption of "powerful", and *sia* is a sentence-final particle in Singlish; the phrase *powderful sia* is a vernacular commentary on the evangelical statement that follows.
- MAI KAN CHEONG/Be Anxious for Nothing (Philippians 4:6)

  Mai kan cheong means "do not be anxious" in Hokkien; the quote from the Philippians is thus a translation of said expression, enacting a double crossing of languages and registers.
- RELAK/REST IN HIM. The Lord is My Shepherd. I shall not want. (Psalm 23:1)

  The Singlish word *relak* mimics the way "relax" is sometimes pronounced by Singaporeans. The following English clause can be seen as explicating the Singlish word within a Biblical logic.
- HUAT AH!/GOD WILL SUPPLY All your needs according to His Riches (Philippians 4:19)

  Huat is a Hokkien verb meaning "to get rich", often coupled with the interjection *ah!* to create an auspicious expression to invoke wealth luck. Here it coheres with the idea of "riches" in the Philippians quote, exalting God's power to take care of our material needs in the vernacular.
- Kena Arrow?/NO FEAR! A thousand may fall at your side, ten thousand at your right hand, but it will NOT come near you (Psalm 91:7)

  In Singlish, *kena* is a passive marker and *arrow* means to target or assign someone to take on a difficult or unpleasant task, so *kena arrow* means to be targeted or assigned to take on such tasks. The Psalm quote is here appropriated and trivialised to the context of office politics, the message being that God will protect you from harm – including that of being targeted.
- JIAK BUEY LIAO/Jesus Feeds the Five Thousand. (Matthew 14:13–21)

  Jiak buey liao means "too much to eat", indicating an abundance of food. This provides a vernacular commentary on the Matthew quote.

Again, to see only code-switching in these examples would be to miss their *bathos*, that is, the creative intent to let the register slide abruptly from one end of the spectrum to the other. Because vernacular Singlish is not commonly associated with the elevated Biblical register, this kind of creative juxtaposition generates humour, with the potential to surprise consumers and add a place-based, light-hearted twist to the image of Christianity in Singapore. Further, as is clear from our exposition previously, there is often a dialogic, quasi-translational relationship between the two registers. For us, this dialogic interaction between Singlish and Biblical English within the space of the artefacts is best captured by translanguaging. It exhibits a going-between but also a going-beyond two registers to create a new semiotic space in mediating disparate sensibilities – the one vernacular as represented by Singlish and the other venerable as represented by Biblical English.

It has been observed that such recontextualisation and mediatisation of Singlish are increasingly common in Singapore, both as commercial ventures and, more recently, in government campaigns. For example, it is reported that government ministries and government-affiliated organisations have on occasion deployed Singlish in videos, posters, and Twitter accounts promoting national initiatives, using such Singlish terms and expressions as *gahmen* ("government"), *cheem* ("dense"), *zai* ("impressive"), and *real or not*. The National Day Parade for Singapore's Golden Jubilee even witnessed floats depicting Singlish particles such as *lah* and *leh* and phrases such as *blur like sotong* (Lim 2015: 266–267; Hiramoto 2019: 456–457). Such inclusion of Singlish in government-related discourses and artefacts is unprecedented and at times controversial. As such, the presence of Singlish in these contexts can be interpreted as creative, hence highly marked, interventions in a largely English-dominated discursive environment. The discourses and artefacts in question trigger not merely switching but deeper interactions and intersections between different registers of English, with the potential to effect subtle shifts in Singapore's sociolinguistic ecology. On this view, they too can be brought within the purview of translanguaging.

Examples from Kongish

Kongish (not *Konglish*) is a hybrid Cantonese-English register born out of the unique constellation of languages and cultures in the former British colony of Hong Kong. Like New Chinglish, however, Kongish is not to be treated as an aberrant – even worse, "incorrect" – variety with respect to Standard English. Our interest in Kongish lies in the way its users actively hijack English for creative and critical communication across modalities (spoken/written) and media (online/offline).

On one level, Kongish manifests as lexical items so intimately bound to the native dialect as to constitute a quasi-code that is almost incomprehensible to non-natives. For example, the ubiquitous word *chok* transliterates the Cantonese 擢, describing a kind of vain mannerism that people adopt when posing for pictures. DLLM is the acronym of a romanised Cantonese expletive (the equivalent of "Fxxk your mother"). *Jetso* deceptively camouflages itself as a plausible proper noun in English, when in fact it is a reworking of the Cantonese *jeuk sou* 著數, meaning "gain" or "advantage". It may be used, for instance, in an advertising context, as in this example offered by *A Dictionary of Hong Kong English*: "Jetso Spending Offer. Promotional Offer will be coming soon" (Cummings & Wolf 2011: 86).

A most interesting example is *oldseafoodised* (Wong et al. 2017: 118), a Kongish term whose meaning has nothing to do with seafood. Instead, "seafood" is appropriated here to parody the sound of the Cantonese *sifu* 屎忽 ("buttocks"). "Old" semantically translates the Cantonese *lou* 老; thus, "old seafood" (stringed into one word) translanguages *lou sifu* 老屎忽 ("old buttocks"), a term used to describe manipulative employees who make use of their experience and interpersonal skills to offload themselves from work. Such interplay between literal translation and transliteration, unconstrained by any kind of rules, is typical of lexical formation in Kongish. Further notice how the term can be grammatically inflected with the past particle suffix *-ised* as if it were an English word, hence effectively insinuating a Cantonese word via transliteration into the morphological frame of English.

In some cases, Kongish operates in a way akin to New Chinglish, calquing Cantonese expressions to produce misshapen formations of English. The incongruity between the apparent meaning of the "English" expressions and the underlying meaning of the Cantonese original generates a subversive humour, transforming so-called broken English into a self-conscious vehicle for dynamic communication. Some examples are as follows:

- *Pump water*: translated from *chau seui* 抽水, this means to take advantage of a situation to strategically enhance one's interest, where "water" is often associated with monetary or other resources in Cantonese.
- *One old water*: translated from *yat gau seui* 一舊水, this refers to a 100-dollar note in Hong Kong, although the 舊 here is likely a truncation of the colloquial classifier *gau* 嚿 ("stack", hence "a stack of water [money]") and thus does not carry the sense of "old". The orthographic slippage is eclipsed in the translation, leading to a nonsensical formation.
- *Zebra chops people*: translated from *baan ma pek yau* 班馬劈友, this means to call for back-up to fight others. Here "zebra" arises as the dictionary equivalent of 班馬 – a farcical equivalence, because despite its appearance the Cantonese word means "to call for back-up" in this stock expression, not the striped animal.
- *How senior are you?*: literally translating the Chinese expression *nei syun lou gei* 你算老幾, this expression is not used to enquire about someone's seniority in age or rank, but instead belies the meaning, "Who do you think you are?"
- *Do you old dot me?*: a nonsensical expression in English, this translates the Cantonese expression *nei lou dim ngo a* 你老點我啊 meaning, "Are you fooling me?"
- *If you have enough ginger, put your horse to me*: this literally translates *yu gwo nei gau geung gei wa jau fong ma gwo lai* 如果你夠薑既話就放馬過嚟: "If you have the guts, bring it on!" where in the vernacular "to have enough ginger" means to have courage (conversely, "to not have enough ginger" means to be cowardly), and "horse" comes from the Chinese idiom "let your horse come over", used when accepting a challenge from one's opponent.
- *You teach me how to come out and walk in the future?*: this expression has nothing to do with leisurely walking. Directly translating *nei gaau ngo yi hau dim cheut lai haang* 你教我以後點出嚟行, it has a much more sombre meaning in the vernacular: "How do you expect me to get around in the future?" where "walking" has the sense of going about one's business with dignity.

Cantonese–English bilinguals would find most of these tongue-in-cheek expressions humorous (while English speakers would find them whimsical for the most part), although Kongish is more than a source of sheer linguistic entertainment. Its place-based vernacular creativity comes with an intense criticality that becomes apparent from the way Kongish is used in social commentaries. The following example in Figure 33.3 is taken from Kongish Daily, a Facebook-based community that delivers biting, multimodal statements on sociopolitical events.

Typical of most Kongish Daily posts, this example is *prima facie* written in English while breaching all its rules – apparent "mistakes" in spelling (*afterall* is the conflation of "after all") and grammar ("Nothing is more convincing than talk[ing] about . . ."), irregular collocations ("talk heart"; calqued from *gong sam* 講心 ["to communicate with one's heart"]), Cantonese sentence-final particles (*jei*, *meh*), and the odd-looking phrase *Fu_king Bro*. From a translanguaging perspective, these are tactical interventions in the English language, creating ruptures that interrupt the flow of the language, conceptually translating into a kind of discursive resistance. Attenuating the gravity of the issue at hand, these interventions produce a register akin to *laughtivism* – the use of humour for activism purposes (Popovic 2013).

The stunning instance of translanguaging here is *Fu_king Bro*. This translates/transliterates 福建兄弟们 in the first line of the poster, meaning "Brothers from the Fujian

Figure 33.3 A post on Kongish Daily

Province", where "brothers" is a metonymy of "in-group members". The poster is an advertisement for a medical package targeted at mainland Chinese residents in Hong Kong originating from the Fujian Province (featuring simplified characters, used in mainland China, rather than traditional characters, used in Hong Kong). The Kongish Daily post critiques the medical package as a money-making business, using Kongish as its discursive means. Specifically, the post conflates the f-word in English (in present participle form) with the Cantonese *fuk gin* – the (rather unfortunate) romanisation of the provincial name Fujian 福建 in Hong Kong (the same word is pronounced *hok kian*, in Singapore, hence Hokkien, as we have seen previously) – to produce an anomalous string: *Fu_king*, cheekily inserting an underscore in between to induce readers to fill in the blank, as it were.

As social discourse, therefore, Kongish takes on a hybrid character, framing serious issues in a seemingly frivolous tone. This is best exemplified by more recent developments in Kongish in politically charged contexts. The year 2019 witnessed unprecedented social turmoil in Hong Kong, where youths gathered in massive numbers in defiance of the government's policies over an extended period of time. Of interest to us is how Kongish is deployed as a discursive instrument for the articulation of a local identity distinct from that of the mainland Chinese.

This is manifested in the swift emergence of romanised Kongish in the media; for example, a headline on the anti-establishment Chinese newspaper *Apple Daily* reads: *Gwong Fuk Heung Gong, Si Doi Gak Ming* ("liberate Hong Kong, revolution of our times")/*8.18 Wai Dor Lei Ah Gung Yuen/Heung Gong Yan Dou Si Gin* ! ("August 18 Victoria Park, see you there Hong Kong people" (see image of the headline at www.hongkongfp.com/2019/08/18/si-doi-gak-ming-hong-kong-protesters-spell-message-effort-foil-mainland-chinese-trolls-spies/). What is significant here is the marked use of a romanised form of Kongish instead of Cantonese-Chinese characters in the Chinese press in order to make a political point: to discursively construct a Hong Kong identity by recourse to the phonetic alphabet instead of the logographic Chinese character – the latter with all its invocations of a pan-Chinese identity. One might argue that what is written here is in fact Cantonese, albeit in transliterated form, and is therefore not a form of English at all. We argue to the contrary: namely that such tactical romanisation is a *resemiotisation of Cantonese within the discursive visuality of English* (and this point becomes more acute when we consider the bilingual heritage of Hong Kong as a former British colony) and that we therefore need to consider this new sociolinguistic phenomenon as contiguous with Kongish.

Further: the romanisation of Kongish has taken on recent developments that problematise any perceived boundary between Cantonese and Kongish. In the previous example, *gak ming* ("revolution") would usually be rendered as *gaak ming*, *Wai Dor Lei Ah* ("Victoria") as *Wa Do Lei A*, and *gong yuen* ("park") as *gong yun*, using the standard Yale romanisation. This deliberate perversion of the standard romanisation of Kongish constitutes a *cryptology*. The best exemplification of this is an important Kongish message originating in the social forum LIHKG, which has proliferated wildly throughout social media within a very short time:

HEUNG GONG YAN!
TING YAT YAT TING YIU
GO WAI YEUN!
NG HO ONLY WEAR HUG SIK 3!
DAI DOR YAT KIN 3!
DAI YING KWONG STICK!
SIU SUM YAU GHOST!

IF WHY E, write this on a paper
"NEI GI NG GI NGO UP MUD 7 AH?"

NG TAI SO KAU!
KUET YAT BUT HOR!

The message may be unpacked as follows:

Original Kongish message	*Standard Yale romanisation (original English in italic)*	*Underlying message in Cantonese-Chinese script*	*English translation*
HEUNG GONG YAN!	heung gong yan	香港人	Hong Kong People!
TING YAT YAT TING YIU	ting yat yat ding yiu	聽日一定要	Tomorrow, we must
GO WAI YEUN!	*Go* wai yun	GO 維園	Go to Victoria Park!
NG HO ONLY WEAR HUG SIK 3!	m hou *only* wear hak sik 3	唔好 ONLY WEAR黑色 3 (衫)	Don't wear only a black (T-)shirt,
DAI DOR YAT KIN 3!	daai do yat gin 3	帶多一件 3 (衫)	Bring another (T-)shirt
DAI YING KWONG STICK!	daai ying gwong *stick*	帶螢光 STICK!	Bring a fluorescent stick!
SIU SUM YAU GHOST!	siu sam yau *ghost*	小心有 GHOST	Watch out for moles!
IF WHY E, write this on a paper	*If* waai yi *write this on a paper*	IF 懷疑 write this on a paper	If you find someone suspicious, write this on a [piece of] paper:
"NEI GI NG GI NGO UP MUD 7 AH?"	nei ji m ji ngo kap mat 7 a	"你知唔知我噏乜 7 (柒) 啊？"	"Do you know what the hell I am talking about?"
NG TAI SO KAU!	ng daai sou kau	五大訴求!	Five major demands!
KUET YAT BUT HOR!	kyut yat bat ho	缺一不可!	Not one less!

The backstory to this message is that local protesters in Hong Kong had discovered undercovers (the so-called "ghosts" in the message), allegedly from mainland China, sneaking into their ranks to instigate violence and generally undermine the protest movement. To combat this problem, social media users came up with a plan to encrypt their messages using a heterodox method of romanisation. It is here that we witness an intense *enregisterment* of Kongish, it being instrumentalised into a "performable sign" of a "distinct, differentially valorized semiotic register" (Agha 2007: 81) – a register of defiance. This is made clear in a Kongish Daily post on 17 August 2019, which reads: "How to Resist Strongese [mainland Chinese] Spy on the protest frontline? Kongish can be a solution".

A comparison of the Kongish message with how it would have been transcribed using the Yale method shows how the standard romanisation has been manipulated to confuse the reader. The message is thus carefully calibrated as a two-step operation: first, to exclude Mandarin Chinese readers who are non-locals by representing Cantonese-Chinese characters in alphabetic form – the Chinese script used in Hong Kong is a mixture of Cantonese and standard Chinese characters, which can still be vaguely comprehensible to a user of Mandarin Chinese; second, to circumvent easy reading by way of abandoning the standard romanisation system and using a bottom-up romanisation method that only locals are able to decipher.

What is more interesting is that within this romanised discursive frame, some English words are sneaked in surreptitiously: the words "go" (in *GO WAI YUEN*), "only", "wear"

(*ONLY WEAR HUG SIK 3*), "stick" (DAI YING KWONG STICK!), "ghost" (SIU SUM YAU GHOST!), and the clause "If . . . write this on a paper". This is not code-switching in the classical sense; it is a deliberate visual tactic designed to confuse the eye by virtue of the orthography. Not to forget two numerals: the number 3, pronounced *sam*, is phonetically similar to *saam* (with an extended vowel), which is "shirt" in Cantonese; in typical Kongish style, the number is made to stand in for the word. And the number 7 is the most pervasive of all numbers in Cantonese, attachable to almost any word to afford a derogatory and slightly vulgar connotation.

Even more intriguing: certain items assume two faces, dressed up as both Cantonese and English; for example: the "hug" in *WEAR HUG SIK 3* is a corruption of *hak*, or black in Cantonese; the "sum" in *SIU SUM*, of *sam*, literally "heart"; the "mud" in *UP MUD 7 AH?*, of *mat* ("what"), the "so" in *NG TAI SO KAU*, of "sou" ("to tell"), and the "but" in *KUET YAT BUT HOR*, of *bat* ("no"/"not"). The highlight of this example is *IF WHY E*: this means "if you suspect", where the *WHY E* is really *waai yi* ("suspect") camouflaged in an English orthography. All of these are performances of duplicity, where a word or fragment "pretends" to be English by way of an irregular transliteration when in fact it is Cantonese. The overall effect is that of an *uncanny ludification* of the local tongue, defamiliarising Cantonese by way of perverse romanisation and orthographic manipulation to create a Cantonese–English hybrid.

This last example is illustrative of translanguaging in its creative and contingent deployment of resources across traditional semiotic boundaries for critical purposes. In view of the social movement context in Hong Kong, it is truly demonstrative of de Certeau's Tactic, where Kongish articulates a pedestrian enunciation whose wayward combinations of linguistic and semiotic resources map out a subterranean linguistic imaginary in resistance to Strategy – a top-down discursive ordering.

Conclusion

This chapter proposes translanguaging as a useful lens through which we can look at World Englishes, with a specific focus on New Chinglish, Singlish, and Kongish. Translanguaging takes us away from Anglocentric approaches that view World Englishes as departures from or aberrations of a perceived Standard English. On the contrary, a translanguaging lens allows us to understand World Englishes as the tactical appropriation of so-called Standard English by local languages to create contingent discursive formations that best suit their sociocultural circumstances. Hence, just as English will continue *pervading* language use in the Sinophone world, the Sinophone, in the style of de Certeau's pedestrian, will continue to innovate new routes by *perverting* English to its needs, generating ever-evolving vitality through the process of translanguaging.

We want to give our last words to the notion of "varieties of English" and its inherent analytic approach as exemplified in the works of Kachru (1992) and Platt and Weber (1980). Despite efforts to furnish a more critical view on the current state of World Englishes by these and other scholars, the very notion of "varieties of English" may in fact reinforce the hierarchical configuration of Standard English as an international language – High variety, in Ferguson's (1959) terms, as opposed to Low variety represented by localised variations. Consequently, these critical efforts fail to fully acknowledge the crucial contributions of other languages in linguistic variation and change. Whilst we have continued to use the term "variety" in this chapter, the translanguaging approach we have adopted here offers a rather different analytical perspective by focusing on the transgression, subversion, and turbulence as illustrated by the kinds of innovative and creative linguistic acts we have discussed in this chapter. It highlights the spontaneous and dynamic nature of language use by giving equal weight to the *trans*- prefix and the -*ing* suffix of the term "translanguaging".

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34

'Brexit' and the postnational dimension of English in Europe

Mario Saraceni, Britta Schneider, Christine Bélanger

Introduction

The referendum held on 23 June 2016 to decide whether Britain was to remain in or leave the European Union had a surprising and, to some, shocking outcome: a (slim) majority of voters chose the 'leave' option. Britain's withdrawal from the EU, nicknamed 'Brexit', suddenly became a major task for the British government, one whose complexity had probably not been fully appreciated in the period leading to the referendum. At the time of writing, nearly three and half years later, the terms of such a withdrawal have yet to be agreed on, and 'Brexit' continues to be a hot topic of discussion and controversy in the media and all sectors of society, in Britain and beyond. The range and the depth of the agreements that are in place between Britain and the rest of the Union are such that it is extremely hard to imagine how these can come to an end, and it is even harder to envisage what the future holds after Brexit. This situation has given rise to a great amount of speculation in the media, especially with regard to the economy but also about the possible sociocultural implications of Britain's departure from the EU.

One of the subjects of such speculations has been the future of the English language in Europe. On 27 June 2016, four days after the referendum, the Wall Street Journal ran a story entitled 'English Loses Currency As Europe's Lingua Franca after Brexit Vote' (Steinhauser, 2016), while the next day, the Associated Press published an article along similar lines: 'EU's most widely used language, English, endangered by Brexit' (Cook, 2016). In the months that followed, a number of news articles and blog posts addressed the same question of whether the role of English in Europe would decline after Brexit. In 2017, the topic was also discussed in an issue of the *World Englishes* journal, where a paper by Marko Modiano (2017) was published along with a number of responses to it. In his paper, Modiano argued that after 'Brexit' Europeans would feel linguistically liberated, as it were, and finally free to develop their own brand of 'Euro English', without the need to worry about the British looking over their shoulders disapprovingly.

Modiano's speculation was essentially framed within the classic conceptual parameters of the World Englishes paradigm, thereby suggesting a similarity between the European context and postcolonial settings, where local varieties of English developed after Britain had lost its grip on the empire. Without going into the details of that particular debate, suffice it to say that most of the speculations about English after Brexit, and indeed the very fact that such a topic has been discussed in the first place, are indicative of a view of English, and of language in general, that is strongly anchored onto the ideas of territory and nation. Indeed, imagining that anything at all should change in the ways in which Europeans use English after Britain leaves the EU implies a whole set of assumptions. Namely, that Britain, as the 'home' of English, somehow exercises a special, almost spiritual, kind of control over the language; that such control is therefore more or less powerful depending on the political and trade alliances that Britain establishes with, or breaks off with, other countries; that British people, as the quintessential 'native speakers', act as guardians of the language beyond the borders of the United Kingdom; that Europeans are respectful of the superior linguistic authority of the British and don't dare use English 'improperly' in their presence.

In this chapter, we reject those assumptions and argue that the presence and the uses of English in Europe are such that the position of Britain within or outside the EU is irrelevant. Therefore, rather than engaging with the futurologist game of predicting what the future holds for the English language after Brexit – a question that for us is entirely obvious – we use this pseudo-question in order to offer a perspective of English in Europe that is beyond a naturalized concept of nation as the sole dimension of social identity.

By examining specific contexts, we first illustrate how English is the language of cosmopolitan communities and how such communities are not only transnational in a physical sense but also represent sociocultural identities that are alternative to those that run along national lines. Through the examination of linguistic landscape, we then examine the presence and uses of English in situations where the international dimension of its role is relatively unimportant in comparison to more local roles. And we finally draw attention to how English has found its way even into contexts that are characterized by a resurgence of ultranationalism, regionalism and aversion to everything that is transnational and border free.

Europe in the three 'circles' of English

In Kachru's three-circle paradigm, most European countries, with the exception of the United Kingdom and Ireland, belong to the expanding circle. On the basis of this categorization, descriptions of the functions of English in Europe have often emphasized the international dimension of the language. However, even in Kachru's earliest definition of the three circles, the expanding circle was not neatly distinct from the outer circle:

> The Outer and Expanding Circles cannot be viewed as clearly demarcated from each other; they have several shared characteristics. . . . What is an ESL region at one time may become and EFL region at another time or vice versa.
>
> *(Kachru, 1985: 13–14)*

This already hinted at the fact that English does not necessarily need to be characterized as a 'foreign' language in the expanding circle and hence in European countries. As Berns (2009: 195–196) noted a decade ago, English in Europe fulfils a range of different functions: instrumental functions, for example, in its role as a medium of instruction across European University courses; interpersonal functions, evidenced in its use in a number of social contexts among Europeans (and non-Europeans); institutional functions, for example, when it is used as the default language in meetings even when no 'native speakers' are present; innovative functions, seen in advertising, popular music and online communication. In Linn (2016)'s words: 'The presence of English is a fact of life, a sort of default aspect of living and studying in Europe in the 21st century' (2).

In fact, while English has traditionally played a predominantly international role in Europe, the presence and uses of the language on the continent are such that their description is most accurate when it transcends national framings and international interaction. This last observation, in turn, highlights what many scholars have considered a deficiency of the 'circles' categorization, since 'a model that is based on the concept of the nation is bound to lose some of its explanatory power in times in which sub and transnational identities become more important, as is the case in Europe today' (Motschenbacher, 2016: 64). Criticism of the 'circles' model is well known and has been well rehearsed (Bruthiaux, 2003; Jenkins, 2003; Pennycook, 2003; Park and Wee, 2009; Yano, 2009; Saraceni, 2010), and it is unnecessary to repeat it here. What we will do in the next sections, instead, is provide illustrations of the de-linking of English from the idea of nation.

English beyond the nation-state – the case of *third wave coffee culture*

The central principle of World Englishes – its raison d'être – is the idea that English is not the exclusive property of any one nation but that it is equally shared among many nations across the world. This is because of the number of distinct national varieties of the language that have developed over the centuries during and after the British Empire. However, the recognition of a plurality of Englishes and the promulgation of a greater democratization of the attitudes towards them do not get us away from the bond between language and nation: while English may not be tied to any one nation, its varieties are still defined along national lines (for critical reviews, see e.g. Saraceni, 2015).

More recently, research from the context of the *sociolinguistics of globalization* (Blommaert, 2010; Schneider, 2014) has demonstrated that the indexical functions of language and, with these, language prestige, can be related to various different social spaces. National standardized languages do not dissolve and remain important in defining what is regarded as linguistically prestigious and what not – but they no longer necessarily have the status of unmarked 'voices from nowhere' (see Gal and Woolard, 2001: 7) that have 'erased' (Irvine and Gal, 2009: 419) and made invisible other forms of speech. As sociologists have argued for two decades now, there has been a 'disintegration of locally grounded, shared community living' (Bauman, 2012: 78) where, apparently, naturalized and territorially based notions of 'community' have been replaced by the concept of 'network: a matrix of random connections and disconnections' (ibid.). There are thus tendencies towards the fragmentation of the social in late modern publics (see also Heyd and Schneider, 2019a). This means that, in contemporary culture, norm-providing centres may be polycentric and multiplex, where cultural orientations may comprise national norms, local hubs and cosmopolitan developments simultaneously.

Given the impact of methodological nationalism on linguistics (Mair, in preparation; Schneider, 2018), we know surprisingly little about how the norms and linguistic prestige of a global language like English are reproduced, challenged and potentially renegotiated on local levels, how this may differ across different sociocultural contexts and how transnational cultures – from, for example, Hip Hop music and Instagram communities to the global art scene – develop different or similar ideals of how to use English appropriately. In contemporary transnational culture, formal education may not be the main impetus for the formation of prestige, therefore shaking up the overt–covert dichotomy in some contexts (see also Lacoste and Mair, 2012) and implying that a limitation to nationally framed approaches to English run the danger of detaching the language from some highly relevant social discourses to which it is tied. It has thus been argued that in order to understand the contemporary use of English and social alignment we need to focus on

> the non-traditional avenues for the spread of standard and vernacular varieties of English that have been opened up through more recent aspects of globalisation, such as the new migrations starting after the end of the Cold War, the entertainment industry or the revolution in communication brought about by the participatory web. Many of these phenomena elude description within the 'Three Circles' model and require a re-positioning of World Englishes research in the context of the 'sociolinguistics of globalisation'.
> *(Mair, 2016: 17)*

In sociolinguistics and World Englishes research, data are often collected in realms of education or academia, social environments which typically reproduce traditional national linguistic norms. In this section, to overcome not only methodological nationalism but also 'methodological academiaism', we briefly introduce the example of transnational *Third Wave Coffee Culture*, a cultural environment based on the production, distribution, sale and consumption of so-called specialty coffee. The overall interest here is in understanding how English has been established as an index of a particular social position in a cultural setting that is not defined through national or ethnic affiliations. In other words, we give insight into the historical processes of the *enregisterment* (Agha, 2003) of English in a particular transnational cultural context, where local, national and transnational discourses interact to enregister English as a central and prestigious communicative resource. The discussion serves as one example of how the prestige of English has been partly disentangled from national public spaces through the establishment of transnational public spaces, in Europe and beyond, implying that English has become an indexical force that is not explicable by limiting our analyses to national logics. The empirical data collected to this end derive from an ethnographic field study conducted from 2015 to 2018 that comprised observation, participant observation and qualitative interviews, mostly in the locations of Third Wave Coffee Culture in Berlin, with some less systematic insights from other places which the researcher (Schneider) happened to visit during this time period.

Third Wave Coffee Culture is a contemporary trend in locations all across the world, tied to an urban lifestyle and associated with other elite practices of food consumption such as the *slow food movement* (see Wilk, 2006: 193; on the culturally contingent and classed practice of holding conversations over coffee; see also Gaudio, 2003). As has been elaborated upon elsewhere, the consumption of food serves important functions in the production of contemporary class identities that are often hidden under discourses of 'quality' and linked to ecological ideals and the support of marginalized populations. As such, they have the function of downplaying typically very elitist and exclusionary practices and symbolisms while simultaneously conforming to the demands of egalitarian, democratic values (see also Cotter and Valentinsson, 2018; Mapes, 2018; and see Thurlow, 2016 on the notion of 'post-class' ideologies). Therefore, the coffee sold in the context of Third Wave Coffee Culture is not only expensive but furthermore embedded in other practices of distinction (making it a prime example of 21st century 'habitus' studies in a Bourdieuan sense; see Bourdieu, 1979). Thus, Third Wave cafés are often easily recognizable thanks to their furniture (simplistic, often involving wooden benches, light bulbs for lightening, blackboards on the wall, etc.), and the similarity of the visual style across nations is surprising – Third Wave Coffee cafés in Sydney, Williamsburg, Lisbon or Berlin all share a striking resemblance in terms of interior

Figure 34.1 Staged simplicity in interior design of Third Wave Café

design, indicating that we are indeed dealing with a transnational cultural development. Even though there is no official institution that regulates the material localizations of Third Wave Coffee, actors here seem to engage in practices of iteration (see also Pennycook, 2010) and thus produce cultural homogeneity, which shows that the formation of prestige does not necessarily depend on official administrative institutions, such as national governments.

The observation of the emergence of patterns of similarity also holds also true for the formation of language prestige in Third Wave Coffee Culture. The starting point for this research project was the observation that trendy cafes and coffee roasteries in the centre of Berlin have a strong tendency to not only carry English names (such as, for example, *Coffee Circle*, *The Barn* or *Five Elephants*) but also sell products with English (or Italo-English) names (e.g. *flat white*, *Iced Latte*). One of the central events for the local scene is the *Berlin Coffee Festival* (see https://berlincoffeefestival.de/en/). In addition, the staff serving at many of the cafés either prefer to use English over German or do not speak any German at all (see also Schneider, 2020) so that the customers have to order their coffee in English. Typically, menus in these café bars display a mix of English, German and Italian food terms, where English often prevails (for an example; see also Heyd and Schneider, 2019b). In the summer of 2017, the dominance of English in these Berlin gastronomic settings aroused a public language ideological debate. Local (Kräge, 2017; Schlagenwerth, 2015) but also national (Spahn, 2017) and even international newspapers (Oltermann, 2017; Rose, 2017) reported on the dissatisfaction of (some) German consumers that the competence to order in English is apparently assumed in these contexts, leading to headlines such as *Berliners frustrated over restaurants where no German is spoken* (Rose, 2017) or *Hilfe, mein Kellner versteht mich nicht mehr!* (Help! My waiter no longer understands me) (Thalmann, 2017).

