

Multilingual Education

Ram Ashish Giri  
Anamika Sharma  
James D'Angelo *Editors*

# Functional Variations in English

Theoretical Considerations and Practical  
Challenges

 Springer

# Multilingual Education

Volume 37

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*This volume is dedicated to Professor Ravinder Gargesh.*

*Professor Gargesh is a leading linguist in India. His versatility and expanse of academic interests covers many pertinent areas, making inspirational contributions to the field of linguistics in general and applied linguistics in particular. A well-known and widely published linguist, he has propounded a number of ground-breaking theories which inspire many research and publications around the globe. His classification of functional variations of Englishes, in particular South Asian Englishes (e.g., Gargesh 2006, quoted throughout the volume), has been influential and applicable in several contexts. Many authors of this volume, for example, have applied his classifications to analyse and explain the functional variations of English in their respective contexts.*

*As a linguist, a leader in the field, and a guide, he has inspired the academic and professional lives of many of his colleagues, students, and emerging linguists and will continue to do so.*

*We are privileged and honoured to dedicate  
this volume to him in recognition of his  
contributions.*

Anamika Sharma  
James D'Angelo  
Ram Ashish Giri  
Editors

# Foreword

For over three decades, the functional variation of English has been a significant area of research, designing the ways English is embedded and transcreated in local linguistic contexts to serve the purpose of today's globalized world. Historically and linguistically evident, the categorization of English has shifted from the notion of native language (ENL), second language (ESL), and foreign language (EFL) to the creation of competing models for its distinct varieties. Kachru (1985), the doyen of studies in world Englishes, rationalized the spread of English, pointing out that the majority of speakers of English were not ENL speakers from the 'inner circle' but ESL speakers from the outer circle and EFL speakers from the 'expanding circle'. He recognized the dynamic 'nativized' varieties in their own right and collectively termed them as 'World Englishes' (WE). Similarly, the situation of convergence of English with other languages in different parts of the world also led to the models of 'English as an International Language' (EIL) (Jenkins 2000), 'English as a World Language' (EWL) or as 'World English' (Brutt-Griffler 2002), and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Seidlhofer 2001). The differentiator is that while these consider English to be one gigantic unitary entity, World Englishes views the 'outer circle' varieties as inclusive and pluricentric developing their own norms free from the standards of 'inner circle' varieties (Bolton and Bautista 2004) and handling 'accommodation management', which can be a mammoth task in the 'expanding circle' countries because of the 'diversity of globally-minded, globally-competent, and globally-functioning speakers of English' (Honna, in preparation).

Addressing the same issues, Schneider (2003, 2007, 2011) presented his 'dynamic model' drawing on Mufwene's (2001, pp. 8–9 and 204–06, 2004) tripartite distinction between 'trade colonies' (in Asia and Africa), 'exploitation colonies' (colonization as in India, Nigeria, etc.), and 'settlement colonies' (USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) and introduced a fourth type called 'plantation colonies' that came into being by transplantation of indentured labour (from India to Fiji, Caribbean islands, British Guiana, etc.). Schneider viewed the development of all varieties of Englishes through interactions between the English colonizer (STL strand) and 'indigenous' colonized (IDG strand) in five developmental phases, namely the 'foundation' phase, 'exonormative' stabilization phase, 'nativization'



phase, the ‘endonormative’ stabilization phase, and finally the ‘differentiation’ phase (Schneider 2007, pp. 40–54).

As is clear, broad based theoretical generalizations about WEs have been made by eminent scholars like Kachru (1982b, 1986a; Kachru and Nelson), Platt, Weber and Ho (1984), Schneider (1997, 2003, 2007), Kachru and Smith (2008), and Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006), while issues related to specific regional or national varieties have been researched by many other eminent academics such as Baumgardner (1993), B. Kachru (1984), Mesthrie (1992), Rahman (1990), and others. There have also been detailed studies on specific aspects or varieties like grammatical descriptions of national varieties, e.g. B. Kachru (1983) on Indian English, Bautista (1007b, 2000) on Philippine English, Bolton (2003) on Chinese English, Davis (2006) on World Englishes and descriptive grammars, Rahman (1990) on Pakistani English, and myself on South Asian Englishes and Indian English (2006, 2008). It would be pertinent here to mention a major work *A Handbook of the Varieties of English* (in 4 volumes), edited in 2008 by Kortmann and Schneider, on the linguistic development of Englishes covering almost all major countries of the world.

To boldly go where no scholars have gone before, the present volume covers major domains of the functional variation of English. Part I strides from general theoretical perspectives relating to the ‘inner’ circle and exploring the functional variation of English globally (Bolton); moving to the problem arising from polysemy in poetic translations (Bagchi), problems in the international use of Aviation English (Oda), and problems in the analysis of English poems composed by a Chinese author (Xu); and further to the authenticity of authorship in pop culture and media Englishes (Moody). Part II deals more with the functional use of English in ‘outer’ circle countries, such as the geographical spread of an ‘outer’ circle variety (Indian English) to other regions of Asia and Africa (Meierkord); the problems confronted and some solutions provided in the form of teaching/learning Indian English in multilingual India (Mohanty, Part IV); the past, present and future state of English in Pakistan (Rahman); and a study of the variations in the use of English language on Facebook (Ohiagu). Part III of the book then explores the functional variation of English in the ‘expanding’ circle, such as the use of English in Brazil (Rajagopalan); the shifting contexts of English language use in Russia (Proshina); the semiotic function of English in Indonesia (Zentz); the status and functions of English in Oman (Siddiqui and Marwa); the function of English in education, entertainment and commercial advertisements in South Korea (Ahn and Seongyoung), and a study of the motivation and objectives of senior citizens for learning English in South Korea (Lee). Part IV finally faces the daunting task of dealing with pedagogical issues such as exploration of the success of English medium instruction in Pakistan (Mahboob), examination of the shift to ELF and native speakerism variety in Japan’s ELT policy (Shiroza), the introduction of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) in teaching EIL which includes WE as well as ELF (Hino and Oda), and a study of the ideologies, functionality and practicality of the growing adoption of English as medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Nepal’s public schools from early grades (Phyak and Sharma).

The chapters in the present volume significantly delineate a line of research which deals with current issues related to the variation and functionality of English in the world today and reveal that the functional variation of English is highly complex and multifaceted. In that sense, functioning in them as well as using and teaching them are much like the voyages of the Starship Enterprise as its mission is also ‘to explore strange new worlds, to seek new life and new civilizations. To boldly go where no one has gone before!’

I would like to thank the contributors for their excellent contributions. My special word of thanks to the editors for their planning and hard work in putting this volume together – to Anamika Sharma, Ram Ashish Giri, and James D’Angelo, for initiating and conceptualizing the book. They collectively put their academic and scholarly expertise, editorial skills, and, most importantly, heads and heart together to bring this volume to its fruition.

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Ravinder Gargesh

# **Introduction: In View of My Support of English as a Multicultural Language for International Communication**

This volume, a compilation of 21 distinguished papers, along with a Foreword and an Afterword intended to be a festschrift for Professor Ravinder Gargesh, is a remarkable contribution to the studies of language variation. It is my great pleasure and honor to be invited to write this introduction.

Language variation is one of the most intriguing research areas of general linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, and educational linguistics with a myriad of significant and published discoveries. What makes this volume unique is its focus on English as an international language (EIL) based on the notion of World Englishes (WE) or English as a lingua franca (ELF), exploring the way the English language varies in accordance with the paradigm of who says what, to whom, when/where, and how. Anamika Sharma, James D'Angelo, and Ram Ashish Giri, editors of the volume (Chap. 1) brilliantly explicate the significance of this focus in an attempt to solidify theoretical and practical foundations of EIL or ELF.

This frame of reference is a logical deduction from Professor Gargesh's leading works on Indian English(es) and language variation. Actually, linguistic variation as an identity issue encompasses a wide range of analytical levels: What is observed in/'in variation (Fischer 1958; Labov 1972; Trudgill 1974; Huspek 1986), for example, significantly parallels with the sociolinguistics of the holistic understanding of the concept and reality of World Englishes (WE) (Kachru 1985; Kachru and Nelson 2006; Jenkins 2009; Kirkpatrick 2007, 2010, for example, and many chapters in this volume).

Importantly, the functional variations of EIL or ELF are addressed from a pedagogical perspective in this volume. This turns out to be a useful approach to English language teaching (ELT), as its policy decision, curriculum and material development, and classroom practice all demand careful examination of the complexities and concerns of adopting varieties of English locally appropriate for educational purposes. Yet, these efforts are made doubly difficult and complicated, because ELT in view of EIL or ELF needs to be re-constructed as an essential part of a larger endeavor to nurture globally minded, globally competent, and globally functioning individuals, where diversity and accommodation management competence should

be strongly emphasized. Indeed, ELT is a glocal matter, but planning for it is an extremely difficult task.

The pedagogical connection between ELT and global citizen education becomes clearer in view of the fact that globalization is a contemporary phenomenon where people, businesses, services, products, jobs, money, information, or ideas go beyond their national borders. As a result, we will be working (collaborating) and/or living (sharing a community) with people from different national and cultural backgrounds. As a matter of fact, many places in the world are becoming more and more multinational, multicultural, and multilingual than before. Under these circumstances, it is not appropriate to designate English as *the* language (or *the* lingua franca) for international communication. Kanavillil Rajagopalan's description of an ambivalent view on English in South America (Chap. 11) could be duplicated in many other parts of the world.

To deal with these trends, global citizens would need (1) a flexible mindset that allows and enables them to respect and tolerate different national backgrounds, cultures, religions, languages, and other traditions of the people with whom they work and live, and (2) practical abilities to accommodate and negotiate these differences by means of language and communication. If the purpose of global citizen education is to develop these aptitudes, it is also what ELT is intended for. ELT aims at this goal by developing competences in (1) understanding others, (2) explaining self, and (3) managing diversity and accommodation.

In this connection, it is very important that we have a clear and full understanding of the present status of the English language. Contemporary English has two major characteristics or tendencies, the extent and the magnitude of which no other languages have ever experienced in the history of linguistic evolution: (1) its global spread, including the world-wide expansion of ELT, and (2) the upsurge of a vast number of its national varieties such as Indian English, Nigerian English, and many others. The former can be defined as the internationalization and the latter as the diversification of the English language. People often find it extremely difficult to comprehend the diversification part, but the diversification of English is the natural outcome of the international spread of the language. You cannot have one without the other. Interestingly, Christiane Meierkord (Chap. 8) confirms the spread of Indian English beyond the Union and explains the nature of its reflection in the local varieties of English in Afghanistan, Maldives, and Uganda, where it is brought via various routes of language contact.

The general theory that explains these trends is this: if there is to be diffusion, there has to be adaptation. So, when American English or British English is transplanted or introduced to other countries, the language goes through an adaptive process of reculturalization or nativization to get learned and used by local people there. The output of this intercultural adaptive process is the development of regional/local varieties of English, or Non-Native Speaker Englishes, which can be conceptualized as a major part of World Englishes or English as a multicultural language. These concepts encourage us to see that each variety is as legitimate as another, linguistically and culturally. As a matter of fact, Japanese people normally could not speak English without some Japanese features, or without the foundations

of Japanese language and culture. So, when they speak English, they sound Japanese in terms of pronunciation, words and phrases, syntax, pragmatics, and communication style. These trends are witnessed in many countries in Asia and other parts of the world. Kingsley Bolton (Chap. 2) further explores the dynamics of the establishment of Asian Englishes and its impact on the multilingual environment of the region.

Remarkably in Asia, non-native speakers use English more frequently with other non-native speakers than with native speakers. The interaction between native speakers and non-native speakers is not as frequent as imagined and assumed in ELT. Importantly, Asian speakers are taking advantage of their additional language and are exploring new dimensions of English use: phonetically, lexically, syntactically, semantically, and of course pragmatically. They are also using English in Asian cultural contexts. So, when the Japanese speak English with the Chinese, there is no room for American or British culture. Nobuyuki Hino and Setsuko Oda (Chap. 19) depict a graduate seminar interaction from this point of view. What happens in this situation is that Japanese behave like Japanese and speak English in Japanese ways, and so do Filipinos, Chinese, Koreans, Thais, Indians, and many other nationals.

I once heard in Beijing a Japanese business person talking to his Chinese counterpart: “I know your face is bigger (=more important) than mine, but please take my face into consideration, too. I can’t go home without your signature here. I can’t go home faceless.” Actually, “face” is one of the most important values across Asia, standing for respect, prestige, pride, honor, integrity, or identity. The point here is that even if native speakers do not use these expressions, there is nothing wrong in some Asians using them. If these expressions are needed in a certain society, they tend to get deeply rooted there. That is what the global spread of English is all about.

Thus, the global spread of English has established English as a multicultural language for international communication. In view of this, it is clear that ELT is strongly required to teach English as such, not as an American language or British language. And that is the reason that ELT can play an essential role in global citizen education while taking in local varieties for educational purposes. At the same time, there have arisen some new types of problems. One of them concerns mutual communicability among speakers of different varieties of English. Cases of zero-communication and miscommunication are abundant, and can happen any time among speakers of many Englishes. This is an actual and immediate as well as a potential concern.