The usage of English is by no means limited to Third Wave Coffee venues in the context of Berlin gastronomy (consider also the craftbeer scene [Heyd 2018] or cocktail bars), and the situation may be different in other German and European cities. There are, however, various socioeconomic reasons for the particularly strong enregisterment of English in the coffee scene. As was elaborated in more detail in another publication (Heyd and Schneider, 2019b), there are, first, historical factors: informants report that Australia and the west coast of the United States were places of the first instantiations of Third Wave Coffee so that speakers of English can be considered the 'founding' population (see also Mufwene, 1996) of this cultural phenomenon. Second, in the networks that come into being on grounds of the cultivation, export, roasting, distribution and sale of coffee, English has been used as a lingua franca since the 1980s. A third aspect is the particular forms of institutionalization that, given that the context was already English dominant, also made use of English. Thus, international coffee festivals (such as the *Berlin Coffee Festival*) or barista (a person who prepares the end-product, the drinkable coffee) championships (see e.g. https://worldbaristachampionship.org) typically take place in English. Consider, for example, the following quote from an employee of *The Barn* (the informant asked for *The Barn* to be publicly mentioned, which is therefore not anonymized), one of the central actors in the Berlin coffee scene. He was asked whether the events of the Berlin Coffee Festival – among them coffee tasting events (so-called *cuppings*), discussion groups and lectures – are all in English (see also Schneider, 2020):

Britta:	Die Events sind alle englischsprachig?
Interviewee:	(3-second pause)
Britta:	Also
Interviewee:	Ich versuch gerade (.) ich muss gerade einmal überlegen ob (1-second pause) ob wir auch (2-second pause) nicht englischsprachige haben (.) aber ich glaube (2-second pause) also ich bin grad die Liste durchgegangen mit den Events die wir fürs Berlin Coffee Festival einfach mal planen. Is kein einziger ähm kein einziger Event dabei wo wir sagen das machen wir auf Deutsch.
Britta:	*Are the events all in English?*
Interviewee:	*(3-second pause)*
Britta:	*Well*
Interviewee:	*I am trying (.) I have to think whether (1-second pause) If we also (2-second pause). Have some that are non-English (2-second pause). I just* *went through the list with the events that we plan for the Berlin Coffee Festival. There is non uhm. No event where we say we do this in German.*

The informant thus confirms that all events take place in English, even though it has to be assumed that a very considerable share of those organizing and attending the events speak German. Furthermore, it is enlightening that he furthermore has to think about whether the talks and lectures take place in English or not, showing how naturalized the use of English is in this, after all, German location.

In addition to the history, internationalization and institutionalization of the Third Wave, there is a fourth aspect that explains the deeply ingrained usage of English in this setting. This is the local Berlin economy. Here, the job description for *barista* is not very well established, and not many Germans are aware of the high-quality demands of preparing speciality coffee. Typically, several years of experience in handling the often very expensive coffee machines (€20,000 and up) are regarded as ideal for a barista (personal communication and observation of job ads). According to my informants, owners of café bars often have (at least during the time when data collection took place) difficulty finding qualified German-speaking baristas and thus turn to the expatriates living in Berlin. These individuals are not only from non-German speaking contexts but are very often part of social networks in Berlin where English is spoken, either as a lingua franca or as a first language (see e.g. Farrell, 2019 on the role of English in Berlin's artist community; see Schneider, 2012 for early general observations on the role of English in Berlin central districts). The presence of English-speaking networks has to be seen in relation to Berlin's image of a 'hip' place and a growing international start-up economy.

Finally, there is a tendency for German speakers to be eager to show off their competences in English, as the ability to produce 'native' English is highly valued in, for example, the German education system. Many parents send their children to English-speaking countries for a year (typically the United States, Australia or the United Kingdom) when they are teenagers so that they can acquire 'native'-like competences. This motivates many German customers in Third Wave Coffee bars to not only conform to the demand to use English but to also do so willingly or even enthusiastically. For instance, one of my informants, who is responsible for managing the contents and the comments of his employer's website, reports that in online contexts, there are also many posts written in English by commentators who have German names and may thus be assumed to be German speakers (see Schneider, 2020, for details).

Taken together, we can observe that the particular local setting of Berlin Third Wave Coffee Culture is an example of the normalization of English in a formerly non-English speaking territorial setting. The transnational embeddedness of the community as well as the local conditions have brought about the enregisterment of English as a medium of communication and as an index of belonging, tied to constructions of prestige through the consumption and performance of a particular lifestyle. Ties to English-speaking nations do not appear to be particularly relevant in this setting, even though the cultural space has anglophone origins. As a consequence, in such transnational public settings, the traditional Labovian conceptualization of *overt* prestige as the prestige of formal and upper-middle class speech of a national setting and of *covert* prestige as the prestige of lower-class and locally rooted forms (see e.g. Labov, 1972) cannot easily be applied. The prestige of English is not part of the setting in the traditional sense, and transnational cultural space here interacts with territorial and politically established culture. It might thus be argued that the relationship between other languages and English here 'begins to resemble the conventional relationship between minority languages and the state languages within bilingual states' (Williams, 2010: 60) and that the overt prestige of English accordingly interferes with the other types of prestige in the local sociolinguistic economy.

This description of Berlin Third Wave Coffee culture has highlighted how English is simultaneously a global language and a local one. It is an inherent component of this particular social setting because of the cosmopolitan and transnational nature of the community and, at the same time, its presence has become normalized within the local territorial setting of Berlin. The idea of nation here is thus wholly inadequate to define a link between language and community. When the United Kingdom, a sovereign state, leaves the European

Union, an association of sovereign states, it is highly likely that the forms and functions of English in a setting such as that described in this section will remain unaffected.

In the next section, we examine the linguistic landscape of another, albeit smaller, German city, Augsburg, to highlight how the local aspect of the uses of English can actually be more prominent in what might at first sight appear to be a form of international communication.

English and local communication in the linguistic landscape of Augsburg

Walking around the streets of Augsburg, it soon becomes evident that a significant amount of English is present on public signage, often co-existing with German. When the researcher (Bélanger) surveyed a sample 600-meter-long street running through the city centre, it was found that of the 122 photographs taken of storefronts, posters and billboards, nearly half (48.2%) contained English in some form.

One key question is why there is so much English on public signage in a place like Augsburg. One possible answer to this question could be that this is a communicative strategy to cater to a particularly international population. Indeed, with just under 300,000 inhabitants, Augsburg has many characteristics that lend it an international and global flair. For instance, its two universities have strong internationalization policies, with the explicit goal of drawing more international students to the city. It also has a vibrant industrial sector which attracts employees from all over the world. However, demographic statistics reveal that 78% of the population are German nationals (Stadt Augsburg, 2018), and even in terms of tourism, more than three quarters of the half a million guests in 2018 were Germans (Stadt Augsburg, 2019). Therefore, it is evident that the presence of English on public signage cannot be explained simply as a reflection of an international population.

In these cases, one common interpretation is that English plays a predominantly symbolic role or, to use Kelly-Holmes's words, English is a 'fetish' indexing cosmopolitanism, global outlook and so on (2014). Additionally, business owners understand that English confers a certain 'aura' to their companies, and they use the language 'to distinguish their products, services or businesses from that of the others' (Selvi, 2016: 37). In her study of bilingual signage in Germany, Piller (2001) inferred that advertisers may actually doubt their audience's ability to understand English since German is the language of choice in said signage for providing mundane factual information (i.e. contact information, legal restrictions etc.). She found further support for this notion in the fact that the body text in most of the adverts tends to be in German as well, arguing that this way the 'important' information can be fully understood by its intended audience (Piller, 2001: 180). While this may give some credence to the idea that English is not meant to play a communicative role but a symbolic one, it is likely that in reality the situation is somewhat more complex. This is indeed what was found in this research, which took place over a 6-month period from 2018 to 2019 during which a total of 160 photographs were taken of signs featuring some form of English throughout the city as well as at Augsburg's two universities.

One initial finding of this examination was that the ways in which English and German coexisted could be placed somewhere along a continuum going from clearly distinct boundaries all the way to blurred boundaries, as shown in Figure 34.2.

It is important to note that this distinct-to-blurred-boundaries continuum is an idealized representation of the data and that in reality many of the signs from this sample could be placed in more than one position along the line depending on which section of their text is under examination.

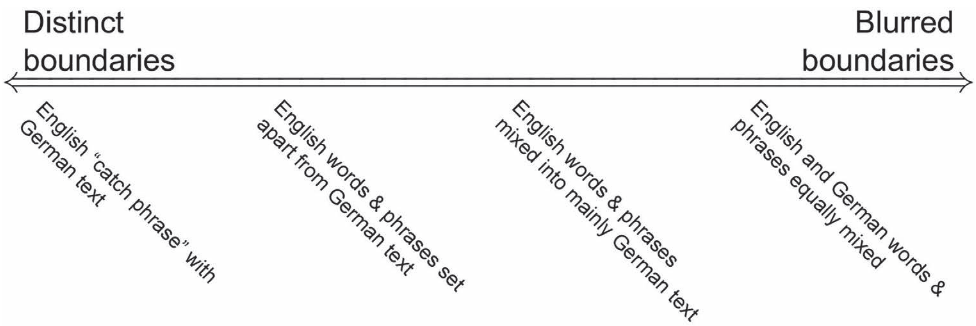

Figure 34.2 Distinct and blurred boundaries

In cases where the two languages are kept clearly separated from one another, the distinction is achieved through the use of paralinguistic devices such as different font sizes and colours, segregated spatial positioning or the use of some type of box or other linear boundary. This tends to happen, for example, in signs where English words and phrases act as a type of 'catch phrase' or headline. In these instances, the English item is generally featured in a prominent position, in a striking colour and/or in larger or different font than the rest of the text. These paralinguistic features 'serve to make the English text stronger that the German' and thus 'construct English as the authoritative voice' of the sign (Piller, 2001: 161–162). This can be seen in Figure 34.3 and Figure 34.4 with the items 'Flat' and 'Student Night', respectively. The word 'flat' is particularly interesting here as it plays a central communicative role in the overall message of the advertisement. It is also so ubiquitous in this type of promotional texts that it is hardly seen as an overtly English word. At the same time, it should also be noted that in the vast majority of the signs, factual and practical information (i.e. location, times and dates, contact information, legal restrictions, etc.) was provided in German and was also kept somewhat separate (as previously noted by Piller).

As we move further to the right of the continuum, the two languages become more mixed, and boundaries are increasingly blurred. For instance, the inclusion of English words and expressions throughout mainly German text is very common in the data. An example of this can be seen on the left side panel in Figure 34.5 with 'Bei uns ist immer Happy Hour' (With us it's always happy hour) and the expression 'Alle Cocktails 4,99€' (All cocktails for €4.99). Here, words like 'cocktail' and 'happy hour' play very important communicative roles, and the extent to which they can be regarded as purely 'English' is debatable. They may be classed as *loanwords*, perhaps, but the labelling of words by means of specific named languages ('English', 'German', etc.) is something that seems to be increasingly irrelevant in contexts such as these (see also Otheguy, García, and Reid, 2019). The extent to which such words and expressions could be said to fill a semantic void in German is variable and, ultimately, the question only applies if we consider 'English' and 'German' to represent fixed lexical spaces. One could go on debating why, for example, 'Coffee to go' is used instead of 'Kaffee zum mitnehmen' in coffee shops, or 'nails' instead of 'Nägel' on nail salon storefronts, but a more modern conceptualization is that words and expressions such as these are part of dynamic and fluid linguistic repertoires that are shared by the majority of the people for whom these signs are intended.

This is even more evident when we move to the far right end of the continuum, where German and English merge even more seamlessly. Signs which can be placed at this end of

Figure 34.3 Flat sensation

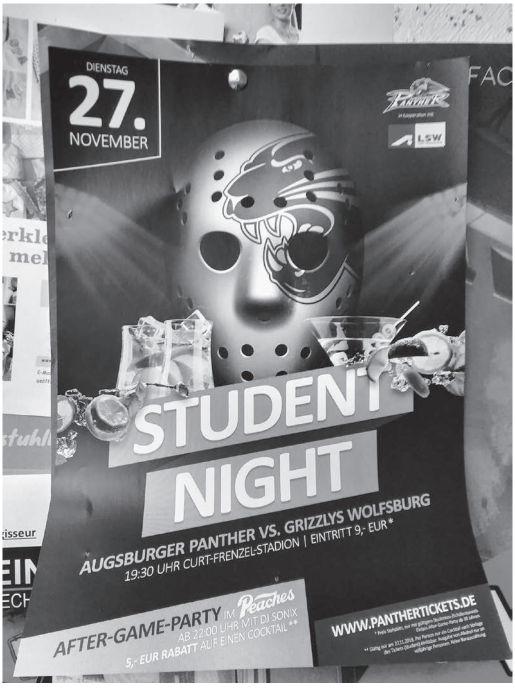

Figure 34.4 Student night

Figure 34.5 Panels

Figure 34.6 Augsburgs Shopping Nacht

the continuum display a translinguistic aspect in which 'the boundaries of language become porous, allowing for adaptations in phonology, orthography, grammar, morphology, word formation, semantics, and semiotics' (McArthur, 2000: 36). This is apparent, for instance, with the -en infinitive verb ending in 'shoppen' (to shop) in Figure 34.6, which also, interestingly, contains the word 'shopping'. Even more interestingly, the online Collins German-English dictionary lists 'shoppen' as a German word and provides the English 'translation' as an informal way to say 'to shop'. In reality, 'shoppen' not only implies that it is informal but also means that one does shopping as a leisure activity (often involving buying clothes) so that is semantically distinct from 'einkaufen' (which is now more restricted to buying things in a supermarket) (Collins German Dictionary, 2019). In Figure 34.7, the slogan 'Früh Yeah Deals' ('Springtime Deals') exploits the fact that 'Früh Yeah' is phonologically similar to ' Frühjahr' (Spring) and 'Yeah' adds a level of enthusiasm. So this is a particularly ingenious instance of creative use of available linguistic resources, irrespective of whichever language labels they may come with.

The analysis of these signs provides insight into the manner in which English is inextricably interwoven into the linguistic landscape of Augsburg and the ways in which it has become intermeshed with the German language. All of this presupposes that the target audience is competent in both languages and thus able to understand the message as a whole. In conclusion, therefore, while the notion of English as having a symbolic function may in fact be applicable in many cases, it would be overly simplistic to surmise that this completely explains what is occurring in terms of the language dynamics at play. Indeed, as Nikolaou reported from his study of shop signs in Athens, 'in many instances, the symbolic and the informational functions are conflated' (2017: 173). In the Augsburg data, a good deal of the English words and expressions found in the signage do in fact appear to have a communicative function, but, going a little further conceptually, it seems adequate to consider

Figure 34.7 Früh Yeah Deals

German and English as being part of the target audience's common semiotic repertoire, where language boundaries do not particularly matter. Therefore, English is not a decorative foreign linguistic presence utilized solely to represent values such as modernity, globalism and youth, among others, but it is an additional local linguistic resource for creating meaning among a primarily German speaking population.

If Berlin's coffee culture represents a transnational and certainly elite community, the target audience of the signs examined in Augsburg's linguistic landscape is decidedly more local and mundane. Indeed, the roles of English in Europe are complex and fascinatingly multifunctional. While it is well known that English is by far the most widely used lingua franca in Europe (Sherman, 2017), due primarily to the global and transnational currency that the language currently enjoys, its local dimension can nonetheless reach surprising levels, as the next section illustrates.

English and angry white men

The European political landscape present in Europe and elsewhere is currently characterized by a resurgence of nationalist sentiments, as demonstrated by the formidable political growth of nationalist-populist parties such as Marine Le Pen's *Rassemblement National* (National Rally) in France, Viktor Orban' *Fidesz* (Hungarian Civic Alliance) in Hungary, and Matteo Salvini's *Lega* (League) in Italy. Indeed, the 'Brexit' referendum of 2016 and the political climate that ensued in Britain can also be seen as part of the same sociopolitical phenomenon. All these movements can be understood, partly, as a reaction to the overwhelming force of globalization and a desire to re-instate (real or imagined) borders and identities. What is of interest in this discussion is that (ultra-)nationalist and identitarian movements, explicitly very hostile to globalist world views, are quite happy to make use of English, the quintessential global language.

The group that calls itself 'Make Vlaenderen Great Again' (MVGA) creates and posts memes on social media with overtly racist content. MVGA, close to the extreme right party Schild & Vrienden, is based in Belgium and stands for a medley of 'causes': the independence of Flanders from Belgium, the defence of white and Christian identity from an incumbent 'ethnic replacement', support for traditional (i.e. heterosexual and patriarchical) family values, hatred for 'lefties' and the rest of the usual ingredients that form part of the ideological toolkit of most extreme right-wing organizations and groups.

From its very name, it is clear that, in spite of its ultra-local identity ('Vlaenderen' is an older spelling of the modern 'Vlaanderen'), the group makes use of English to communicate with its audience. The name of the group mimics the slogan used during the campaign that led to the election of Donald Trump, who is regarded as a kind of hero by movements like MVGA. The retention of the Flemish word 'Vlaenderen' within an otherwise English phrase is indicative of how easily MVGA members are willing to break linguistic borders to convey their praise of all kinds of other borders. Figure 34.8 shows a meme posted by the group on Twitter during the summer of 2019. The tweet includes a text, half in Dutch and half in English, inviting people to stay cool and hydrated, with the meme itself comprising a picture of a white couple having a barbeque and a caption reading 'the MVGA team wishes everyone a pleasant summer and many tasty bbqs, because one piece of bacon keeps the [emoji depicting a muslim woman] away', with the final phrase mostly in English.

This kind of translingual practice may seem strange, given the ideological stance of the group and the ideas of 'purity' that it subscribes to. A possible explanation could be that the tweet was directed at an international audience (see Maly, 2019), but if that were the case, the

Figure 34.8 MVGA

use of Dutch would be a definite obstacle. What is more plausible is that the tweet targeted its 'own people' and that the use of English words and phrases is so normal in the wider Flemish/Dutch society that the language is not perceived as really foreign but is, once again, seen as part of the shared semiotic repertoire. In addition, using English may also convey the idea that ultra-right wing attitudes are 'cool' and 'modern' and that the person who has posted the meme is language-wise witty and has humour. And, finally, even when seen as foreign language, English is not considered a threat to the white and Christian identity that these groups profess to defend.

So the apparent paradox of the use of hybrid linguistic forms by a group that overtly abhors hybridity of all kinds is actually a very powerful illustration of the extent to which English has become embedded within the linguistic resources that (some) Europeans utilize on a daily basis, in a range of different contexts and for the most disparate reasons.

Conclusion

The roots of the English language reach deeply in the European sociocultural soil and are immune to Britain's status within or outside the European Union. The coffee culture in Berlin is one example of a community where English is an integral and central component of the communication practices with which participants engage. Importantly, this is also a setting where the use of English is not, historically, a direct consequence of the role played by imperial Britain. It is, instead, one of the many cases where English is used as a transnational and *a*-national language. Similarly, the linguistic landscape in Augsburg, a much smaller city, is a telling example of the ways in which English is seamlessly embedded within a repertoire of semiotic resources. What is particularly interesting is that the categorization of English along national lines ('German English', 'Euro English', etc.), in terms of a ranking order ('first language', 'second language'), or on the basis of specific roles ('additional language', 'international language', 'lingua franca', etc.) doesn't seem to be an adequate representation of what English is doing here. Even concepts like 'borrowing', 'loanword' and 'code-switching' don't fully capture the essence of the phenomenon under scrutiny. Some of what we may label 'English' is so deeply entrenched in the semiotic repertoire that the named language tag is becoming increasingly faded. This is also apparent in the example we saw of the tweet posted by the far-right and racist group that call themselves ‘Make Vlaenderen Great Again’. Their use of English doesn’t seem to address a particularly international audience but reflects the fact that it is simply part of the shared linguistic resources that are available.

As a final note, we would like to observe that the classic World Englishes paradigm has provided an invaluable conceptual and analytical framework for dealing with the development of varieties of English in postcolonial settings but is ill at ease in contexts such as those examined in this chapter, where practices and identities transcend the national dimension.

Suggestions for further reading

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Section 5

Debates and pedagogical implications

35

Variation across Englishes

Phonology

David Deterding

Introduction

The spread of English around the world can be described in terms of four diasporas (Kachru, Kachru and Nelson 2006). The first was to Scotland, Wales and Ireland, and the second was to the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The Englishes arising from the first and second diasporas are in what Kachru (2005) terms the inner circle, places where English is normally spoken as a first language. The third diaspora, during the colonial era, involved places such as India, Singapore, Nigeria and the Caribbean, creating Englishes in the outer circle, where English is most often spoken as a second language. The most recent diaspora has been to the rest of the world, countries such as Brazil, China and Germany, resulting in Englishes in the expanding circle, where English is generally a foreign language.

The pronunciation found in each of the varieties in the second diaspora can, to a certain extent, be predicted on the basis of two factors: when the settlers left Britain and where they came from. For example, most speakers in the United States have a rhotic accent (so [r] is pronounced wherever 'r' occurs in the spelling, including in words such as *four* and *farm*), because the original settlers left England at a time when rhoticity was the norm in most of the country, and furthermore many of the early immigrants came from the West of England, Scotland and Ireland where rhotic accents predominate. In contrast, migration to Australia and New Zealand started in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by which time the standard pronunciation in England was non-rhotic (Mugglestone 2003: 87), and furthermore many of the settlers were from the south-east of England, where rhoticity is not generally found (Wells 1982).

We may note that the indigenous languages in the countries of the second diaspora had little impact on the pronunciation of English that evolved in these places, apart from place names and also terms for fauna and flora (Schneider 2007). The only exceptions in this respect are the English of South Africa, which reflects influences both from the Afrikaans spoken by settlers of Dutch descent (Trudgill and Hannah 2008: 35) and also from indigenous African languages such as Xhosa and Zulu, and New Zealand English, which is influenced to a certain extent by Māori (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008, Warren and Maclagan this volume). For example, it has been suggested that the widespread occurrence in New Zealand of uptalk, the use of rising intonation at the end of a statement, is most common among Māori speakers of English (Warren 2016: 76).

In contrast, for varieties of English of the third diaspora, in places that shook off their colonial status during the second half of the twentieth century, there generally are significant influences from the indigenous languages. As a result, there are substantial differences between the Englishes of these countries in the outer circle. Nevertheless, some patterns seem to recur in the various outer-circle Englishes. For example: the dental fricatives [θ, ð] are generally absent, the FACE and GOAT vowels are often monophthongs, it is common to find full vowels in function words such as *as* and *of* and in the first syllable of words such as *succeed* and *concern*, syllable-based rhythm is widespread and spelling pronunciation is common.

This chapter will analyse the pronunciation of three outer-circle Englishes, those of Singapore, India and Nigeria, and it will describe features that make each of these varieties unique as well as some that are shared between them. It will then look at the extent to which the shared features are also found in other outer-circle Englishes, and finally it will consider implications for intelligibility.

Data

The data described here involves recordings of three male university lecturers in various disciplines (but not English language and linguistics) at Universiti Brunei Darussalam. All three have excellent English, as English is the medium of instruction in the subjects they teach.

Of course, data from three speakers is insufficient to provide wide-ranging conclusions about speech patterns, especially as there is substantial variation in each country. The data analysed here merely offers an illustration of some phonological features that have been reported for speakers from Singapore, India and Nigeria, and it allows us to consider shared characteristics in these varieties, especially those features that might set them apart from inner-circle varieties of English. The recordings involve a reading of the Wolf passage (Deterding 2006a):

The boy who cried wolf

> There was once a poor shepherd boy who used to watch his flocks in the fields next to a dark forest near the foot of a mountain. One hot afternoon, he thought up a good plan to get some company for himself and also have a little fun. Raising his fist in the air, he ran down to the village shouting "Wolf, Wolf." As soon as they heard him, the villagers all rushed from their homes, full of concern for his safety, and two of his cousins even stayed with him for a short while. This gave the boy so much pleasure that a few days later he tried exactly the same trick again, and once more he was successful. However, not long after, a wolf that had just escaped from the zoo was looking for a change from its usual diet of chicken and duck. So, overcoming its fear of being shot, it actually did come out from the forest and began to threaten the sheep. Racing down to the village, the boy of course cried out even louder than before. Unfortunately, as all the villagers were convinced that he was trying to fool them a third time, they told him, "Go away and don't bother us again." And so the wolf had a feast.

The intention is to focus on outer-circle varieties of English without always making comparison with inner-circle varieties such as those of Britain and the United States. However, some acoustic measurements are inherently comparative, including that for diphthongal rate of change in vowel height and also the index used for representing rhythm, so we need something to compare with. Here, when relevant, comparison will be made with the reading of the Wolf passage by the three male speakers of RP British English whose monophthong vowels are described in Deterding (2006a). They were aged 47, 48 and 57, and all were university lecturers in Singapore. Here they will be referred to as B1, B2 and B3.

Analysis

Analysis of the pronunciation of each speaker will include a plot of the monophthongs based on measurements made using Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2007), with the first two formants plotted on inverted scales so the front vowels are shown on the left and the open vowels are at the bottom (Ladefoged and Johnson 2011: 194). These plots use auditory Bark scales, so the spacing approximates how humans hear sounds (Hayward 2000: 141). The measurements adopt the methodology discussed in Deterding (2006a), based on the tokens listed in Table 35.1. The vowel categories are shown using keywords suggested by Wells (1982: xviii). As the superstrate is RP British English for all three speakers, they have non-rhotic accents, and so it is assumed that THOUGHT is merged with FORCE and NORTH. It is further assumed that BATH has the same vowel as START, not the same vowel as TRAP, as would be expected in American English (Wells 1982: 121–2), so *after* and *afternoon* (which have the BATH vowel) are combined with *dark* under START.

In some cases, one or more tokens cannot be used. For example, the Singapore speaker has FACE rather than DRESS in *next*, so this token cannot be included in the measurements for DRESS, and the Nigerian has LOT in the first syllable of *cousins* and *company*, so these tokens cannot be included in the data for STRUT. Although judgments like this introduce an element of subjectivity, as decisions must be made about what can and cannot be included, such choices are inevitable in representing measurements of vowel quality.

Singapore English

The speaker from Singapore is 49 years old, and he is ethnically Chinese. He listed his first languages as 'Peranakan Patois' (a form of Malay) and Hokkien, both of which he still speaks fairly well. However, with his wife, children, colleagues and friends, he speaks

Table 35.1 Tokens used in the measurement of the monophthongs

Vowel	*Tokens*
FLEECE	sheep, even, feast
KIT	**lit**tle, fist, this, **chick**en, did., con**vinced**
DRESS	**shep**herd, next, get, **pleas**ure, suc**cess**ful
TRAP	plan, ex**act**ly, **ac**tually, be**gan**, had
STRUT	up, **com**pany, fun, **cous**ins, much, duck, come
START	dark, **af**ternoon, **af**ter
LOT	flocks, hot, not, shot, **both**er
THOUGHT	thought, short, more, course, be**fore**, un**fort**unately
FOOT	foot, good, **look**ing
GOOSE	after**noon**, soon, two, zoo
NURSE	heard, con**cern**, third

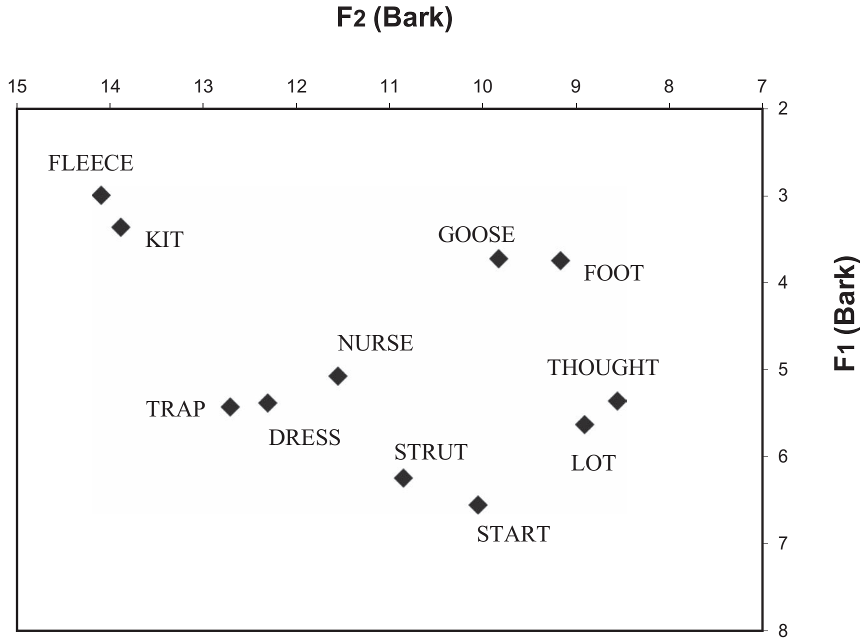

Figure 35.1 The monophthongs of the Singapore speaker

English, a language he started learning at the age of six, so although English is not his first language, it is now his best language.

Measurements of his monophthong vowels (with the exception of FACE and GOAT, which, for him, are monophthongs) are shown in Figure 35.1. From this, we can see that FLEECE and KIT are almost merged, with the result that, in the reading of the passage, *feast* and *fist* are homophones. Similarly, THOUGHT and LOT may be merged, so there is little distinction between *short* and *shot*, and GOOSE and FOOT are also quite close, so *fool* and *full* sound similar. In addition, TRAP and DRESS are merged, so *sand* and *send* would probably be homophones. These measurements all confirm the results reported in Deterding (2003) and also overviews of Singapore English such as Wee (2004), Deterding (2007) and Leimgruber (2013: 64–5).

In addition, this speaker has the following features:

- [t] occurs at the start of *thought*, *threaten* and *third*
- [d] occurs at the start of *there* and *this*
- the medial consonant in *racing* is voiced, so *racing* sounds like *raising*
- there is little aspiration for the [t] in *two* and *time* (so they sound rather like *do* and *dime*)
- there is word-final consonant cluster simplification, so the [t] in *fist* and *feast* is omitted
- both FACE and GOAT are monophthongal
- the vowel in *next* is FACE (instead of DRESS)
- the vowel in the second syllable of *began* is FACE (instead of TRAP)
- a full vowel (instead of [ə]) occurs in the first syllable of *concern* and *convinced*
- there are no weak forms for the function words *as*, *of*, *for* and *that*, so each of these has a full vowel (instead of [ə])

- there is syllable-based rhythm
- the pronoun *he* is stressed in "were convinced that he was trying to fool them again"

Use of [t] and [d] for voiced and voiceless TH has been widely reported for Singapore English (Moorthy and Deterding 2000). Lack of aspiration for initial plosives is not found with the majority of speakers in Singapore, but it does sometimes occur (Deterding 2007: 20). Simplification of word-final consonant clusters is extremely frequent in Singapore English (Gut 2005). Monophthongal FACE and GOAT in Singapore is widely reported (Lee and Lim 2000), and it is confirmed by measurements (to be discussed further subsequently).

The use of full vowels in function words and the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words is common (Heng and Deterding 2005), and measurements have confirmed relatively syllable-based rhythm in Singapore English (Low, Grabe and Nolan 2000).

Stressing of pronouns is found throughout South-East Asia, and it constitutes a feature of the English lingua franca that may be emerging in the region (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006).

Nigerian English

The speaker from Nigeria is 51 years old, and his first language is Idoma, a language spoken by about 250,000 people in central Nigeria. He speaks to his wife and children in Idoma. He also speaks Hausa fairly well, though he did not learn it until he was 24, and he only uses it with people from northern Nigeria. Currently, English is the language he speaks most widely, and he uses it with friends, colleagues and nearly everyone other than his family. He started learning English at the age of ten.

Figure 35.2 shows his monophthong vowels, revealing that FLEECE and KIT are merged, so *feast* and *fist* are homophones, and also that TRAP and START are merged, so presumably

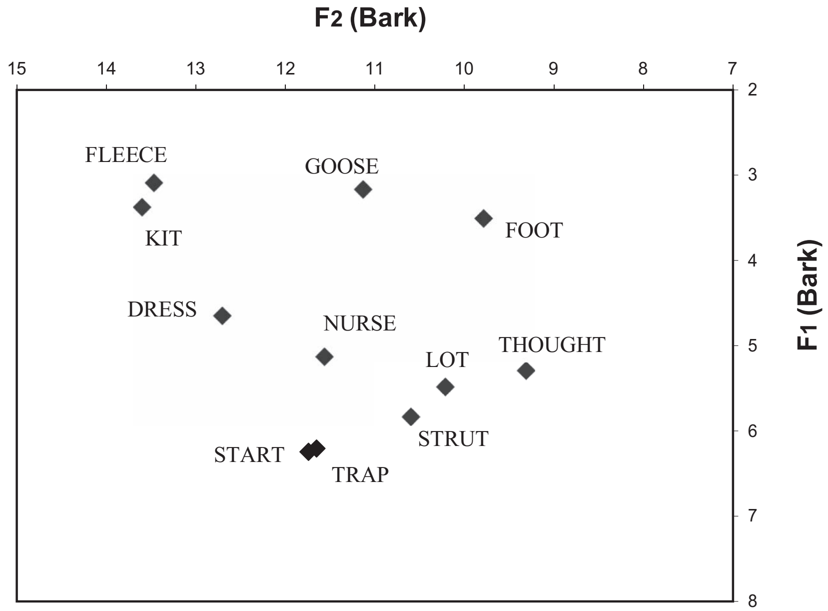

Figure 35.2 The monophthongs of the Nigerian speaker

match and *march* would sound the same, though Gut (2004) observes that these two words tend to be differentiated by speakers of Hausa in northern Nigeria. For this speaker, the vowel in the first syllable of *after* and those in *dark* and *plan* sound similar.

Some features of pronunciation found in this recording are:

- [d] occurs at the start of *this* and some tokens of *the*, though [ð] occurs in *there*, *their* and *than*
- the final [t] is omitted in *fist* and *just*
- [g] occurs at the end of *long*
- both FACE and GOAT are monophthongal, especially the vowel in *go*
- LOT occurs in the first syllable of *cousins* and *company*
- there is a full vowel in the first syllable of *concern* and *convinced*
- there are no weak forms for the function words *as*, *of*, *for* and *that*, so each of these has a full vowel (instead of [ə])
- there is syllable-based rhythm

The existence of a variety that might be labelled 'Nigerian English' has been disputed because of the substantial variation throughout the country, especially between the three main ethnic groups, the Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo (Kirkpatrick 2007: 102). In some cases, Gut (2004) lists different features of pronunciation for each of these groups. However, there are also many shared features.

Among the features that Gut (2004) lists in the pronunciation of Nigerian English are: avoidance of dental fricatives, omission of plosives from word-final consonant clusters (such as *hand* and *post*), [g] at the end of words such as *sing* and *hang*, a monophthongal vowel in FACE and GOAT and use of full vowels in the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words. Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 129) also note the omission of final [t] in *last* and [g] occurring at the end of words such as *ring* and *long*.

Measurements of rhythm (Gut 2006) confirm that Nigerian English has a substantially more syllable-based rhythm than British English.

Indian English

The speaker from India is 45 years old and he comes from Kerala in the south of India. His first language is Malayalam, which he still speaks to all his family members. He started learning English at the age of 10, and he uses it with friends and colleagues. He also learned Hindi from the age of 13, but he only uses it with Indians from other states and rates his ability in it as just "OK".

Figure 35.3 shows his monophthongs. It seems that THOUGHT and LOT are merged, so *short* and *shot* sound the same, but all the other vowel phonemes in this classification are kept distinct.

Some features of the pronunciation found in this recording are:

- [t] occurs at the start of *thought*, *threaten* and *third*
- [d] occurs at the start of *this* and *than*
- a retroflex consonant occurs at the end of *hot* and in the middle of *louder* (though the consonant at the start of words such as *two* or *down* is not retroflex)
- a sound intermediate between [v] and [w] occurs at the start of *once*
- both FACE and GOAT are monophthongal

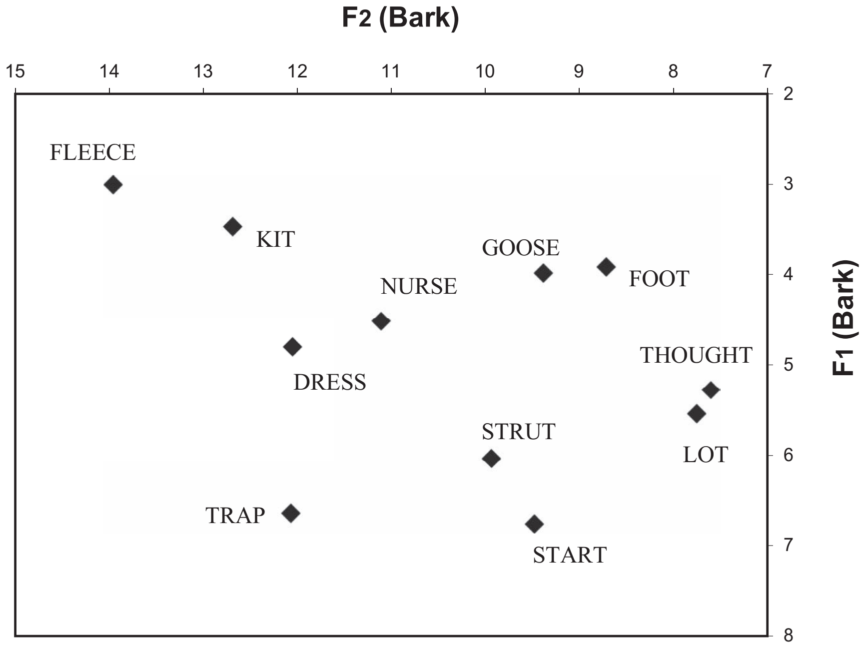

Figure 35.3 The monophthongs of the Indian speaker

- LOT occurs in *wolf* (so this word would presumably rhyme with *golf*)
- the second syllable of *village* has FACE (so the end of the word sounds like *age*)
- a full vowel occurs in the first syllable of *concern* and *convinced*
- there are no weak forms for the function words *as*, *of*, *for* and *that*, so each of these has a full vowel (instead of [ə])
- there is syllable-based rhythm

Many of these features are widely reported for Indian English. Gargesh (2004) and Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 133) both list the use of plosives for the TH sounds, a retroflex quality for [t] and [d], the sporadic merger of [v] and [w], a monophthongal quality in FACE and GOAT and the occurrence of full vowels instead of [ə] in function words, and extensive measurements by Fuchs (2016) confirm the tendency for syllable-based rhythm in the English spoken in India.

One feature that is sometimes reported for Indian English is the occurrence of [j] or [w] before words that start with a vowel, so *every* may have initial [j] (Gargesh 2004) and *open* may have initial [w] (Kachru 2005: 45). However, the speaker analysed here seems not to exhibit this feature of pronunciation, at least in this short recording, so, for example, neither *escaped* nor *even* begins with [j]. It is not clear if this feature would emerge with a longer stretch of speech or in more casual, conversational data.

Shared features

Each of the varieties described here has its own unique features: the Singaporean has a merger of DRESS and TRAP and also no distinction between *raising* and *racing*, the Nigerian merges TRAP and START and also has a final [g] in *long* and the Indian sometimes uses retroflex [t] and [d] and also occasionally conflates [v] and [w]. However, a number of features are also shared by these different varieties, and these may constitute common elements of an emergent outer-circle global English: avoidance of dental fricatives, FACE and GOAT as monophthongs, little occurrence of reduced vowels, syllable-based rhythm and the widespread occurrence of spelling pronunciation. Each of these shared features will now be considered.

TH

The avoidance of the dental fricatives [θ, ð] is widespread in Englishes throughout the world, not just in outer-circle varieties but also in some inner-circle accents, such as those of London, Ireland and New York (Wells 1982: 328, 428, 515). The avoidance of dental fricatives in outer-circle varieties is not surprising given that most other languages do not have these sounds, and many speakers find them difficult. In the data considered here, both the Singaporean and the Indian use [t] for initial voiceless TH, and although the Nigerian speaker uses [θ], he has [d] for voiced TH at the start of *this*, and furthermore, Gut (2004) notes that avoidance of [θ] is common in Nigeria, with Yoruba and Igbo speakers in the south tending to use [t] for voiceless TH and Hausa speakers in the north preferring [s].

Voiceless TH can be realised in different ways in world Englishes: [s] is used by speakers in China (Deterding 2006b), Germany (Swan 1987) and Russia (Monk and Burak 1987), [f] occurs in Hong Kong (Deterding, Wong and Kirkpatrick 2008), and [t] is found not just in Singapore, India and with some speakers from Nigeria but also in the Caribbean (Gramley and Pätzold 2004: 270), Brunei (Deterding and Salbrina 2013) and throughout Southeast Asia (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006). We might note that although [s] as a replacement occurs in many expanding-circle countries, [t] is the replacement which seems to predominate in the outer circle, though Hausa speakers in Nigeria and also speakers from Hong Kong are notable exceptions. One wonders if [t] might one day become established and accepted as the norm for voiceless TH in outer-circle global English.

FACE and GOAT

The peak of British imperial expansion in Asia and Africa occurred in the late nineteenth century, and this was also when there was substantial migration to Australia and New Zealand. On this basis, one might expect similar features of pronunciation for these outer-circle and inner-circle Englishes. However, for FACE and GOAT, this does not seem to be the case. While both Australia and New Zealand have wide diphthongal movement for FACE and GOAT (Trudgill and Hannah 2008: 23), probably as an influence of the pronunciation of these vowels by speakers from London (Wells 1982: 307–8), there is very little diphthongal movement for them in the Englishes of Singapore, Nigeria and India, so in these outer-circle Englishes, both vowels are monophthongs, and measurements can confirm this auditory impression.

When FACE and GOAT are realised as diphthongs, for example as [eɪ] and [əʊ], they are closing diphthongs, so acoustically, one expects the frequency of the first formant to fall during the course of the vowel. We can therefore obtain a simple estimate of the degree of diphthongal movement of the vowels by measuring the slope of the first formant during the vowel. The resulting value is rate of change (ROC), with units in Hertz per second (Deterding 2000). A large negative value for ROC indicates substantial diphthongal movement, while a small negative value suggests little or no change in vowel quality. For our data, for FACE, measurements were of the ROC of the vowels in *stayed, change*, the first syllable of *safety* and *later*

Table 35.2 Rate of change (ROC) for FACE and GOAT

	FACE		GOAT	
	ROC (Hz/sec)	*Average*	*ROC (Hz/sec)*	*Average*
Singapore	–100		–241	
Nigeria	–102		+95	
India	–226	–143	–233	–126
B1	–1495		–1640	
B2	–1065		–763	
B3	–874	–1145	–714	–1039

and the second syllable of *escaped*, and for GOAT, the vowels in *homes, so, go* and the first syllable of *overcoming*. Table 35.2 shows the results for our three outer-circle speakers and also the three British speakers, B1 to B3.

These measurements confirm there is less diphthongal movement both for FACE and GOAT for all three outer-circle speakers than there is for all three British speakers, and the difference is significant for FACE ($t = 5.32$, $df = 2.2$, $p = 0.027$) and marginally significant for GOAT at the 0.1 level ($t = 2.85$, $df = 2.5$, $p = 0.080$).

FACE and GOAT are also monophthongal in some inner-circle varieties of English, including those of Wales and Scotland (Wells 1982: 382, 407). It is not clear if emigrants from places such as these might have had an influence on the outer-circle varieties. However, whatever the reason, monophthongal FACE and GOAT is common in most outer-circle Englishes (Kachru and Nelson 2006: 38), not just those considered here, but also those in Jamaica (Gramley and Pätzold 2004: 270), Brunei (Deterding and Salbrina 2013) and much of the rest of South-East Asia (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006), though a few other outer-circle Englishes seem to be an exception, including that of Hong Kong (Deterding, Wong and Kirkpatrick 2008), as well as Indian South African English and Pakistan English (Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008: 123–4).

Reduced vowels

There is a tendency in outer-circle Englishes for the use of full vowels rather than reduced vowels, not just in the unstressed syllables of content words such as the first syllable of *concern* and *convinced* but also in some function words such as *of, for*, the subordinator *that* and the auxiliary verb *had*. Table 35.3 shows the quality of some of the vowels for the three outer-circle speakers in two phrases: “full of concern for his safety” and “that had just escaped from the zoo”.

We can see from Table 35.3 that all three speakers have a full vowel in *of, for, that, had* and the first syllable of *concern*, though two of them have a reduced vowel in *from*. We should note, however, that the schwa is never completely absent for any speaker, as all three speakers have [ə] in the definite article *the*.

Rhythm

One of the consequences of the relative absence of reduced vowels is that the rhythm is often perceived to be syllable based.

Table 35.3 Vowel quality in function words and the first syllable of *concern*

	of	***con**cern*	*for*	*that*	*had*	*from*	*the*
Singapore	1	1	1	1	1	0	0
Nigeria	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
India	1	1	1	1	1	0	0

(1 = full vowel, 0 = reduced vowel)

Table 35.4 Rhythm measured using the PVI

	PVI	*Average*
Singapore	29.9	
Nigeria	34.2	
India	25.0	29.7
B1	58.6	
B2	64.0	
B3	51.7	58.1

Nowadays, it is generally accepted that the rhythm of speech exists along a continuum of stress/syllable timing (Miller 1984), so it is necessary to compare any measurements with something else. Here we compare the measurements of rhythm of the three outer-circle speakers for the two utterances analysed in the previous section with similar measurements for the three British speakers, B1 to B3.

Comparison of the rhythm of these two groups of speakers was achieved using the pairwise variability index (PVI) suggested by Low, Grabe and Nolan (2000), which is based on a comparison of the duration of vowels in neighbouring syllables, and use of the PVI has been shown to successfully differentiate the rhythm of Indian and British English (Fuchs 2016). Large values for the PVI indicate substantial variation in the duration of neighbouring vowels, suggesting greater stress-based rhythm. The average PVI for the two utterances for each of the six speakers is shown in Table 35.4. Clearly, the three outer-circle speakers have substantially greater syllable-based rhythm than the British ones, a difference that is statistically highly significant (6.39, $df = 3.7$, $p = 0.004$).

Syllable-based rhythm is common in outer-circle Englishes. In addition to the three varieties described here, it is reported in a wide range of other Englishes, including those of East Africa (Gramley and Pätzold 2004: 323), Jamaica (Trudgill and Hannah, 2008: 117), the Philippines (Wells 1982: 647) and Hawaiian Creole (Wells 1982: 651). Crystal (1995) notes that inner-circle Englishes also sometimes exhibit syllable-based rhythm, for example in baby talk, sarcastic utterances, many types of popular music, and some television commercials, and he further wonders whether syllable-based rhythm might one day become the norm even in Britain and America (Crystal 2003: 171).

Spelling pronunciation

Change in the pronunciation of words to reflect their spelling is common throughout the world (Deterding and Nur Raihan 2016), so *forehead* used to be [fɒrɪd] but now is pronounced as [fɔːhed] by almost everyone, and 27% of people in Britain now have a [t] in *often* even though traditionally it was [ɒfən] (Wells 2008: 317, 560). Similarly, Lindsay (2019) notes that speakers in Britain increasingly pronounce *ate* as [eɪt] rather than [et], the final syllable of *hurricane* has [eɪ] rather than [ə], and *nephew* has medial [f] rather than [v]. All these changes reflect the pronunciation.

Spelling pronunciation is particularly prevalent in outer-circle Englishes, and, for example, a medial [l] in *salmon* is the norm in places like Brunei (Nur Raihan 2015). In the recordings analysed here, the Nigerian has [ɒ] in the first syllable of *company*, something that is also found with about half of speakers in Brunei (Deterding and Salbrina 2013: 14), and the Indian has [ɒ] in *wolf* and [eɪ] in the second syllable of *village*, both of which can be associated with the spelling. In addition, both the Singaporean and the Indian have [eɪ] in the second syllable of *again*. Although only 20% of people in Britain and 3% in America have [eɪ] in *again* (Wells 2008: 15), as [e] is currently much more common, one imagines [eɪ] in *again* will follow the same pattern as *ate* mentioned previously and one day become the norm. In the use of spelling pronunciation, it seems that speakers in the outer circle are at the forefront of trends affecting the pronunciation of English.

One feature that might be influenced by the spelling is rhoticity, as a rhotic accent follows the spelling more closely than a non-rhotic accent. Although all three speakers analysed here have non-rhotic accents, rhoticity has been shown to be becoming more widespread in Singapore, especially among well-educated speakers (Tan 2012), and it has increased substantially among university undergraduates in Brunei over the past 10 years (Nur Raihan 2017). Perhaps most outer-circle Englishes will be rhotic in the future.

Discussion

Although there are substantial differences in the English pronunciation found in the various outer-circle countries, some features are widely shared, including avoidance of dental fricatives, a monophthongal quality for FACE and GOAT, avoidance of vowel reduction, and syllable-based rhythm. We might note that all these features comply with the Lingua Franca Core (LFC), the set of pronunciation features which Jenkins (2007) suggests are essential for successful international communication, as she proposes that the dental fricatives, the precise quality of vowels, use of reduced vowels and stress-timed rhythm should all be excluded from the LFC and should only be taught to students who choose to imitate an inner-circle norm.

We might here consider what effects these features have on intelligibility, especially since it has long been established that inner-circle varieties of English are not always the most intelligible internationally (Smith and Nelson 2006). Of course, intelligibility is hard to measure, and so it is not straightforward to determine if a particular feature of pronunciation improves or degrades the chances of being understood by a range of listeners (Deterding 2013). However, it is noteworthy that the UK Civil Aviation Authority mandates the use of [t] at the start of *three* and *thousand* when pilots are engaged in air traffic communication (CAA 2016: 6), and Crystal (1995) notes that this kind of communication also exhibits syllable-based rhythm “because of the need to articulate with extra clarity” (p. 175). It seems that some shared features of outer-circle pronunciation actually enhance intelligibility in the critically important domain of air traffic communication.

We might also note that use of spelling pronunciation eliminates some of the idiosyncrasies of the English spelling system. In this way, spelling pronunciation can be regarded as a regularizing change, just like many other shifts that affect the evolution of English (Aitchison 2001).

Given that there are now more outer-circle than inner-circle speakers of English around the world (Crystal 2003: 61), one might further speculate about the possible impact that shared features among outer-circle speakers might have on the future development of English. It seems likely that some patterns of pronunciation found in outer-circle Englishes will have a substantial influence on the way that the language evolves in the future (Deterding 2014), so even if these patterns do not constitute a world standard that is adopted by everyone, they will at least become increasingly accepted. When that happens, English teachers around the world will no longer have to continue with the confidence-sapping practice of always referring to the inner-circle for their norms of pronunciation (Kirkpatrick 2007: 189), and they can truly come to believe that English belongs to them as much as to anyone else.

Suggestions for further reading

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36

English language teachers in context

Who teaches what, where and why?

Martin Dewey

Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the impact of Global Englishes[1] on our understanding of the professional suitability of English language teachers, examining this in relation to notions of teacher identity, level and kind of experience, professional preparation and the concept of expertise. In short, what does the global spread of English and English language teaching mean for the way we perceive and determine the preparedness of an individual teacher in a given pedagogic context? In order to address the questions posed in my title, it is essential that we take stock of the impact of globalization on English and English language teaching (ELT).

As a language of wider communication that functions on a worldwide scale, English is continually reshaped in response to the infinitely varied local communicative contexts in which it is spoken. English has for many years been undergoing considerable (and well-documented) diversification, leading on the one hand to the emergence of new varieties of the language nationally and regionally (the principal focus of World Englishes) and on the other to the emergence of more transitory developments that occur interactionally (the focus of research in English as a lingua franca, ELF), but where linguistic properties do not sufficiently stabilize to be definable as characteristic features of a distinct variety. It has long been acknowledged that there are more speakers of English whose primary use of the language is as a means of transcultural or transnational communication in multilingual interactions than there are who use English predominantly for interaction with speakers who share very similar linguistic profiles in settings that are more likely to be monolingual (see Brumfit 2001 on the consequences of this for ELT). According to Seidlhofer (2011), ELF, which she defines as '*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; italics in original), is the most extensive contemporary function of the language worldwide.

The premise of this chapter is that both World Englishes and ELF are phenomena that have given rise to considerable linguistic developments and engendered considerable sociolinguistic debate – one key outcome of which has to be a consideration of the relevance of Global Englishes for ELT. As a result of its globalization, English is developing in ways that require critical reappraisal of established thinking and practice in language pedagogy. In this chapter, I focus on this reappraisal specifically by addressing who is best placed to teach English in what kind of contexts. In the first section, I explore the concept of Nativeness and how this is understood by teachers, learners and education systems. In light of Global Englishes, it is essential that we reconsider what attributes, values and level of status are customarily assigned to language teachers on the basis of how they identify/are identified as 'native' or 'non-native' speakers. In the following section, I look into the impact of Global Englishes on language teacher education programmes, reviewing recent trends and developments in teacher education theory and practice and examining the relevance of Global Englishes to the curriculum in teacher preparation courses. Finally, I consider the notion of professional expertise in ELT, examining whether and in what ways our concept of teacher knowledge needs to be rethought in relation to the globalization of English.

English language teacher identities

In this section, I take into account how the way we approach teacher identity in the ELT profession needs to be re-examined in response to Global Englishes. Following Norton (2010) I adopt a poststructuralist stance, where identity is constructed, contingent, multiple and fluid.

> Every time we speak we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganizing that relationship across time and space. Our gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, among other characteristics, are all implicated in this negotiation of identity.
>
> *(Norton 2010: 350)*

This, of course, also holds true for teachers' sense of self as professional practitioners. In particular, this requires consideration of the ongoing debate surrounding the perceptions of, attitudes towards and respective experiences of Non-Native English Speaker Teachers (NNESTs) and Native English Speaker Teachers (NESTSs). In light of the global presence of English and the exceptional diversity found in its many varieties and guises worldwide, addressing the question of nativeness ought to be a far too reductive way to begin a discussion of teacher identity in ELT. However, huge importance is (in some cases very unfortunately) still attached to whether a teacher is identified as or indeed self identifies as a native speaker of English (NSE), and this is despite some very substantial critical reappraisal of the concept of native speakerhood. The question of nativeness continues to shape the way teachers see themselves and are seen by others, which in turn can have – to a greater or lesser degree, depending on context – a significant impact on teachers' sense of self-worth as practitioners. Nativeness is, in practice, a commonplace starting point for the consideration of a teacher's professional identity. It therefore seems imperative that I begin here, looking again at what has been said up to now about NNESTS, NESTS and the skills and knowledge associated with them.

One early and influential critical discussion of nativeness is Paikeday's (1985) provocatively titled *The Native Speaker Is Dead!* (aptly provocative given it represents a first serious attempt to question previously unchallenged assumptions regarding the supposed precedence of the native speaker), in which Paikeday argues that the native speaker 'exists only as a figment of the linguist's imagination' (1985: 12). Paikeday suggests 'proficient user' as an alternative term to refer to speakers who can successfully use a language. Subsequently, Rampton (1990) proposes the similar term 'expert speaker' to refer to successful language users. Despite the commendable motives underpinning their proposal, neither of these terms – nor any of the other alternatives proposed since (see e.g. Jenkins 2000 on the terms 'Bilingual English Speaker', 'Monolingual English Speaker' and 'Non-Bilingual English Speaker') – has been widely taken up, so we seem to be pretty much saddled with 'native' and 'non-native'. Part of the problem is the lack of further investigation into how proficiency or expertise might usefully be redefined in such a way that these can be detached from NS norms. By now, we seem to have more or less abandoned any attempt to find alternative terms of reference, and instead there has been extensive discussion of the assumed relative merits of NNESTS and NESTS in a range of different learning and teaching contexts.

Following Rampton's (1990) displacement of the native speaker, debate surrounding the assumed merits of NNESTS and NESTS became widespread, with numerous studies aiming to address whether language learners expressed particular preferences for NNESTs or NESTs. For Medgyes (1992), for example, NSs and NNSs remain distinguishable, though not for especially well-argued reasons. Medgyes (1992: 342) suggests that 'few people would dispute that those who use English as their first language have an advantage over those for whom it is a *foreign* language' (my emphasis), going on to add that 'for all their efforts, non-native speakers can never achieve a native speaker's competence'. Problematically, Medgyes maintains that NNSs are norm dependent, commenting that the way they use English can only be understood as 'an imitation of some form of native use' (1992: 343). In short, he singularly fails to see NNSs as language speakers in their own right. He claims that not only is the distinction between native and non-native a necessary one but also that this operates in such a way as to determine a teacher's professional practice.

There are several reasons these claims are no longer sustainable. First and foremost, and as I have argued elsewhere (see Dewey 2012), it no longer makes much sense to describe English as a 'foreign' language, as to do so grossly overstates the link between language and the nation state. Obviously, English is no longer a language that simply belongs to England (nor the United Kingdom, nor the United States, nor indeed any other 'Anglophone' country). We do of course continue to make territorial claims about the language, but to refer to it as 'foreign' fails to recognize that English has already been appropriated, deterritorialized then reterritorialized, and is thus continually being re-nativized in so many diverse contexts globally. Second, there is also a growing body of evidence which reveals (see e.g. Alharbi 2016) that adhering to a single and specific NS variety of English is not in fact a very effective way of communicating.

Medgyes (1992) concludes, however, that NNESTs' 'deficient command of English' is offset by other assets, which NESTS do not usually have. He identifies the following six NNEST attributes: a) only NNESTs can serve as a model of the successful learner of English; b) NNESTs can teach learning strategies more effectively, as they will invariably have had to adopt these in their own learning trajectories; c) NNESTs have gained greater knowledge and insight into the inner workings of English (again a result of their own learning), thus making them more valuable language informants; d) NNESTs are better able to anticipate language difficulties; e) NNESTs are better placed to be empathetic to their learners' needs and f) they often benefit from sharing the same or a similar language background to their learners and can make effective use of this in the classroom (c.f. Cook 2010 on the role and value of translation in language teaching).

Somewhat confusingly, despite NNESTs being perceived to benefit from these six attributes, while NESTS apparently benefit from only one ('superior' language competence), Medgyes argues that NNESTs and NESTs can be equally effective, as their relative merits balance each other out. Setting aside for a moment the flaws in Medgyes' position on language competence, attaching as much importance to one supposed attribute as six attributes when determining professional expertise seems questionable. This disproportionate privileging of language competence (still not at all clearly defined) is the result of rather skewed reasoning. It is a wholly normative approach to language in pedagogy, which in light of Global Englishes is a very restrictive approach to English. More recently, Medgyes (2017) has revisited the question of NESTs and NNESTs regarding their relative merits as teachers of English. Despite acknowledging the extensive debate into the changing status of English and English speakers engendered by globalization, and despite acknowledging (to some extent) the substantial volume of work that has addressed inequity and discrimination regarding NNESTs and their treatment in the profession, he seems not to have moved on at all conceptually from regarding professional competence in ELT as being chiefly determined by the type of English a teacher is able to 'command'. Medgyes disappointingly continues to refer to the 'language deficit' of NNESTs, and to their 'shortcomings in English' (2017: 84), concluding that an ideal NNEST is one who develops 'near native proficiency'.

As we move into the third decade of the 21st century, this is a demonstrably inadequate way of thinking about the suitability of language teachers' awareness and knowledge of language. Globalization, the emergence of so many nativized varieties of English and the pervasiveness of ELF in language contact settings all make it essential that we entirely rethink the concept of nativeness in ELT. One emerging theme is the notion that we are entering an era that Blair (2015) describes as 'post-native', where a teacher's first language background is unimportant and where nativeness no longer matters at all. Alternatively, we might continue to take account of nativeness but do so in an entirely different, more apt manner. In the following section, I reconsider the notion of native speakerhood, seeing this as something that entails a teacher's own sense of self and identification, and revaluing the relevance of nativeness in a context-oriented way.

Reconstructing nativeness for world Englishes and English as a lingua franca

From a World Englishes perspective, identifying as a native speaker of a relevant nativized variety can matter hugely in contexts where the learners' goal is to become a fluent speaker of a nativized variety. Undeniably, if teachers speak the variety of English that is being adopted as the classroom model, they are at a distinct advantage. However, nativeness can also continue to matter in other ways, and for all the wrong reasons. How a teacher identifies and is identified by others (and there may well be substantial tension between these identifications) as a native or non-native speaker continues to influence the way teachers see themselves and the way others see them in terms of their professional profile and standing.

One key focus of my empirical work in recent years has entailed exploring the value for language teachers of conducting narrative inquiry as a means of (re)claiming professional legitimacy and as means of facilitating the development of critical pedagogic perspectives on current principles and practices in ELT. *Engaging* in narrative inquiry (Clandinin 2013) is essential if we are to fully understand the complex phenomena that shapes the suitability of a teacher in any given context. Narrative inquiry can provide a means by which teachers are able to share their lived experiences of language, language learning and language teaching. This is especially relevant for NNESTS, as it enables us to uncover some of the language ideologies that underpin the assumptions we make about who is and who is not best placed to teach what and in what context.

As Borg (2006) has argued, language teachers enter the profession with often unarticulated but deeply ingrained notions about how to teach and what to teach. If these beliefs are not articulated and thereby foregrounded, then we have no way of knowing whether, to what extent and in what ways teachers' thinking about language and language teaching methods are influenced by language ideologies and dominant discourses. For the purpose of this chapter, I am principally interested in what assumptions teachers make about the language and the way this ought to be modelled in the language classroom. In short, as Reis (2011) discusses, our beliefs are socially constructed and are therefore subject to discourses which may be empowering or disempowering. In the case of NNESTs, we have already seen how discourse about language knowledge in ELT has conventionally been somewhat disempowering. Reiss also comments that what counts as a legitimate professional identity has been quite narrowly conceived, asserting that despite the many challenges and substantial pressure from research aimed at revaluing NNESTs and dispelling the 'native-speaker myth' (see e.g. Braine 1999, 2004; Llurda 2006; Moussu & Llurda 2008; Mahboob 2010), a constrained notion of nativeness has continued to undermine the professionalism of NNESTs.

Conventionally, in conceptualizations of professional expertise, teachers were marginalized, seen not as 'knowing professionals' or agents of good practice and pedagogic change but rather as recipients of knowledge (in what Freire 1970 termed the *banking model of education*). In this traditional model, it is academic researchers who are privileged, positioned as expert outsiders who create and hold knowledge that is then disseminated to the practitioner (see further discussion in the following section on professional development and preparation). Language biographies and narrative inquiry can serve as a powerful means of overcoming this and to thus elevate teachers themselves into positions of expertise.

To illustrate this, I report subsequently on research findings from a language autobiography project (see also Dewey 2014), in which practising teachers were asked to provide oral and written narrative accounts of their language learning and language teaching experiences. The following is an edited excerpt from a written narrative account provided by Priya, an experienced English language teacher who identifies as Anglo-Indian.

Excerpt 1

> I was born and brought up in a small town in Tamil Nadu, South India. . . . As far as my memory can reach, English was the only language we spoke at home. I remember hearing my mother speak Tamil to my father and the neighbours but don't remember speaking Tamil myself, neither at home nor elsewhere. I understood Tamil but could only utter a few basic words.
>
> My sisters and I were different from the community where we lived. We were different in the way we dressed and spoke. . . . It was a Tamil dominant community and it was here that I started speaking Tamil since speaking English did not earn me any friends or companions. My dark complexion and tongue used for communication, English, did not match each other. English was associated with white skin which I had not and did not have answers to the questioning looks then. I remember my classmates saying, 'Anglo-Indians are fair skinned, why are you dark; what makes you an Anglo-Indian?' I never had any answers to them then.

Priya begins her autobiographical account by describing her upbringing in Southern India. She identifies as a native speaker of English and makes clear that English has always been her most dominant language. Yet despite this self-identification, she reports how others in her community question her claims, as to them, her appearance did not match preconceived ideas of who can and cannot be a NES. The following two excerpts are taken from an oral account of Priya's more recent experiences, in which she expresses frustration at having to justify her claims regarding English.

Excerpt 2

> It's like, while I've grown up speaking English as my first language I'm asked to take a test just because I've been born and brought up in India, which is not an English speaking country. And I need to prove that I can speak . . .
>
> So I felt a little discriminated and again the same kind of feeling I had when I was young when I was defensive when I needed to tell people about my background or who I am, it was the same kind of feeling, what am I proving, why do I need to do it? And I did it because it's called for, it's asked for

In this excerpt, the test she refers to is IELTS, which she was required to take for university entrance for a master's degree in the United Kingdom. The practice of requiring university applicants to provide a valid IELTS score again speaks to the reductive, and in this case discriminatory, way in which nativeness and language proficiency are determined institutionally (see Jenkins & Leung 2019 for a proposed alternative to standardized language tests).

Excerpt 3

> She spoke to me and she said 'I'm a little prejudiced about what you said the other day, how can you claim English to be your first language?' You know I didn't get into the details, it was like I'm again there. It was like I'm here, I shouldn't be answering this, no-one should be asking me this

In this final excerpt, Priya describes an exchange she experienced with a colleague on her MA course, in which she reports having her identification as a native speaker of English being called into question, commenting that this even occurred following an MA lecture on the subject of World Englishes.