While we teach English as an international language for global communication, I think we should be prepared to introduce intercultural accommodation training to ELT. The purpose is diversity and accommodation management, managing intercultural differences in English language communication. A common language is not a mono-cultural, monolithic language. A common language has to be a diverse and multicultural language. A lot of allowances have to be made and differences negotiated, accommodated and accepted. We have to make sure of this in ELT. Incorporating all this, Andrew Moody (Chap. 7) discusses how “authentic” Englishes can be taught in ELT.

I have been interested in intercultural literacy as a pedagogical response to these demands in ELT (Honna 2008, pp. 76–77). Simultaneously, I emphasize teaching awareness of language and communication as a fundamental constituent of intercultural literacy education. Teaching awareness of language and communication has been carefully explored since Hawkins (1987). It is an educational process of understanding how language is designed and how people use it. One of its main objectives is to improve students' sensitivity to, and tolerance of linguistic differences and different communication styles. I think this trained awareness can contribute to overcoming, mitigating, or lessening inconveniences in intercultural communication stemming from English as a multicultural language. We refuse to become an agent, an accomplice, of linguistic prejudice in ELT.

Here, functional variations matter. Typically, the function determines the form, as sociolinguistic analyses suggest in this volume. Ahmar Mahboob (Chap. 17) makes a persuasive case for functionally based teaching resources in an ESP (English for a specific purpose) context. At the same time, functions and forms are often influenced by local socio-cultural environments as reported in a well-organized ethnographical observation of an EMI (English as a medium of instruction) classroom in Nepal by Prem Phyak and Bal Gopal Sharma (Chap. 21). Additionally, the present collection includes very informative papers on the political economy of English in Pakistan by Tariq Rahman (Chap. 9) and the conflicting conceptualizations of English as an international language and as a threat to national and cultural identity in Oman by Fauzia Hasan Siddiqui and Runita Sahai Marwa (Chap. 14).

To complement sociolinguistic consideration, variations involving metaphor merit consideration. Sentence 1 below is often pointed out as an example of poor Japanese English in Japan. Why? Because Japanese teachers agree to what some native-speakers say: "A restaurant is a building, and a building cannot be delicious, so this is illogical and incorrect."

1. That restaurant is delicious.
2. Helen is sharp.

However, when it comes to Sentence 2, nobody questions its correctness, validity, or legitimacy. Why? Because this is what native-speakers say, notwithstanding the fact that "Helen is a human being, she's not a cutting instrument, so she can't be sharp." Actually, these two sentences share a common metaphoric foundation, and the metaphor here is **THE WHOLE IS THE PART** (and vice versa). In Sentence 2, Helen (whole) refers to her head (its part) and "Helen is sharp" means "Helen's head is sharp," or more idiomatically "Helen has a sharp head (mind)." The relationship between head and sharp involves another metaphor, which we don't discuss here. Similarly, in Sentence 1, "that restaurant" (whole) stands for "the food served there" (its part), so "that restaurant is delicious" means "that restaurant's food is delicious," or "that restaurant serves delicious food." Thus, both enjoy the equal metaphoric and structural foundation, and therefore the equal correctness status, however strange Sentence 1 may sound to some speakers of English. (Note that for simplicity's sake, technical differences of metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche are ignored here.)

The bottom line is that the correctness of a sentence should not always be based on native-speaker judgment if English is to be understood as an international language. To make sure that this approach really works in the real world, we need to be trained in linguistic variation in various language domains as part of intercultural literacy education in ELT so that we can become better understanding and more tolerant of different and unfamiliar expressions coming from other cultures. This principle should be applied to native speakers and non-native speakers alike if English is to be used as a language for international communication across cultures.

In the same vein, ELT models need to change in accordance with the current English language situation, and the needs for change are expressed explicitly or implicitly by ELT specialists in many countries. In Japan, for example, the American English Speaker Model, which has been practiced in public schools for a long time, is now being challenged and is beginning to lose its once strong power. In the American English Speaker Model, Japanese students are taught American English and are expected to become speakers of American English. However, there is a widely shared feeling among ELT specialists now in Japan that this is an unrealistic, unattainable, and undesirable program.

To adjust to this reality, the traditional model has to be modified in favor of the Japanese English Speaker Model, which proves to be more realistic, attainable, and desirable. In the Japanese English Speaker Model, students are given American English as a sample for acquisition and are expected to become speakers of a Japanese variety of English. The assumption here is that an input variety does not necessarily materialize itself as an output variety because language learning normally goes through an intercultural adaptation process. Actually, any other variety can be offered as a sample as long as it is understood and accepted as an international language, at least until Japanese English is fully codified. Actually, whatever good variety may be given, Japanese students are expected to become speakers of a Japanese variety of English.

Based on the feasibility and desirability criteria, both the traditional and modified ideas recognize that it is infeasible to expect Japanese students to develop to speak English like Americans, while they both also agree that the (revised) goal is attainable if it aims to produce Japanese English speakers in Japan's ELT. The difference that lies between the two perspectives concerns the desirability factor. The traditional idea maintains that the AE Speaker Model is desirable and the JE Speaker Model is not, while the modified idea encourages a shift of these inclinations. Precise descriptions by Saran Shiroza (Chap. 18) of discrepancies between the officially stated goal and actually administered practice in Japan's ELT seem to reflect indications of a paradigm shift beginning in Japanese society. If there is to be modification, there has to be enlightenment. Japanese people should be advised that what they are learning or what they have learned can be a useful means of multinational and multicultural communication without some magical transformation to a native speaker mode.

Indeed, as students and teachers discover what possibilities this international language can give them, they gradually come to understand the concept of English as a multicultural language and develop self-confidence in a Japanese variety of



English. This is noted, for example, in the results of a series of workshops on the present-day English language situation conducted for teachers. After attending such a seminar, a sizable number of teachers expressed support for a desirable shift from the American English Speaker Model to the Japanese English Speaker Model and from grammar emphasis to intercultural communication experience. And business people, who know the reality of the world, have a lot to do with the paradigm change. They are bringing feedback to ELT in schools and companies, based on their own experience of English across cultures.

Thus, a clear vision of English as a multicultural language for international communication is the most important part of the knowledge (enlightenment) that makes it possible for Japanese people to accept Japanese English as a legitimate variety of Japanese users of the language. These sociolinguistic ideas are beginning to gain support among students, teachers, and business people now in Japan. Their responses to the notion of Japanese English as a variety, or even to the idea of English as a Japanese language for international communication, have become more positive these days. ELT professionals are called upon to equip themselves with the information of linguistic variations elucidated in this volume.

As a matter of fact, Japanese people have a long history of using English in their own linguistic and cultural contexts. The purpose of English use along these lines may be for intra-national rather than international communication. But their extensive experience of manipulating English will definitely influence the way Japanese use English as an international language, which they are beginning to do more expansively these days.

From this viewpoint, the fine descriptions of the semiotic and indexical functions of English in Indonesia (Lauren Zentz, Chap. 13) and those in South Korea (Hyejeong Ahn and Lee Seongyoung (Chap. 15) present interesting cases of linguistic borrowing and blending, the language-within-language situation from which certain types of Indonesian and South Korean varieties of English would most likely emerge, respectively. Jamie Lee (Chap. 16) also displays the constant influx of English into Korean on a daily conversation basis in such a way that it causes inter-generational communication gaps between those who are informed of English-origin words in their vernacular and those who are not in present-day Korean society.

This being said, output-based approaches to ELT should be explored. As a matter of fact, Japanese people need English as an international language to talk about themselves and their ways of life with people from different national and cultural backgrounds. Emphasis on self-expressive and explanatory communication skills in ELT has world-wide implications. When the Japanese and Vietnamese meet, it is unlikely that they will be talking about London or New York. Naturally, Japanese will be interested in Vietnam and vice versa. Thus, our students need to be trained and prepared to discuss their ideas, values, and why they do what they do in ELT. English is said to be a language for information exchange. But if they are not ready to give their information in English, they cannot take advantage of the power given to the language. At the same time, if output practice is intensified in the world's ELT, it will certainly help stimulate development of local patterns of



English. And ELT policy makers, administrators, and practitioners will have to become ready to cope with this inevitable situation in a linguistically and culturally proper way. This principle applies to many other countries of the world. What Zoya Z. Proshina (Chap. 12) has to say about the creative and expanding functions of English in Russia carries an international perspective, providing food for thought to ELT specialists of other English as an International Language (EIL) countries.

Indeed, given an opportunity, Japanese students and citizens can often display a remarkable command of English. This tendency is demonstrated by participants in an Extremely Short Story Competition (ESSC) conducted in Japan. The ESSC (extremely short story competition) is a competition of stories and essays written in exactly 50 English words. It was proposed by Professor Peter Hassall of Zayed University, UAE (Hassall 2006). It is a good exercise for Japanese students to learn to express themselves in English. Students are encouraged to write an ESS as a classroom or homework activity and to submit some of them to a web competition for a larger audience.

Here is a story from the Arab world, illustrating its rhetoric plus august ambience and giving Japanese students of English a unique learning experience.

### *My wishes*

If anyone asks me what I wish for? I will tell you that I cannot tell you, because if I want to tell you my wishes the paper of the book and ink of the pen will finish before I finish. Allah is the one who knows my wishes. (Hassall 2006, p. 143)

What follows is one of the first extremely short stories written in Japan.

### *Because of You*

My voice does not mean anything. My thoughts do not mean anything. Nobody cares about me. But you, you treat me as something special. Because of you I can smile. Because of you I can feel safe and protected. Everything is because of you. Mom I'm here because of you.

Here, Japan's daughter-mother relationship of mutual dependency is succinctly captured in English. As these stories show, students can get excited about using English to express themselves. Some students said that while writing stories about themselves and their surroundings, they discovered that they could say in English what they couldn't have said in Japanese. This is a good statement of their awakened awareness of English as an additional language. The writer of the above story said that English made it possible for her to develop her idea about Mom and herself and put it into words. She said she would have been too shy to say this in Japanese.

Now, when teachers encourage their students to tell their stories in English, many say they can't because they don't know English well enough to say anything in it. Actually, students are afraid of making errors in grammar and vocabulary. They say they want to speak English when they know it well. But this is not the way they learn English. Students are encouraged to speak and write in English, however limited their proficiency may be right now. As Mohanty (Chap. 20) points out, students need logical explanations for problem-causing English language forms, and if those logical explanations materialized, it will be interesting to see what shape the

proposed Standard Indian English will take. In view of the fact that Japanese students and general citizens can often find it fun to express themselves in English, ELT professionals should be reminded again and again how important it is to organize opportunities for their students to use English as much as possible in Japan's pedagogical environment. The Extremely Short Story Competition is just one of them.

When I talk about English as a self-expressive language with students and business people, I introduce to them some poems by Asian poets. The purpose is to let them think about English as such. The one by Kamala Das (1934–2009) always works as a good reminder. And I thank Professor Gargesh for this information:

Don't write in English, they said, / English is not your mother tongue.../[But]... The language I speak / Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness / All mine, mine alone, it is half English, half / Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest. / It is as human as I am human.../...It voices my joys, my longings, my / Hopes... (Gargesh 2006, p. 106)

Another one by Nissim Ezekiel (1924–2004) uses some Indian English features and still communicates a strong message. Japanese students and citizens are pleased to learn that they can say what they have to say using patterns best fit to them:

I am standing for peace and non-violence / Why world is fighting fighting / Why all people of world / Are not following Mahatma Gandhi / I am not simply understanding. (Gargesh 2006, p. 106)

Writing one's idea in English is one thing, and translating others' into English is another. The difficulty involved in translating into English varies, depending on whose property the language is perceived to belong to. It increases if English is considered as an American-British language embedded in their cultures. Japanese literature translated into English is a good example. Works of Naoya Shiga, unanimously referred to as the "God of Novels" in Japan's literal world, had never been touched upon by Donald Keen and Edward Seidensticker, leading Japanese-English translators of the late twentieth century. They argued Shiga's writings were not worth translating, because translations would not appeal to the English readership. They claimed that Shiga's works were not novels because they were not works of fiction, a cultural assumption they put forth that novels should be works of fiction.

Actually, Shiga was a master of the I-novel in Japan. Of course, professional literary translators have the right to choose the works to work on, but if English had been more widely recognized as a multicultural language, then translation of Shiga's works into English could have been rendered by Japanese translators, his sensitive (often described as "morbid" by Western literary critics) characters with whom the mid-twentieth century's young Japanese literary-minded generations identified themselves would have been embraced by an international audience. Fortunately, an interest arose in a wider perspective of Japanese studies in the English-speaking countries in the late twentieth century, and Shiga's *A Dark Night's Passage*, a major work in Japanese novels dealing with the author's private lives, was finally translated into English by Edwin McClellan (Fontana Press) in 1990. Translation evokes a lot of issues in linguistic, cultural, and social variation. Tista Bagchi (Chap. 3) lucidly introduces some of the major tasks involved in these challenges. Instead of

depending on native speakers, training translators in glocal contexts appears to be the dire need.