Priya's experiences are echoed in other teacher biographies, which tend to make regular reference to unequal practices regarding access to employment opportunities and then unfavourable contractual terms and working conditions when they do secure a teaching position. In a number of cases, teachers report having had their own claims to professional expertise and language knowledge undermined or even actively challenged and denied as a result of their non-nativeness (see Dewey 2014). This continues to occur despite a number of major developments in the professional discourse of ELT, which I turn to in the following section.

Professional preparation and development

Recent trends

In this section, I take stock of recent developments and trends in second language teacher education (SLTE), which I see as vital if we want to fully examine concepts of teacher suitability and preparedness. Burns and Richards (2009) comment that SLTE has undergone a gradual process of professionalization since ELT began to emerge as a specialized discipline. This has entailed several key developments: growing recognition that ELT is a professional field that requires a specialist knowledge base; the establishment of entry requirements and recognized standards of practice; the emergence of multiple professional organizations with associated conferences, journals and practitioner focused periodicals; and, Burns and Richards argue, demand for greater sophistication in levels of knowledge about learning and teaching.

A landmark publication in this period of professionalization is Freeman and Johnson's (1998) seminal call for a reconceptualization of the knowledge base of SLTE, which has led to a series of major developments in the way we see language teacher expertise and professional identity. Following Freeman and Johnson (1998), we have seen much greater attention paid to the social, cultural and historical contexts in which teachers practice their profession and in turn much more recognition than previously of the importance and value of individual teachers' decision-making. This has meant teachers being reconceptualized as both legitimate users and producers of pedagogic knowledge, with research into teacher cognition emerging as a distinct empirical field (see Borg 2006). This has also coincided with the appearance of a 'sociocultural turn' in SLTE (see Johnson 2006; Johnson & Golombek 2011), as well as the application of critical pedagogy in language teacher education (see Hawkins & Norton 2009; see Dewey 2014 on critical approaches to ELT from an ELF perspective).

Johnson (2009) comments that reconceptualizing the knowledge base was needed to overcome the limitations of a conventional system in which SLTE content had been predominantly based on an 'applied science' model, where practitioners were thought to be dependent on 'expert' advice from external sources – a system in which the process of teachers becoming knowledgeable was seen as learning how to apply relevant theory and research from the academy, with little attention paid to the classroom experiences of teachers themselves. In short, teachers were previously not seen as valid sources of knowledge, the premise being that practitioners rely on autonomous knowledge 'obtained' from the parent disciplines of applied linguistics and SLA, which might then simply be transferred to the language classroom. As conventionally conceived, the professional knowledge base of language teachers involved little to no emphasis on practical pedagogic issues and little to no scope for teachers to develop their own pedagogic practices and theories.

This model has now been widely criticized, with professional knowledge conceptualized as personal, practical and situated. It has also been long argued that there has to be a reciprocal relationship between 'received' and 'experiential knowledge', between knowledge gained through formal study and knowledge that develops through actual classroom experiences. There is now broad acceptance that the development of expertise among teachers comprises both knowledge types, but, as Tsui (2003) has pointed out, studies that examine expertise have largely focused on classroom management and the more generic aspects of pedagogy, with relative neglect of content knowledge. Tsui comments that 'to understand the knowledge base of expert teachers, it is necessary to include an investigation of their subject-specific knowledge, how it differs from that of novice teachers, and how expert teachers develop this knowledge' (2003: 3). Global Englishes makes it even more imperative that we shift the focus from methodologies to subject matter in discussions of teacher expertise, given that research findings in WEs and ELF have contested traditional assumptions about the language and the way it ought to be modelled and assessed in ELT.

A further recent trend in SLTE has involved a move towards seeing teacher learning and professional development as a process of becoming socialized into a community of practice.

This also needs some examination in light of Global Englishes. Burns and Richards (2009) comment on this socialization, but problematically, they do so in very broad terms.

> Becoming an English teacher means becoming part of a worldwide community of professionals with shared goals, values, discourse, and practices but one with a self-critical view of its own practices and a commitment to a transformative approach to its own role.
>
> *Burns and Richards (2009: 3)*

There is, however, a compelling need to re-examine to what extent these goals, values and practices are in fact 'shared'. To what extent can we continue to assume this when taking account of the globalization of English? We cannot simply assume that shared beliefs and practices regarding what to teach and how to teach continue to be equally relevant in all contexts of language learning and teaching. The supposedly shared values and practices of an *imagined* (see Anderson 2006) ELT community of professionals' have conventionally, and often tacitly, been understood exclusively in relation to NES norms and centre-derived methodologies. This is clearly problematic in contexts where the goals of learners and teachers are oriented towards a World Englishes variety and/or the use of English for interaction in lingua franca settings. This will be taken up further subsequently in my discussion of the impact of Global Englishes on the curriculum in teacher education.

Impact of World Englishes and English as a lingua franca on the curriculum

There have to date been several important developments in ELT professional discourse that have come about in response to growing awareness of the globalized role of English, including two key position statements from TESOL: 'Position Statement against Discrimination of Non-Native Speakers of English in the Field of TESOL' (2006); and 'Position Statement on English As a Global Language (2008). The first of these is especially poignant in its policy against the 'long-standing fallacy in the field of English language teaching that native English speakers are the preferred teachers'. The more recent statement makes clear that 'a singular or monolithic approach to the modeling of English is no longer tenable' (for TESOL position statements, see www.tesol.org/advance-the-field/advocacy-resources/position-statements).

Global Englishes has also gradually begun to have an impact on the curriculum in programmes of language teacher education, with a growing volume of syllabus documentation making at least some reference to WEs and/or ELF. The Cambridge Assessment language teacher awards at both Certificate and Diploma[2] levels include topic descriptions that relate to the role of English globally. In the case of CELTA, the syllabus is organized into five topic areas, the first of which, *Learners and teachers, and the teaching and learning context*, encompasses several topic areas that are relevant to a Global Englishes perspective: *Context for learning and teaching English, Varieties of English* and *Multilingualism and the role of first languages*. In the most explicitly relevant of these, *Varieties of English*, the syllabus guidelines state that successful candidates must be able to do the following.

a. understand the main ways that varieties of English differ from one another
b. demonstrate awareness of the need for teachers and learners to make informed choices about language models for teaching and learning
c. make practical use of this knowledge and awareness in planning and teaching

(UCLES 2019a: 2)

This is an encouraging development, but it remains to be seen what level of uptake there has so far been in practice. That novice teachers are expected to demonstrate awareness of different varieties of English and are then to make informed choices about language models suggests that there has been or still needs to be a major shift in the way we conceptualize language awareness and content knowledge in ELT.

The DELTA syllabus specifications go slightly further, making more overt statements relating to Global Englishes, as well as incorporating several content descriptors which cover sociolinguistic aspects of language. These include, among other things, the following entries.

- How language is used to form, maintain and transform identity (e.g. cultural, social, political or religious) and power relations.
- Differences in English in different world contexts (e.g. English as a global language; World Englishes, English as a lingua franca, etc.) and in different interactional and textual contexts (e.g. register, genre, etc.); related decisions about which varieties to teach.

(UCLES 2019b: 3)

Undoubtedly, therefore, WEs and ELF have begun to appear as subject matter, at least in principle if not yet in practice. This suggests that a very different profile of teacher and a very different approach to professional expertise (the focus of my discussion in the following section) are beginning to emerge.

In order to consider what awareness of Global Englishes ought to mean in practice, I provide a brief outline of research in ELF (for an extensive overview of the field, see Jenkins, Baker & Dewey 2018), focusing particularly on those aspects of lingua franca interaction that have most relevance to language pedagogy. Research in ELF has shown how lingua franca communication often involves speakers interacting collaboratively, drawing on, manipulating and combining linguistic resources from within multilingual repertoires. The natural fluidity and dynamic properties of language in interaction are often enhanced in lingua franca use. Standardized forms matter less than what is found by speakers to be communicatively effective (see e.g. Cogo & Dewey 2012). It has been widely attested that speakers' use of non-standard forms often occur in regular, systematic, and principled ways, motivated by communicative strategies, not by 'deficient' language knowledge. Emergent and novel language does not therefore occur as a result of lack in proficiency but through processes of collaborative construction of meaning (see especially Cogo & House 2018 on pragmatics in ELF). To summarize, ELF interactions have been documented to display the following properties: widespread use of codeswitching (or translanguaging, see e.g. Li Wei 2016; see Cenoz 2019 on translanguaging and pedagogy) and effective use of communicative strategies (see e.g. Vettorel 2019 on strategies and the negotiation of meaning), including especially paraphrasing, signalling non-understanding, providing and responding to clarification requests and extensive use of accommodation strategies (see e.g. Cogo 2016; Cogo & Pitzl 2016).

In short, research in ELF has shown that a number of long-held tenets in ELT are no longer tenable, especially (though not exclusively) in contexts where English is spoken as an established, nativized variety and/or used predominantly as a lingua franca in multilingual settings. We know, for instance, that in lingua franca interaction, traditional NS English norms are not always optimal for successful communication; they can in fact compromise intelligibility. Several studies have shown, for instance, that intelligibility issues are in some cases more likely to occur in the presence of NESs. Alharbi (2016), for example, comments on how employees in a multinational corporation based in Saudi Arabia commonly reported having experienced communication breakdown predominantly when NESs are present for meetings and business transactions. This raises fundamental questions about the modeling of English for language learning. We can also assume, for instance, that as NESs are generally more likely to be monolingual than multilingual, they are not necessarily effective communicators in contexts where English is used transculturally. It is extremely questionable that we have tended to automatically see NESs as ideal models of language use without any consideration of the context in which English is being spoken. There is nothing ideal, of course, in using a single variety of English in a unilateral way in multilingual interactional settings. This has major implications for how we conceive expertise with regard to the subject matter of ELT, a matter I address in the following section.

Rethinking expertise and language knowledge

Findings from ELF research reveal that the properties of effective communication in lingua franca interaction in English are not particularly well reflected in the conventional characterization of language and language knowledge we find in ELT professional discourse. Andrews (2007), for example, has a book-length treatment of *Teacher Language Awareness*, which Andrews describes in relation to teachers' 'reflections on and insights into the workings of different parts of the language systems' (2007: 183) but with a virtually exclusive focus on grammar. The approach Andrews adopts is a reflection of language viewed largely as autonomous, discrete and unconnected to the settings in which it is spoken, heard, written or read. This is broadly representative of the way language and knowledge about language are conceived in ELT and SLTE (similarly, see Thornbury 2016 – and see my discussion of this source in the following section – for a series of more practice-oriented language-analysis tasks designed to stimulate teacher reflection on language). When we take account of Global Englishes, it is clear that such an approach is an inadequate way of representing what it is teachers need to know about a) language and communication generally and b) English in particular.

The main focus of language analysis work in teacher education, however, has tended to orient towards increasing teachers' knowledge about aspects of grammar, lexis, discourse and phonology but to do so in line with very firmly established notion of a single (idealized) version of English. By contrast, relatively little attention has been paid to the nature of language itself, its intrinsic fluidity and variability. In a handbook for language teachers aimed at developing language awareness, Thornbury (2016) comments that 'teachers of English not only need to be able to speak and understand the language they are teaching; they also need to know a good deal about the way the language works: its components, its regularities, and the way it is used' (pp. xv). The focus of the book, however, is predominantly on the components and regularities and much less on the way it is used (with little to no account of the way that use will be shaped by the contexts in which English is spoken). Thornbury goes on to explain that conducting language analysis enables teachers 'to discover the language's underlying systems, in order to be in a better position to deal with them from a pedagogical perspective' (2016: xvii). The teacher's role, then, in developing their language awareness is to understand underlying systems and rules. The unwritten assumption, though, throughout this volume (notwithstanding an early chapter on World Englishes and ELF) is that developing language knowledge as a teacher consists of learning how to identify the underlying rules and systems of a very particular kind of English.

In short, what seems to matter most in conventional conceptualizations of teacher knowledge about language is being able to determine accuracy and appropriacy in the grammar, lexis, phonology and discourse patterns of a limited number of NS varieties (Standard American English and/or Standard British English). In this framing of content knowledge and pedagogic content knowledge, grammar tends to be given primacy over other areas of language (see e.g. Andrews 2007), often to the extent that grammatical accuracy is broadly seen as a precondition for successful communication. As a result, intelligibility is statically defined and largely characterized as being norm dependent. Teaching thus becomes predominantly norm driven and assessment focused, with pedagogic goals generally defined in relation to correctness and appropriacy in standard American and/or British English. Learner proficiency is in turn narrowly and normatively determined not in relation to a speaker's communicative capabilities but in relation to the extent to which they can approximate to a fixed and predetermined set of language forms, regardless of context. These are inherited assumptions that continue to influence thinking and practice in ELT, but each of these is at odds with Global Englishes, particularly as illustrated in ELF research findings, in that effective communication is not necessarily (or even principally) achieved by simply conforming to a set of norms and that intelligibility is achieved through collaborative negotiation. These assumptions can lead to a misinformed perspective on what kind of English should be taught, whose English it is being modelled and what kind of teacher is best placed to provide that model.

In conclusion

English is a globally diffuse language, with elevated status and prestige in a huge range of language learning and speaking contexts worldwide. English represents substantial cultural capital, and its learning and teaching are massively invested in both publicly and privately. But the kind of English that is valued has already changed in many settings, and it continues to change globally. Whenever it is spoken and written, English becomes locally enacted to suit the particular purposes it needs to serve. Historically, localization occurred within specific speech communities, resulting first in relatively stable varieties in a relatively limited number of contexts. Since the emergence of World Englishes, the number of stabilizing nativized varieties has increased dramatically. In addition, contemporary communication is unbounded, producing greater hybridity within a wider context of 'superdiversity', which as Blommaert and Backus (2011: 22) observe, 'compels us to abandon the presumption of stability of communities, and replace them with a more fluid view of networks, knowledge communities and communities of practice – all of them dynamic'. As a result, it is essential that we re-evaluate the prestige customarily associated with NESTs and critically re-examine longstanding assumptions about the role of NSE as a pedagogic model and as a means of determining language proficiency.

In recent years, discourse in sociolinguistics has increasingly critiqued the traditional structural concept of languages, questioning the extent to which the rather messy reality of language in use can be accounted for by conceptualizing languages as separate bounded systems of specific linguistic features (see e.g. Makoni & Pennycook 2006). ELT discourse has not taken up this debate particularly well, and it continues to frame languages as discrete systems, which in turn continues to influence the way we see language knowledge and pedagogic knowledge in language teacher education. To move beyond this requires a very different orientation to language and communication than has been promoted in the past. In addressing the question of pedagogic perspective on Global Englishes, Jenkins (2006: 173) argues that teachers (and their learners) 'need to learn not (a variety of) English, but about Englishes, their similarities and differences, issues involved in intelligibility, the strong link between language and identity, and so on'.

Yet despite longstanding critical discussion of language teacher identities and a good deal of myth debunking with regard to language ideologies, in ELT, we continue to disproportionately privilege NESTs and disadvantage NNESTs, despite the latter comprising the vast majority of English language teachers worldwide. The more suitable knowledge base and expertise of the NNEST is still sometimes undermined in the profession by native-speakerism and an outmoded, idealized notion of NES 'competence'. NESTs continue in some professional discourse, and therefore in many contexts, to be reified for their apparent (often assumed to be unconscious) knowledge of language rules, their 'intuitive' grasp of meaning, their ability (i.e. *permission*) to use language creatively and their ability to pass judgment on the acceptability of a linguistic form. Conversely, and totally unreasonably, NNESTs are still sometimes seen as having to defer to NESs for models and norms; they are not regarded as reliable judges of acceptability; are assumed to be lacking in knowledge of rules, systems and idiomaticity and as a result can continue to be professionally marginalized.

We can no longer continue to assume that NESs (as traditionally and therefore narrowly defined) are necessarily good models of English language use simply because they speak a particular variety in a particular way. Being multilingual is far more important than being a monolingual NES. The preferred teacher is therefore multilingual and, as Kirkpatrick (2018) comments, in an ELF-informed approach to English in language learning and teaching, NESs ought to be replaced by multilingual English speakers (MESs) with local knowledge. Local multilinguals are far more likely to be able to relate to the experiences and needs of their learners and so are undoubtedly able to provide more suitable models of English and communication than NESs. Similarly, and in line with Blair (2015: 99), in my view, 'ideal teachers of English are well-trained, multilingual, ELF-aware, pragmatically and interculturally competent' (see also Baker 2015 on the concept of inter/transcultural competence).

To return to the issues addressed in the first section of this chapter, I will say, in summary, that nativeness really can matter but not in the way we used to think it did.

It can still be relevant and helpful to identify teachers in relation to nativeness, provided we do not reduce the notion to a simplistic dichotomy – in short, that we extend the use of the term to encompass speakers of all varieties, acknowledge that there are degrees to which a speaker identifies (and is identified) with a particular native/ized variety and understand the term more in relation to expertise than whether a language was acquired in infancy or not. In terms of identity and identification, what is key here is a teacher's readiness and capacity to identify with learners' experience with English, their motives for learning and their contextual language needs. In summary, a native speaker of British English or American English is unlikely to be as well equipped to identify with, say, learners of Indian English and their local experience and learning needs. A native speaker of Indian English is much more likely to be in a position to do this. Finally, any multilingual speaker of English, preferably one who has received formal teacher education in a related context, is much better placed than a monolingual speaker of English to provide an effective model for language development and is much better placed to advise on communicative strategies in order to enhance a learner's communicative capabilities.

Notes

1 In line with Jenkins (2015), I use 'Global Englishes' as an inclusive, umbrella term intended to encompass both the World Englishes paradigm, where attention is predominantly on nationally defined varieties of English as these emerge through processes of nativization, and English as a lingua franca paradigm, where the focus is on the function and nature of English as used as a global contact language, or lingua franca.

2 These awards are respectively CELTA (Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) and DELTA (Diploma in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages). For more information on these awards, see https://www.cambridgeenglish.org/teaching-english/teaching-qualifications.

Suggestions for further reading

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37

When does an unconventional form become an innovation?

David C.S. Li and Deyuan He

Introduction

A lingua franca is needed to facilitate ever-expanding cross-border communication on a global scale. For historical reasons, that role has been and is increasingly assigned to English (Crystal 2003; Kirkpatrick 2007, 2014, 2016; McArthur 1998), including 'postcolonial Englishes' which are at different phases of the evolutionary cycle: (i) foundation, (ii) exonormative stabilization, (iii) nativization, (iv) endonormative stabilization, and (v) differentiation (Schneider 2007, 2014; for an update on the evolutionary dynamics of Hong Kong English, see Li 2018). This has direct implications for language education in countries big and small, rich or poor. For the vast majority of English as a second language (ESL)/English as a foreign language (EFL) (hereafter English-L2) learners who have no choice but to study English, typically as a school subject, the coming of age is hardly complete without developing an acute awareness of how important, and yet how difficult, it is to speak and write 'good English'. English is not at all learner friendly, especially to learners whose L1 is linguistically unrelated to English (e.g. Altaic languages Korean and Japanese, Sino-Tibetan languages Chinese and Thai). In the learning process, various kinds of cross-linguistic influence from features in the learners' first language(s) have been shown to be major acquisitional problems. Less well known is the fact that standard Englishes – the varieties of English being targeted for teaching and learning through education – are fraught with untidiness at different linguistic levels. This is not surprising, given that English, like all natural unplanned languages, evolved over time, rather than being consciously designed for meaning-making purposes – unlike artificial, planned languages such as Esperanto (cf. Li 2003). The untidiness is of two main kinds: (i) inconsistencies in various linguistic subsystems and (ii) considerable variation within each of the standard varieties of English (Kirkpatrick 2007; McArthur 1998; Trudgill and Hannah 2017). These two types of untidiness account for a large number of learner-unfriendly features rooted in standard varieties of English, in particular British English (BrE) and American English (AmE). For practical reasons, we will use 'Standard English' to refer to features which are true of one or more standard varieties of English.

In this chapter, we will first illustrate various kinds of learner unfriendliness by examining some examples of untidiness in Standard English. Non-standard features will be exemplified using data collected from Hong Kong Chinese English-L2 learners and users. The important distinction between errors and innovations will be discussed.

Two sources of learner unfriendliness

Standard English is inconsistent

As a semiotic, meaning-making system, Standard English is inconsistent at various linguistic levels. This is especially clear with regard to orthography and grammar. Take the case of BrE. One of the best-known criticisms of irrational English spelling was made by the British playwright, George Bernard Shaw in the 1900s. He argued that 'fish' might well be spelt as GHOTI, where the [f] sound of *gh* is attested in a word like *laugh*, the [i] sound of *o* in *women*, and the syllable-final sibilant [ʃ] of *ti* in *nation*. Another oft-cited example of inconsistent sound-spelling relationship is the various pronunciations (e.g. in RP) associated with *ough*, as in *thought* [ɔː], *though* [əʊ], rough [ʌ], cough [ɒ], drought [aʊ], through [uː], and *thorough* [ə]. Less eye-catching but nonetheless (or none the less) vexing problems of variation occur across British and American spellings (e.g. *programme* vs. *program*; *towards* vs. *toward*) and word choices (e.g. *different from* vs. *different than*; see, e.g. Trudgill and Hannah 2017: 60–95; cf. Jenkins 2015: 69–74). No wonder 'proper spelling' is sometimes a problem even among English-L1 learners and users.

Paton (2008) reports that 'Standards of spelling among university students [in the United Kingdom] are now so bad that lecturers are being urged to turn a blind eye to mistakes'. Among the high-frequency misspellings are *arguement (argument), Febuary (February), Wensday (Wednesday), ignor (ignore), occured (occurred), opertunity (opportunity), que (queue), speach (speech), thier (their), truely (truly)*, and *twelth (twelfth)*. A number of principles appear to be at work in these misspellings:

- Silent letters are dropped as spelling reflects pronunciation (cf. 'spelling pronunciation', Deterding and Nur Raihan 2016): *ignor, febuary, opertunity, twelth, que, Wensday*
- Regularization or simplification: *truely, arguement, occured*
- Orthographic analogy: *thier* (cf. the rule of spelling 'i before e, except after c' for the [iː] sound); *speach* after the productive model of *beach, peach, reach, teach*, and so on.

At the level of grammar, perhaps no other subsystem is more inconsistent than the choice of singular pronouns for designating indefinite reference, which is more or less equivalent in meaning to 'everyone' or 'anyone'. Traditional grammars allow for the use of the male-gender set of pronouns (*he, him*, *his*, and *himself*) to designate that meaning (e.g. *let everyone make <u>his</u> own choice*). One consequence is that, unlike Buddhists or bird-lovers who can consciously avoid using such unwanted culture-specific idioms as 'killing two birds with one stone', a Hong Kong tycoon-philanthropist like Mr. Li Ka-Shing could not help being seen as gender-biased in English:

> 'While an individual has the duty to reach his highest potential, to be the best that he can be, in his mind, he must not delude himself to think that he is better than who he really is', Li said.
>
> *(Excerpt of speech delivered to all graduates of Shantou University, China; The Standard, 27 June 2008: 2)*

The original speech was almost certainly delivered in Chinese (Putonghua or the local dialect), which was rendered into Standard English by some bilingual journalist. That journalist should not be blamed for the sexist overtone, however. As Erving Goffman has observed in his celebrated (1981) monograph *Forms of Talk*, unlike other frames of speech such as lecturing or drama performance, the sexist use of male pronouns to express indefinite reference in English (for academic purposes) is a rare sort of frame which is immune from any 'frame break'.

> He who lectures on speech errors and its correction will inevitably make some of the very errors he analyzes . . . , he who lectures on discourse presuppositions will be utterly tongue-tied unless unself-consciously he makes as many as anyone else. . . . [This] is not to say that other sorts of frame break might be as clearly doomed; for example, a reference at this point to the very questionable procedure of my employing 'he' in the immediately preceding utterances, carefully mingling a sex-biased word for the indefinite nominal pronoun, and an unobjectionable anaphoric term for someone like myself.
> *(Goffman 1981: 163)*

Due to inconsistencies in the pronominal system in Standard English, the use of *he* and *his* to designate 'anyone', as shown in this revealing quotation, is 'unobjectionable', however 'questionable' it might be in the eyes of gender-conscious users of English, including Goffman himself. He or she who feels unhappy about the status quo may try to get around the problem by adopting one of three options: (i) an 'inclusivist' stance (as in this sentence, i.e. using 'he or she', 'his or her', 'himself or herself'), which sounds clumsy and cumbersome, to say the least; (ii) a 'pluralist' stance (e.g. saying *those who do it* instead of *he who does it*); and (iii) an 'exclusivist' stance, that is, reversing the discriminatory stance by using the female set of pronouns to designate 'indefinite reference', as Cameron *et al.* have done in their book on critical sociolinguistic research methods, as illustrated in their generalization: 'Circumventing the Observer's Paradox often involves the researcher in concealing ***herself*** and/or ***her*** purposes from those ***she*** is studying' (Cameron *et al.* 1992: 7, emphasis added).

What is interesting is that in some books published in the 1980s, when feminism was on the rise and gendered language use increasingly a concern to sociolinguists, inserting a disclaimer in the front matters was considered a necessary and useful strategy to distance the writer(s) from a perceived gender-insensitive stance. For example:

> Finally, whenever I have needed to use a pronoun to refer to the nouns 'learner' and 'teacher', I have used 'he', 'him' or 'his'. This is purely a linguistic convention and does not imply that the person is more likely to be male than female.
>
> *(Littlewood 1984: 3)*

The need for such a disclaimer is itself strong evidence that Standard English is an untidy system that leaks. Grammatically embedded gender bias is not universal. For example, a sexist orientation is also found in Chinese writing by the male-gendered pronoun 他 (Putonghua/Mandarin *tā*), but not in speech, for the third-person singular pronouns are pronounced identically in all Chinese varieties (Chao 1968). In French, the choice of singular possessive pronouns (masculine *son*; feminine *sa*) depends on the grammatical *genre* of the common noun rather than the sex of the possessor. Thus the film *Chacun son cinéma* is rendered into English as 'To Each His Own Cinema', a gender bias not found in the original title.

Another inconsistency is the use of the same form to designate semantically incompatible meanings. This is clearly the case of using the same morpho-phonological exponent '-*s*' (and its allophones and allomorphs) to mark '3rd person singular' present tense verb forms and the plural forms of regular count nouns. Consequently, young English-L2 learners who are taught simple sentences such as *Tom likes dogs* and *Sue likes cats* have to grapple with rather different reasons why '-*s*' is grammatically indispensable: suffixed to the verb *like*, it is required for marking the '3rd person singular' meaning 'one and only one'; suffixed to the count nouns *cat* and *dog*, '-*s*' is needed for signalling the meaning 'necessarily more than one'. Since the two meanings are mutually exclusive, such a semantic discrepancy amounts to logical inconsistency. No wonder in the learning process, the '3rd person singular' and the plural morpheme are among the most slippery grammatical subsystems for English-L2 learners. This is empirically supported by research in ELF communication: detailed analysis of the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) shows that the '3rd person singular' tops the list of emerging ELF lexico-grammatical features (e.g. *you look very sad, he look very sad*, Seidlhofer 2004, 2005; see also Breiteneder 2005, 2009 for the use of singular noun forms where plural forms are preferred in Standard English; cf. Example 8 subsequently).

Considerable variation in standard English

Another source of learner unfriendliness is considerable variation internal to Standard English. Despite being the most highly codified varieties, there continues to be considerable variation within Standard English. Thus the gradual demise of the subjunctive as a verb form (e.g. *we suggest that she <u>go</u>*) has reached a stage where it is generally seen as a stylistic variant of the verb phrase marked with *should* (e.g. *we suggest that she <u>should go</u>*). Guided by the principle of regularization, the explicit marking of this modal function or meaning using 'should' is a welcome development.

Another example of variation in Standard English is the prescriptive rule against 'dangling modifiers'. Accordingly, in a complex sentence made up of two clauses – the first one a dependent (subordinate) clause with no apparent subject, the second one an independent (main) clause – the subject in the independent clause (overt or covert) should also be the antecedent of the missing subject in the dependent clause. This rule is, for instance, not respected in (1) (source: http://personal.cityu.edu.hk/~encrproj/dangling1.doc):

1 Entering the stadium, the size of the crowd surprised John.

Here the subject ('the size of the crowd') could not be interpreted as the subject in the first clause ('entering the stadium'), thus leaving it 'dangling'. One way to overcome this seemingly illogical sentence structure is to put 'John' in the subject position (e.g. 'Entering the stadium, <u>John</u> was surprised by . . . '). As Huddleston and Pullum (2005: 207–209) have pointed out, however, such a rule is by no means observed by all users of Standard English; some appear to find nothing wrong in a sentence like (2), which was collected from authentic print media data in an ENL country:

2 Jennifer Lopez stars as Marisa, a maid in a fancy New York City Hotel. While <u>trying on a wealthy woman's dress</u>, a handsome and rich politician mistakes <u>her</u> for a society woman. (Huddleston and Pullum 2005: 208)

Other synchronic variations within Standard English are arguably results of more or less recent diachronic changes; witness the neutralization of what used to be a clear functional division of labour between 'compared with' and 'compared to', which was triggered by a gradual shift of the former's functional load to the latter (e.g. *compared to my situation* used to be considered substandard, when *compared with NP* was widely held to be the norm, which was not to be confused with, e.g. *Cio-Cio-San was compared to a butterfly*). Or, consider the collocation between *the amount of* and count nouns like *books*, which used to be seen as substandard about four decades ago when *the number of* was the norm. These examples, barely the tip of the iceberg, are indicative of perennial language change, including in standard varieties of English (Milroy and Milroy 1985).

In the face of the many learner-unfriendly features exemplified previously, coupled with cross-linguistic influence at various linguistic levels in the learning process, it is not surprising that deviations from Standard English norms tend to occur at all stages of the English-L2 learning process.

Non-standard lexico-grammatical features

In general, an error is an error if it deviates from the norm. But given that language change takes place all the time, the question arises as to when a deviation may stop being seen as an error and start being considered (the onset of) an innovation. Before discussing this issue in detail, let us first look at some salient examples of non-standard features which are commonly found among Cantonese-L1 users of English in Hong Kong. Most of the data cited in the following were collected from undergraduate students' written output, including emails, supplemented by some authentic data from English-language print media. Being undergraduate students, their English proficiency level may be characterized as either intermediate or upper-intermediate.

Some deviations from Standard English are clearly due to overgeneralization resulting from the principle of analogy. This is arguably the case with, for example, the use of *widespread* as a noun after the model of the nominal use of *spread*, as in *the widespread of American culture*; *the widespread of Singlish*. Or, consider the use of the *to*-infinitive as the preferred pattern of complementation after the verbs *suggest* and *recommend* (e.g. *He suggested me to do it*; *we recommend you to stop*), which deviates from the normative use of a *that*-clause (i.e. *He suggested that I do it*; *we recommend that you stop*). Given the dominant pattern of complementation required for many other verbs (compare: *She asked/expected/told me to do it*; *they order/persuade/want you to stop*), it is understandable why the *to*-infinitive is regarded by so many English-L2 learners/users as the preferred pattern of complementation for *suggest* and *recommend*. Indeed, there is some evidence that such a trend has been spread to proficient English-L2 users (3) as well as English-L1 users (4):

3 As a linguist who worked recently on the matter of how spatial notions of *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside) relate to language and culture, I would like to <u>recommend you very strongly to read</u> Dr. James Stanlaw's [2004] book on loanwords as a fascinating case study of interiorization of exterior things and words from English language and culture. (Seiichi Makino, Princeton University; promotional flyer for a new book, 2004; emphasis added)

4 [Sir Brian Fender] observed that institutions might not have thought sufficiently about the reasons for carrying out knowledge transfer, and as a result might not have accorded sufficient priority to such 'third mission' activities. <u>He recommended institutions to</u>

conduct more detailed forward planning, and gather comparable and comprehensive management data with respect to knowledge transfer so that progress can be better monitored. (Annex to letter by Mr. Michael V. Stone, secretary-general of the University Grants Committee, to the president of the then Hong Kong Institute of Education: 'Proposed Funding & Reporting Mechanism for Strengthening 'Knowledge Transfer' in UGC-funded Institutions', 6 March 2009: 2)

Sometimes variation in Standard English may give rise to disagreement. One such case that happened to the first author of this chapter concerns the correct complementation pattern of the verb *report* (*report using* vs. *report to use*). In response to the first author's query on the grammaticality of *reported to use* in a draft paper, the writer of that paper did a Google search and obtained some interesting results, which are worth quoting at length:

5 I couldn't find any hard and fast grammar rules relating to this, but came across two websites:

www.iei.uiuc.edu/structure/structure1/gerinfvbs.html
www.tlumaczenia-angielski.info/angielski/gerund-infinitive.htm
While the first clearly indicates that 'report' can only take a gerund object, the second seems to suggest that it can take both gerund and infinitive complements (. . .). I also did a Google search for '**reported to use**' (where '**reported**' is in active rather than passive voice) and noted that this usage is found in credible texts, such as published journal articles, although the gerund is more often used. Some of the contexts are as follows:
' . . . respondents' distribution according to how often they **reported to use** different pain control . . . ' [. . .]
' . . . only one in five men and one in ten women **reported to use** no drugs at all'

Of interest here is the indeterminacy of correctness after several rounds of a Google search: while the gerund appears to be the normative pattern of complementation of *report* in active voice (*reported using*), the *to*-infinitive (*reported to use*) is also attested in some credible web pages on grammar and correct usage.