Furthermore, the present anthology highlights understanding variation as a fundamental element in acquiring proficiency in global English language communication (GELC). As a matter of fact, GELC requires three integrated competence components: (1) understanding others, (2) explaining self, and (3) managing communication. In traditional ELT terms, (1) covers reading and listening, and (2) speaking and writing. While skills in these activities are essential for acquisition of a working command of English, much emphasis should also be placed on the relevance of a third competence identified in (3). The communication management competence is empowered to strengthen and facilitate reading/listening and writing/speaking abilities.

Three competence areas are noticed for successful communication management (Honma, in preparation):

(1) *Interaction Management Competence*

This refers to the indispensable competence of conversation participants to cooperate in steering and carrying out the interaction in accordance with the purpose or goal of the interaction. For this act to succeed, interactive participants should be able to understand the purpose or goal of the ongoing communicative event (such as for trust building, exchange of information, consensus formation, etc.), grasping what his/her dialogue partner has to say by means of verbal and nonverbal signals while explaining his/her own intention. Participant's abilities to take and give turn, and paraphrase and clarify perceived ambiguities are also demanded. Simultaneous and mutually complementary use of verbal and nonverbal cues in ELF communication is effectively illustrated by Hiroki Hanamoto (Chap. 5).

(2) *Accommodation Management Competence*

In conversation, it is important that interactive participants should be competent enough to mutually (re)adjust what they have to say and how they say it in an effort to achieve better understanding and communication. Unfamiliar phrases and expressions must be addressed with mutual concern and dealt with in a spirit of mutual learning. Thus, students of global English language communication are required to develop awareness of aspects of metaphor, sociolinguistic variation, pragmatic behavior, and, above all, an integrated system of language and communication. Zhichang Xu (Chap. 6) demonstrates how culturally constructed concepts can be explained and understood in and translated into English as an international language/a lingua franca.

(3) *Diversity and Inclusiveness Management Competence*

In communication with people from different ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds, respect and tolerance of these differences are called for. Linguistic complacency has no place in intercultural communication. Managing diversity and inclusiveness should be an indispensable ability for constructive communication. Additionally, natural advantages of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism must be

taken into consideration. After all, a majority of speakers in global English language communication are bilinguals. Masaki Oda's problematization of mandated use of English in aviation (Chap. 4) is a case in point. "English only" is not what life is all about. "English plus" is.

In more concrete (indiscrete, though) terms, eight competence elements are observed, as is presented below (number in parentheses from the competence areas above). In view of the fact that in global English language communication multiple ways of using the language are employed as is well demonstrated by Obiageli Ohiagu Pauline (Chap. 10), it is imperative that ELT programs should be more functionally integrated by incorporating, for example, the following competence elements:

1. Collaborating and cooperating with co-participants in co-constructing meaning in communicative interaction (1).
  - Understanding purpose/goal of interaction (such as maintaining relationship, trust building, information exchange, formation of understanding, agreement, consensus, etc.) and acting accordingly.
  - Activating conversation.
  - Decoding and encoding nonverbal cues from kinesics (gesture, facial expression, gaze, posture), proxemics, touch, paralanguage, artefacts, olfaction, and environmental manipulation.
2. Understanding communication counterpart's message and stating own message (1).
  - Asking for clarification and giving clarification.
  - Turn-taking and giving.
  - Paraphrasing and summarizing.
3. Negotiating unfamiliar language and/or context (2).
  - Interest in different ways of saying/doing.
  - Awareness of metaphor.
4. Using a working knowledge of sociolinguistics and pragmatics (2).
  - Linguistic, cultural, social, psychological, and cognitive variation. (Note here that native speakers' norms of variation should not be imposed by any means on other speakers of English. For example, the sociolinguistic differentiation of ing/in' may be meaningless to many non-native speakers, majority of who tend to say "finger-licking good," instead of "finger-lickin' good," without any sociolinguistic shades of meaning.)
  - Pragmatic variation (rhetorical question, indirect request, understatement, hyperbole, euphemism, dysphemism, irony, joke, humor, etc.)
  - Stylistic variation.
  - Communication style (main-first/frame-first, high context/low context, etc.)

5. Flexibility in adapting and adopting (2).
6. Discussing language and communication structurally and functionally (2).
  - Awareness of metalanguage and/or metacommunication.
7. Respect and tolerance of other groups and their different cultures (3).
  - Empathy, open-mindedness. Inclusiveness, awareness of political correctness, etc.
  - Understanding English as an international language (or a lingua franca).
8. Understanding natural advantages of plurilingualism and pluriculturalism.
  - Code-switching, code-mixing, translanguaging, etc.

Summing up, this volume offers multidisciplinary perspectives on the theory and practice of English as a multicultural language for international communication. It also reveals how crucial it is to understand various issues involved in linguistic variation for theoretical and pedagogical foundations of English across cultures. Teachers and students of language will benefit from this book if they wish to know what “learning to language, rather than a language” (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 197) constitutes and how the postulate can be translated into classroom practice.

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# Chapter 1

## Approaching the Theory and Practice of Functional Variations in English



Anamika Sharma, James D'Angelo, and Ram Ashish Giri

### 1.1 Introduction

Writing about various perspectives and applications adapted by theorists and practitioners of English worldwide which aim to engage, enrich and elucidate suggestions for the teaching of English, is indeed a Herculean task but not a Sisyphean one. The attitudes of English language users about the functions and resultant stature of English across countries and cultures has always been a point of great deliberation. The use of different Englishes within a multilingual framework, aptly an 'alchemy of English', 'signify a transmutation: an added potential for material and social advantage' and in that sense, "English is considered a symbol of modernization, a key to expanded functional roles, an extra arm for success and mobility in culturally and linguistically complex and pluralistic societies" (Kachru 1990, p. 1). This generates fascinating and broad ranging bilingual and multilingual translanguaging practices, where the variabilities of English are seen "not as marked or unusual but rather are taken for what they are, namely the normal mode of communication in those communities" (Poza 2017, p. 102), manifesting "a resource to citizens, a spur to scholars, a challenge to those who shape policy and public life" (Hymes 1981, p. iv).

These variabilities have been researched with different points of concern, with some seeing them as a 'linguist's paradise', for example, Kachru's four functional uses of the English varieties viz. *instrumental*, *regulative*, *interpersonal*, and *creative* (1983a), Canagarajah's codemeshing (2011), Pandharipande's acceptance of English within Hindi-speaking communities as a language for religious,

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philosophical, and theological discourses, and Bhatia and Sharma's analysis of the role of English in the Indian legal system to name a few (Kachru et al. 2008), while others have visualized it as a 'linguist's problem area', for example, inquiry of Abidi and Gargesh as to 'whether English would be accepted, adopted, mastered and creatively used to the same extent as Persian in South Asia' (ibid. 2008), or need of a 5-year strategic plan to cultivate 'Japanese with English Abilities' (Honna and Takeshita 2005).

One of the major contributions of Kachru's three circles construct of English is breaking 'the native speaker mystique' and placing the spotlight on multilingualism (Schmitz 2014) and the variations created by the users. Taking that forward, the present book, too, focuses on the functional variation of English, central to the pluralistic theories of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), English as an International Language (EIL), and world Englishes (WE). All three, i.e. ELF, EIL, and WE have interrelated and overlapping concerns, and are not viewed as competing terms in this volume, but rather as manifesting different emphases in research. For example, while ELF refers to a 'specific communication context' where English is 'the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different lingua-cultural backgrounds' (Jenkins 2009, p. 200), EIL largely focuses on the diversification of English in the present globalized world, aiming for intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability (Smith 1983; Nelson 2011). EIL in its present form comes closer to WE by recognising the 'pluricentricity of English and equal treatment given to all varieties of English and its speakers' (Marlina 2016, p. 6), and by advocating the need for the development of more sophisticated frameworks to understand competences such as Canagarajah's (2006) 'multidialectal' competence or its extension as 'multi-varietal' and 'metacultural' competence (Sharifian 2016, p. 42).

EIL studies primarily converge on 'international functions of English and its use in a variety of cultural and economic arenas by speakers of English from diverse lingua-cultural backgrounds who do not speak each other's mother tongues' (Marlina 2016, p. 4). In this respect, WE, distinct from ELF and EIL, focuses on the spread and acculturation of English in various parts of the world. Like EIL, WE has always been 'pluralistic and inclusive' (Kachru and Smith 2009, p. 2), recognizing all distinct varieties, maintaining the concern about the 'competencies' required for a multilingual repertoire since 'multilingual language users have more options of codes, strategies, and nuances since they control more than one linguistic system' (Kachru and Smith 2009, p. 19). This complexity is exemplified in the Indian context as well by Gargesh (2008, p. 231) stating that 'Indian English (IndE) is a cover term for a number of varieties of English used as a second language in India'. Similarly, in the context of second language acquisition (SLA) studies, the variations in convention of language use enable the acquisition of 'linguistic, pragmatic and sociocultural competence in all varieties of English'. Similarly, 'English in third/foreign language' contexts, with noticeable variations at both the geographic and functional levels, calls to be recognized, and institutionalised (Hino 2009). This acknowledgement and awareness, then, lead to teaching learners to use English as a means of expressing their values and attitudes. It also paves the way for introducing



material for teacher training programs and textbooks to expose students of English to various conventions of speaking and writing.

Furthermore, WE recognizes the ownership of language by a speaker (Berns 2009) and highlights ‘bilingual creativity’, not only in common usages but also in the literary sense (Kachru 2005; Kacgru and Smith 2009; Bolton 2010). In bilingual/ multilingual situations, WE not only studies the process of convergence manifested in the global use of English, but also the reverse process of convergence leading to Englishization of local language(s) (Kachru 2005). We recognize of course that from as early as 2003, the notion of Kachru’s three circles—with its geographically-bound varieties—has been challenged by a range of scholars, in an effort to shift from a historico-political question of *where* users come from, to *what* they do (or don’t do) with the language (Bruthiaux 2003; Seargeant and Tagg 2011 as cited in D’Angelo 2018). But these challenges do not take away from the significant contribution of Kachru’s work, and his emphasis on inclusivity for all those who use the language, and this openness provides a solid framework for how this volume considers functional variation. In fact, Bolton (Bolton 2020) has often stressed that those who criticize the notion of varieties, are taking too simplistic a view of Kachru’s work on world Englishes, as they do not realize that his work on the three circles was not the main thrust of his contribution.

## 1.2 Rationale

In an effort towards denouement, or at best a resolution of conundrums if any, the volume highlights the varied roles and applications of English in a multitude of linguistic contexts, and showcases functionalities emerging as a consequence of it being situated there either by legislation or by practice. It examines the sociolinguistic and educational relevance of functional variations for the practitioners of the language in those contexts, and the complications they present to the policy and educational decision makers for their management. In short, the volume brings together the challenges posed by the myriad use of functional variations of English to understand their underpinnings and implications for English teachers and learners. As language functions, and language variations are both very broad topics, this volume attempts to give the reader a fuller understanding of the complexity of the range of practical functions for which English is used in our modern world. It then within those functions, explores the effects of variation in form and discourse on the users of English and the contexts in which they operate.

More specifically, the volume brings together general as well as ESL/EFL related perspectives to functionalities of English from geographically diverse contexts which include Asia, Africa, South America, the Middle East and Russia. It offers insights to ELT practitioners working in areas of applied linguistics and contact linguistics (pidgin, creoles & other social and areal functions of English); TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), TEFL (Teaching of English as a foreign/second language), and EMI (English as a Medium of Instruction)

programs for various disciplines such as medicine, law, counselling etc.; and numerous other courses, namely, pre-university, and vocational programs. The volume, thus, offers theoretical discussions and practical implications to those practitioners who teach, or plan to teach English across cultures. Additionally, in line with the suggestion of “diversity management” (Honna 2005) as a viable way to manage multiculturalism of English in Asia and beyond, the volume attempts to provide educators with curricular suggestions to address the specific needs of students from multilingual/ multicultural/multidisciplinary backgrounds and “develop internationally coordinated educational programs” (ibid). It is, therefore, a valuable resource for those scholars, educators and practitioners, who, reflecting critically on their practices, desire to explore how to upgrade programs, curricula, material and teaching in order to address the developing needs of their learners to communicate locally as well as globally via English.

### **1.3 Approach**

The chapters of the volume employ a critical approach to examine the functional variations of English language, followed by an analysis of the real-time challenges in different fields where English is applied. Hence, functional English, as evident in its use in real communicative/academic situations, is judiciously studied to propose provisions and practices for more effective global communication and pedagogy.

The thematic focus of the volume is on the functional variation of English in non-native contexts. Though some chapters within a part may have overlapping concerns, Part I largely focuses on general perspectives and concerns arising from the roles and practices of English in non-native contexts. Part II examines functional variation of English in what is traditionally known as the Outer Circle or ESL countries. English in these contexts has been granted official status and some of the resultant variations have been institutionalized. Similarly, Part III looks into the forms and functional variations of English in Expanding Circle contexts in which English does not have an official status, it holds an impeccable place in a given language situation and plays an indispensable role in it. Finally, Part IV takes a pedagogical perspective to exploring functional variations, and addresses implications for policy, procedures and practices for addressing concerns regarding their planning, policy, and pedagogy.