In extreme cases, both sides would contest what the other side regards as *the* correct usage. This is clearly the case of one email request the first author received in April, 2008, from a former student (MD), a novice NET (native English-speaking) teacher of English in a well-known secondary school. She felt there was something wrong in the fill-in-the-blank question 'How well do you know ____ this little animal?' set by the Head of English, with *about* being the intended answer. The following is an email that the first author received from MD (7) after his affirmative response (6) was pointed out to her:

6 I did a quick Google search using 'How well do you know about . . . '; guess what: no websites were returned (from 1–10). I see this as confirmation of our shared intuition: 'about' collocates best with 'How much . . . ', not 'How well . . . '. I suppose the best way forward is to explain this to your students, and convince them that the so-called 'model answer' is inaccurate. . . . You could instruct them to do a similar Google search to bring home this message I think.

7 The problem isnt [sic] with my students [sic] the problem is with my panel head [of English]. And she used yahoo. . . and searched it using inverted commas and came up with a

screen full of sites using how well and about. When I explained it to my colleagues they all agreed but my panel head doesn't. She says that it is a common usage. But I disagree. I am not very sure what to do. . . . I am going to search grammar books over the weekend, and collocation books too. I hope I can get some 'evidence' to show her.

Examples (5) to (7) are instructive in that the Internet is increasingly resorted to as a means to determine to what extent a particular lexico-grammatical usage is legitimate or acceptable. Given that the ever-expanding Internet has emerged as a de facto repository or huge English-language database, the popular practice of checking for grammatical correctness on the web is thus gradually altering if not revolutionizing our perceptions of what constitutes correct and normative English usage. One crucial point here is that often it is difficult to tell whether the authors of Internet texts are English-L2 or English-L1 users.

In the domain of 'grammar proper', one of the most slippery grammatical subsystems in Standard English is the distinction between singular and plural forms of a count noun. It is therefore not surprising that even highly proficient English-L2 users sometimes fail to use the appropriate plural form of a count noun. In the following quarter-page advert placed by a prestigious English-medium secondary school in Hong Kong for 'the post of English teacher', three count nouns – *application*, *requirement*, and *purpose* – are in singular form whereas Standard English usage would have them in plural:

8. XXX College invites **application** from qualified candidates for the post of English teacher (native speaker) as from September 1, 2008.

   Requirement

   – BA major in English
   – Willing to help organizing activities and creating a rich language environment in school
   – Salary: negotiable $25,000-$40,000 per month . . .

   [In small print] (All information provided will only be used for recruitment related **purpose**)

   (*The Standard*, Careers Page, 13 June 2008: 23)

Keen readers will have noticed that the verb forms after the verb *help* – *organizing* and *creating* – are also non-standard, since verbs that follow *help* should normally be in infinitive rather than *-ing* forms.

At the level of lexis, the correct usage of many verbs and nouns depends on their usual collocational pattern. Owing to a lack of exposure and practice, English-L2 learners tend to have problems acquiring the collocational patterns associated with target verbs and nouns. This is arguably the case with one subset of transitive verbs like *discuss*, *emphasize*, and *blame* (9a, 10a, 11a), which do not take a preposition, as opposed to their corresponding nominalization supported by a 'delexical verb' ('*have . . . discussion about* NP', 9b; '*place . . . emphasis on* NP', 10b; and '*put . . . blame on* NP', 11b). Non-standard structures as in 9c, 10c and 11c are arguably the result of the English-L2 learner/user confusing the collocational patterns of the (transitive) verb and the associated nominalization (Li 2010a, 2017).

9 (a) They discussed the project for two hours.
(b) They had a long discussion about the project.
(c) ?? They discussed about the project for two hours.

10 (a) We should emphasise this more.
(b) We should place more emphasis on this.
(c) ?? We should emphasise on this more.

11 (a) Don't blame her so much!
(b) Don't put so much blame on her.
(c) ?? Don't blame on her so much.

Plenty of non-standard usage patterns may be accounted for by a similar misanalysis, as shown in the spread of the non-standard complementation pattern of *recommend* to English-L1 speakers (e.g. '*He recommended institutions to conduct* . . . '; see Examples 3–4 previously). Likewise, *in class* is such a high-frequency prepositional phrase that English-L2 learners might take a long time to realize that *in classroom* is inadmissible without the definite article *the*. Other examples in our data include the use of *behind* as a post-nominal modifier as in *the reason behind* (12), the redundant use of *about* in *concerning about X* (13), the plural form of *room* in the idiom *room for improvement* and the omission of 'if' or 'though' after 'even' (14):

12 After finished my associate degree, I chose English as major in my degree. There were several reasons behind. Firstly . . .
13 May I refer to the following email to Head and Research Degrees Co-ordinator dated 22 November 2007 concerning about the Research Students' Research Output . . .
14 Despite the fact that there are still rooms for improvement in my English, especially the writing skills, I have never forgotten my own identity as a Chinese even I am able to acquaint myself well with English.

Some of these apparent anomalies are arguably due to idiosyncrasies in Standard English. For example, 'the reason behind', in analogy to 'the day before/after' or 'the point above/below', seems quite reasonable. And, it is only relatively recently that *concerning* and *regarding* have been formally recognized as prepositions in some dictionaries (see, e.g. *Collins Cobuild Dictionary*), thanks in part to insights obtained in corpus linguistics. This fine detail has yet to trickle down to the English-L2 classroom. There is some evidence that the usage patterns of the verb *concern* and its derivatives are complex and learner unfriendly. For instance, many English-L2 learners would say/write *father concerns you* or *father concerns about you* (meaning 'father is concerned about you'), partly because they overlook the syntactic constraint of the verb *concern*, partly due to incomplete learning of the periphrastic expression *be concerned about* (e.g. *father is concerned about you*) and the prepositional use of *concerning* (e.g. *concerning your safety*; Li and Chan 2001; see also Li 2017):

'something concerns someone'
'someone is concerned about someone/something'

Another group of learner-unfriendly words are adjectives with a meaning related to the degree of difficulty and probability, for example, *difficult, easy, common, convenient, compulsory,* *necessary, unnecessary, possible, impossible*, and so on. One syntactic constraint associated with these adjectives is that in general, the clause should start with the dummy subject *it* rather than a 'human' subject. For example:

15 (a) *I am difficult/not easy to learn English well.
(b) It is difficult/not easy for me to learn English well.

16 (a) *We are inconvenient to see you now.
(b) It is inconvenient for us to see you now.

For Chinese EFL learners, however, the normative use of this structure (known as 'post-poned carrier' in functional grammar, as in 15b and 16b; see Lock 1995) is learner unfriendly for two main reasons: the non-existence of a functional equivalent of 'it' in their native language (unlike many European languages in this regard) and the fact that, in Chinese, sentences with such meanings tend to begin with a human subject. This is probably why even highly educated Chinese bilingual users of English are sometimes prone to produce this non-standard structure known as 'pseudo-tough movement' (see Li and Chan 2001; see also Li 2017). In one seminar given by a Chinese Singaporean lecturer on the impact of the spread of the Chinese language in the world, he said, 'you are difficult to buy non-Chinese products'. (This syntactic constraint is neutralized when the covert object of the verb in the embedded clause is the same as the subject in the matrix clause. Compare: *John is easy to please but difficult to beat*.)

Learner-unfriendliness is also attested in another salient Standard English structure which is known as 'reduced relative clause' (RRC). When a post-nominal modifier consists of a relative clause in the passive voice (e.g. *I bought that book* <u>*which was published yesterday*</u>), Standard English allows for a stylistic variant whereby the relative pronoun and the finite auxiliary may be ellipted (e.g. *I bought that book* <u>*published yesterday*</u>). The RRC structure, however, is blocked if the verb is intransitive (e.g. *I saw the accident which happened yesterday*, but not **I saw the accident happened yesterday*). Such a lexico-syntactic constraint is often overlooked by even advanced English-L2 users. In one quarter-page public notice in a leading English daily in Hong Kong, for example, the verb *appeared* was used in the same RRC structure as in *published*:

17. We note from the reports/articles <u>appeared</u> at the front page and page 3 of the South China Sunday Morning Post <u>published</u> on 27th August 2000 . . . that a toy company called 'City Toys Ltd.' . . . has employed underage workers.
(*South China Morning Post*, 1 September 2000: 3)

Where the verb in a post-nominal modifier is intransitive (e.g. *appear*), it should either be 'introduced' by a relative pronoun (i.e . . . which appeared . . .) or in *-ing* form (i.e . . . appearing . . .).

Previous accounts of learner errors in second language acquisition tended to focus on the source of errors, with the primary factor being either cross-linguistic influence from the learners' L1, incomplete learning of L2, or some combination of these (for a critique of this analytical stance, see Jenkins 2006). While there is some truth in such explanatory accounts, they are incomplete without appreciating the fact that the target language, Standard English, is a system that leaks and, as we have seen, suffers from logical inconsistency in extreme cases. Another source of difficulty is instability, as shown in various stylistic variants at practically all linguistic levels. Following the emergence of English as a global language, with the result that learners from different L1 backgrounds often have to learn one or more standard varieties of English, a troubling question arises: should English-L2 users' non-standard performance and usage patterns be necessarily dismissed as 'errors'? After more than three decades of research in World Englishes and other related paradigms, few would dispute that at least some of the non-standard features produced by English-L2 users should be regarded as legitimate and recognized as innovations rather than errors. The question is where to draw the line.

Deviations from standard English: errors or innovations?

Standard varieties of English are products of successive stages of standardization as a direct result of decades (e.g. AusE) or even centuries (e.g. BE and AmE) of codification and/or language planning (Kirkpatrick 2007, 2014). To some extent, what standards do is impose some order on a state of unsystematic variation. For a long time, standards of English were modeled prescriptively on the lexico-grammar in Latin, regardless of how English was actually used by its speakers (Milroy and Milroy 1985). Over time, the prescriptive approach gave way to a descriptive stance among contemporary linguists and grammarians; in the process, dogmatic usage patterns (e.g. *it's I*) modelled on Latin gradually succumbed to the collective forces of popular usage and choice (e.g. *it's me*). Before English emerged as the world's de facto global language, such collective forces naturally referred to those exerted by the everyday language use patterns of its English-L1 users. Now that English is a required additional language in most non-English-L1 countries in the world, especially in view of the fact that English-L1 users are increasingly outnumbered by English-L2 users, the question arises whether such forces of language change should be attributed to English-L1 users alone. To cite one classic example: why should *prepone*, a well-motivated verb – an antonym for that matter – coined in analogy to *postpone*, be dismissed as a non-English word, even though it has been widely attested among speakers of English on the Indian subcontinent (Widdowson 1994; cf. *discuss about* NP, *emphasise on* NP, and *blame on* NP, see Examples 9–11)? A Wikipedia entry reads:

> 'Prepone' is not an English word. It's commonly used in Indian subcontinent to mean the opposite of 'post-pone', but the rest of the world is largely unaware of it.
> *(http://wiki.answers.com/Q/Why_the_word_'prepone'_is_not_in_any_dictionary)*

Public awareness of a new coinage, however, is far from being the reason why that coinage is not accepted as an innovation in World Englishes (1,390,000 hits were returned in a Google search in December, 2018). Clearly other more potent factors are at stake here. First and foremost, the status of *prepone* is low because its active use to date tends to be limited to the popular parlance of users who are labelled as non-native speakers. Second, more importantly, innovation – including the power to label new coinage as such – was traditionally thought to be the exclusive right of native speakers, notably those residing in United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Ireland. So what needs to be done before such an ingenious coinage as *prepone* is accepted as part of the lexicon in Standard English?

To our knowledge, Bamgbose (1998) is the most elaborate treatise on the theoretical distinction between English-L2 errors and innovations. Coming from a World Englishes perspective, he asks 'why should a native-variety-based standard continue to license the norms of non-native Englishes?' (p. 3). As he explains, the current state of affairs favours standard varieties of English, partly because all existing standards are upheld to be correct until otherwise replaced with alternative standards or complemented by stylistic variants but also because they are the most elaborately codified to date: '[b]y default, the only codified norms available (which are based on native varieties) will continue to license what is acceptable and what is not, even when there is a desire to encourage and institutionalize non-native English norms' (Bamgbose 1998: 5).

Owing to this prestige factor, English-L2 speakers tend to admire native accents, even though their own pronunciation does not sound native-like, reflecting thereby a kind of 'love-hate relationship' (p. 7). This point has received empirical support in a study of Chinese speakers' perceptions of English accents (Li 2009, cf. Jenkins 2007).

To calibrate the status of a local usage as either an error or innovation, Bamgbose (1998) indicates that there are five inter-related internal factors or measures:

Demographic: how many acrolectal speakers use it? Since the language use patterns of basilectal and mesolectal speakers tend to be socially stigmatized, the prospect of the usage being favourably received in the local community is dim if it is not used by acrolectal speakers.

Geographical: how widely has it spread? In principle, the farther it spreads, the higher its acceptance rate.

Authoritative: what is the social status of those who use it? In general, people who are knowledgeable are vested with authority. Thus 'writers, teachers, media practitioners, examination bodies, publishing houses, and influential opinion leaders' (p. 4) tend to be viewed favourably as credible sources of linguistic innovations, for 'the use of unconventional forms may become hallowed, simply because such use has become associated with respected authorities or writers' (p. 4).

Codification: where is the usage sanctioned? One sure way to legitimate a local usage is to have it included in all kinds of written 'authorities', such as dictionaries, course books, and reference manuals for teachers.

Acceptability: what are the attitudes of users and non-users toward this usage? In general, compared with linguistic innovations, cultural and pragmatic innovations tend to get accepted more easily and are more likely to be tolerated and nativized.

Of these five internal measures, Bamgbose points out rightly that codification and acceptability are the most important. Beyond any doubt, the key to language change is codification, a point which 'is too important to be belabored' (p. 4). Once a local usage is enshrined in the dictionary or even in a course book, the legitimation process is complete (Butler 2007; Dolezal 2006). This in turn will help tilt the balance, if gradually, in favour of accepting that local usage although, as Bamgbose (1998) has observed, English-L2 users, including decision-makers in the education domain, tend to resist making this move.

Internet as catalyst of acceptance: web-enabled innovations in cyberspace

In the two decades since Bamgbose's (1998) article, the question of grammaticality and acceptability has become considerably more complex following significant breakthroughs in information and communication technologies (ICT) and global advances in bi- or multilingual e-literacy, which invariably includes some English. In the first two decades of the new millennium, in some real sense, the 'global village' has rendered the world smaller following dramatic improvements in telecommunication mediated by the Internet. Physical barriers marked by political and geographical boundaries, real or imagined, are increasingly rendered obsolete relative to people's desire to access information or communicate with others in cyberspace, wherever their smartphone or Internet work station is located. For about three decades, information on the Internet has been and continues to expand at an exponential rate, in more languages than ever, but search engines like Google, Yahoo, and Baidu have made this task increasingly manageable for web-surfers (cf. Graddol 2006). Today, whatever the information in the public domain, be it language- or image-dominant, it is rarely more than just a few clicks away. As a result of this development, 'geography' and 'demography' as measures of English users' perception of the correctness of a local usage have become comparatively less significant. Much more pervasive today is what may be termed 'virtual vitality': whatever query about normative English usage one has, a quick check through Google or Yahoo (or any other search engine) can instantiate as many glocal examples as there are in various 'cyber communities', be they English-L2 or English-L1 users (Gupta 2005, 2006, 2007; cf. Pakir 1999).

Gupta (2007), for example, examines the extent of Anglophony in official websites of the ten ASEAN nations and found that with few exceptions (notably Myanmar), English is widely used in the key domains of government and education. She also found a 'hierarchy of Anglophony' (p. 366), with English being more commonly used for internal purposes in some ASEAN nations (notably former British colonies) than in others. In terms of the extent of variation, despite minor divergence in spelling and usage patterns, which Gupta regards as 'differences of preference rather than categorical' (p. 357), the formal features of English across ASEAN websites are remarkably similar. This high degree of unity of Standard English is attributed to a loose consensus of elite users, suggesting that 'codification of English follows practice, rather than determining it' (p. 357).

Recent developments on the Internet are thus exerting considerable impact on our perceptions of what counts as an error (i.e. the form is an unintended violation of some Standard English norm), as opposed to a linguistic innovation (i.e. the form is intended as a carrier of a new, probably culture-specific meaning with a local or glocal character). We have seen that more and more users of English turn to the Internet as an act of licensing or means of legitimation (see Examples 5–7): if an English usage is attested by a large enough number of users on the Internet, especially if glocal and English-L1 users are included, it is difficult to insist that it is an error. One instructive example is the status of the collocation *advanced booking*, which appears to be non-standard but which is found on a large number of websites, including those of international hotel-booking agencies (see, e.g. https://vilavitaparc.com/en/offers/advanced-booking) and a journal article on travel research (see Chen and Schwartz 2008). Or, consider the spelling of *irresistable* which, while non-standard according to dictionaries in standard varieties of English and Microsoft Word, is no less popular than the normative counterpart *irresistible*, probably because the suffix *-able* is semantically and orthographically more transparent (compare the increasingly popular trend of writing *everyday* to mean 'every day', *can not* [VERB] instead of *cannot* [VERB]). These examples show that the spread of a new usage has the potential to catch on and command a mass following, especially if it is well motivated. When a lexico-grammatically non-standard but well-motivated usage later spreads to formal communication among educated English users on the Internet, the legitimation process is half complete. When that happens, it is the duty of the lexicographer and/or grammarian to have its legitimate status – as an acceptable variant – formally recognized. In short, advances in ICT help explain why our attitudes toward the perceived legitimacy of a new English usage are less bound today by geography or demography than the popular choice of acrolectal English users in cyberspace, who tend to be educated, independent of their first language background.

Why acrolectal, educated English users? This is related to Bamgbose's third factor or measure: authority. Just as renowned literary figures, writing in any language, enjoy the unquestioned prerogative or poetic licence to deviate from existing lexico-grammatical norms of the language, so educated speakers and writers have the unparalleled privilege to 'bend' the language at times to suit their context-specific needs. Such a move from an 'authority' would rarely raise any eyebrows, for it is generally perceived as a novel way of meaning-making, whatever the communicative purpose (e.g. new concept, imagery or metaphor). The same expression, produced by learners in the classroom or in some language-learning context (e.g. students' assessed class- or homework), would tend to be dismissed as 'interlanguage' in need of correction. For instance, a student of English who feels inspired by the former Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao's rendition of *weiji* (危機, 'crisis') in Mandarin as a disyllabic word composed of the morphemes 'crisis' and 'opportunity' (Wen's official visit to London, February, 2009), and who is tempted to capture both morphemes by the coinage *crisistunity*, may be praised by the teacher as 'a good attempt', but it would nonetheless be dismissed as 'non-standard' – along with other 'interlanguage' errors. Yet when this coinage appears in a feature article of an English daily, as it did (Gao 2009), complete with sound justification and supportive illustrations, no reader will question its status as a well-conceived innovation. A Google search of *crisistunity* in mid-February 2009 failed to yield any hits. Another Google search two months later (13 April 2009), however, returned over 330 hits, including translations of the original English article into foreign languages such as Italian and Russian. Interestingly, the 330 plus hits also include a few other websites containing a similar word 'crisitunity' (with only one 's'), which was apparently coined by Homer Simpson:

> Crisitunity: A Chinese word refered [sic] to by Homer Simpson that means both crisis and oppertunity [sic], just like Ercle.
>
> *(Urban Dictionary, www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Crisitunity)*

> Upon being told that the Chinese word for 'crisis' is the same as their word for 'opportunity,' Homer Simpson gave the word 'crisitunity' to the English-speaking world.
>
> *(Crisitunities in Humanist Parenting: The Science Project, http://danceswithanxiety.blogspot.com/2008/05/crisitunities-in-humanist-parenting.html)*

Crisistunity (coined by a Chinese-L1, English-L2 speaker) or *crisitunity* (coined or adapted by an English-L1 speaker) may sound clumsy to the ear phonologically, but they appear to be catching on, since Google search of these two words one decade later (23 December 2018) yielded 21,100 and 7,880 hits, respectively. This is a clear example of lexical innovations inspired by Chinese 'equivalents' which are similar in meaning, albeit with subtle semantic nuances.

In terms of process, the spread of *crisistunity* seems not so different in kind from the popularization of an English-L1 coinage like *nonebrity*, denoting a celebrity who is famous for nothing in particular. There is thus some indication that hybrids and bilingual creativity (Kachru 1995) by English-L2 users have good potential to be appropriated by English-L2 and English-L1 users alike – thanks to forces of globalization mediated and facilitated by the Internet.

A second example comes from Phan Le Ha's (2008) book where, in the section 'Ha and English', she writes:

> [My parents] did not have the right to choose the language they liked [to study] at that time, Russian or Chinese or French. For historical and political reasons, these languages had high status in Vietnam in those days. It also meant that learning and teaching English then would lead people to an 'insecure' future with almost no chance for further study overseas. And going overseas in the 1970s, 1980s and early 1990s did not just bring about new knowledge but also meant 'changing one's material life' to 'wealthi-ness' or at least 'well-furnituredness'.
>
> *(Phan 2008: 15)*

The author is unmistakable about her Vietnamese-L1 and English-L2 background. The use of scare quotes in 'well-furnituredness' (and 'wealthi-ness') is a sign of its potentially objectionable status. This is partly confirmed by the result of a Google search (December, 2018), which returns no other entry than Phan's (2008) book page itself and the reference to the book by the first edition of this chapter (Li 2010b), suggesting that this usage is idiosyncratic. Be that as it may, the fact that it has survived the copy-editing stage of the book-production process is suggestive of a high level of tolerance of non-standard English usage in works written by acrolectal, educated English-L2 writers.

To sum up, Bamgbose's five internal factors or measures of innovation discussed previously should be complemented by a sixth, namely the popular choice of acrolectal English-L2 users in cyberspace.

Conclusion

One consequence of the emergence of English as the world's de facto global language is that, whatever a person's first-language background, he or she will be disadvantaged without learning at least some English. The variety of English which has the greatest currency is Standard English (He 2017a, 2017b; Li 2007). Despite being standardized and codified for decades (e.g. AusE) or centuries (e.g. BrE and AmE), a standard variety of English is a system that leaks. For millions of English-L2 users, this is one source of learner unfriendliness. Another source is considerable variation within a standard variety of English. These two sources of learner unfriendliness, coupled with cross-linguistic influence from the previously acquired language(s), help account for English-L2 learners' propensity to produce all kinds of non-standard features at all stages of the learning process.

For a long time, deviations from Standard English norms were characterized as unsuccessful attempts at imitating the ways native-speakers use English, or 'errors' in short. Research in World Englishes and other related paradigms for over three decades, however, has made a very strong case for the legitimacy of non-standard features found in the Englishes of ESL users who use English for intra-ethnic communication. The fine line between errors and innovations has been challenged. It has been shown that many of the seemingly non-standard ESL usage patterns are in fact well-motivated innovations, subject to five factors or measures (Bamgbose 1998): 'demographic' (i.e. percentage of acrolectal users vis-à-vis mesolectal and basilectal users), 'geographical', 'authoritative', 'codification', and 'acceptability' (i.e. attitudes).

Two decades after Bamgbose's (1998) seminal article, 'authoritative', 'codification', and 'acceptability' remain important measures of innovation, but 'demographic' and 'geographical' are arguably declining in relative significance following dramatic advances worldwide in ICT – Internet communication in particular. Increasingly, English-L2 and English-L1 users alike may turn to the Internet to ascertain the 'virtual vitality' of a given coinage or usage pattern with the help of a search engine like Google, Yahoo, or Baidu. This practice has significant impact on the degree of its perceived legitimacy and acceptability. Therefore, Bamgbose's five internal factors or measures need to be complemented with a sixth, namely the popular choice of acrolectal, educated users of English on the Internet, whatever their first language may be (cf. Gupta 2005, 2006, 2007).

Suggestions for further reading

Bamgbose (1998) is a seminal article covering the key issues in the debate concerning the slippery distinction between errors and innovations. Breiteneder's (2005) paper provides empirical evidence how the 'third person -s' is systematically flouted by speakers of English as a European lingua franca (cf. Breiteneder 2009). For a theoretically informed discussion of identity-driven 'user English' as opposed to acquisition-based 'learner English', see Kirkpatrick (2007). Schneider (2014) discusses the new reflections on the evolutionary dynamics of world Englishes, especially the varieties in the expanding circle.

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38

Which test of which English and why?

Brian Tomlinson

Introduction

All over the world, learners of English are being tested on a variety of English they do not and never will speak. They are being tested on British English or American English and not on the Singapore English or Brazilian English or the International English that they speak. These learners are also being assessed on their ability to do what they are unlikely to need to do and they are not being tested on their ability to do what they are likely to need to do. As Jenkins and Leung (2019: 97) say, non-native speakers of English

> are most likely to find themselves communicating with multilingual English users from other first languages in both established groupings and transient encounters, and they, as well as NESs, need assessing in respect of their readiness to do so, not on their ability to reproduce idealized native English forms.

Many teachers argue that testing is imposed on learners by testers because it benefits the testers more than it does the learners. This view has been captured by a number of British poets, for example, by Michael Rosen in The *Ballad of Roger Ball* (Rosen 2007) in which 'Roger was a lefty' who 'taught slow learners' but one day when 'resting' saw the future, 'It said: Testing'. Roger uses 'marking, grading, figures, tables, checking, assessing, goals, labels', closes two schools, fires fourteen teachers and ends up as an Education Consultant 'as ever useful to the system.' And Brian Patten ends his poem The *Minister for Exams* (Patten 1996):

> Q1. How large is a child's imagination?
> Q2. How shallow is the soul of the Minister for Exams?

These are probably emotive reactions based on personal experience and anecdotal evidence. We certainly need to look for the positives in testing, but I am not alone in claiming that testing can be an unnecessarily painful experience for the learners and that it can be imposed on them primarily to achieve institutional, commercial and political goals. McNamara (2014), for example, whilst acknowledging that testing is becoming more humanistic, describes the suffering that students can go through during oral tests, and Chiba and Morikawa (2006: 289) claim that such 'inhumane' tests still persist. Bachman (1990: 279) claims that tests are 'virtually always intended to serve the needs of an educational system or of society at large' and Spolsky (1995: 1) asserts that testing 'has always been exploited as a method of control and power – as a way to select, to motivate, to punish'. You could certainly apply Spolsky's argument to a situation in which L2 learners from all over the world are judged and penalised for their inability to be British or American.

All over the world, teachers are administering classroom tests which they have devised in imitation of those discrete point assessment types which they are familiar with from EFL examinations (e.g. multiple choice questions, filling in the blanks, sentence transformation, true/false questions etc). These closed tests of declarative knowledge will almost certainly be inappropriate as formative assessments of communicative competence, will put unnecessary pressure on the learners and will reveal very little useful information to the learners and the teachers. Even learners who are not being tested will suffer washback effects from these closed-question tests (for research and comments on the prevalence of test-type closed questions in coursebooks, see Freeman 2014 and Tomlinson 2018a). They will be spending valuable learning time practising doing test-type activities rather than engaging in those many valuable interactions which open-ended activities can stimulate, such as authentic communication with peers (see Sato and Ballinger 2016 for how valuable this can be). For a discussion of teacher assessment of learners, see Leung (2005), and for discussion of the washback effects of testing, see Andrews et al. (2002), McNamara (2014), McKinley and Thompson (2018). Green (2007) gives a full and systematic account of the washback effect of a particular examination (the International English Language Testing System [IELTS] test of academic or general vocational skills) and, for example, reveals that many essential academic skills are not typically taught in IELTS preparation classes because they are not tested in IELTS. McKinley and Thompson (2018) also reveal how IELTS and other high-stakes examinations like the Test of English for International Communication and Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) disadvantage competent users of World Englishes and reward students who can imitate native-like norms not only in relation to achievement on these examinations and on acceptance in English medium higher education but also in relation to advancement in their careers. Jenkins and Leung (2019: 87) are also critical of the washback effects of IELTS and TOEFL and argue that 'standardized/generic testing of English for lingua franca communication needs to be replaced with contextualized, socially realistic, and socially fair means of assessing candidates' English language abilities.'

McKinley and Thompson (2018) present a very perceptive overview of research on assessment washback in relation to English as an international language (EIL). For example, they discuss how IELTS and TOEFL (as well as the Common European Framework of Reference [CEFR]) make the assumption that their non-native speaker users will only be communicating with native speakers, and they make the point that competent users of EIL are judged as incompetent learners of an L2.

Many learners are not only being tested on varieties of English which are irrelevant to their present or future, but they are also being tested in ways which have little match with how they need or want to use English. Of course, there will be exceptional classrooms in which useful tests are being enjoyed (as Underhill (1987:6) says, 'we can make a test challenging, instructive and even an enjoyable experience'). These will be tests based on answers to such questions as, 'Why, what, when and how should we test?'

In this chapter I aim to provide answers to these why, what, when and how questions based on my fifty-five years of experience of the testing of English around the world.

Why test?

I have been to countries where L2 learners are tested in the classroom every week, and I have worked in countries in which I have had to prepare students for formal examinations every six weeks. Typical justifications for so much testing include:

> ‘We need to keep a record of progress.’
> ‘The parents want to know how their children are doing.’
> ‘The students won’t work if you don’t test them.’
> ‘We need to make sure that the teachers keep to the syllabus.’
> ‘We need to maintain standards.’

While some of these are understandable reasons in the real world in which learners are learning English, they do not really justify taking up so much learning time with testing, and they do not help teachers to prepare tests which could really help their learners to learn.

Reasons for testing

Accountability

Teachers are accountable to their superiors, who in turn are responsible to their superiors. The easiest way of demonstrating to your superiors that you are doing your job properly is to publish data. And the easiest way of obtaining such data if you are a teacher or a principal is to submit the learners you are responsible for to frequent tests. If you want to demonstrate how successful you have been, it helps if the classroom tests are easy enough for the learners to score high marks and if the learners are only entered for those formal examinations which they are likely to pass. On the other hand, you might want to demonstrate how professional your standards are by making sure that a predetermined number of learners fail your tests. For example, a prestigious university required me to fail 10% of my students even though they had satisfied the criteria of a criterion referenced examination, and I have worked in many institutions who have failed learners who communicated effectively in English which did not conform to a native speaker standard. They were penalised, for example, in oral tests for using World English commonalities which differ from native speaker norms, such as the countable use of nouns that in standard Englishes are usually considered uncountable (e.g. informations, advices, staffs), the zero marking of 3rd person singular -s in present tense verbs (e.g. she think, he believe) and the avoidance of perfect tenses (e.g. “They already finished eating”). Saraceni (2015) considers this a serious problem and gives (on p. 173) the examples of Singapore and Malaysia as guardians of native-speaker norms (with Singapore insisting that the model for teaching and learning should be ‘internationally acceptable English’ and Malaysia insisting on Standard British English as the model for spelling, grammar and pronunciation). I have worked in both these contexts and know many students who failed to achieve native speaker accuracy but did achieve communicative success.

Another aspect of accountability is the use of tests by governments and other authorities to make selections. Kunnan (2005) reports on various tests with political objectives, for example, the New Zealand government’s use of the IELTS test as part of the selection procedure for immigrants and the use of standardised tests of English competence in the United States. The results of such tests include the development of test preparation industries and teachers spending disproportionate amounts of classroom time training their students to pass the tests (e.g. 45 hours for teachers preparing students for the Californian High School Exit Examination). In my experience, insisting that L2 learners should be assessed against native speaker norms can result in feelings of inferiority and alienation amongst the less successful and even frustration among the successful who are striving to achieve an impossible and unnecessary goal.

We cannot dismiss accountability as a reason for testing. Teachers, administrators and politicians are human beings who live in a world where their future could depend on the success and failure of their learners. But we should make sure that accountability does not become the prime test objective and that it does not determine the frequency, content and methodology of classroom tests.

Placement

Many institutions test students on entry to determine their level. They do so in order to place them in the class most likely to offer them a successful learning experience. This is a commendable objective, as it theoretically helps the learners to receive appropriate tuition and it helps the administrators to select suitable textbooks for each level. However, placement tests usually need to be administered and marked quickly and reliably, and many institutions therefore resort to objective tests of linguistic knowledge. Obviously a class of students who have obtained 55–60% are fairly homogeneous in terms of linguistic knowledge, but they are likely to be heterogeneous in terms of needs, wants, communicative competence and preferred learning styles. And one week later, they are unlikely to be homogeneous in terms of linguistic knowledge either.

Ideally a placement test should provide information about:

- what the students can do in English;
- what the students cannot do in English;
- what the students need to do in English;
- what the students want to do in English;
- what varieties of English the students use;
- what varieties of English the students want/need to be able to use;
- what pedagogical approaches the students prefer;
- who they want to teach them;
- who they want to learn with.

This information could be obtained through a series of capability tests, questionnaires and interviews, but by the time the information had been collected and analysed, the course would probably be over. One quick, valid and reasonably reliable way of obtaining the information is to:

1. collect all the new students in a large room;
2. ask the students to go to one end of the room if they think their English is already effective, to the other end of the room if they think it is not yet effective and to stand in the middle if they think their English is in between;
3. give the students in groups a short discussion task appropriate to the communicative level of their chosen area;

4 give the students an opportunity to move areas if they find the task too easy or difficult or if they think their fellow group members are at a different level to themselves;
5 give the students a short written task appropriate to the communicative level of their chosen area;
6 encourage the students to show each other their texts;
7 give the students an opportunity to move areas if they find the task too easy or difficult, or if they think the other students are at a different level to themselves;
8 show the students a sample of materials for the level they have opted for;
9 give the students an opportunity to move areas if they found the materials too easy or difficult, or if they thought they were inappropriate for their needs;
10 give the students descriptions of the classes available at their level – including indications of the teaching style, the varieties of English targeted, the objectives of the class and the type of student tasks;
11 invite the students to sample a class at their level for a day;
12 invite the students to either stay in the same class or to sample another one;
13 at the end of the week, ask the students to decide which class to join;
14 in the middle of the course, invite the students to either continue in the same class or to move to a different one.

This is a placement procedure I once used in a large UK language school. It was very successful in engendering positive affect (Arnold 1999; Tomlinson and Masuhara 2018) and very popular with the students, who felt that they were learning English in the most comfortable and appropriate environment. It was, however, not very popular with those teachers who found it difficult to accept having students at different linguistic levels in their classes.

Predicting suitability

One reason for testing learners is to gain information which can contribute to predictions about the learners' suitability for a particular course or career. Ideally such tests should provide information about the learners' ability to perform the type of tasks typical of the course or career as well as the ability to transact and interact successfully in the community where they will be living. They should also provide information about the likelihood of the learners being able to gain sufficiently and quickly enough from tuition and experience to be successful. This is obviously a demanding and time-consuming process, and most institutions and companies rely on established examinations to give them the information they need. For example, most universities in the United Kingdom rely on the IELTS test to give them information about L2 speakers' ability to speak, write, read and listen to English in an academic context. IELTS is recognised as an entrance requirement by British, Australian, New Zealand and Canadian Universities and is jointly assessed by the British Council, International Development Program of Education in Australia (IDPEA) and the University of Cambridge ESOL Examinations. In the United States, academic institutions rely on TOEFL to give them similar information. Of course, students might be nervous and perform untypically when taking one of these tests, and it could be that topic familiarity influences their scores and makes the tests unreliable as predictors of typical performance. Many overseas students on my UK MA courses with low IELTS scores have eventually improved enough to do well, and some with high IELTS scores have struggled. A test is not enough by itself. It provides insufficient information to make decisions about selection, about placement or about accomplishment. It needs to be supplemented by observation, by continuous assessment and by performance in the real world.

Passing judgement

Unfortunately, one of the main reasons for testing seems to be so that the teacher, institution or government can pass judgement on the learners and determine who is rewarded. That is what it must seem like to the millions of learners who are told, ‘You make too many grammatical mistakes’, ‘You don’t work hard enough’, ‘You have failed’. One legitimate function of tests and examinations is to provide information about the abilities of the learner. Inevitably this information will be used by institutions and employers to make decisions about the learners. Ideally, though, the information should be about what the learners can do in relation to what they need or want to do, and this information should be available to learners in feedback which both encourages and helps them to improve. Regrettably, the means of obtaining this information is often a summative examination. No feedback, other than a grade, is provided to the learner. Even more regrettably, the examination often assumes educated native speaker proficiency as the target and judges the learner in relation to how close they approximate to this target. This is justified by proclaiming the need to maintain standards. This might make some sense if the learner hopes to enter a university or company in which their performance will be judged against native speaker norms, but it makes little sense for secondary school learners in Greece, Peru or Indonesia who are going to be mainly using English with other non-native speakers. What matters for them is not the ability to mimic a native speaker of English but the ability to communicate effectively.

If judgements are going to be made about a learner’s ability to use English, the learner should be:

- tested on tasks which replicate the learners’ intended uses of English;
- tested with topics and texts which are relevant to the learners’ experience of life;
- judged against norms of successful users of the varieties of English they need to use;
- provided with positive feedback which tells them what they can and cannot do well and which helps them to improve.

Improving teaching

To aid improvement should be the main reason for testing. As teachers, we should want to know how to improve our teaching. One way of doing this should be designing tests which give us feedback on the effectiveness of our teaching. Our main goal as teachers is to help each of our learners to improve, and, if a test reveals that very few learners are progressing, we need to ask ourselves what we could do to improve our ‘teaching’. It could be, for example, that we have focused too much on grammatical accuracy and have not given our learners enough experience of language in use. Or it could be that we have focused exclusively on developing fluency. In the first scenario, we might decide to replace a grammar lesson with an extensive reading lesson. In the second, we might decide to replace a speaking lesson with a language awareness lesson in which the learners first of all respond personally to a spoken or written text and then use it to make discoveries about a salient linguistic feature of the text (Tomlinson 1994, 2018b).

Improving learning

Teachers need to help learners to improve how they learn. If a test reveals that learners can define the meaning of a set of words, but cannot understand them in texts or use them for communication, then we must try to help them to achieve the deeper processing they need for acquisition (Tomlinson and Masuhara 2018). One way would be by advising them to read for pleasure and by providing them with the means to do so. Another would be to engage the learners in tasks or projects which in which they need to make use of their existing linguistic resources in order to achieve communicative goals.

Objectives for testing

I believe it is very important for the setters of tests and examinations to articulate their objectives prior to setting their tests. These objectives should then inform the setting and marking of the tests and the feedback of information to the learners and other interested parties. For public examinations, the list of objectives should be available so that decisions can be made about which test is the most appropriate. For classroom tests, the objectives should only be made available to the learners at the feedback stage so as to remove pressure and prevent excessive preparation. In fact, my view is that the learners should not even know they are being tested. This is something I managed to achieve at a university in Japan, when students in my classes did not know whether the tasks they were doing in class were classroom tasks providing opportunities for learning or continuous assessment tasks providing both indications of their progress and opportunities for learning. This was fair to everybody and ensured typical rather than prepared or anxious performance.

Some valid objectives for testing are to provide:

- information about the most suitable classes, courses, materials, approaches and so on for the learners;
- each learner with valuable learning experiences (Tomlinson 2005; Davison 2013);
- each learner with information about their progress;
- parents or sponsors with information about the progress of their learner(s);
- each learner with information about what they can do well;
- each learner with information about what they cannot yet do well;
- each learner with encouragement;
- the teacher with information about what their learners can do well;
- the teacher with information about what their learners cannot do well;
- the teacher with information about the problems facing their learners;
- the teacher with information about the effectiveness of their teaching;
- institutions and potential employers with information about what applicants can do well.

A grade alone cannot provide enough information to achieve any of these objectives. Much more detailed information is necessary, such as, for example, a statement of the capabilities for which the learner has met the criteria or a statement of those capabilities which a learner can now perform more effectively than in a previous test. Another important point is that the information provided by a test is only valuable if the test achieves validity (i.e. it actually does test what it intends to test). For detailed discussion of issues relating to validity, see Davies and Elder (2005); D'Este (2012).

What to test?

It is common practice for teachers to test only what has been taught, even though we know that each learner will have learned both less and more than they have been taught. It is also common practice for teachers to test what learners know, and yet it is obvious that knowing, for example, about the form and function of the imperative does not necessarily lead to the ability to use it appropriately and effectively. Learners have their own internal syllabus of needs and wants which is much more powerful than the external syllabus of the institution or the coursebook. This contributes to an efficient learning process in which the teaching of a linguistic feature or skill which is not perceived as salient or relevant by the learner does not lead to learning, and yet informal encounters with features and skills which are perceived as salient can lead to both learning and use. This suggests that, instead of testing what has been taught, we should be testing what the learners can do, and we should be testing those capabilities that the learner needs and wants to develop.

Public examinations commonly test each of the four skills separately. They also often test grammar and vocabulary separately. Such examinations can quite easily achieve reliability, and they are popular with teachers because they are easy to prepare for. But are they valid? Do they provide information about how effectively their candidates can actually use English in the real world? Is the best way to find out how effectively somebody can read to get them to read a text without any communicative purpose and then to answer multiple-choice questions on it? Or is the best way of finding out if they can communicate effectively in speech for an examiner to interrogate them about their hobbies? There are some public examinations, however, which do try to replicate authentic communication, for example, the UCLES (University of Cambridge) Certificates in Communicative Skills (see Hawkey 2011).

Since 2001, both teachers in the classroom and setters of public examinations have been helped by the Common European Framework for Reference (see www.englishprofile.org/images/pdf/GuideToCEFR.pdf. for an introductory guide). This is actually a syllabus consisting of a number of capabilities which learners can be expected to have mastered by specified levels, but it has been used to inform testers about what to test. For example, the Association of Language Testers in Europe (ALTE) has developed a list of 'can do' statements to act as criteria for testing. Following are the ALTE 'Can Do' statements for general language:

CEFR LEVELS	Listening/Speaking	Reading	Writing
C2	CAN advise on or talk about complex or sensitive issues, understanding colloquial references and dealing confidently with hostile questions.	CAN understand documents, correspondence and reports, including the finer points of complex texts.	CAN write letters on any subject and full notes of meetings or seminars with good expression and accuracy.
C1	CAN contribute effectively to meetings and seminars within own area of work or keep up a casual conversation with a good degree of fluency, coping with abstract expressions.	CAN read quickly enough to cope with an academic course, to read the media for information or to understand non-standard correspondence.	CAN prepare/draft professional correspondence, take reasonably accurate notes in meetings or write an essay which shows an ability to communicate.

Figure 38.1 ALTE Can Do Statements: overall general ability

CEFR LEVELS	Listening/Speaking	Reading	Writing
B2	CAN follow or give a talk on a familiar topic or keep up a conversation on a fairly wide range of topics.	CAN scan texts for relevant information, and understand detailed instructions or advice.	CAN make notes while someone is talking or write a letter including non-standard requests.
B1	CAN express opinions on abstract/cultural matters in a limited way or offer advice within a known area, and understand instructions or public announcements.	CAN understand routine information and articles, and the general meaning of non-routine information within a familiar area.	CAN write letters or make notes on familiar or predictable matters.
A2	CAN express simple opinions or requirements in a familiar context.	CAN understand straightforward information within a known area, such as on products and signs and simple textbooks or reports on familiar matters.	CAN complete forms and write short simple letters or postcards related to personal information.
A1	CAN understand basic instructions or take part in a basic factual conversation on a predictable topic.	CAN understand basic notices, instructions or information.	CAN complete basic forms, and write notes including times, dates and places.

www.cambridge-efl.org.uk

Figure 38.1 (Continued)

Many public and institutional examinations have been influenced by these capabilities. For example, in Ireland, The Test of Interactive English (TIE) is an EFL exam developed under the aegis of the Advisory Council for English Language Schools (ACELS). The test is task based, requiring each candidate to carry out a number of pre-specified tasks, and is assessed according to the Council of Europe's Common Framework Scale of Language Proficiency (www.acels.ie/acelstie.htm).

Which capabilities?

If tests and examinations of English as an L2 should be testing the candidates' ability to use English rather than just their knowledge of it, the question then remains as to which capabilities should be tested. One answer is obviously those capabilities which the learners will need when they use English outside the classroom. For example, doctors learning medical English to practice in the United Kingdom will need to be able to set native speaker patients at ease, enquire about symptoms, communicate a diagnosis, advise on medication and patient behaviour and communicate bad news (McCullagh 2010). The problem for global examinations is to decide on those core capabilities which a user of English as an international language needs to develop proficiency in. The CEFR has certainly helped testers in deciding which capabilities to test, but consideration also needs to be given to the realities of using English as an international language. Jenkins (2000, 2015) argues for the existence of a phonological lingua franca core of English and suggests that a corpus of this core should be used to inform L2 testing. Seidlhofer (2001, 2007) and Mauranen et al. (2010) also argue in favour of using corpora of International English to inform L2 teaching and testing. Whilst I would not agree with the many critics who argue that this would lower learners' objectives and achievement and would agree that corpora of EIL should inform the design and marking of tests, my view is that we have as yet not discovered sufficient commonalities between users of different World Englishes (Saraceni 2015) for us to standardise the linguistic features of English as an international language. But there are capabilities and abilities which are especially salient when using English as an international language. For example, the ability to achieve effective accommodation is very important for a Peruvian conducting business in English with an Indonesian. 'Accommodation' is the ability to vary your language in relation to your interlocutor and to negotiate the interaction in order to achieve effective communication. Jenkins (2009) refers to English as a lingua franca (ELF) and says that 'ELF . . . involves a good deal of local variation as well as substantial potential for accommodation – the scope for its users to adjust their speech in order to make it more intelligible and appropriate for their specific interlocutor(s).' (Jenkins 2009: 201). For further information about accommodation see Seidlhofer (2009).

A specification of those capabilities and abilities which are particularly salient to users of EIL, plus a specification of those linguistic features so far demonstrated to be universally and successfully used by educated speakers of EIL, would be of great value. These specifications could provide the core syllabus for a global examination in English as an international language set by an examination board with an international reputation. This EIL examination could be an additional examination assessing the ability of candidates to achieve intended outcomes when using EIL. It could be at different levels of outcome achievement (rather than at different levels of linguistic difficulty), and it could include tasks requiring the effective achievement of outcomes in typical EIL contexts, as well as tasks requiring understanding of both world and standard Englishes. There could be a core examination of proficiency in English as an international language plus supplementary examinations in proficiency in the use of such sub-varieties as EIL for business communication, EIL for media communication and EIL for sport. See Tomlinson (2006) for an elaboration of these suggestions.

Which topic content?

A learner in a test or examination is much more likely to communicate effectively if the topics of the texts and tasks are familiar (Alderson 2005). It is important that some learners not be advantaged by dealing with topics with which they are familiar, whilst others are disadvantaged by having to deal with unfamiliar topics. One well-known examination of English as a second language tried to solve this problem by finding a topic which all the candidates in all the countries taking the examination would be familiar with. After considerable research, they discovered that 'the bee' seemed a topic common to all the countries involved. The reading paper therefore used a text on the dance of the bees. The following year, a text on bees again appeared again. Inevitably, in the third year, candidates all over the world studied bees instead of learning English.

A safe approach to global examinations is to use topics which are universal and to which all candidates can relate – for example, growing up, going to school, making friends, getting married. Tests can be designed related to these topics which are both cognitively and affectively engaging. Candidates from all over the world can be stimulated as well as tested fairly.

Which English?

Another question is, 'Which varieties of English should be tested?' My answer is the varieties which the learners are likely to need to communicate in. If Nigerian secondary school learners are going to use English mainly with other Nigerian speakers of English, then it follows that it is very important that they be able to communicate in educated Nigerian English. If Nigerian businessmen are going to need English mainly to communicate with other non-native speakers, they will need competence in English as an International Language. If Nigerian university students are going to need to communicate effectively with native speakers of English, then they will need communicative competence in one or more of the standard varieties of English. At the moment, most public examinations (and most classroom tests) evaluate the students' knowledge of and ability to use a standard British or American variety of English. Often, candidates are failed, even though they are communicatively competent in a widely spoken local variety of English or in English as an international language. As Jenkins (2006: 45) says, candidates are 'examined for qualifications which claim to have international currency (TOIEC, IELTS and so on), but penalized for using internationally-communicative forms of the language'. Examinations and tests which focus on the use of specified varieties of English but which also test the candidates' ability to understand other varieties of English and to interact with their users are needed. In other words, we need tests and examinations which reflect the reality of language use. The major examination bodies are considering moving towards the testing of EIL, but as yet, there is little sign that they are taking action. Most high-stakes examinations of English, most national examinations and most school examinations and tests still judge learners against native-speaker norms and penalise differences as deviations from the norms of correctness. However, some high-stakes examinations are now following what Hu (2012: 129–131) refers to as a 'Weak Approach'. For example, the IELTS examinations now include reading and listening texts which 'reflect social and regional . . . language variations' (though these are restricted to variations from the inner circle), and they include proficient non-native speakers as examiners. And TOEFL is considering using accented non-native speakers in their listening tests and, like IELTS, recruiting proficient non-native speaker raters.

A major objection to testing English as an International Language (in addition to the accusation of lowering standards) is the claim that it does not exist (e.g. Cagliardi and Maley 2007). It is true that there is as yet no conclusive evidence that non-native speakers of different L1s communicate with each other in a universally standard variety of English. However, there are now a number of corpora which have collected data on the language used by non-native speakers of English in international communication (for example, Seidlhofer's Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English [Seidlhofer 2007], Mauranen's Corpus of Academic English [Mauranen et al. 2010], Jenkins' the Lingua Franca Core [Jenkins 2000] and Kirkpatrick's Asian Corpus of English [Kirkpatrick 2016]). While there may not yet be enough data to justify basing an examination on, there is enough data to inform the marking of English examinations in ways which do not penalise the use of pronunciation, grammar and lexis which differ from typical native speaker norms but are congruent with typical international use, a point made strongly by Jenkins (2006, 2015). There is also enough evidence of what international users of English need to do and how they need to do it to suggest that there are certain specific capabilities (e.g. justification of a position) and general abilities (e.g. accommodation, clarification) which should be assessed in examinations and tests of EIL.

It is worth remembering that the 'standard' varieties of English are idealised and do not exist (especially in their spoken forms). Effective communication should not be penalised in examinations simply because it is considered to break a native speaker rule. Non-native speakers are typically penalised in oral examinations for making 'mistakes' which native speakers often make too (e.g. using 'some' in interrogative and negative utterances; using 'less' with countable nouns). The English we should test is the variety of

English which is appropriate and effective in the contexts in which the candidates are likely to need to use English.

Criteria for testing?

All tests and examinations should be developed, evaluated and revised in relation to principled criteria. The criteria should focus on ways of achieving specified objectives and should be informed by what we know about communication and language acquisition. Universal criteria apply to any test or examination anywhere. Local criteria apply to a specific test or examination and should relate to the profile, needs and wants of the learners taking it.

Learner-centred criteria

As tests and examinations should be developed primarily to be useful for the learners who take them, most of the criteria should be focused on learners. Here are some examples of universal and local criteria which have proved useful.

Universal criteria (i.e. those relevant for all English as a second language tests)

1. Does taking the test provide a useful learning experience? (see Tomlinson 2005; D'Este 2012; Lee and Coniam 2013 on the importance of learning validity)
2. Is preparing for it a useful learning experience?
3. Does it provide information to the learners (and to their teachers) which will facilitate and/or accelerate learning? (Tomlinson 2005; Lee and Coniam 2013)
4. Does it help the learners to notice the gaps between their actual performance and their desired performance and between their performance and the equivalent performance of more effective users?
5. Does it provide a positive, engaging experience?
6. Does it set achievable challenges?
7. Does it reflect the task conditions which the learners are used to in the classroom?
8. Does it evaluate the learners' ability to communicate accurately, fluently, appropriately and effectively?
9. Does it test typical performances rather than pressurised one-off performance?
10. Does it replicate the communicative contexts which the learners are preparing to use English in?
11. Does it reward effective achievement of intended outcomes rather than just correct output?
12. Does it present an equivalent challenge to all its candidates?
13. Is it likely to lead to a positive washback effect in the classroom and/or on the process of learning?

Local criteria (i.e. those relevant to a specific test)

Local criteria will obviously vary from test to test. Here are examples from an end-of-year examination for first-year students at an English medium university in the Middle East.

1. Does it test capabilities which the students will need to master in order to perform well in their academic subjects in Year Two?

2 Does it test varieties of English which the students will meet in their academic lectures and reading?
3 Does it focus on topics which are familiar to teenage males in the Middle East?

Tester-centred criteria

There are legitimate reasons for also developing tester-centred criteria, both universal and local. Here are some examples:

Universal criteria

1 Is it a valid test of what it claims to be testing?
2 Is it a reliable test which would yield the same results with different markers and with different but equivalent sets of students?
3 Does it provide useful information for teachers?

Local criteria

1 Does it provide valid information about which students are ready to study their academic studies through the medium of English?
2 Does it provide reliable information which could help teachers to prepare remedial programmes for those students who are not yet ready to study their academic studies through the medium of English?

When to test?

Tests are often set at times which are administratively convenient rather than pedagogically useful. Institutional realities need to be considered but so too do learners' needs.

Pre-course?

Tests are often set prior to the course in order to place learners in appropriate classes. An even more valuable function of pre-course tests is to record a starting point in relation to which learners can gauge their progress. For example, students can record a conversation and write a story (or a text relevant to their course objectives) before the course starts and then later compare these with equivalent mid- and post- course performances.

Whilst-course?

Most learners are tested at frequent and regular intervals during their English courses. This can be very motivating for successful students and very de-motivating for unsuccessful students. It can also take up valuable learning time and impose a de-energising marking load on the teacher. A more learner-friendly approach would be to let each student decide every four weeks if they want to take a test or have a lesson. Alternatively, a number of classroom tasks can be counted as tests and their marks used for assessment at the end of term. I used the latter approach at Kobe University in Japan but did not tell the students which tasks would be counted as tests. The students were happy with this approach and gave unstressed, typical performances on the tasks.

One problem with whilst-course tests is they often test something which has just been taught and therefore they test the teaching and not the learning. One solution to this problem is to test what was learned two weeks previously to see if the learners can still do what they appeared to learn to do.

Post-course?

Most courses have post-course tests. Many are summative tests which judge learners without providing them with any useful feedback. Ideally, post-course tests should:

1 reveal what the learners can do after the course;
2 provide the learners with feedback designed to help them to do even better;
3 be administered a number of weeks after the end of the course to allow for acquisition and development to take place – though obviously this is not always practical.

Learner-centred decisions

Some important questions to ask about the timing of tests include:

1 Do the students have to be tested?
2 Will the students gain from being tested?

If the answer to these two questions is, ‘No’, then there is no need to test at all, and the following questions can be ignored.

3 How often do the students want to be tested?
4 Will the learners get stressed if they are tested too often?

Tester-centred decisions

The following are examples of important tester-centred questions:

1 How much time do we need to elapse between teaching and testing?
2 How often do learners need to be tested in order to feed useful information to the teachers about learner progress?
3 Should each learner be tested when they feel ready or with all the other learners at a time determined by the tester(s)?

How to test?

Much of the recent literature deals with how to humanise and how to achieve both validity and reliability for ‘classical’ tests, that is, tests which ‘aim to measure to what extent a language learner can perform certain language tasks at a particular moment in time’ (Colpin and Gysen 2006: 151). For useful overviews and proposals for such assessment see Fulcher (2013), Burner (2016) and Davis et al. (2018), a book which focuses on innovative ways of ensuring that assessment and evaluation are useful to both teachers and learners. The recent literature also deals with ‘alternative testing’, a term which covers such unconventional approaches as observations, portfolios, self-assessment, projects, peer assessment, real life tasks, individual assessment contracts, shadowing and think-aloud protocols (see, for example, Davis et al. 2018). These alternative approaches are to be welcomed: they remove the unfairness and pressure of one-off assessment, they relate to real-world use of language, they are holistic tests of performance rather than discrete tests of knowledge and they can provide the learners with information which can help them progress.

For many years, I have been advocating what I have called testing to learn (Tomlinson 2005), an approach to testing which prioritises the provision of learning opportunities before, during and after a test or examination. This approach has been rejected by many experts in assessment but there is now a growing movement in favour of Assessment for Learning (AfL), an approach to assessment in which 'the primary purpose of the information being collected is to improve learning' (Davison 2013: 263) and in which feedback plays a key role.

> Assessment for Learning takes place during day-to-day classroom practice and while pupils are engaged in learning. It also gives pupils an active role in the assessment process. Pupils work with the teacher to determine what is being learned and to identify the next steps.
>
> *(Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment 2019)*

For discussions of the value of AfL and of ways it can be implemented, see Jones 2005; Harlen 2005; Tan 2011; Lee and Coniam 2013; Davison 2013.

If assessors are serious about assessment providing opportunities for learning, they need to provide more opportunities for learners to participate in collaborative communication with each other and with speakers and writers of other Englishes both before and during assessment procedures. They also need to find ways of helping learners to create their own informative feedback by, for example, comparing their own production with that of proficient speakers performing the same task.

As indicated earlier, most public examinations have separate papers for reading, writing, speaking and listening skills. For example, Table 38.1 shows how separate papers in the four skills are compulsory for all candidates for UCLES examinations

Table 38.1 English language examinations (www.europa-pages.com)

UCLES (University of Cambridge)				
Key English Test	✓	✓	✓	✓
Preliminary English Test	✓	✓	✓	✓
Business English Certificates Preliminary	✓	✓	✓	✓
Certificates in Communicative Skills I	✓	✓	✓	✓
First Certificate in English	✓	✓	✓	✓
Business English Certificates Vantage	✓	✓	✓	✓
Certificates in Communicative Skills II	✓	✓	✓	✓
Certificate in Advanced English	✓	✓	✓	✓
Business English Certificates Higher	✓	✓	✓	✓
Certificates in Communicative Skills III	✓	✓	✓	✓
Certificate of Proficiency in English	✓	✓	✓	✓
Certificates in Communicative Skills IV	✓	✓	✓	✓

Some examinations allow candidates to take different skills papers at different levels, and some examinations provide a grade for each skills paper (e.g. IELTS). This separation into skills is understandable as institutions and employers often need information about applicants' performance in particular skills, and institutions often timetable and staff their courses according to the four skills. However, it is my view that it is not possible to set valid and reliable tests of the receptive skills of listening and reading, as learners do not exhibit any observable manifestations of their mental processes whilst performing these skills. Multiple choice comprehension tests, cloze tests and C tests can be designed so that listening and reading tests are reliable. They are not, however, valid tests of these skills. Reporting on the mental processes during a reading or listening test can provide some indication of the learners' reading or listening skills, as can getting learners to report or summarise what they have read or listened to. However, it is very difficult to achieve reliability for these procedures because of the subjectivity of the marking. It seems that the only valid and reliable response to testing reading and listening is to test the outcomes of the learners' reading and listening by including these receptive skills in pedagogic or real-world tasks which involve integrating both receptive and productive skills. An example of a pedagogic task would be for a learner to listen to a story and then to re-tell it to another student in order to get them interested in the story. An example of a 'real world task' would be a Malaysian learner acting as an employee in a Malaysian company reading a letter of complaint from a Venezuelan and then writing a reply to it. As Colpin and Gysen (2006: 152–153) say, 'assessment tasks ideally should be motivating and authentic tasks that relate to what learners are expected to be able to do with the target language (in real life)'.

Conclusion

A good test or examination of English should:

- have clear objectives about what information it is designed to provide;
- provide a valuable learning experience for the learners taking it;
- use the varieties of English and the topic content suitable for the learners taking it;
- assess the students' typical performance of contextualised communication tasks relevant to their objectives in learning English;
- be designed so as to provide useful information about the effectiveness of the learners' performance of the tasks;
- be reliable;
- be developed and assessed in relation to clear, specific and principled criteria;
- have a positive washback effect for learners and for teachers.

Suggestions for further reading

Alsagoff, L., McKay, S. L., Hu, G. and Renandya, W. (2012) *Principles and Practices for Teaching English As an International Language*, New York: Routledge. (A comprehensive overview of the issues involved in the teaching and testing of EIL.)

Jenkins, J. (2015) *Global Englishes*, New York: Routledge. (A provocative view of how ESL teaching and testing should reflect the reality of English as it is used as a lingua franca for local and international communication.)

Jenkins, J. and Leung, C. (2019) 'First person singular: From mythical 'standard' to standard reality: The need for alternatives to standardized English language tests', *Language Teaching*, 52 (1),

86–110. doi:10.1017/S0261444818000307 (A critique of standardised high stakes examinations of English plus suggestions for local self-assessment tasks of English as a lingua franca.)

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39

Academic Englishes

A standardised knowledge?

Anna Mauranen, Carmen Pérez-Llantada and John M. Swales

1 Some initial considerations

It is a fact universally acknowledged that English has been for the past decades the premier vehicle for the communication of scholarship, research and advanced post-graduate training. The causes of this rise have, however, been the subject of considerable controversy, with a particularly strenuous debate between Phillipson (e.g. 1999) and Crystal (2000), which is fully reprised and extended in Seidlhofer (2003). Whatever the merits of the various arguments, whether, for example, Crystal's 1997 account is triumphalist, there can be no doubt that English has become the principal medium for the diffusion and exchange of academic knowledge, just as there can be no doubt that the global number of academic communications, both in English and in other languages, has dramatically increased in recent decades (see O'Neil 2019). And this applies not merely to the number of research articles and scholarly books published each year but also to the number of international and more local academic conferences held annually, as well as to other kinds of cross-national academic and research exchange, such as multinational research projects and the growing numbers of students spending study periods outside their home countries (Doiz et al. 2013; Wächter and Maiworm 2014; Jenkins and Mauranen 2019). In other words, the increasing use of academic English is not confined to the printed word but equally applies to the spoken utterance and, increasingly, to the hybrid genres of academic and research communication that are taking shape on proliferating sites and in numerous forms on the web, combining features of the written and spoken modes and reaching diversified audiences (Mauranen 2013; Luzón and Pérez-Llantada 2019).

Similarities and differences between written and spoken academic and research language – in all their uses and varieties – will surface at various points in this chapter. At the outset, however, it is pertinent to consider, and perhaps reconsider, the relationship between these two primary modes. The written mode continues to be privileged by analysts and researchers of academic discourse, as it was by instructors in the applied field of English for academic purposes. For one thing, it is written work that is primarily assessed and evaluated, both for students as they journey towards their higher degrees and for academics as they apply for new jobs or come up for evaluation for contract renewal, tenure or promotion. Until very recently, the main interest in courses, workshops and manuals designed to develop academic language skills has largely focused on the written side. There is a considerable body of material designed to assist students, both with English as a first or second language, in the writing of master's and PhD theses (e.g. Swales and Feak 2004), but at present there is relatively little available to help them with the oral presentation and defence of their work. This is changing fast with the rapid rise in help devices for preparing for TED talks, poster presentation skills, video reports and similar spoken and multimodal opportunities of presenting and promoting students' and scientists' achievements and ongoing work (e.g. Tardy 2016). In brief, the written mode has been privileged and still performs major gatekeeping functions. As the traditional prestige mode, it has tended to become detached from the speech events and episodes in which the development of academic text is typically immersed or genres that have gained popularity recently (for example, three-minute theses, TED talks or microblogging). The written research paper faces increasing competition from increasingly multimodal communication.