#### **1.3.1 Part I**

Focusing on general perspectives, Chap. 2 by Bolton demonstrates how countries in Asia energized by economic, educational, social, technological and other pulls of globalization, are dealing with the complexity of functions handled via English in their respective language ecologies. It then suggests the interplay of the twin

dynamics of centrifugal and centripetal forces in languages and linguistic systems as a way of reconciliation. In Chap. 3, Bagchi discusses the dilemma of either placing a translation in the contemporary context or time it was first written. This problem is faced by translators from the “peripheries” of the English-speaking areas, especially for texts such as mystic and Sufi literature that are embedded in rich socio-cultural contexts of Asian subcontinent. The chapter suggests that with appropriate introductions and annotations, these challenges can be met.

In Chap. 4, Oda studies aviation English as a lingua franca used to facilitate smooth communication between pilots, air traffic controllers and other personnel working to achieve higher safety for today’s international jet-setters. The author’s analysis brings out that it is not necessary to stick to one particular language, but to use all available linguistic resources, especially in dire circumstances, thereby proposing English as a Multilingual Franca (EMLF) and promotion of a ‘shared repertoire’ (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 87). Data analysis of real-time transcripts from a few different countries show several factors which can cause communication ‘clash’; for example, there were many instances of deviation from formal aviation English to commonly spoken English in a difficult situation. Issues of pronunciation and comprehension also came across as important factors hampering clarity in communication, especially when pilots from different countries interacted with one another. The author suggests further focus and study in this area, as it involves the physical safety of many people.

Chapter 5, by Hanamoto, looks at English as a Lingua Franca interactions between students from Japan and a few other countries. Using three recorded dyadic conversations of one Japanese and one international student and their co-created topics, the study found that interlocutors negotiate and co-construct meaning through the use of gestures, especially iconic and deictic gestures and other multimodal resources alongside verbal strategies when communicating. These gestural actions can be divided into three functions: supporting development of the conversation, clarifying temporal aspects of the conversation, and filling in difficult-to-express details. In these ways, gestures could be used to achieve alignment between interlocutors (McNeill 2005) in accommodation (e.g., Giles and Smith 1979) and collaborative strategy (e.g., Kaur 2010; Mauranen 2006).

Adopting Gargesh’s (2006) framework of nativizing poetic medium in world Englishes, Chap. 6, by Xu, explores functional variations in the sphere of poetry writing, in particular, the functional variations of cultural semiotics. Including 38 poems from the collection of a Chinese poet, Ha Jin, the chapter looks at three aspects: (1) Mixing, switching, alteration and transcreation of codes; (2) Use of native rhetorical devices and (3) Manifestation of cultural semiotics that signify identities, socio-cultural beliefs and aspirations. The study leads to the conclusions that it is normal to nativize the poetic medium across varieties of English; transcultural creativity in literary writing in world Englishes is a natural response to the multicultural flows of multilingual writers and their shifting worlds; and functional variation among varieties of English in literary writing can be regarded as a contribution to the ever-expanding world Englishes literature, since as “Globalization continues to spread, ... transcultural flows continue to grow” (D’Angelo 2017,

p. 1). Finally, analyzing the concept of ‘authentic’ Englishes, especially in the language used in media, in Chap. 7 Moody shows how various languages are creatively and discursively portrayed within the media Englishes (ME) in the ‘Inner’ and ‘outer circles’ implying three things: (1) the ‘endonormative’ nature of English in the ‘inner’ and ‘outer circles’ gives freedom to mass media content providers to discursively portray Englishes; (2) that ‘authority’ and ‘authenticity’ gets relative importance within the ME of the ‘Inner’, ‘Outer’ and ‘Expanding circles’; and (3) more innovation is required in assessing MEs in terms of their commitment to ‘authority’ and ‘authenticity’ in view of the fact that the issue of authenticity is questioned by many sociolinguists.

### ***1.3.2 Part II***

Part II includes four papers that view functional variation from Kachruvian Outer Circle perspectives. In Chap. 8, Christiane Meierkord takes a fresh view of Indian English(es) via the well-known Indian diaspora beyond the subcontinent: exploring the ongoing evolution of Indian English in the settings of Afghanistan, the Maldives, and Uganda. She defines Indian English as a ‘super-central variety’ which influences other peripheral/younger varieties of English, much as the British or American varieties also have supra-territorial influence. Reminding us of the complexity of language spread and variation, she emphasizes the remarkable diversity of the evolution of English in these contexts, and the different channels in which the language operates as a result of their unique social histories.

Chapter 9 by Tariq Rahman moves on to the Pakistani context, looking at English in the past, present and future. Rahman echoes the point made by Mohanty, that while English offers upward social mobility to young Pakistanis, it is a language of the elite and may exacerbate social stratification and other gaps between the ‘haves’ and ‘have-nots’. It is the official language of important functional domains such as the judiciary and government, the military officer corps, higher education, and the media, but many are still denied access to this means of betterment. Rahman also reflects on the way different generations have utilized English, and future directions Pakistani English may take. Readers may also be interested in consulting Mahboob’s chapter in Part IV, to get a deeper understanding of problem in the Pakistan context from the perspective of subaltern linguistics.

Obiageli Pauline Ohiagu takes us to the African continent in Chap. 10, looking at variations in English language use on Facebook by both native and non-native users. Her chapter strengthens the argument that nationally bordered varieties are of less and less importance in this era of globalization, extensive migration, and dynamic ever-changing online speech communities. As in the work of Bruthiaux (2003) and Seargeant and Tagg (2011), we see that the Circles are being ‘squared’ as we move to a post-varieties world. Ohiagu issues a final caveat, that this ‘emerging global dialect’ may deviate so much from ‘standard English’, that the; Tower of Babel; fears that Kachru (1985) once dismissed, may again become a concern. She may be

right, but I would tend to agree more with scholars such as Van Rooy (2008), who observe that people will somehow manage to understand one another.

### 1.3.3 *Part III*

Part III presents the Expanding Circle Perspective on functional variation. We begin with Chap. 11 by Kanavillil Rajagopalan, which takes a speculative glimpse at where English is headed in South America. The author provides extensive background on earlier Spanish/Portuguese colonization, and what he terms the eventual ‘incursion’ of English into the 12 countries of the South American continent. As with the chapter in the previous part by Rahman, and as eloquently outlined in the Japanese context by Yamagami and Tollefson (2011), Rajagopalan characterizes attitudes toward English in the continent as ambivalent, and a ‘strange admixture of adoration and suspicion’. Nevertheless, he stresses that English is inextricably bound up in the geopolitics of the region, and reaches into every remote corner of South America, just as it does in Africa and Asia. This again affirms that English is ubiquitous, even as it is variegated, regardless of the ‘Circle’ in which the nation may be placed, and it will continue to make inroads into the lives of those in South America.

In Chap. 12, Zoya Proshina gives us an insider’s view into the shifting functions of—and attitudes towards—English in the Russian context. Proshina at first provides an informative explication of how the role of English has traditionally differed in the Expanding Circle, as compared to the Inner or Outer circles. Nevertheless, she correctly points out that whatever the context, a new variety of English is by definition strongly influenced by local languages and cultures. English has become of growing importance in Russia in the past two generations, and Proshina outlines the increase in functional load of the language in education, business, sales and advertisement, science, music, literature and administration. She also gives a useful specific outline of the functional areas of English in Russia. In addition, her chapter echoes that of Ohiagu in Part II, discussing the prevalence of code-switching and translanguaging among Russian users.

Lauren Zentz provides a sophisticated discussion of the semiotic functions of English in Indonesia in Chap. 13. Focusing mainly on evidence from central Java, Zentz goes beyond the notion of languages as distinct and separate entities accompanied by issues of proficiency and fluency, to discuss how the language is actually deployed and how it manifests itself semiotically in the local linguistic ecology. She stresses the great diversity of ways in which the language appears, and helps the reader get a more nuanced view of how the language is used. She also juxtaposes and demonstrates the contrast between official language policy: which tries to maintain the foreignness of English while protecting local ‘Indonesian-ness’, and the actual ways English ‘seeps’ into the popular mind and provides messages to the people.

In Chap. 14, Fausa Hasan Siddiqui and Runita Sahai Marwa continue our look at English in the Expanding Circle, with a consideration of the conflicting interests of the status, function and challenges of English in the Middle-Eastern context of Oman. The study first provides background on the historical role of English in the Middle-East, and addresses the ambivalence towards English which is also observed in earlier chapters. Via an empirical study that employs both qualitative and quantitative data, the authors gain insight into the attitudes of both students and ELT practitioners. Similar to Zentz's chapter on Indonesia, in Oman too there has been a drive by the state for 'Omanisation': to preserve the region's rich cultural identity. As such, the authors express that in spite of some increase in the functions, efforts to bring English into the mainstream in Oman are not promising.

Chapter 15, by Hyejeong Ahn and Lee Seongyoung, takes us to East Asia, and considers the functions of English in education, entertainment and advertising in South Korea. It seems there is less ambivalence towards English in Korea than some other Expanding Circle contexts, and its influence continues to grow. Similar to Chap. 14 by Zentz, Ahn and Lee find that while in the education domain English of a quite 'standardised' form is used, mainly as a means of academic assessment, in the everyday reality of TV dramas and online advertising, a quite hybridised, code-mixed, and nativised form of English prevails. This form of English helps to index identity, and to present products as more upscale. As such, English in TV and advertising is for *local* consumption, an important point to explain the seemingly contradictory roles of English (especially in the Expanding Circle). This point is well drawn out by Seargeant (2011) vis-à-vis the neighboring context of Japan.

Chapter 16 is also situated in Korea, and provides a touching and valuable look into an under-researched area in ELT/SLA and world Englishes: the learning of English as a foreign language by the elderly. Interestingly, few other chapters in this volume consider issues of generational difference in the functions of English, with most observing that it is the young who are the main drivers of expanded English use. But in a fascinating turn, Jamie Shinhee Lee here looks into the learning of English by elderly Koreans at a senior center in a working-class neighborhood. These Korean elderly are keenly aware of how their lack of English communication ability drives a wedge between them and their grandchildren, and it is impressive that they take action to address this problem, in spite of the obvious anxiety it causes them.

The chapters in this part outline the complexity of English globally, but also demonstrate that English belongs to everyone in today's interconnected world.

### 1.3.4 Part IV

There are two characterising features that make the volume unique. The first of these, as elucidated in the discussions above, is its focus, which is on the multitude of variations reported by distinguished ELT practitioners from myriad of contexts around the world. Engaging with various models of analysis, they implicate that the

socio-political complexities not only problematise the issues but also poise barriers for the practice of these functional variations. The second feature is the socio-educational perspectives from which the variations have been addressed. The chapters in Parts I, II and III, as indicated above, engage in discussion of the multiplicity of speakers/ users and ways in which they employ the variations for a range of functions of English. While most chapters in this volume have re-iterated Gargesh's four functions English fulfils, *vis-à-vis*, the auxiliary, supplementary, complementary and equative (see Gargesh 2006, Zentz, this volume), the issue that they have addressed differently is their pedagogy. A number of chapters in this volume have, for example, explored the tension between the 'imposed paradigm' which questions the legitimacy, validity and relevance of education; and the 'new paradigm' which advocates for recognition, establishment and acceptance of the emerging Englishes (see Kachru 2011; Honna this volume). Honna, for example, suggests in his introduction that the pedagogical perspective the chapters of the volume have taken is "a useful approach to ELT, as its policy decisions, curriculum and material development, and classroom practice, all demand careful examination of the complexities and concerns of adopting varieties of English locally appropriate for educational purposes" (*ibid*).

Through their pedagogical perspective, chapters of this part examine the existing complexities and emerging concerns of adopting local Englishes. These chapters largely suggest that the socio-linguistic landscape of English has changed or is changing rapidly, and in order to manage this change, there is a need for adapting a Teaching English as an International Language (EIL) approach, and '...teaching English as a heterogeneous language with multiple grammars, vocabulary, accents, and pragmatic discourse conventions' (Marlina 2016, p. 7). They implicate that in the growing concerns and debate about the pedagogy of the variations of English, there is a need to re-visit and re-examine the relevance of the existing exonormative pedagogic paradigm. Making a case for endonormative teaching models, these chapters explicate the need of re-evaluating and re-developing policies, procedures, practices, and most importantly, appropriating 'pedagogically local and linguistically accountable' teaching materials (*Ibid*, p. 10). They make an argument for English as an international lingua franca that 'allows diverse peoples to connect directly and can lead to a safer, more prosperous, and more sustainable world based on improved international understanding, and to which the ELT profession can make a significant contribution' (Rahman, this volume).