Over the last couple of decades, there has been something of a change in both perception and outcome with regard to the speech-writing divide. One driving force has been the increased interest on the part of applied linguists and others in ethnographic studies of the academy. Important and influential early work in this regard is Prior's *Writing/Disciplinarity* (Prior 1998). His case studies offer insights into under-graduates' literacy developments or the lived experience of post-graduate seminars in which talk emerges as a crucial element in textualising processes and a negotiated ground that undermines the traditional institutional power imbalance between professors and their post-graduate students. Later work along these lines includes Seloni (2008) and Paltridge et al. (2016). Another has been the creation of corpora of spoken academic and research English, such as the widely available Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE), the Michigan Corpus of Academic Student Papers (MICUSP), the British Academic Written Corpus (BAWE), the British Academic Spoken Corpus (BASE) or the Hong Kong Corpus of Journal Articles (CJA). Importantly, academia has also awakened to major changes in the use and users of English, which has led to the questioning of the primacy of native speakers of English as modes and gatekeepers of the language and monolingual divides more generally. This is also reflected in the kinds of corpora compiled, including, for instance, MICASE and BAWE. Academic corpora of English as a lingua franca have come to be used in both spoken and written English varieties, English as a lingua franca (ELFA 2008) and written English as a lingua franca (WrELFA 2015), the latter also including digital genres. A third has been interest by discourse analysts in the conference presentations and academic lectures over and beyond the traditional research focus on the written research article. Key works are Ventola et al. (2002) and Fortanet-Gómez and Crawford Camiciottoli (2015).

If the balance of attention between spoken and written genres is now being re-adjusted, there are other affordances that work for an even greater rapprochement. One requires a recognition of the Bakhtinian notion of "inner" or "private" speech. Every time we are faced with a non-trivial speaking or writing task, we run through options in our minds as we prepare to either address an audience (as when preparing to ask a question) or place our fingers on the keyboard (as when composing a conference abstract). We mentally rehearse, as we try to imagine the effects of possible spoken or written offerings. In effect, there are cognitive and rhetorical correspondences here. Another type of affordance derives from the development of new electronic genres such as blogs, tweets and other digital forms of scholarly communication such as author videos or podcasts (Pérez-Llantada 2013; Kuteeva 2016; Kuteeva and Mauranen 2018).

A third is essentially sociological or at least socioacademic. A major change in the perception of academia originated in science studies in the 1970s, when sociologists and anthropologists turned their attention to scientific work. Instead of asking scientists what they did and taking their word for it, they observed the activities that scientists actually engaged in. This constituted a major break with the traditional provinces of the philosophy or the history of science. The reorientation in seeing academia coincided with changes in academic practices: while scientists had worked in teams for centuries, scholars in the soft sciences had remained solitary individuals each on their own projects. The concept of the individual scholar held thirty years ago, toiling away in her solipsistic ivory tower, or of the lonely PhD student immured in her library carrel, has been replaced by a growing speech-writing interconnectedness of those individual members of the academic world, mainly through formal subgroupings of researchers and research students as well as via various kinds of informal collectives for study, information or mutual support and perhaps most importantly, various specialised web groups. In consequence of all this, the older models of speaking-writing interaction that tended to consider the oral component as subordinate, preparatory or merely evaluative in a *post hoc* kind of way (as in a thesis defence or a promotion committee) are being replaced. As Rubin and Kang propose:

> A more apt model might be a double helix with a writing strand and a speaking strand intertwined. At any particular page, one strand may be the focal outcome, drawing upon the other. But as a whole, the two strands are reciprocally supportive and leading in the same direction.
>
> *(2008: 220)*

A third type of initial consideration involves some recognition of the immense phenomenon that academic English has become. There are millions of English-medium research papers published a year (see, for example, Lillis and Curry 2010) and millions of English-medium lectures delivered each week, and globally, the number of Anglophone PhD theses completed each year around the world certainly reached six figures (Swales 2004), a number that increases linearly, if not exponentially. Although often well designed, our investigative samples of this vast production are, as a result, necessarily small fractions of the total outputs. In consequence, extrapolations need to be made with some care, partly because of the range of potentially intervening variables.

A further complication arises when we note that drawing a bead on academic Englishes is to focus on a moving target. While this observation also doubtless applies to many objects of study in a wide range of fields, the issue is rather more pressing in our case because getting a useful handle on this type of World English has educational and instrumental ramifications that apply much less to (say) studies of Jamaican English. Although the longer historical view of research English has been traced in the works of Bazerman (1988), Gross et al. (2002) and others, contemporary developments may need particular attention. These would include the apparent growing use of promotional elements in research texts as a response to increased pressure to publish and increased time pressure on readers; the increasing proportions of authors and presenters who use English as a lingua franca; and the growing role of electronic publishing, particularly the consequences of html formats becoming available and the emergence of new genres in online environments (Gross and Buehl 2016; Miller and Kelly 2017; Luzón and Pérez-Llantada 2019). A real game changer is the growth of online journals, which are peer-reviewed, open access research journals where the moving picture mixes with the spoken and written word together (e.g. video journals, some quite established by now).

The final initial accounting needs to reflect the fact that variation in Academic English is multifaceted and extremely complex. Indeed, much remains to be teased out, especially in trying to ensure that the subcorpora used for comparative purposes are appropriately comparable. For example, there is the largely understudied issue of author effects that go beyond the traditional division between native and non-native speakers of English. Are there perhaps palpable differences in academic communications between British and American (or Australian for that matter) or between, say, academic English used by Finnish scholars and academic English used by Ghanaian scholars? Are there gender differences? And what about status? Do older, more successful authors and presenters manipulate their discoursal resources differently? Or are they falling behind for lack of skills in the new genres that digital domains permit? Since the work on these issues is relatively scant, we will briefly discuss it in Section 2.

As already noted, one of the more obvious manifestations of variation in Academic English is that determined by the channel of communication (i.e. speech v. writing) and the medium (printed or online). Another well-known kind of variability is that resulting from the differing methodological, research and rhetorical traditions of different disciplines. A third has long been the province of contrastive rhetoric or comparative rhetoric (Connor 1996) and concerns the putative effects of language and/or culture on academic communications and how best to account for the variations found (Mauranen 2003). And here there is a need to keep in mind not only broad influences that might derive from national academic traditions but also more narrowly contextual factors. For instance, one concerns the linguistic consequences of the perceived role of the particular academic communication: is it normal science, or is it ground-breaking in some way? Studies here include Paul et al. (2001) on the rhetorical manoeuvres undertaken by the first papers launching chaos theory, and Helal (2008) on the struggle between the United States and France for priority in early AIDS research.

2 Academic Englishes – personal influences

There has been a presumption in the applied linguistics literature that British and North American authors – and less certainly presenters – can be lumped together. However, consider this reconstructed conversation between the co-editors of an ESP journal, which took place about 20 years ago.

> American Co-editor: "I've got another of those British papers. There are lots of good ideas up front, but the data is small, the methodology is suspect, the results thin, and the so-called discussion is just a summary because all the interesting stuff is in the introduction".
>
> British Co-editor: "Well, I've just got another of those American efforts. The intro is just a comprehensive listing of previous research, the methods part is over-detailed and stodgy, and the results are extensive but hard to interpret – only right toward the end of the discussion is there any intellectual spark when the author discusses possibilities for future research".

At that time, at least, different traditions seemed to be in play: a British penchant for Oxbridge-type flashiness and an American one very much in thrall to the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. More recent experiences and observations would, however, suggest that these differences have become much diminished. One of the few people to have empirically examined this issue is Sanderson (2008) via her corpus of articles drawn from the softer social sciences and the humanities. She found, inter alia, that US and UK authors in general did not vary significantly in their use of personal pronouns, certainly in comparison to German scholars writing in German. However, she did find a striking gender difference, as British females used far fewer first and second personal pronouns than any other group. Interestingly, Chang (2004) in her dissertation noted that, of her six informants, the female professor of architecture also used fewer personal pronouns than the others, who remarked in an interview that she preferred a formal style because it was "more scientific". Sanderson concludes that more research is needed, observing, "It would certainly be interesting if academic discourse were to constitute an exception to, or even the disproof of, the widespread stereotype that women's language is more personal than men's" (2008: 133).

One of the few studies that has explored possible gender differences in academic speech is Poos and Simpson (2002), who investigated the use of the hedges *kind of* and *sort of* in the MICASE corpus – hedges stereotypically associated with female speech. They found that female lecturers did use these more but then showed that this finding had little to do with gender and much to do with discipline. It turned out that female lecturers were overrepresented in social science and the humanities and underrepresented in science and engineering and that the softer areas were intrinsically more prone to this type of modification. Indeed, they suggested that saying something like "this is sort of a cultural problem" was, in fact, part of the disciplinary acculturation of students in these softer disciplines, rather than being "a weak hedge".

Sanderson also explored other possible personal variables in her small corpus, and her preliminary conclusions were that 'higher status academics and male scholars adopt a more explicitly personal academic voice than do more junior and/or female colleagues' (2008: 134). However, as we remarked earlier, the influence, if any, of personal variables such as regional provenance, gender, status and age is as yet largely uncharted. In contrast, we know much more about first language influences, the topic of the next two sections.

In sections 3, *Academic English as a lingua franca* and 4, *Linguacultural diversity in Academic English*, we tackle the broader issues of cultural attitudes and linguistic responses to the exigencies of the contemporary research world. In the final section, we attempt to assess the relative influences of the various differentiating factors we have identified, provide some future trends that may need further exploration and offer a few thoughts on the further likely developments in English as lingua franca in academic contexts (Mauranen 2012), and of Academic Englishes, particularly whether we are going to see growing resistance to its standardisation.

3 Academic English as a lingua franca

Although English is the global lingua franca of academic discourse and increasingly used over multiple channels worldwide, the overwhelming majority of research in academic English continues to be oriented towards the written language, native speakers of English, and the normative tenets of Standard English. As already noted in the preliminaries for this chapter, a number of factors converge towards the emphasis on the written text. Along with the global spread of English as the language of academic publication it was perhaps felt natural to equate 'good writing' with 'good English' and to call in native speakers of English to act as language revisers of the texts of academics from non-English backgrounds (see, for example Ventola and Mauranen 1991; Burrough-Boenisch 2004). Language revisers in these studies seemed to correct lexicogrammatical errors, but leave textual, rhetorical and pragmatic features intact. This was supported in interviews (Mauranen 1997): language revisers reported seeing lexicogrammatical correction as their main task, while they abstained from tackling the textual organisation and pragmatic aspects of the texts they were revising for the reason that they did not wish to tamper with the writer's preferred way of presenting themselves and because they believed the writers knew what they were doing rhetorically. Most studies in contrastive rhetoric, however, suggest that it is textual organisation and textual preferences beyond lexicogrammatical correctness which shows the strongest influence of different academic writing traditions and cultures. It turns out that our textual practices and preferences develop in our socialisation into a particular culture of writing. In contemporary international contexts of academic study and research, where English is typically the lingua franca, we can see particularly clearly how language norms emerge in spoken academic interaction (Hynninen 2016). Socialisation into academic language use is therefore inextricably intertwined with socialisation into other academic practices, and it takes place in multicultural contexts, mostly outside English home language countries.

Textual aspects of writing are harder to monitor than lexicogrammatical phenomena, since only the latter are really standardised in linguistic codification processes. Writing guides do exist, but until surprisingly recently, they were rarely written by linguists (but see previous section), usually relying on the preferences of enthusiastic laymen. As a consequence, their focus was on matters of appropriate (but vaguely defined) style in respect of expressing things like objectivity, simplicity or certainty, often in impressionistic ways that have been easy to question in subsequent linguistic, rhetorical and ethnographic investigations of what real scientific and scholarly texts and writing are like. A case in point is the long-lived bestseller by Day (1979, 8th edition Gastel and Day 2016).

In the absence of clear standards of text organisation, it has been easy to make a leap in the thought chain and conclude that if English is the language of scientific publication, we should not only observe basic grammatical rules of correctness of Standard English, but follow the Anglo-American lead in matters of stylistic and rhetorical preferences as well.

Such a leap is mistaken. Clearly, science as an inherently and traditionally international enterprise has no natural link to any national culture; its centres have moved from place to place over the centuries where and when science in some recognisable form has been practised. Thus, although we can assume that educated native speakers of a language have a well-entrenched idea of the standard grammar and lexis of that language and have been well socialised into its textual and rhetorical preferences in their educational path, it does not follow that their stylistic or rhetorical preferences are appropriate on an international publishing scene, let alone superior to those of scientists who come from different traditions. When English is written for a worldwide audience, criteria for good rhetoric or effective text organisation are likely to be quite different from those required in writing for an English home language audience. In particular, it is important to see that Anglo-American rhetoric is not necessarily the most effective, comprehensible or natural choice for structuring academic texts even if we use English for writing up those texts. It is just one scholarly tradition for textualising new knowledge and structuring academic texts. It goes without saying that it is not more scientific.

Strictly speaking, academic discourses in themselves have no native speakers: they are learned in secondary socialisation by all participants in academic communities of practice. Issues of register, specific terminology and phraseology, along with mastery of relevant genres, acceptable modes of argumentation and ways of presenting a case are all deliberately learned skills which are not acquired in the same spontaneous way as first languages. In this light, it is not surprising that guidebooks to academic genres and registers are addressed to both native and non-natives. More importantly, the internalisation of the discourses of science and scholarship does not go hand in hand with the internalisation of the minutiae of standard languages. Relations of power and authority in the globalised academic community are therefore complex, with language not necessarily among the primary sources of either.

The study of academic speaking took off several decades behind the study of writing, as discussed in the first section of this chapter, but the upsurge in the internationalisation of student mobility and university recruitment has clearly raised awareness of speaking, as has the skyrocketing number of international academic conferences. People's immediate needs for speaking and listening skills have become more apparent. Similar practical interests lay behind the initial interest in academic speaking: the necessities of testing and teaching motivated the first US corpora in contexts where L2 users constituted a notable proportion of students. The initial work followed along the lines of written language research in its basic attitude: let us find out how native speakers go about academic speaking and teach the rest of the world to follow suit. Scholars were nevertheless quick to see the broader value of the data, given the importance and the relative scarcity of large collections of speech data in linguistics, and the corpora have spawned a large number of studies, widening our understanding of not only academic English but register variation and speech-writing differences more generally (Biber and Conrad 2009).

Despite the comparatively traditional point of departure of looking for native speakers' use to provide a model to non-native speakers, changes had taken place in English for academic purposes by the time the first academic speech corpora were completed. More awareness of cultural variability and more concern with identities were evident. There was also budding awareness of English as an international lingua franca rather than as a language exclusively belonging to its native speakers in the 'core' cultures (Jenkins 2000). Such signs of the time found their way to the MICASE corpus, where the proportion of non-native speakers is consequently relatively large (12%) in comparison to, say, the 5% of L1 English speakers in ELFA. Although 'the native speaker bias' thus was nowhere near as large as in academic writing research in those corpora, it has nevertheless remained the dominant mode of thinking in many parts of the world (see, e.g. Jenkins 2014; Jenkins and Mauranen 2019). At present, there is growing awareness of the deeply international character of academia, in every aspect of it and at all levels. The first corpus of academic English spoken as a lingua franca, the ELFA corpus (2008) began its recordings in 2002, close on the heels of the first native corpora. It is interesting to note that in the case of ELF, the usual progression from written to spoken language has been reversed; another spoken ELF corpus, VOICE (2009/2011/2013), has been compiled in Vienna, and a third one in Asia, ACE (2014), the first written ELF corpus, WrELFA (2015), was completed after these three speech corpora.

In order to understand English as an academic language, we need to capture it in its current social contexts. Approaching academic language situated in its social context is not particularly new. It has been with us since the 1990s (see particularly Swales 1998), but in the last decade it has taken on new dimensions, with physical (Canagarajah 2018), visual (Gorter 2013) and, increasingly, digital space (e.g. Luzón 2018; Mahrt and Puschmann 2014; McGrath 2016). A prominent aspect of the current situation is the multilingual nature of English-using contexts. In ELF, other languages are necessarily present in one way or another (Mauranen 2012; Jenkins 2015) in this way, ELF constitutes a "second-order language contact" (Mauranen 2012, 2018) consisting of contact between what in themselves are contact varieties: L2 users' hybrid languages.

If our purpose is to understand current academic discourses in English, ELF is a vital and ubiquitous context. To capture global English use, ELF is a far better representative than native English. Conversely, for a linguist interested in ELF, academia offers an excellent vantage point to new developments. It is one of the largest domains that has adopted English as its common language, and it is thoroughly global. Participants in spoken academic discourses co-construct new, often abstract, concepts and thoughts in their discussions and argumentation (Mauranen 2019a), where language plays a crucial role without usually being the focus of conscious attention. A good proportion of academic life consists in speech-in-interaction, a quintessential interest of linguistics. Participants have demanding tasks to accomplish with academic speech, whether it is an additional or first language to them, which makes it excellent data for testing hypotheses about complex language and thought in L2 use.

Some features of academic ELF have become quite well researched and established. Early discourse-level findings include the observation that miscommunication is not very frequent (Mauranen 2006; Björkman 2008; Kaur 2009). Instead, a number of proactive strategies for ensuring comprehensibility have been found, such as ways of increasing explicitness by frequent rephrasing and repetition, metadiscourse and explicit negotiation of topic (Mauranen 2006, 2007, 2012). Enhanced cooperation has been found in many studies, including online discussion groups on university courses (Karhukorpi 2006). Verb syntax is fundamentally similar to L1 academic speaking (Ranta 2013), as is the use of vague expressions (Metsä-Ketelä 2012). Interestingly, a research domain division is seen in both speaker groups to the effect that vague expressions are more frequent in hard sciences than social sciences and the humanities (Metsä-Ketelä 2012). It would seem, then, that the employment of vague language reflects genre- and field-specific conventions, while explicitness-enhancing discourse strategies arise from situational demands.

Lexicogrammatical features bear certain similarities to ELF findings in general: non-salient and therefore hard-to-learn elements such as articles and prepositions tend to get used in non-standard and fluctuating ways. Lack of concordance or subject-verb agreement is also often found. The vexing issue of the third person *-s* (Breiteneder 2005; Cogo and Dewey 2006) shows that, although ELF speakers tend to drop it, as do a few L1 dialects, they can also produce it and use it when deemed necessary. ELF manifests features of simplification, as one might expect from contact languages (see, e.g. Trudgill 2011). In this vein, regularisation phenomena such as the regularisation of irregular verbs and the turning of uncountable nouns into countables are common, as is morphological overproductivity. In the use of multi-word phraseological units, ELF speakers tend to depart from native speakers' conventions and preferences (Carey 2013; Mauranen 2012) not only by increasing overall variability in the language but also by displaying altered preferences for either existing or completely novel patterns changing it to new directions. In this way, ELF usage also contributes to complexifying the repertoire of English. A particularly frequent use of the *-ing* form of the verb has often been seen as a non-native tendency to overgeneralise, but as Ranta (2006) points out, it can also be taken as a means of making the verb more emphatic or expressive. Interestingly, the *-ing* form is on the increase in native Englishes as well (Leech and Smith 2006; Mair 2006), which may point to intriguing possibilities of parallelism or perhaps mutual influences in the development of English. A similar point could be made on the tendency of dropping plural marking of nouns out after numerals (Björkman 2008), also found in older forms of English. Notably, Laitinen (2018) found that lexicogrammatical features on a large scale suggest that ELF, especially in the written mode, is remarkably close to "core Englishes" and also New Englishes but clearly distinct from learner language.

Research into ELF in academia has been approached from many directions and angles beyond the linguistic manifestations. Recent studies have considerably expanded the picture of ELF in academic contexts, including language policies (Jenkins 2015), its embedding in multilingual campus contexts (Jenkins and Mauranen 2019), the perspective of a complexity approach to language (Mauranen 2019a), a sociolinguistic perspective (Mortensen and Fabricius 2014; Mortensen 2020) and the viewpoint of digital discourses (Luzón 2018). Starting from a sociolinguistic vantage point, Mortensen (2020) suggests that ELF may not only be a force that changes the English language but in effect one that has a far wider impact, changing social as well as linguistic practices.

Among the discoveries from delving into situations of actual ELF use in academia is the multilingual character of internationalised universities. Although English has become ubiquitous, other languages continue active lives in their respective localities (Jenkins and Mauranen 2019). For instance, joint international programmes lean heavily on English especially in their official arrangements, but English is not their only language: the programmes and their corollary activities are multicultural and often in practice very multilingual as well (see, e.g. Haberland and Mortensen 2012).

In all, academic ELF shows many features which can also be discerned in non-academic ELF, learner language (Granger 2002), vernacular universals (Chambers 2003) and native English dialects, including Standard English (Leech and Smith 2006; Laitinen 2018). Its more specifically academic characteristics, such as the tendency to coin new and *ad hoc* terms by drawing on the morphological resources of English (Mauranen 2007) is exactly in line with any other language used for academic purposes, including Standard English. ELF is clearly an integral part of present-day English, and its use continues growing. It has been gaining legitimacy in academic language use, particularly, it seems, in the strong domain of STEM research fields (Drubin and Kellogg 2012; Gnuzmann and Rabe 2014). It has pushed native speakers to a majority of speakers only in English home language countries.

4 Linguacultural diversity in academic English

If, in the previous section, we noted that a good proportion of academic life involves speech-in-interaction, it goes without saying that a good proportion of academic life also involves exposure to genres assisting an academic or research career (submission letters, bio statements or job applications) and to genres materialising a research career (theses and dissertations, research articles or grant proposals; Swales and Feak 2000). The traditional repertoire of written genres has expanded dramatically with the affordances of the Internet. What we call enhanced publications such as the Article of the Future (Aalbersberg et al. 2012) have transformed the nature of academic communication dramatically. Traditional research articles on the web environment, which are peer-reviewed, are accompanied by constellating add-on genres (i.e. extensions of genres) such as graphical abstracts, author videos, research highlights and audioslides (see, e.g. Pérez-Llantada 2013; Gross and Buehl 2016). Other digital genres such as registered reports and open access peer reviews have emerged in response to new requirements for scientific research, for example, that of science reproducibility and transparency (Luzón and Pérez-Llantada 2019). The written mode is also ceding ground to new hybrid genres (e.g. visualsed methods articles) (Hafner 2018) and other digital forms of scholarly communication such as author videos or podcasts (Mauranen 2013; Kuteeva 2016; Kuteeva and Mauranen 2018; Pérez-Llantada 2019). This expanding genre ecology clearly indicates that academic writing practices are changing dramatically and faster than ever.

The Internet as a new medium of communication enables scholars to work collaboratively with other scholars overseas and to reach culturally and linguistically diverse audiences. The particular appropriations of the normative tenets of standard academic English by scholars from linguacultural backgrounds other than English has become even more prominent today as a result of the increasing pressure to publish in impact factor (English-medium) journals at a time in which research production has become an indicator of excellence and internationalisation of universities (Flowerdew 2001; Lee and Lee 2013). This process has spread the use of English for scholarly exchange across universities and seems to be producing two divergent effects in academic written prose – an increased emphasis on "Englishisation" (Swales 2004: 52) in the worldwide academic arena on the one hand and a growing attention to the culture-specific textual and rhetorical preferences of Academic English in the texts produced by the non-native English scholars on the other. While the former effect acts as a centripetal force towards standardisation, that is, homogenisation of academic writing practices, the latter acts as a centrifugal force that distances from the norm and hence brings in heterogeneity, lending credence to the richness of culture-specific uses of Academic English. These multilingual varieties are an integral part of contemporary academic uses of ELF and, in many ways, they counterbalance and even, perhaps, contest any standardisation trends.

Standardisation in academic writing has been intrinsically related to the utility of English as a shared medium for scientific communication – a "functional necessity" (Ammon 2006: 25) for monolingual communication in support of academic exchange. Standard style guides which, as we mentioned previously, are written by non-linguists who take an interest in prescriptive language rules, defined standard Academic English as highly lexicalised and conceptually dense *apropos* of its propositional meanings and mainly featured by the passive reporting of research processes with the aim of conveying impartiality, accuracy and objectivity (Barras 1978; Day 1979; Gastel and Day 2016). More recently, corpus linguistics research has described academic prose as structurally complex and not syntactically elaborated, that is, relying "on noun phrase structures rather than clauses" and "on phrasal rather than clausal modification" and, therefore, not always explicit in meaning (Biber and Gray 2010: 315). EAP research has also stressed that, in writing, authors open up a dialogic space within which they can highlight their findings in order to persuade their readers of the value of these research outcomes. To do so, they draw on lexicogrammatical patterns such as evaluative *that*-clauses to construct and negotiate meanings in their texts and, depending on how they want to project their authorial voice onto the texts they choose different grammaticalisation forms, including first person pronouns, active verbs with inanimate subjects or anticipatory *it*-patterns placing heavier constituents at the end of the clause (Hunston and Thompson 2001; Johns 2001; Harwood 2005). Other discourse features such as modal verbs, semi-modal verbs, epistemic lexical verbs and other hedging mechanisms (Hyland 1998) also allow writers to convey different clines of authorial stance and engagement in their texts. The trend towards adherence to the Anglophone standardised norms has been supported by research evaluation systems assessing research output in JCR-indexed journals, the majority of them English-medium journals (Durand 2006; Pérez-Llantada 2012; Lee and Lee 2013), which also fuels the advancement of English in the domain of research communication. Scholars worldwide are encouraged to 'publish in English or perish' since, whether we like it or not, English is the language of international knowledge sharing and publishing (Curry and Lillis 2004; Pérez-Llantada 2012). Non-native English scholars report interest in achieving higher academic recognition and prestige within their disciplinary communities and, instead of publishing in their own languages, they publish in English "to be acknowledged by the top scientific community of their discipline" (Hamel 2007: 61). Generally speaking, this seems to be so in most disciplines, although there remain pockets of research with more specific and local interests too, such as that in the fields of arts and archaeology.

The previous policy demands constrain the diffusion of scientific knowledge through English-medium communicative channels as diverse as journal articles, doctoral theses, grant proposals, lecture talks or research-oriented conferences and seminars. However, as we noted previously, EAP and contrastive rhetoric studies report convergent and divergent uses of academic English at the level of phraseology and discourse as well as differences in cultural preferences in academic rhetoric. Whether this will lead to homogenisation in time is an open question, but a priori conclusions with regard to its inevitability are not warranted. Important strands of EAP and contrastive rhetoric research have brought to the fore cross-cultural uses of academic written English by researchers of linguacultural backgrounds other than English. This stock of research has provided rich insights into the particular textual organisation conventions and rhetorical style traditions that these researchers transfer from their mother languages to academic texts in English. For example, such cross-linguistic influences account for the use of L1 text organisation and rhetorical preferences in L2 English texts. Linguistic variation is also in evidence at the level of phraseology, text-reflexivity, rhetorical organisation of discourse and the use of interpersonal and pragmatic resources to engage with readers (see, e.g. Mauranen 1993; Dahl 2004; Fløttum 2005; Vold 2006; Pérez-Llantada 2014; Sheldon 2018).

Given the previous, if we borrow Fairclough's (2006: 25) concept of "interdiscursive hybridity", defined as the merge of "discourses, genres or styles from different orders of discourse", we can claim that contemporary academic writing is interdiscursively hybrid. L2 academic English texts contain lexicogrammatical, discoursal and rhetorical features typical of normative, Anglo-American standard English (reflecting the trend towards homogenisation in academic language use) as well as features of lexicogrammar, discourse and rhetoric that are typical of the academic writing traditions of researchers from linguacultural backgrounds other than English (illustrating linguistic and cultural diversity in academic English) (Figure 39.1). Further, the merge of features represents different orders of discourse, a glocalised language phenomenon in contemporary academia (Robertson 1995; Mauranen 2018) which is not dissimilar to sociolinguistic phenomena such as New Englishes and World Englishes, as previously noted.

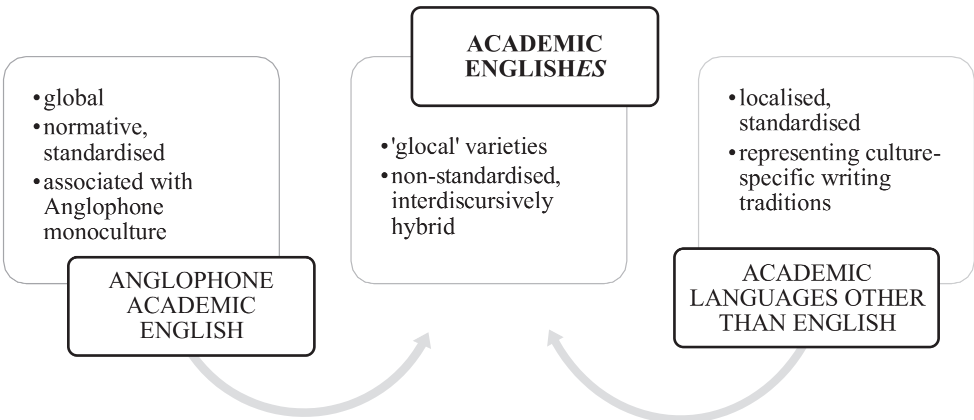

Figure 39.1 Interdiscursive hybridity in Academic English varieties

These hybrid varieties, or Academic English*es*, have been the focus of attention of language professionals (e.g. language revisers, editors and translators). Their perspective has revealed marked differences in the non-native English texts, particularly regarding the use of hedging, tense conventions, genre-related aspects, argumentation flow, the expression of authorial voice and the degree of authorial assertiveness in the texts. Ventola and Mauranen (1991) explained how changes made by these professionals in revising non-Anglophone scholars' articles relate to grammar, hedging and organisation of information. In an interesting case study, Kerans (2002) discusses the retraction of a paper written by a well-known Spanish researcher caused, as she argues, by inappropriate wording and thematic development and lack of structurally marked introductory and concluding moves. Burrough-Boenish (2004) further adds that native English-speaking language professionals adapt the scholars' local rhetorical preferences to the standard academic English conventions of international journals.

Here, though, we should stress that there has recently been one major shift of perspective as regards issues of L2 English writers' language competence and academic literacy development. Even if academic written texts show a fair amount of homogenisation, for example, in the use of academic phraseology (Simpson-Vlach and Ellis 2010), the texts written in English by non-native English-speaking scholars display lexicogrammar features of their L1 academic writing traditions. Moreover, these academic English varieties tend to be accepted by the journal gatekeepers. Rozycki and Johnson (2013: 159–162) empirically demonstrate that the use of non-canonical grammar features of English and grammatical inaccuracies such as use of conditional in place of indicative, use of participle in place of infinitive, word choice, article usage, subject-verb discord or transitive verb used without object, among others, do not impede publication in journals, even if these features do not reflect full native-like competence. Supporting Cook (2013), this shift of perspective might be indicative that these researchers are no longer conceived of as second language learners, but rather as communicatively competent English language users.

Mauranen (2003) stresses the need to conduct theoretical and descriptive studies on culture-specific varieties of ELF, and Seidlhofer (2005, 2011) advocates awareness of cultural and rhetorical conventions in foreign language educational curricula and training ELF teachers on linguistic diversity. In a similar vein, Ferguson (2006: 146) recommends a pedagogical methodology sensitive to national cultures that may find some space for "alternative models for English language teaching alongside British and American standard English". Mauranen (2012: 29) further describes these academic English varieties are 'similects', as they have arisen "in parallel, not in mutual interaction". Each similect represents a distinct academic English variety used by a group of speakers with the same L1 (e.g. academic English written by Spanish scholars, academic English written by Chinese scholars or academic English written by Sudanese scholars). As these similects do not fully conform to Anglophone standards, it would be of interest to enquire in future research into the extent to which each of these similects resembles and/or is distinct from other similects regarding linguistic features, overall rhetoric and discourse styles. This research could also be valuable to understand that "ELF is closer to WE than to SLA" (Mauranen 2018: 106).