Ahmar Mahboob (Chap. 17), for example, situates his theoretical standpoint in the practices and policies of the socio-political complexities of contemporary Pakistan. Based on an empirical analysis of English as MOI, the chapter makes a compelling and thought provoking argument that the current elitist approaches to teaching English and the unequitable provisions allocated therein neither support learning English nor help sustain learning through English. He makes a strong case for re-examining the existing pedagogic practices in search for more appropriate 'functions' based teaching provisions. Similarly, Saran Shiroza (Chap. 18), pointing out the discrepancies between the official purpose of teaching English and the actual practices in Japan's ELT, raises persuasive concerns by saying that emphasis on the



dominant inner circle model of pedagogy does not and will not serve Japan's purpose of teaching English. Illustrating inconsistencies in what is targeted at the decision-making level and what is desired at the practical level, she denounces the imported communicative language teaching (CLT) modelled ELT and agrees with Moody (this volume) in suggesting that authentic Englishes can be taught in ELT, and for that, locally developed models should be emphasised.

Nobuyuki Hino and Setsuko Oda (Chap. 19), summarising the approach, design, and procedure for CELFIL, the current learning of content and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) aimed at helping students in university EMI classes to learn linguistic as well as sociolinguistic skills in EIL, or de-Anglo-Americanised English for international communication, point out discrepancies in the targeted Anglo-Americanised English and the practice of the most common de-Americanised Japanese English. They argue that in order for English to meet the local demand and serve local functions, the local varieties, rather than the unreasonably over-emphasised Americanised English, should be taught beyond Anglophone frame of reference, by taking advantage of EMI (English-Medium Instruction) classes. They view pedagogy of English from an eclectic and integrative position in which the multiple paradigms of global Englishes, including WE (world Englishes) and ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), are combined with EIL for pedagogical practice. In Chap. 20, Panchanan Mohanty reflects on the teaching and learning of English in India. He reminds us that although India is in the Outer Circle, and has its own recognized variety of acrolectal English with endonormative standards, for many of the less affluent or rural citizens in India, English serves limited functions, and gaining access to that variety remains a challenge in terms of mastering an intelligible phonology, and other orthographic and syntactic features of standard Indian English.

Prem Phyak and Bal Krishna Sharma (Chap. 21) investigate English language education policies that largely serve neo-liberal ideologies, and identify discrepancies in the functions that the English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Nepal serve, and how it is experienced in practice. They argue that the choice of forms (variations) in teaching English, and its functions, influence the socio-cultural dynamics of how English is practiced at the local level. Finally, in Chap. 22, Daniel Davis elucidates the ensuing discussions that the chapters of the volume in general have made and the emergent issues that are set to dominate the future discourses and research of English language teaching.

The chapters in this volume, though based in different contexts, have, as we indicated in the beginning of the chapter, taken local, intra-national, regional and at times global perspectives to espousing English as a host of languages which we have referred to in this volume as functional variations. The scholars represented here have considered it as (a) a family of languages appropriated by different speech communities to serve their interests and purposes; (b) a host of functional variations emerging from its practice in different socio-cultural contexts, each one distinct at institutional, socio-occupational and textual levels; and (c) constantly evolving and changing all the time (see also Yiakoumetti 2012). The authors acknowledge the fact that functional variations, originating from a multitude of contexts and embedding local interests and values, are often idiosyncratic in nature, highly cultural and



compromising in global intelligibility, and therefore, may face antipathy at societal and pedagogical levels. Nonetheless, rejecting the notion of English as a colonial gift or liability, the authors ubiquitously suggest that as a broad range of languages, it is a valuable form of linguistic capital, often associated with users' identity and their relationship with others in the community, and thus may be used to develop perspective consciousness and widen other dimensions that will contribute to the learning of global issues and fostering international understanding (see Rahman, this volume). The users of these variations may not have a shared norm, yet they have mutually recognisable local practices which allow them to negotiate with diverse local varieties and express community-specific values (see also Canagarajah et al. 2012). At the educational level, the authors unanimously suggest that the teaching practices of Englishes are commonly thought to need a standard; however, the perception and interpretation of the term 'standard' is problematic as there are a number of social and political issues that come into play (see for example, Ahn and Lee's chapter, this volume). Therefore, rather than developing one standard, which will undoubtedly polarise the practitioners, there is a need of a change in attitude as well as in ELT policy. There is a need also of modelling the change and the changing nature of English that is contextually desirable, adaptable and comprehensible. There is a clear need for developing teaching approaches and outlining a description of materials, which allow practitioners to choose and appropriate, rather than prescribe and impose.

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# Part I

## General Perspectives on Functional Variations

### Part Introduction

Part I explores the diverse and eclectic spectrum of the varietal use of English, with an aim to amplify the potential impact such usage has on functional English. The chapters of this part look into the use of English in pursuing authenticity in pop culture, unpacking culturally embedded meaning, using culturally influenced multi-modal resources for transference of meaning, using instinctive plurilingualism in an emergency situation, and rendering functionally successful translations without dropping the entrenched historical-cultural norms of the texts. They suggest an *additive* integration of these functional variations into the existing linguistic repertoire to enhance the worldliness of English.

# Chapter 2

## Modernity, Globalization and Asian Englishes



Kingsley Bolton

### 2.1 Introduction

As is widely acknowledged, the world Englishes academic project had its origins in the foundational work of a group of US-based scholars in the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>1</sup> Foremost among these were Professors Braj Kachru (1932–2016) and Yamuna Kachru (1933–2013) of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Professor Larry Smith of the University of Hawaii (1941–2014). The three founders of the world Englishes (WE) academic enterprise have recently sadly passed, but their intellectual legacy lives on, and can be seen not only in the inspirational body of scholarship that they have bequeathed to us, but also in the continuing work of their colleagues and the many associated scholars that have contributed to WE scholarship over the past four decades. In many senses, the study of world Englishes began with the study of Asian Englishes, research on which started with with Kachru's pioneering work on Indian English, a field of research to which Professor Ravinder Gargesh has himself made a major contribution.<sup>2</sup> The chapter presented here attempts to discuss and reconcile a number of issues linked to the contemporary development of WE studies, including the Kachruvian approach to Asian Englishes, the impact of modernity and globalization, the relationship

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<sup>1</sup>The issues in this chapter were earlier discussed in a keynote presentation on 'Asian Englishes and the multilingual turn', presented at the 23rd International Association for World Englishes Conference. Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, Philippines, May 31, 2018.

<sup>2</sup>Important work by Ravinder Gargesh on Indian English has included Gargesh (2004, 2006a, b, and 2008). In addition, and in similar fashion to Braj Kachru, Professor Gargesh has also worked extensively of the linguistics of Indian languages.

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between multilingualism and world Englishes, and the twin dynamics of centrifugal and centripetal forces on English worldwide.

## 2.2 The Kachruvian Contribution to Asian Englishes

In a body of work that spanned the decades from the 1960s to the 2010s, Braj Kachru proposed a model of world Englishes framed with reference to ‘Three Circles’: the Inner Circle (countries where English is the ‘first language’ of a majority of the population, for example, the UK, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand); the Outer Circle (where English was regarded as a ‘second language’, for example, India or the Philippines); and the Expanding Circle (where English has typically had the status of a ‘foreign language’, for example, China or Japan). In many of his writings, Kachru argued strongly for a non-Eurocentric approach to the study of world Englishes, and Kachru challenged a number of assumptions about the study of English as a global language. The ‘sacred cows’ he challenged included such myths as the ‘native speaker’ versus ‘non-native speaker’ dichotomy, the ‘culture identity (or monoculture)’ myth, the ‘exocentric norm’ myth and the ‘interlanguage’ myth (Kachru 1997, p. 10). Kachru also questioned the dominance of the Anglocentric literary canon, and argued for the recognition of the bilingual creativity in the ‘new literatures’ in English that had appeared in Africa, Asia and elsewhere, explaining that these ‘contact literatures in English’ had undergone nativisation and acculturation. As a result, he noted, English has become acculturated in many ‘un-English’ sociolinguistic contexts – in societies where there was no shared Judaeo-Christian or European cultural heritage, or shared literary canon – so that the English language had become ‘multi-canonical’ (Kachru 1991). Kachru argued for a paradigm shift in English studies, which would recognise pluralism at the levels of both theory and application, and that ‘[t] pluralism of English must be reflected in the approaches, both theoretical and applied, we adopt for understanding this unprecedented linguistic phenomenon. (1992, p. 11). Much of the inspiration for the theorisation of this paradigm shift was motivated by his ground-breaking work on Indian English, an area of research that would later engage Professor Ravinder Gargesh. Braj Kachru was a pioneer in many areas of scholarship, not least in opening up the field of Asian Englishes, which he did with singular effectiveness, starting with the completion of his (1962) PhD thesis entitled, *An analysis of some features of Indian English: A study of linguistic method*, which was supervised at Edinburgh University by John C. Catford and Michael A.K. Halliday. One of Kachru’s first publications was article in the journal *Word* on ‘The Indianness in Indian English’. In this essay, Kachru quotes Rao on the bilingual creativity of Indian writers in English, where Rao had asserted that:

We are all instinctively bilingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English. We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. [...] We, in India, think quickly, we talk quickly, and when we move we move quickly. There must

be something in the sun of India that makes us rush and tumble and run on. (Rao 1938, p. 9–10, cited by Kachru 1965, p. 397)

Here, Kachru noted that ‘an *idiom* of English has developed which is Indian in the sense that there are formal and contextual exponents of Indianness in such writing, and the *defining-context* of such idiom is the Indian setting. [...] The deviations are an outcome of the *Indianization* of English which has, gradually, made IE [Indian English] culture-bound in the socio-cultural setting of India (Kachru 1965, p. 396, p. 410). Over the following years, Kachru’s views on Indian English (and Asian Englishes) continued to develop and inform this nascent field. Important publications in the early and mid-1980s included an edited volume *Other tongue: English across cultures* (1982), and two monographs, *The Indianization of English: The English language in India* (1983), and *The alchemy of English: The spread, functions, and models of non-native Englishes* (1986). The promotion of research on Asian Englishes was also given a further boost in 1985, where Kachru and Smith took up the editorship of the journal *World Englishes*. It is no exaggeration to state that Kachru and Smith were the key intellectual founders of ‘Asian Englishes’ as a field of study, through the influence of their pioneer writings, the WE journal, as well as a host of other activities.<sup>3</sup>

In a (1997) paper on ‘English as an Asian language’, Kachru noted that the English-using population of Asia at that time totalled 350 million; that India was the third largest English-using nation after the USA and the UK; that English was the language most in demand for acquisition of bilingualism/multilingualism in Asia; and that in some societies, including Singapore, English was assuming the role of a first language, ‘whatever we mean by that term’ (1997, p. 7). He argued for an acceptance of ‘English on Asian terms’, noting that, in Asia, English had a potential as a liberating language. A language is liberated through its autonomy and thus its ‘liberated’ uses and functions have to be distinguished from non-liberated use. Here, Kachru also emphasised the importance of literary creativity, noting how Asian writing in English was creating ‘multi canons’ of English literature worldwide (1997, p. 23).

The Kachruvian approach to world Englishes has recently been characterised as being focused entirely (or at least predominantly) on geographical varieties of English, a criticism first penned by Bruthiaux (2003) and Jenkins (2003), and repeated, often rather carelessly, by a number of other commentators (see Bolton 2017, 2018 for detailed discussion on this issue). Such criticisms, however, do minimal justice to the depth and scope of Kachru’s theorisation of world Englishes, which scaffolded its research with a rich theoretical framework, which was not only descriptive but also ideological, not least in its engagement with the sociohistorical and sociopolitical underpinnings of the discourses of world Englishes. His

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<sup>3</sup>The very first issue of the journal *Asian Englishes* in 1998, edited by Nobuyuki Honna, included an essay by Larry Smith entitled ‘English is an Asian language’. Later, when I had the opportunity of editing a book series for Hong Kong University Press on ‘Asian Englishes Today’ (2000–2010), Braj Kachru and Larry Smith were members of the Editorial Advisory Board and they contributed greatly to the success of the series.

advocacy of a ‘socially-realistic’ approach to world Englishes (1992) enabled him to identify a number of key themes in his approach, including the ‘Three Circles of English’; ‘norms’; ‘variables of intelligibility’; ‘bilingual creativity’; ‘multi-canons’; and the ‘power and politics’. Indeed, the recent publication of collected papers by Kachru shows the breadth of his vision, which connected the WE enterprise to research and scholarship on such issues as bilingualism, code-mixing, cultural contact, language policy, linguistic creativity, literary expression, multilingualism and multiculturalism, the politics of language, linguistic standards, and much else (Webster 2015). The effects of this paradigm shift in English studies have been felt across a range of language studies, including applied linguistics, descriptive linguistics, English language teaching, and sociolinguistics. Today, the world Englishes approach to English studies is promoted through the conferences of the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE), as well as a number of international journals, including *Asian Englishes*, *English Today*, *English World-Wide*, and *World Englishes*. and courses on world Englishes are now part of the curriculum in many of the world’s leading universities (which was not the case in the 1980s, when the WE project was first launched).