In sum, Academic Englishes is a complex language phenomenon, as it instantiates varieties of academic language use and languages in contact in the world stage. As such, it needs to be viewed as one more manifestation of globalising trends and 'transcultural flows' (Pennycook 2007). Ostensibly, with the increasing use of Internet technologies for scholarly communication and with the emergence of new digital genres mentioned earlier in this section, which target linguistically diverse audiences worldwide, we expect to see how academic English undergoes even more complex language variation and change.

5 Concluding thoughts

If we reflect on the interrogative in this chapter's title ("Academic Englishes: A standardised knowledge?"), we see in this variety, as in some others discussed in this handbook, several opposing tendencies. In other varieties, these tendencies, on the one hand, are likely to include various globalising impacts such as the Internet, US and British media and the universal franchising of products, while, on the other, we can note *inter alia* efforts to revive and maintain 'small cultures', interest in local histories and folkways and buying and eating locally (the New American Dictionary chose "locavore" as its new word for 2007). In our own case, the tendencies are still opposing but take a somewhat different form. On the globalisation-homogenisation side, we can recognise the powerful position of the major publication houses for international research (variously American, British, Dutch and German), which strongly privilege the use of English and largely control, through copy-writing mechanisms, the eventual forms of that language. Some of the other factors, as we have already identified, include a growing 'publish in English or perish' syndrome, and ranking and evaluation systems and research policies that increasingly operate to privilege publication in ISI Anglophone journals. Against this prescriptivist monolingual onslaught, at least in terms of the written mode, resistance is currently limited but far from non-existent. There are clear signs that alternative ELF versions of standard written English are being supported (and encouraged); for instance, *Applied Linguistics* does not ask submitting authors to have their texts checked by a native speaker, the J*ournal of English as a Lingua Franca* has had this as its stated policy from the start, and many others in the field are now following suit. The humanities and social sciences, moreover, tend to be linguistically more conservative than STEM subjects. Digital media have also powerfully emerged as a form of science communication that embraces ELF users, writers, readers, video communicators and viewers alike, hence showing strong potential for collaboration across boundaries, knowledge exchange and dissemination. And here it is also worth remembering that so-called local or regional journals are not really local or regional any more once they make their articles globally available on the web. Further, basic physics tells us as volumetric space diminishes, pressure increases, and so it is with alternative academic written Englishes; as the space for them diminishes, so the resistance to their further diminution will only increase.

On the spoken side, as we have shown, ELF is alive and well; indeed, anecdotal evidence of reception histories often reveal that English native speaker rhetorical habits and linguistic styles do not always travel well. Here is a senior Australian applied linguist, who has been a professor in Spain for many years, discussing the Spanish audience response to a very senior British academic in a recorded conference discussion:

> Sir Randolph Quirk came once to the university to speak, and he spoke much as Trudgill did. He was very funny, very urbane, made jokes about me being Australian and so on and people afterwards were disappointed because of that, because he hadn't been dense and boring enough (*laughter)* so a Spanish audience is expecting this to be difficult, dense.

So, in this mode, there is little expectation that ELF users need to approximate to the informality, the slanginess, the culturally specific metaphors and the wide use of examples that are associated with the public speaking styles of many speakers of English as a first language. As Vassileva (2002) and others have noted, a more formal ELF style is normally acceptable, as are all those clarificatory rhetorical strategies noted in section 3, especially when a majority of interlocutors are themselves ELF speakers. In this respect at least, we can (so far) be thankful for *vive la différence*.

Suggestions for further reading

Mauranen, A. (1993) *Cultural Differences in Academic Rhetoric. A Textlinguistic Study*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang. (An in-depth cross-cultural text-linguistic study of textual organisation and textual preferences in academic writing.)

Mauranen, A. (2018) 'Second language acquisition, world Englishes, and English as a lingua franca (ELF)', *World Englishes*, 37 (1): 106–119. (A thought-provoking reading to understand the complex nature of ELF and language change.)

Prior, P. (1998) *Writing/Disciplinarity: A Sociohistoric Account of Literate Activity in the Academy*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. (A very thorough ethnographic-based description of the intersection of writing and disciplinary enculturation.)

Seidlhofer, B. (2011) *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*, Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Essential reading for the description of the nature of ELF.)

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Section 6
The future

40

The future of Englishes

One, many or none?

Alastair Pennycook

Introduction

The question posed here about what the future may hold for English – one English, many Englishes or no English – can be approached from at least two different directions. On the one hand, the answer is dependent on mapping out the possibilities of real-world conditions: language use, demographics, economic change, globalization, social movements, technological developments, environmental factors and so on. Gazing into the future in these terms can produce some tentative proposals based on past trends and predicted implications for the futures of English. On the other hand, the question also raises ideological and epistemological concerns: What does it mean to presuppose English, a plurality of Englishes, or an absence of English? 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 and ideological approaches to how we think about language.

To consider a future in which one version of English remains dominant, for example, would be to assume both that the global political economy, as well as other cultural and technological concerns, would continue to support the spread and maintenance of English and that it could at the same time be considered one language. A linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 2009) focus tends towards this reading of the future, with no foreseeable change to the global hegemony of neoliberal political and economic ideologies and no discernible change to the inequitable global position of English. A World Englishes focus, however, has already cast doubt on the prospect of English being one entity, while also critiquing an English as a lingua franca (ELF) focus for proposing that internal variation within English may be more important than the description of many Englishes. To suggest that English may no longer exist is to propose a number of alternative ways of thinking about this: long-term global trends may mean that English will disappear or perhaps fragment into mutually unintelligible varieties that no longer carry the name of English. Alternatively, as we continue to pose questions about contemporary understandings of language in general, as well as specific conceptions of English in particular, we may start to question the very foundations of the thinking that frames languages along countable lines.

Reviewing global economic and political changes as well as competing theoretical standpoints, this chapter will evaluate different possibilities for the futures of English. It will start by making the basic point that languages – past, present and future – are profoundly influenced by broader economic and political factors. It will then review attempts that have been made, particularly by Graddol (2006) and Ostler (2010), to predict outcomes for English, before going on to show how dependent such attempts are on the kind of political economy they presuppose. This will be followed by a discussion of language ideologies and an argument that we cannot conduct any such investigation without a thorough examination of the views about language that we assume. Any proposal for one, many or no Englishes is therefore highly contingent on a range of ideological propositions.

Language, globalization and political economy

That the global spread of English is inextricably bound up with economic and political forces is indisputable. English did not spread globally as if it had a capacity to take over the world without being pushed by many forces that saw an interest in its promotion and pulled by many who also perceived (rightly or wrongly) value in acquiring the language. The global spread of English cannot be understood outside its connections to colonial exploitation and the contemporary inequalities fostered by globalization and neoliberal ideologies (an emphasis away from equity, welfare and government spending towards privatization, deregulation and the rule of the market). To the extent that the global spread of English is a product of political and economic forces, its future role will evidently reflect changes to the global economy, as well as other social, political and cultural factors.

To map the possible futures of English, we need to speculate on possible future political and economic developments. To show how this may work, it can be useful to imagine alternative histories and their concomitant linguistic outcomes. While some of these conjectures 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 the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom and established its European German-dominated Reich. Japan did not attack Pearl Harbour and instead 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 21st century, the world is dominated by three major economic, political and linguistic entities: Die Dritte Europäische Gemeinschaft, a powerful bloc including Russia, the United Kingdom, North Africa and most of Europe, where German is used as the major language of communication, while other regional languages – English, French, 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 other growing South East Asian nations. And across the Pacific Las Americas, a Spanish-dominated conglomeration (with English a major second language in the North, a trilingual Canada operating with Spanish, French and English, and the bilingual Portuguese–Spanish Brazil emerging as another significant power) has become the third major political and economic bloc.

In this alternative world, German, Spanish and Japanese are generally recognized as the three major world languages, with Hindi, Chinese 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 (British pre-war and American post-war imperialism) which might have looked very different and might do so again. If we went back further and unwound the processes of colonialism, we could imagine a different world again, one where European languages were not dominant and where other languages from the Global South might play a very different role.

It also becomes evident with such speculations that the outcomes are partly dependent on language polices and ideologies (an issue to which I return subsequently). While the image of a less powerful, bilingual United States may be a welcome notion to those rightly concerned about the dominance of English in the world, to idly speculate about the success of the German and Japanese Empires is to raise more serious concerns about the destruction of various populations and their languages. Both regimes vehemently promoted their own language at the expense of others. The Japanese and German regimes were not known for their tolerance and encouragement of diversity. In this casual scenario, for example, Hebrew – indeed Israel – would likely never have been revived. Many European and Asian languages might also have fared very badly. Clearly a more serious view of these alternative scenarios would have to take into account the destructive language policies that would have likely played out across large parts of the world. Whether these would have been more destructive than the forces of US-dominated capitalism and neo-liberalism is a question for further speculation, and it is important to keep in mind that the current pro-English policies of ASEAN countries, for example, pose a serious threat to the linguistic diversity of the region (Kirkpatrick, 2010).

Such fanciful speculations raise several points. It is clear that changes in global politics may have major effects on global languages, but at the same time, it is really difficult to predict such events. In the first edition of this handbook (Pennycook, 2010), I drew attention to recent political events that certainly seemed important at the time. Some of these, such as the expansion in the size of the European Union (now under threat amid Brexit disruptions and the rise of xenophobic nationalism across Europe) or the political realignment of South America (now in partial reverse as old oligarchies seek to regain power) appear less significant than they did a decade ago. The biggest of them all, the global financial crisis (GFC) of 2008–9 – with major economies in recession, companies that were thought invulnerable collapsing and large numbers of workers across different sectors being laid off – contrary to expectations, consolidated rather than dismantled the rise of neoliberal economics. As Piketty's (2014) analysis of capital shows, the redistribution of income in wealthy nations that occurred in the middle of the 20th century has been reversed in the last 30 years, and the GFC was more of a hiccough than a disruption in that process. Any expected challenges to the onward rise of English and neoliberal economics did not materialize, though we have yet to see what the implications of the COVID-19 pandemic may be.

On the other hand, then as now, the rise of China (and India) as dominant economies of the 21st century will have major 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 rise of China as the major power of the 21st century, however, has implications for English that are difficult to determine. Just as Japan's economic potency in the 20th century led to a growth in Japanese studies across the world, so there has been significant growth worldwide in the learning of Chinese. This will not, however, 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. While China does support the learning of other languages, such as Japanese or Russian, its investment in English means that if business is not to be done in Chinese, English will often be the other option. The parallel rise of India, with its strong pro-English stance in many domains, also continues to consolidate the role of English at a global level. While this may clearly have some implications for the growth of Chinese as a major world language, these factors put together – the ways in which English has become embedded in China, the adoption of English as the language of ASEAN, the role English plays in India – may lead to the continued role of English in global relations.

The rise and fall of English

The different scenario suggested previously is not, of course, how the world has turned out, but it does suggest that neither the current nor the future role of English is in any ways guaranteed or inevitable. Two authors who have ventured into this territory of speculating about English make this very clear, the one (Ostler, 2010) suggesting that English will likely be the last lingua franca, the other (Graddol, 2006) suggesting less dramatically that the global spread of English will peak around now (i.e., 2020) before declining. Both make it evident that languages, like empires (and often in conjunction), come and go. For Ostler, taking a long historical view, processes of conquest, commerce and conversion have led to the rise and fall of many languages of wider communication, including Arabic, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Persian, French, German, Russian, Portuguese and Spanish. With conquest, speakers are often obliged to shift from an older lingua franca (such as Quechua in the Inca empire) to a new emerging one (such as Spanish). With commerce and conversion, the switch may be more voluntary (though both trade and religion are often equally imposed on people). The latest and largest in this line of major lingua francas is English, which, he argues, will be the last one.

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 has reached 2 billion by about 2020, increased competition for English language teaching (ELT) services from non-native contexts (the growth of ELT in Malta and the Philippines has confirmed this view) and a general decline in the relevance of native speakers – a trend already identified in the 1989 *Economist* report (McCallen, 1989) – and the proportional decline of English in the Internet. While it is still common in some quarters to vaguely claim that English is the language of the Internet, such views need a number of qualifications: Although the amount of English use outweighs other languages – about half of the most widely visited homepages in the world are in English – a great deal of content is in other languages, and while English use continues to expand, the overall use of English is decreasing proportionally in relation to other languages. There are now almost as many users of Chinese as users of English on the Internet (Internet World Stats, 2019). Such observations counter claims that English has become so embedded in such domains that it will remain so. And as recent research has made clear, the contemporary online environment is often highly multilingual (Lee, 2017).

If the Internet has revolutionized global communication in the past few decades, new communication technologies are set to change things in the near future, and it is on these grounds that Ostler (2010) proposes that English will not need replacing: As Anglo-American hegemony declines, the influence of English will weaken. It will not be succeeded by another lingua franca, however, since the rise of new technologies, and in particular translation technologies, will take us back to an era when many languages can flourish. Ostler is not predicting the complete demise of English (it may still continue as an important language) but rather its eventual removal as a global lingua franca and the end of the need for such languages. 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 (though one might alternatively suggest that the more people speak English as an international language, the more capital it accrues).

For Grin (2015: 129), it is the *banalization* of English that will render to those with an ability in languages in addition to English an economic edge. Graddol 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). He 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. EFL teaching, he suggests, as it has been commonly 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 in the capacity to operate multilingually amid the rise of other major languages. Perhaps one English but a polycentric one.

The strength of Ostler's study lies in the broad historical overview, though it also lacks a sharper analysis of contemporary political economy. Phillipson (2012: 199) points to numerous weaknesses in this work, arguing that Ostler has ignored 'the evidence of linguistic imperialism, and the impact, particularly in postcolonial countries and increasingly in Europe, of policies that have strengthened English and weakened other languages.' Perhaps most importantly, Ostler fails, in Phillipson's view, to see English within the broader 'global political, economic, financial, military, and educational systems that have been in place since 1945' (Phillipson, 2012: 199). 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 and Brazil; shifting patterns of economic exchange; outsourcing) – and speculations on how these may reinforce or unsettle certain language alliances. Phillipson (2008) also takes Graddol to task, however, for overlooking 'the significance of the corporate world and the role of the guardians of the norms of the standard Anglo-American language' (2008: 36). Graddol's analysis, aimed at informing the British Council and other EFL-oriented institutions interested in keeping track of global English trends, is not an analysis that aims to critique globalization but rather to critique the complacency of the EFL industry and the monolingualism of the Anglo world.

Embedded and entangled Englishes

All such predictions, then, are dependent not only on things continuing along expected or predictable pathways but also on the kind of political economy and on the linguistic ideologies with which the analysts operate. Phillipson (2008) has laid out his concerns here most explicitly, arguing that global English has to be seen as 'the *capitalist neoimperial language* that serves the interests of the corporate world and the governments that it influences so as to consolidate state and empire worldwide' (2008: 33). Drawing on the analyses of neoliberal empire by Pieterse (2004) and Hardt and Negri (2000), Phillipson argues that this global expansion of English needs to be understood in terms of 'linguistic capital accumulation,' (an argument critiqued by Holborow 2012 for its misunderstanding of Marxist principles). From Phillipson's (2008) point of view, 'acceptance of the status of English, and its assumed neutrality implies uncritical adherence to the dominant world disorder, unless policies to counteract neolinguistic imperialism and to resist linguistic capital dispossession are in force' (2008: 38).

For Phillipson, the challenge for a macro-sociolinguistics of global English is to understand the relations between English, corporate power and new understandings of neoliberal empire. One way of mitigating the problems posed by English is to advocate for better respect for the rights of languages (ensuring better protection for minority languages), though this is arguably a (neo)-liberal solution to a neo-Marxist problem. A more consistent theoretical position would be to insist that the only solution to inequitable linguistic conditions that result from global inequalities is to argue not for better *recognition* of languages but for better *redistribution* of global resources (a socialist response to inequality) (Block, 2018; O'Regan, 2021). Nonetheless, we should be careful not to reject linguistic imperialism for its theoretical and political inconsistencies nor its monologically dystopian approach to the global spread of English, especially if the principal alternatives are the utopian visions of diversity in world Englishes (WE) or English as a lingua franca (ELF) frameworks.

Neither the WE or ELF framework, it has been argued, has an adequate account of political economy to be able to engage with serious questions about the global spread of English (Bruthiaux, 2003; O'Regan, 2014). A theory of linguistic imperialism is not, however, a prerequisite to look critically at questions of power and politics around English (Pennycook, 2016). More important are close and detailed understandings of the ways in which English is embedded in local economies, the ways in which demand for English is linked to discourses of change, modernization, access and longing. It is tied to the languages, cultures, styles and aesthetics of popular culture, with its particular attractions for youth, rebellion and conformity; it is enmeshed within local economies, and all the inclusions, exclusions and inequalities this may entail; it is bound up with changing modes of communication, from shifting internet uses to its role in contemporary digital communication and social media; it is increasingly entrenched in educational systems, bringing to the fore many concerns about knowledge, pedagogy and the curriculum. We need to understand the diversity of what English is and what it means in all these contexts, and we need to do so not with prior assumptions about globalization and its effects but with critical studies of the local embeddedness of English.

Put another way, rather than one dystopian English serving only the forces of neoliberalism, we have many Englishes that are caught up in the complex forces of globalization. No longer can we consider it a pre-given object; rather it is a many-headed hydra (Rapatahana and Bunce, 2012) enmeshed in complex local contexts of power and struggle. From the relation between English and other languages in the Pacific (Barker, 2012) or Sri Lanka (Parakrama, 2012), to its role as a cheap and affordable commodity in the Philippines (Lorente and Tupas, 2014) or a language in which the *scripts of servitude* of domestic workers are composed (Lorente, 2017), the position of English is compound and convoluted. English in the Philippines is *entangled* with neoliberal inequalities, domestic workers, multilingual repertoires, Korean English frenzy, sexual desire, American colonialism, call centres, racial hierarchies, unequal resources and much more (Pennycook, 2020a).

To understand the roles of English in the world, we need detailed understandings of the role English plays in relation to local languages, politics and economies. This requires meticulous studies of English and its users, as well as theories of power that are well adapted to contextual understandings. English is never just about something called English but is rather involved in economic and social change, cultural renewal, people's dreams and desires. There are therefore many Englishes, not so much in the terms of language varieties posited by the world Englishes framework but rather in terms of different Englishes in relation to different social and economic forces. When we talk of English today we mean many things, many of them not necessarily having to do with some core notion of language. The question becomes not whether some monolithic thing called English is imperialistic or an escape from poverty nor how many varieties there may be of this thing called English but rather what kind of mobilizations underlie acts of English use or learning? Something called English is mobilized by English language industries with particular language effects. But something called English is also part of complex language chains, mobilized as part of multiple acts of identity and desire. It is not English – if by that we mean a certain grammar and lexicon – that is at stake here. It is the discourses around English that matter, the ways in which an idea of English is caught up in all that we do so badly in the name of education; all the exacerbations of inequality that go under the label of globalization; all the linguistic calumnies that denigrate other ways of speaking; all the shamefully racist institutional interactions that occur in law courts, police stations, refugee camps, employment centres, hospitals and schools.

Local language ideologies

English arguably remains a language of the Global North, not so much because its origins lie in geographically northern regions but rather because it remains embedded both in the institutions and injustices that the Global North created and in the ideological frameworks that sustain these inequities. The world Englishes and English as a lingua franca movements have both, in their own ways, sought to argue for a vision of English as a language of the Global South. By insisting that English is the property of all, that ownership of English no longer rests in the hands of its so-called native speakers, that English can be understood as global, variable and multilingual, proponents of these two related programs have aimed to *delink* English from its origins and ownership and to shift the centre of English from the Global North. While both have arguably achieved some success in this endeavour – enabling many to see English as locally inflected, as no longer encumbered by conventional decrees, as no longer tied to particular speakers and places – neither ELF nor WE provides the tools to appreciate the extent of the political and theoretical *delinking* that is necessary to decolonize English (Kumaravadivelu, 2016).

While the futures of English – *one* English from a dystopian view of the continuing hegemony of the American Empire and its language or from a more utopian framing focused on internal variation; *many* from a World Englishes perspective that sees the continuing processes of centrifugal dispersion; *none* from Ostler's (2010) point of view, since English will decline along with Anglo-American hegemony and the rise of translation technologies – may depend on questions of political economy, they also clearly depend on language ideologies (Blommaert, 1999). Seargeant's (2009) analysis of how English is positioned in Japan, both as a linguistic system and as a set of ideologies, shows how different forms of knowledge about language have an effect upon the way in which language is regulated within society. To talk of 'new Englishes,' or of English as a lingua franca, may on the one hand be an empirical question we can explore through a set of criteria that define the emergence of a language variety; on the other hand, these are also dependent on language ideologies that define languages in particular, pluralizable ways. If language means different things to different people, then what constitutes English is less clearly defined by recourse to grammar, lexicon or naming practices and instead is a product of particular conditions of locality. And the question of one, many or none is not reducible to political economy but needs also to be viewed through an ideological lens (and not one that sees ideology only as the necessary reflection of a neo-liberal, English-speaking empire [Phillipson, 2009]).

The ideological underpinnings of claims concerning the status of English as a lingua franca become clear when we look at discussions of English and Chinese (Pennycook, 2012). One supposed truism in the discourses around the global spread of English is that it is the most widely spoken language in the world as a second language, whereas Chinese is the most widely spoken first language. English, while maintaining a base of a few hundred million 'native speakers,' is numerically superior because of the huge number of 'non-native speakers' around the world, who now vastly outnumber the former. Chinese, by contrast, while on the rise as a second language, achieves its numerical superiority from its colossal base of 'native speakers,' the majority of whom reside in China. On the one hand, the world's great lingua franca, on the other hand the world's great mother tongue. Not only does this story rest on the contentious distinction between native and nonnative speakers, but it also rests on competing views of what constitutes a language. If we argue by contrast that Chinese dialects are languages, it makes much more sense to look at Chinese as a lingua franca to rival English (Chew, 2010; Li, 2006).

If the view that most people in China speak Chinese with wide regional variations (*fangyan*) – that Chinese is one of the languages with the most variation in the world – is evidently a cultural and ideological position on language and nationhood, so too we have to recognize a similar position with respect to English. On the one hand, a set of criteria around common orthography, historical roots, cultural heritage and political unity (Dong, 2009); on the other a perspective based on issues of 'mutual intelligibility.' The insistence that Chinese is the great mother tongue and English the great lingua franca are deeply held ideological convictions. The problem, however, is that Western linguists tend to see only the Chinese view as ideological. It is a linguistic truism that the distinction between language and dialect is a political rather than a linguistic one. The criticism that the Chinese refusal to acknowledge that their so-called dialects are really languages is hypocritical: if linguists accept that the distinction is a political one, it does not make sense to then insist on a scientific correction to Chinese ideologies about language and dialect. The insistence, furthermore, that Chinese dialects are really languages clearly suggests that Chinese may be a lingua franca to rival English (though not from a Chinese point of view, where it remains the mother tongue). Where the Chinese position is a fundamentally nationalist one, the English one is a fundamentally internationalist one. Yet this ideological projection of English as a lingua franca is commonly overlooked.

We cannot therefore proceed with a discussion of the futures of English without engaging with language ideologies. While the alternative world based on different post-WWII outcomes presented earlier is 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 United States (though we are likely heading that way eventually), since this possibility suggests an openness to languages that was not evident in the United States in the mid 20th century. What if we imagine for Australia not just the possibility that the French invaded the West and the British the East (a quite possible alternative history), 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? Many of these languages (in this dreaming) 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 not to be bound by the monolingual ideology so often critiqued in Australia and the other Anglo nations (Piller, 2016), but 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, English and Gardjari are widely used. This, I would argue, is somewhat harder to imagine than the scenarios sketched out earlier, suggesting that while different political outcomes may be imaginable, different language ideologies may be harder to conceive.

Looking at world Englishes, it is clear that although large amounts of evidence have been brought to bear on the topic of the diversity of new Englishes (see chapters in this volume), the epistemological questions about what constitutes a variety, or indeed what constitutes English, are left largely untouched. That is to say, once the move has been made to talk about a plurality of Englishes, and to do so along lines that link these varieties of English to different nation states (Indian, Singaporean, Nigerian and so forth), subsequent work only needs to provide evidence of local divergence from core English in order to continue to contribute to the model of world Englishes as divergent language varieties. If we continue along this empirical track, it is likely we will be able to demonstrate the continuing centrifugality of Englishes and always answer the question posed at the beginning as 'many.' Along with its focus on hybridity at the expense of a more critical analysis of English in the world, and the descriptive and analytic inconsistencies of the three circles, is the problem that the locus of analysis is on national varieties of English. Overlooking diversity within regions and the scope of change within globalization, therefore, the world Englishes framework has been described as 'a 20th century construct that has outlived its usefulness' (Bruthiaux, 2003: 161). Just as a language rights perspective maintains a 20th-century model of international relations, so a World Englishes perspective maintains a focus on national Englishes. Neither raises the question of whether we need to reconsider what languages are in more fundamental terms.

These approaches to global English – whether linguistic imperialism and language rights or world Englishes and English as a lingua franca – remain stuck within Northern 20th century frameworks of languages and nations. The central concern that the debates between these rival conceptualizations leave uncontested is how we can understand diversity outside those very frameworks that are part of the problem. Neither a defense of national languages and cultures, nor a description of English as a lingua franca, nor even a focus on plural Englishes adequately addresses questions of diversity under conditions of globalization. A focus on the worldliness of English (Pennycook, 1994, 2007a), however, demands, in Radhakrishnan's (2007) terms, that the very one-ness of English can only be understood on the basis of local perspectives of difference. This is not a question of pluralizing Englishes but of understanding the way different language ideologies construct English locally. Questioning the ways in which we have come to think about languages within colonialism and modernity, and regarding the grand narratives of imperialism, language rights, lingua francas or world Englishes with suspicion, this perspective looks towards local, situated, contextual and contingent ways of understanding languages and language policies.

Beyond enumerable Englishes

It is important to reconsider our ways of thinking about language. This question can be addressed in several ways. The first has to do with local language ideologies, that is to say with the ways 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 perspectival approach that does not assume that English remains the same. This is not a matter of grammatical or lexical variation but of ideological or ontological difference (Pennycook, 2020b). 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.

A focus on *unequal Englishes* – 'the unequal ways and situations in which Englishes are arranged, configured, and contested' (Tupas and Rubdy, 2015: 3) – goes part way to addressing these concerns by asking whether 'all English users regardless of their racial, gender, socioeconomic, and other background' can 'equally transgress linguistic boundaries and engage in hybrid and fluid linguistic practices' (Kubota, 2015: 33). By keeping *Englishes* in place (while acknowledging their inequality), however, this approach fails to unravel the linguistic ideologies that maintain the language myth in the first place. Likewise, while the introduction of the idea of English as a multilingua franca (EMF) (Jenkins, 2015) usefully draws attention to the multilingualism of which English is only a part, it maintains the idea of *English* as a lingua franca, rather than starting with multilingua francas as the departure point (Makoni and Pennycook, 2012). We need to think in terms of the unequal distribution of linguistic resources in relation to other resources (Dovchin et al., 2016) rather than the unequal status of a diversity of languages or of a form of multilingualism that can nonetheless be called English.

This points to the need to think about English and globalization outside the frameworks that gave rise to contemporary models of language and the world. As Canagarajah (2007: 98) remarks, many assumptions about English and Englishes derive from a philosophical culture that treated 'language as a thing in itself, an objective, identifiable product.' In dealing with English in an uneven world, we 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. There are more important ways in which we need to investigate the ideologies around views of singular or plural Englishes. None of these approaches has engaged seriously enough with the epistemological and ontological challenges raised long ago by Parakrama (1995): These Other Englishes present a far greater set of concerns for our ways of thinking about language than just a decentring of our linguistic framework. Southern or decolonial approaches to applied linguistics require far more profound questions about global inequalities, language ideologies and language ontologies (Pennycook, 2020b; Pennycook and Makoni, 2020)

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 multimodal multilingualism in which English now partakes. Indeed, there are strong reasons to question the very notion of English, or any language, as a discrete entity describable in terms of core and variation. On the one hand, there are the changing realities of urban life, with enhanced mobility, shifting populations, social upheaval, health and climate crises and increased access to diverse media, particularly forms of popular culture. On the other hand, there is the growing concern that we need to rethink the ways in which language has been conceptualized.

Drawing on recent translinguistic approaches to language (Canagarajah, 2013; García and Li Wei, 2014; Pennycook and Otsuji, 2015), we can start to think of English in polycentric terms. This is not the polycentrism of a World Englishes focus, with its established norms of regional varieties of English, but a concept based on the idea that English users are developing complex repertoires of multilingual and multimodal resources (Pennycook, 2014). 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). Drawing a distinction between ELF (where English is a pre-given language used as a lingua franca) and LFE (where English as a lingua franca emerges from language use), Canagarajah (2007: 91) argues that 'LFE does not exist as a system out there. It is constantly brought into being in each context of communication'. From this point of view, 'there is no meaning for form, grammar or language ability outside the realm of practice. LFE is not a product located in the mind of the speaker; it is a social process constantly reconstructed in sensitivity to environmental factors' (2007: 94).

This is consistent with the argument I have been making for the need to escape the pre-definition of a language user by geographical location or variety and instead to deal with the contextual use of language. Talking of 'Englishes' (even if unequal) does not take us far enough and cannot capture the 'multilingual repertoire of speakers' or the

> complex semiotic webs within and across which speakers move, comprising not just languages as we know them, but bits of language such as registers, accents, words, and assemblages of form-meaning elements, such as rap rhythms and embodied performances.
>
> *(Williams, 2017: 4)*

This brings together an understanding of language, space and place, linking current views on translanguaging with an understanding of the semiotic landscape. Looking at this broader approach to translinguistic studies (Pennycook, 2017), we can come to a better understanding of global Englishes if we focus not just on the translingual relations among English and other languages but also among English and other entanglements.

Conclusion: one, many, none or all of the above?

While there may be something to be gained from trying to map the future of English along the lines of Graddol (2006) or Ostler (2010), it is evident that we also need to rethink language in relation to changing global relations. This is no longer, therefore, about whether count nouns get pluralized, local language terminology enters English, tag questions become fixed, verb tense and aspect are realized differently, or different English users share different pragmatic and cognitive orientations. This is no longer an argument about whether English as a lingua franca implies a static or monolithic concept of English, or about the relative size of varieties of English and English as a lingua franca (is Indian English a variety or a lingua franca?). In looking for ways 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 start to understand the plurality of Englishes in relation to local relations of politics, economies, desires and ideologies.

Any understanding of the future of English needs to move beyond projections – one, many or none – based on linguistic analyses from the Global North. Instead we need an understanding of language that seeks neither national nor international framings of English but instead incorporates local language ontologies. The 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 an empirical and political incongruity but one that is no more based in particular linguistic ideologies than an argument in favour of a plurality of Englishes. 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.

So, the futures of English: one, many or none? I have tried to show in this chapter that any attempt to answer this question will be contingent on several factors: A projection of the future in political and economic terms is always in itself dependent on many considerations – and I have not discussed here the potentially catastrophic implications of climate change or of the COVID-19 pandemic – but also on the kind of political theory used: What assumptions are made about capitalism or neoliberalism and their relation to language change? To argue for one, many or no Englishes is to operate from a set of assumptions about how language and political economy are interdependent. It is also, however, to operate from perspectives that construe languages along particular lines (as nationally defined, countable entities, for example). In the end, it is probably foolish to try to answer such a question even in the most tentative fashion, but at the same time, it is worth asking the question, since it can help draw attention to the linguistic ideologies that inform any such attempt.

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Index

Note: page numbers in *italic* indicate a figure and page numbers in **bold** indicate a table on the corresponding page.