In this context, one major contribution of WE scholarship over the last 30 years has been to highlight the vitality of localized forms of English throughout the Asian region, so that today it is commonplace to refer to Indian English, Malaysian English, Philippine English, Singapore English and Hong Kong English. At one level, some studies have set out to describe the ‘sociolinguistic realities’ of particular Asian Englishes, in terms of their sociolinguistic histories, as well as their status and functions in Outer Circle Asian communities, not least in relation to local hierarchies of language. At another level, research has also focused on the description of sets of distinctive linguistic features associated with particular Asian Englishes in postcolonial societies as India, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, although recent work has also included Hong Kong and varieties of Chinese English. At a linguistic level, much of the descriptive work here has been concerned to identify and to highlight the distinctive features of individual varieties in terms of phonology (accent), lexis (vocabulary) and grammar (morphology and syntax), and today there is a considerable body of published research on the phonology, lexis, and grammars of Asian Englishes (Bolton 2012). However, as indicated earlier, ‘areal’ or ‘features-based’ studies of Asian Englishes account for only part of the agenda, many of the research articles in the field are concerned with such other topics as applied linguistics, bilingual creativity, code-switching and mixing, critical linguistics, discourse analysis, intelligibility, language attitudes, lexicography, linguistic landscapes, popular culture, sociolinguistics, and much else (Bolton and Davis 2006; Bolton 2017, 2018). All in all, the Kachruvian approach to world Englishes did a great deal to establish this as a field of linguistic research and scholarship. In this context, much emphasis was placed on recognizing the diversity of English in many contexts across Asia. At the same time, however, the spread of English across the region – in



both Outer and Expanding Circle contexts – has been promoted by a number of economic and social factors, many of which are closely related to the twin dynamics of modernity and globalization, across the Asian region.

### 2.3 Asian Modernity and the Linguistic Ecologies of Asian Societies

In simple terms, ‘modernity’ refers to ‘modern life’, the kinds of lifestyles and livelihoods provided by industrial societies, such as developed in Europe and North America from the late eighteenth to early twentieth centuries, and associated with certain attitudes, and particular economic and political institutions, as Giddens and Pierson explain:

At its simplest, modernity is a shorthand term for modern society or industrial civilization [...] associated with (1) a certain set of attitudes towards the world, the idea of the world as open to transformation by human intervention; (2) a complex of economic institutions, especially industrial production and a market economy; (3) a certain range of political institutions, including the nation-state and mass democracy. [...] It is a society – more technically, a complex of institutions – which unlike any preceding culture lives in the future rather than in the past. Giddens and Pierson (1998, p. 94)

From an historical perspective, modernity was European in origin, and had close links with the Reformation, the Enlightenment and the rise of European nationalism, the promotion of national languages, and the development of industrial and urban societies in the nineteenth century, as Graddol (2006) explains:

Languages in Europe during this period became ‘modern’: codified, standardised, languages which symbolised and helped unify national identity – often at the cost of other language varieties spoken within national borders. The rise of modern languages brought with it modern concepts of the ‘native speaker’ and its counterpart: the notion of a ‘foreign language’. (Graddol 2006, p. 18)

In Graddol’s insightful schema, modernity is contrasted with both the premodern and the postmodern. Premodern societies are typically rural communities (as in pre-industrial Europe, and many rural societies in Africa, Asia, and South America today) where foreign peoples and languages are found in the next village. Modern societies are usually nation states that have clearly demarcated national languages, and where monolingualism in the national language is promoted. In postmodernity, the nation state is challenged by transborder migrations, new identities, new technologies, and multilingualism rather than monolingualism becomes the norm (Graddol 2006, p. 12).

The relevance of modernity to the spread of English across Asia might be conceptualized in terms of the effects of at least four processes, economic, educational, social, and technological. At the economic level, Asia has seen the rapid growth of the middle classes in both China and India; in education, there has been an increased emphasis on teaching English (or through English) in most Asian systems; socially,

there has been growing urbanisation and the emergence of new middle classes; and through technology, Asia has seen the growth of high-tech industries, and dramatic changes in personal communication, not least through the Internet and smartphones. As Graddol has noted, there is massive evidence that, in many parts of the world, not least Asia, '[t]he world is rapidly becoming more urban and more middle class – both of which are encouraging the adoption of English [...] an increasingly urban language, associated with growing middle classes, metropolitan workplaces and city lifestyles' (Graddol 2006, p. 50). Table 2.1 provides some illustration of the varying degrees of urbanization across Asian societies, where 'urbanization', one might hypothesize, serves as a proxy (albeit indirectly) for modernity.

From Table 2.1, we can see that the five most urbanized societies in Asia include Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, Japan and South Korea, and the five least urbanized Sri Lanka, Nepal, Cambodia, India and East Timor. However, there are obvious problems here in accepting such blunt measures of urbanisation as a good proxy for modernity. For example, of the 24 nations and city states in the above list, North

**Table 2.1** Percentage of urban settlement in Asian societies (2018)

Society	% Urban
Hong Kong	100
Macau	100
Singapore	100
Japan	94.3
South Korea	82.7
Brunei	77.8
Taiwan	77.5
Malaysia	76.0
North Korea	61.2
China	57.9
Indonesia	55.2
Thailand	52.7
Philippines	44.2
Laos	40.7
Bhutan	40.1
Pakistan	39.7
Bangladesh	35.8
Myanmar (Burma)	35.2
Vietnam	34.9
East Timor	34.0
India	33.5
Cambodia	21.2
Nepal	19.4
Sri Lanka	18.5

Note: Data taken from CIA Factbook (2018) and Worldometers (2018)

**Table 2.2** GDP per capita for Asian societies (2018)

Society	GDP (US\$)
Macau	114,400
Singapore	90,500
Brunei	76,700
Hong Kong	61,000
Taiwan	49,800
Japan	42,700
South Korea	39,400
Malaysia	28,900
Thailand	17,800
China	16,600
Sri Lanka	13,000
Indonesia	12,400
Bhutan	8700
Philippines	8200
Laos	7400
India	7200
Vietnam	6900
Myanmar (Burma)	6300
Pakistan	5400
East Timor	5000
Bangladesh	4200
Cambodia	4000
Nepal	2700
North Korea	1700

Note: GDP per capita from CIA Factbook (2018)

Korea comes in in ninth position for urbanisation, and yet most commentators would regard the despotic communist society as ‘modern’ in only a restricted sense (and as a particular East Asian version of Marxist-Leninist dictatorship).

A second indirect measure of modernity might be provided by considering data related to the comparative wealth of such societies. Table 2.2 provides data related to GDP per capita for Asian societies. Here, there does appear to an apparent relationship between urbanisation and GDP per capita, in the sense that the list of ten wealthiest Asian societies (by this measure) – Macau, Singapore, Brunei, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, and China – includes all of the top ten urbanised polities, with the exception of North Korea.

Another layer of analysis in this context is provided by a consideration of estimated numbers of English speakers in various Asian societies. Caveats are needed in dealing with such calculations, but a recent study by Bolton and Bacon-Shone (2020) has arrived at the estimates (and ‘guestimates’) set out in Table 2.3, where numbers of speakers and percentages of English speakers per society are provided. Interestingly, percentages of English speakers are highest in five of the Outer Circle societies – Singapore, Philippines, Brunei, Hong Kong, and Malaysia – and

**Table 2.3** Estimates of English speakers in individual Asian societies (Bolton and Bacon-Shone 2020)

	Society	Approx. population (millions)	% English speakers	Approx. total speakers (millions)
Outer Circle	Singapore† (citizens and permanent residents)	4.0	80%	3.2
	Philippines†	109.0	65%	70.9
	Brunei†	0.5	60%	0.3
	Hong Kong†	7.5	53%	4.0
	Malaysia	33.0	50%	16.5
	Nepal	29.0	30%	8.7
	Pakistan	220.0	25%	55.0
	Sri Lanka†	21.0	25%	5.3
	India	1400.0	20%	280.0
	Bangladesh	165.0	20%	33.0
Expanding Circle	Macau†	0.7	28%	0.2
	China	1400.0	20%	280.0
	Myanmar (Burma)	54.0	15%	8.1
	Japan	127.0	10%	12.7
	South Korea	52.0	10%	5.2
	Taiwan	24.0	10%	2.4
	Thailand	69.0	10%	6.9
	Vietnam	99.0	10%	9.9
	Cambodia†	17.0	5%	0.9
	Indonesia	268.0	5%	13.4
	Laos	7.1	5%	0.4

Note: The dagger symbol † here indicates that these estimates are supported to some extent by census or survey data

generally lower in such Expanding Circle nations as Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, Indonesia, and Laos. Again, as indicated in the table, it should be highlighted that such estimates are only based partially on empirical data, as census and survey data was only available for seven of the twenty-one societies in Table 2.3.

The apparent linkages between these tables (and the data they summarize) are open only to speculation rather than scientific proof, but, despite this, a number of inferences suggest themselves: (i) that a number of the most urbanised societies, notably Hong Kong, Singapore, Brunei, and Malaysia are also relatively wealthy Asian societies which are also Outer Circle English-using societies; (ii) that two of the other Outer Circle societies – India and the Philippines – have had rapidly-developing and rapidly-urbanizing economies in recent years; although (iii) only very partial data on the spread and use of English in greater India is available for analysis. In addition, one might also note that (iv) such relatively rich East Asian societies as Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan have generally relatively low estimates of English speakers (around 10% of the population in each of these societies),

**Table 2.4** Estimates of the number of languages in various Asian societies

Society	Languages
Indonesia	719
India	462
China	299
Philippines	187
Malaysia	136
Nepal	122
Myanmar (Burma)	119
Vietnam	110
Laos	83
Pakistan	74
Thailand	71
Bangladesh	41
Cambodia	27
Taiwan	25
Singapore	24
Bhutan	23
East Timor	21
Japan	15
Brunei	15
Hong Kong	7
Sri Lanka	7
Macau	6
South Korea	3
North Korea	1

Source: Ethnologue (2018)

possibly indicating that their East Asian versions of modernity have been far less dependent on the development of English-using capabilities than many other Asian societies (Eisenstadt 2002). A fourth dimension of analysis here is also provided by the consideration of multilingualism across many Asian societies. This is illustrated in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4 is intended to provide some basic data relating to the extent of multilingualism in particular Asian societies. Again, we need to be cautious when dealing with such data, even though these figures have been taken from one of the best possible sources for linguists. Estimates concerning the number of languages in a particular country can vary greatly, depending on the information available, and the criteria used for identifying ‘languages’ as opposed to ‘dialects’, or deciding which languages need to be included (or excluded) in a national census. Nevertheless, the figures provided here do help establish a starting point for discussion. First, one might note that there is a great deal of variation across Asia, with eight of the societies (Indonesia, India, China, Philippines, Malaysia, Nepal, Myanmar, and Vietnam) having more than 100 languages, 11 societies having between 15 and 83 languages

(Brunei, Japan, East Timor, Bhutan, Singapore, Taiwan, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Thailand, Pakistan, Laos) and five societies having less than 10 languages (Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Macau, South Korea, and North Korea).

The totals presented in Table 2.4, as already mentioned, may be more or less accurate, or may even under-estimate the extent of multilingualism in Asian societies. For example, Ethnologue list only 7 languages for Hong Kong, whereas the most recent study, based on census data, lists a total of 27 languages spoken by Hong Kong people (Bacon-Shone et al. 2015). Despite these reservations, however, there can be little doubt that Asia is a region of considerable multilingualism and linguistic diversity. According to Coulmas (2018) Asia is home to 32% of the world's languages, compared to Africa (with 30%), Oceania (18%), the Americas (15%), and Europe (with only 5%). These statistics on multilingualism serve to remind us that Asian linguistic ecologies typically involve the use of multiple languages, and that the typical Asian English speaker is a bilingual/multilingual speaker who will usually have a knowledge of various national and local languages as well as English.

## 2.4 Globalization and Asian Englishes

There is no single history of 'globalization' as an economic, political and social process, and many accounts of the phenomenon situate their origins in the sixteenth and seventeenth century European voyages of discovery and trade. Most modern accounts, however, focus on the rather dramatic changes experienced in world trade and economic developments from the 1960s to the present, and even more narrowly on the unprecedented revolution in global communications ushered in by Internet and smartphone technology since the 1990s. At the beginning of this century, the tensions of globalization were summarized by Benyon and Dunkerley (2000) as follows:

It [globalization] is proposed by some as a thoroughly progressive and liberating phenomenon, opening up the potential for greater human contact and the spread of human rights, democracy, health care and improved intercultural understanding world-wide. [...] Conversely it is widely attacked as heralding in a new and voracious phase of Western capitalism (in the form of television, videos, pop music, films and adverts and other Western goods) on vulnerable communities. (Benyon and Dunkerley 2000, p. 2)

In the same passage, they further noted that the perceived 'electronic imperialism' of American media had been built on 'English's unique position as a global language' and that 'the growing disparity between the world's (technology-owning) 'information rich' and 'information poor' was seen by many as 'to the advantage of Western capitalism and to the detriment (both culturally and economically) of the 'colonized' local'.

At the time, Australia's John Pilger took an even more critical view. For Pilger, the benefits of globalisation were largely illusory:

The illusion of a prosperous global village, all of us with our modems, same sitcoms and same 'lifestyle', comes from a media that has become the standard-bearer of a 'global economy'. The growing numbers of poor are pitied from time to time, but mostly they remain unpeople and the causes of their impoverishment a largely forbidden subject. (Pilger 2003, pp. 14–15)

In Pilger's view, the undoubted villain of globalization was the systemic greed of western capitalism, where, 'beneath this gloss', the reality is 'the globalisation of poverty, a world where most human beings never make a phone call and live on less than two dollars a day, where 6,000 children die every day from diarrhoea because most have no access to clean water'. (Pilger 2003, p. 1). On the other side of the debate, one had the voice of liberal capitalism, as represented by *The Economist*, which took the view that, historically, capitalism and free trade over the previous 50 years had dramatically raised living standards, in both developed and developing nations. Citing a range of statistics, *The Economist* asserted that 'far from rising, global inequality has actually been falling substantially' and that 'huge chunks of the world's population have been climbing out of poverty'. They further claimed that '[r]esearch shows how rising incomes, especially in Asia, are creating what, in world terms, could be described as a huge middle class' adding that the it was not true that 'market liberalisation and economic growth [...] increases inequality, nor that it hurts the poor: just the opposite' (The Economist 2003, pp. 4–7).

Some 15 years later, the benefits of economic globalization for the developing world have been highlighted in Steven Pinker's (2018) book, *Enlightenment Now*, where he points out that:

The cliché about globalization is that it creates winners and losers, and [...] the winners include most of humanity [...] which includes about seven-tenths of the world's population, consists of the 'emerging global middle class,' mainly in Asia. Over this period [1998–2008] they saw cumulative gains of 40 to 60% in their real incomes. Pinker (2018, pp. 111–112)

Pinker also asserts that the losers of globalisation have been 'the lower middle classes of the rich world' whom he describes as the 'hollowed-out middle class, the Trump supporters, the people globalization left behind' (Pinker 2018, p. 112). Another recent commentator on globalization, Martell (2017) writing from a sociological perspective, argues that the driving force of globalization has been economic and linked to processes of capital mobility, free trade, global finance, and the activities of multinational corporations such as BP, Chevron, Exxon, General Electric, Royal Dutch Shell, Total SA, Toyota, Vodafone, and Volkswagen. At the same time, he also argues that the other strands of globalization include aspects of culture, politics and technological development.

A related issue in this context is whether the processes of globalization are multi-factorial, or primarily driven by the economic power of the United States, which, in spite of increasing competition from mainland China, is still the world's largest economy. Indeed, if we look at the map of northern California that includes San Francisco and Silicon Valley, one is struck by the concentration of US companies that have been the leaders of many of those innovative and disruptive companies that have promoted key global technologies in the last 20 years. The headquarters of

Adobe, Apple, Cisco, eBay, Facebook, Google, Hewlett-Packard, Intel, LinkedIn, Netflix, Oracle, PayPal, Yahoo all located in the strip of the valley stretching from San Jose in the East, running west through Palo Alto to San Mateo, a distance of a mere 28 miles. An additional 20 miles to the west, in San Francisco itself, we find the headquarters of Airbnb and Twitter (The Economist 2015).

The obvious question here is the extent to which ‘globalization’ has been a euphemism for ‘Americanization’, given the immense economic and social power of US consumer goods and cultural products since the end of the Second World War (Bolton 2010a). It was in 1941 that Henry R. Luce (the founder of *Time* magazine) wrote his essay on the dawning of the American century, which declaimed that:

[T]here is already an immense American internationalism. American jazz, Hollywood movies, American slang, American machines and patented products, are in fact the only things that every community in the world, from Zanzibar to Hamburg, recognizes in common. Blindly, unintentionally, accidentally and really in spite of ourselves, we are already a world power in all the trivial ways—in very human ways. But there is a great deal more than that. America is already the intellectual, scientific and artistic capital of the world. (Luce 1941, p. 63)

Despite the fact that we now live in an era where the cinema has been displaced (or at least challenged) by Netflix and Internet streaming, and jazz has given way to hip hop among many young people, Luce’s declamation of the power of American modernity (from refrigerators to shopping malls, from Hollywood to the Internet) is probably as valid today as it was then, if not more so. Luce’s reference to American slang was also prescient, given the evident popularity of American English worldwide, and its close links to media and youth culture. As Anchimbe notes:

The pride and prestige of the American tongue vehicled by an easily available American culture – pop music Hollywood cinema, cable television, VOA broadcasts, Peace Corps, American Language Centres – is a great attraction for L2 users of English. This is why [...] regional and national models (one fears) [...] will submerge their distinctiveness in the sweeping current of the American tongue. (Anchimbe 2006, p. 6).

## 2.5 Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces in World Englishes

In an earlier essay some years ago (Bolton 2006), I traced the origin of the dichotomy between ‘centrifugal’ versus ‘centripetal’ forces in linguistics to Strong’s (1890) translation of Hermann Paul’s (1886) *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, which, in one section, discusses the difference between the ‘centrifugal’ and ‘centripetal’ tendencies of languages. The relevance of this dichotomy to world Englishes seems clear and direct. Much of the early scholarship in the field was devoted to the description of (centrifugally-distributed) localized varieties of English, in terms of their distinctive linguistic features, and particular discursal characteristics. This was certainly a focus of the early writings of Braj Kachru, and the work of many of his associates, but from the mid-1990s onwards, as a response to globalisation, one



might postulate that various (centripetally-driven) forces also play a role in propelling the American vernacular through media and other aspects of youth culture.

Within cultural studies, linguistics and literary culture, the distinction between centrifugal and centripetal is perhaps more closely associated with the work of Mikhail Bakhtin than any other intellectual source. In his essay on ‘Discourse in the novel’, Bakhtin argued that centripetal forces in language helped create a ‘unitary language’, whereas the centrifugal forces of language contribute simultaneously to ‘uninterrupted processes of decentralization and disunification’ so that ‘every utterance participates in the “unitary language” (in its centripetal forces and tendencies) and at the same time partakes of social and historical heteroglossia (the centrifugal, stratifying forces)’ (Bakhtin 1981, pp. 271–272). Bakhtin’s translator and editor, Michael Holquist, in the same volume describes the impact of centripetal and centrifugal dynamics as ‘respectively the centralizing and decentralizing (or decentering) forces in any language or culture’ (Holquist 1981, p. 425). In world Englishes, centrifugal forces are thus associated with distinct geographical varieties, whereas centripetal tendencies might be expected in various genres, styles, and varieties of standardized Englishes. Following McArthur (1997) these standardised styles might be said to include international print standards, media standards, administrative, and legal standards, commercial and technological standards, educational standards, and, in addition, since the mid-1990s, I believe that it is possible to point to putative computerised standards of English, not least those promoted by Microsoft and other word-processing software. Another striking example of ‘centripetal’ tendencies might be identified in the ‘linguistic outsourcing’ currently taking place in India and the Philippines, where business process outsourcing (BPO) operations now provide call-centre and back-office facilities for hundreds of North American and European businesses. In this context, the high-proficiency linguistic skills of Indian and Philippine call centre agents have helped create thousands of new jobs for young people in such societies, in ways totally unimagined three or four decades ago (Bolton 2010b).

## 2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have identified a number of issues related to the origins and development of world Englishes as a discipline, as well as issues linked to the contemporary field of world Englishes research and scholarship. A number of points emerge from this discussion, including the often-occluded recognition that although world Englishes (and indeed Asian Englishes) began with the study of one particular variety, that is Indian English, from its inception, WE scholarship was concerned with much more than geographical varieties of English. Indeed, many of the issues that occupied Braj Kachru in the formative years of WE research were concerned questions of much wider intellectual remit than the mere identification of regional Englishes, and included the analysis of cross-cultural discourse, language policy, models of English worldwide, multilingualism and multiculturalism, the politics of

language, and a swathe of other issues. Kachru's vision has been borne out by the work of Professor Ravinder Gargesh and other linguists in the Indian context, who have demonstrated the complexity of functions served by English in relation to the language ecologies of India. Second, this chapter has argued that the field of world Englishes in its present stage of development has been influenced by the dynamics of modernity, globalization, and multilingualism. One way of reconciling these somewhat different strands of influence, it is suggested, is by reference to the twin dynamics of centrifugal and centripetal forces in languages, the discussion of which serves to connect both the local and the global to our field of inquiry.

Whether we interpret the effects of globalization as positive or negative is a matter of both analysis and interpretation. While Pinker (2018) may interpret current trends in largely beneficial terms, given the recent economic and social progress in many developing societies over the last two decades, other commentators are far less sanguine. Similarly, on the issue of the spread of English language worldwide, concern has often been raised about how this has contributed to linguistic inequality and 'unequal Englishes' (Tupas 2015). The complexity of these issues was anticipated as early as the mid-1990s in Braj Kachru's commentary on 'the agony and ecstasy' of world Englishes, where he commented that the 'universalization of English' has raised clusters of 'issues of diversification, codification, identity, creativity, cross-cultural intelligibility, and of power and ideology' (Kachru 1996, p. 135). This chapter has attempted to comment on a number of these complexities in relation to the field of Asian Englishes. First, it has argued that it is important to remind ourselves that the field of 'Asian Englishes' itself owes its origins to the pioneering intellectual work of Braj Kachru from the 1960s onwards. Second, this article has highlighted the impact of particular forces on the spread of English in the Asian region, including economic development, multilingualism, and urbanization relating these in turn to the twin dynamics of globalization and modernity. Finally, a central argument of this chapter is that a recognition of the complexity of these processes is of key importance in theorizing the field of world Englishes, as well as the continuing study of Asian Englishes.

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# Chapter 3

## Negotiating Polysemy and Norms of English in Translation for a “Globalized” Readership



Tista Bagchi

### 3.1 Introduction: Situating the Problem

A significant aspect of functional variation in English is the fact of lexical polysemy in global literature in English translation. Such lexical polysemy is especially noteworthy in folk literary and Shamanic religious or cultic traditions from large swathes of Asia and Africa (Mohammed 2009). Accordingly, negotiating this lexical polysemy in translating texts (whether written, oral, sung, or performed otherwise) from such traditions is a major task for translators of these texts into globally recognizable English. In this paper, an attempt is made to focus on and problematize the translation of polysemous lexical items used to express “code” meanings in a few such folk literary-religious traditions of the South Asian region. The challenge of such translation is sought to be situated in the wider context of challenges of rendering into one or more globally acceptable normative varieties of English the structural, stylistic, and historical-cultural norms entrenched in these traditions and their key languages.

### 3.2 Negotiating Lexical Polysemy and Linguistic Antiquity in Translation

As Gargesh (2006) has pointed out, “it is in the area of lexicon that the divergence of S[outh] A[sian] E[nglish] is most noticeable – words acquire fresh meanings in local contexts” (*ibid.*, 103). Given this fact, there is the additional source-language layer of lexical polysemy that a translator of any South Asian text into English has to

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negotiate. Aside from this problem of lexical polysemy in the source language, the translator of a South Asian text in which such polysemy is embedded also has to negotiate the historical dimension if the text is in a much older language or a much older linguistic stage of a currently living language. A case in point might be translators' challenges in rendering the lyrics of the Persian-origin poet and musical composer Amir Khusrau (1253–1325), especially those in Hindavi, widely considered a precursor to the KharīBoli variety that came to form the principal basis for Modern Standard Hindi. When confronted with lexical polysemy in these older lyric poems and other comparable texts, the translator is faced with a dilemma: whether to annotate the polysemy in terms of what obtains in the contemporary stage of the language (or contemporary readership of the older stage) or to go by the kind of polysemy that can be interpreted as obtaining for users and listeners/readers of the older time setting in which the text was produced – in the case of the Khusrau poems, the thirteenth and fourteenth-century listeners/readers of Hindavi in its speech area (i.e., in Northern and part of Central India). However, this problem confronts translators of all such South Asian literary texts into contemporary English, and, in all probability, translators of all sacred and/or ancient texts around the world.

### 3.3 Avoiding the Mystical “Slippery Slope” in Translation: Syntax as the Safety Net

The translator's task is made easier, however, by the fact that, overwhelmingly in such texts, because of their need to appeal to laypeople as part of “little” traditions in literary and performance cultures, the syntax, i.e., the sentence structure, and the morphology, i.e., the word grammar, are overall kept simple and lucid. This is despite the obvious phonological, morphological, lexical, and typological differences that obtain between the overwhelming majority of South Asian source languages and the target language of translation, viz., English. For one, overwhelmingly the source languages have the unmarked word order *Subject-Object-Verb* in their sentence structure (as Masica 1976 has demonstrated), with considerable flexibility of this word order in actual usage and corpus data from texts in these languages, as contrasted with the more rigidly set word order *Subject-Verb-Object* in English with systematic differences in questions and other syntactically “different” sentence types (e.g., those with Negative Inversion, as in *Never did I realize this!* or expressive of a wish, blessing, or curse, as in *May God have mercy on your soul*). Largely (though not exclusively) correlating with this word order difference, the source languages have postpositions (following their object nominal: Hindi *ghar p̄ar*) where the target language English has prepositions (preceding their object nominal: English *at home*). Such basic typological distinctions notwithstanding (Comrie 1981), it is possible to capture the morpho-syntactic lucidity inherent in a South Asian source-language text by means of a parallel lucidity and simplicity in English translation (Bagchi 2007).

Additionally, such texts in their original languages or dialectal varieties are typically compelled to be syntactically reflective of the cadences of “ordinary

language”, for the sake of accessibility to a lay (real or potential) following (congregation), hence minimise structural complexity and experimental convolutions of structure – thus making syntactic economy matter in the sheer interest of effective communication with lay audiences. They thus have to appear transparent in order to successfully embed lexical polysemy for “code” meanings, or even specially “coded” meanings, of apparently innocuous-looking everyday concepts, as the case studies below illustrate.

### 3.4 Case Studies

To illustrate the dual challenge of translating polysemy while retaining the flavour of the lucid morpho-syntax of the original, I present a few examples in this section.

#### Example 1: Translation from Old Bengali

The first is that of an Old Bengali “dohā” (quasi-religious lyric poem), from a language of the Indic family that is the most plausible precursor to the Modern Bangla language, a.k.a. Bengali. Canonical “Old Bengali” is known through a set of mystical lyric poems from around the tenth to eleventh century c.e. compiled under the title *Āryā-pada* (Mukherji 1963; Sen 2007). The first poem in the compilation seems at first glance to open with a couplet about a distinctive kind of tree (with approximate glosses provided):

<i>kā[y]ā taru-bara</i>	<i>pañča-bi dāl(a)</i>
body tree-special five-classifier branch	
<i>čāñčala čī[y]e</i>	<i>pañṭho kāl(a)  </i>
swaying heart-in entered time	

‘The body is of [the] special[ly chosen] tree; it has five distinct branches.  
Into its swaying heart, time has entered.’  
(Loose translation, mine)

Moving on further in the poem, however, the next couplet reveals that this conceals a metaphor about the human body and heart or soul – the body with its five macro-projections, i.e., the head and four limbs, and the heart or soul with its fickle or unstable nature as being vulnerable to the vagaries of time:

<i>dr̥dhā kariha</i>	<i>mahā-suha-parimāṇa</i>
firm make-imperative	
great-happiness-quantity	

*lui bhanāi – guru pučchiyā jāna ||*  
Lui says Master ask-and know  
‘Make it firm for [the sake of] a great quantity of happiness –  
Lui [the poet’s name] speaks thus: Ask the Master and get to know how.’ (Loose translation, mine)

The polysemy of words such as *kā[y]ā* ‘body’ (usually human) or ‘form’ (e.g., of a non-human living entity such as a tree) and *čī[y]e* ‘in a/the heart’ reinterpreted as ‘in the interior’ is found to both inform and be informed by this metaphor of the human body as a tree-form, and it also happens to require an understanding of a long tradition of occult or esoteric linguistic usage that came to be termed *sandh(y) ā-bhāsā* ‘twilight-language’ (*sandhyā* = ‘twilight, evening’) or ‘quest-language’ (*sandhā* = ‘quest, inquiry, search’) in the course of the following centuries in the East-Central region of South Asia to which the text can be traced.

### Example 2: Translation of Kabir by Rabindranath Tagore

The second example to which I would like to draw the reader’s attention is the translation of a well-known “dohā” in Mediaeval Hindi by the legendary weaver-songwriter Kabir (fl. fourteenth to fifteenth centuries c.e.) of north-central India, translated by Rabindranath Tagore (whose own original poetry is often in the same broad Bhakti tradition in which Kabir is prominently placed), in his *Songs of Kabir* (Kabir 1915):

I. 83. *čandā jhalkai yahi ghaT māhī*  
*andhī ā`khan sūjhe nāhī*  
*yahi ghaT čandā yahi ghaT sūr(a)*  
*yahi ghaT gājai anhad tūr(a)*  
*yahi ghaT bājai tabal-nišān(a)*  
*bahirā śabda sune nahi kān(a)*

“The moon shines in my body, but my blind eyes cannot see it:

The moon is within me, and so is the sun.

The unstruck drum of Eternity

is sounded within me;

but my deaf ears cannot hear it.”

(Translation: Rabindranath Tagore)

The metaphor needs some annotation here. The polysemous item central to the metaphor is *ghaT*, which may mean ‘pot’, but also ‘head’, from which the metonymic meaning of ‘body’ arises. The polysemy additionally serves to connote the idea of the body as a microcosmic container for celestial bodies and phenomena such as the moon, the sun, and the light shining off of the moon, as well as for the celestial sound, so to speak. The notion of containing and yet being unable to reach the divine via one’s own body is a recurrent one in Sufi lyrical and performative traditions; much of the polysemy, in this poem, plays on this.

An additional polysemy can be construed in the word *bahirā*, which is aptly translated by Tagore as ‘deaf’, but which can also be derived from Sanskrit *bahir-* ‘outside, external’, hence can be read also as ‘external’, as in *bahirā śabd(a)* ‘external sound’. Thus, the line in which this phrase appears can be translated either as ‘... my deaf ears cannot hear it’, as Tagore has done, or as ‘... [because of this sound,] my ears cannot hear any outer sound(s) [besides this one]’, admittedly with some resulting awkwardness in the translation.



**Example 3: Lalon Shah Fakir, Translated by Carol Salomon**

Lalon Shah Fakir (c. 1772–1890), a mystical singer-songwriter-practitioner in the Baul-Fakir tradition of Bengal, composed song-poems speaking of a spiritual quest for the divine within human beings in what is linguistically describable as colloquial Modern West-Central Bangla (Bengali), as used from around the mid-eighteenth century right up to the present in east-central West Bengal and west-central Bangladesh.

In the Baul-Fakir folk performance (and healing) traditions of Bangladesh and parts of eastern India (whose roots lie in Sufism as practised in Iran and in Indonesia; see also Dimock 1966/1989), polysemy in the use of content words is noteworthy alongside “ordinary-language” syntax. There is minimal embedding of clauses in the lyrics, with concatenation of simple sentences into cohesive lines and stanzas of lyric poetry preferred over complex sentences with multiple embedded clauses.

Of the hundreds of songs attributed to Lalon Shah Fakir (or simply “Lalon” as he is called by many worldwide), I present an exemplar below, a popular Baul-Fakir song in Eastern India and in Bangladesh by now, followed by a translation of the song by the late scholar and archivist Carol Salomon of the University of Washington, Seattle. The translation was published in the bilingual Bangla and English e-magazine *Parabaas* (‘living abroad’) published from New York, in 2007.

*ami ekdin-o na dekhilam tare ...*

*bariṛ paše arši-nagar,  
sethay poršī bəšot kəre ...*

“I have not seen her even once--

my neighbor  
who lives in the city of mirrors  
near my house.”

This “neighbour” is the elusive ‘Man of the Heart’ (*moner manuś* – this phrase was first translated into English and used, again, by Rabindranath Tagore, who also archived some of Lalon’s songs at one point, in his 1931 text *The Religion of Man* based on the Hibbert Lectures delivered by him at the University of Oxford), the ideal, divine being who resides within every human, sought after by the non-denominational Baul-Fakir singer-practitioners. The term *arši-nagar* ‘mirror-city’, i.e., ‘city of mirrors’ is polysemous in a complex way, rendered more so by the discovery of “mirror neurons” in the human brain in recent decades that are responsible for the neurocognitive capacity now known as “mind-reading”, i.e., understanding of fellow-humans’ cognition and emotions. The term is metaphorically used to point out specifically the region within the head just behind the middle of the forehead, which in neuroscientific terms would be the frontal cerebral cortex, as the seat of this ‘Man of the Heart’. The ‘Man of the Heart’ is reputed to be elusive, seen fleetingly only in reflection on metaphorical mirrors, i.e., through fleeting moments of (re)cognition during the Baul-Fakir spiritual quest.

#### Example 4: Bulleh Shah of the Punjab and Sindh Regions

The Sufi non-conformist poet Bulleh Shah (1680–1757) of the Punjab and Sindh regions, rediscovered by younger singers of India and Pakistan in recent times, offers an interestingly different set of challenges to the translator into English, while offering thematic parallels to Lalon Shah Fakir’s poetry. I cite the challenge of translating just a single first line of a song-poem by Bulleh Shah that has been performed by the Sikh singer Rabbi Shergill as well as by popular singers from across the north-western border on programmes such as Coke Studio. The now popular line *bulleā kī jānā māi kaun* is rendered variously as ‘What does Bulleah know who ‘I’ am?’, ‘Bulleah! Who knows who ‘I’ am?’, and (more recently but also more metaphorically) ‘Bulla! I know not who I am’ (Poem 3 in Shah 2012).

A parallel is found in Lalon Shah Fakir’s lines:

*lalon bole amar ami /  
janle dhādhā jeto dure*  
‘Lalon says, “If only I knew my ‘me’,  
the riddle would be banished”.’

Syntactically, this structure is rendered by means of a past/counterfactual conditional structure in Bangla (Bagchi 2005) rather than a question or vocative + question as in Bulleh Shah’s original Punjabi lyric. The operative expressions in the Bangla lines, however, are *amar* ‘my’ and *ami*, literally ‘me’, but metaphorically also ‘the self’, wherein the parallel with Bulleh Shah’s concern becomes evident. This highly contextualized notion of ‘me’ as a ‘self’ that is philosophically and mystically worth trying to know is difficult to capture adequately in the English translations of Bulleh Shah’s and Lalon’s lines, and leads us toward the central question that I raise in the next section: where does such translation belong with respect to the “core” versus the “peripheries” of English in the global realm?

### 3.5 “Globalized” English or Shaping the Mainstream?

#### 3.5.1 *Issues Relating to Functional Variation and “Globalized” English*

There is an issue of functional variation relating to English here that, in my view, deserves recognition: Are such annotation-enriched English translations of such historically and culturally embedded texts marked by this kind of lexical polysemy to be read as texts in “Globalized” English, as texts belonging to one or more “World Englishes” (Kachru 1992) or as reasonably standard English texts that contribute towards shaping the “mainstream” corpus of English as a globally shaped language?

Inevitably, this issue demands recognition as being connected to a host of other factors that influence the reading of such translations. Among them is the occurrence of literature in the “High” variety of a language that is diglossic (see Ferguson 1959 on diglossia as a stable sociolectal phenomenon), which is typically marked

by the use of both morphologically more complex words, usually of Sanskrit origin in the case of texts in Indian languages, and relatively convoluted syntax with multiple relative clauses and other kinds of clausal embedding and subordination; contrasted to this, the literature – whether oral or written – in the “Low” sociolectal variety of the language is usually marked by relative syntactic simplicity with less convoluted structures characterised by minimal clausal embedding overall and the use of more readily comprehensible vocabulary that is nonetheless rich in its lexical-semantic content. In the Bangla texts that I have discussed thus far, the language tends more toward the characteristics found in “Low”, *čaliit(a)* (‘current’), Bangla, with just occasional elements brought in from the “High”, *sādhu* (‘sage, refined’), variety of Bangla, from the diglossic situation that obtained in standard Bangla usage into the early twentieth century. Any translator of these texts thus has to make the difficult choice of how to capture the cadences of “Low” Bangla in the target language, viz., English, while producing a translation that would be globally acceptable among readers of English from a wide variety of socio-historical backgrounds worldwide. In the case of texts in Hindi, Punjabi, and Sindhi, there are analogous challenges relating to the adequate rendition of regional dialects in translation into globally acceptable English.

A second, perhaps related, factor that demands to be reckoned with, sooner or later, is that of differential social access. The original texts were created in contexts that had little, if any, everyday exposure to the use of English. In the case of texts in Old Bengali and Hindavi, at the very least, there was not even awareness of English as a language that was to emerge as a prominent global language after subsequent centuries of colonialism and British rule over the regions in which these languages flourished. Even in the case of oral texts such as those by Kabir and Bulleh Shah, and especially Lalon Shah Fakir, which were produced when European colonial expansion was already well under way or well-established, their readers and/or audiences would have been across a wide socio-economic spectrum right down to the illiterate and impoverished, as contrasted with the privileging of English usage in South Asia only for those who succeeding in climbing above the lowest socio-economic strata.

### ***3.5.2 Shaping the Mainstream of World Englishes? A Case Study***

The problem that confronts the translator of lexical polysemy in such socio-culturally embedded texts into globally “acceptable” English is, unfortunately, complicated by the occasional emergence of dissident but eventually “mainstream” literature produced by native English users themselves. A case in point is the confessional poem “After Lalon” written and performed around 1992 by the noted Beat poet Allen Ginsberg (1926–1997), which bears the clear stamp of exposure to the song-poems of Lalon Shah Fakir, possibly reinforced by his exposure to the work of

significant Indian poets in twentieth-century Bengal whom he came to meet and associate with. To press the point even further, Ginsberg was an American poet, but surely no connoisseur of Western English literature would even consider relegating him to the “margins” of English literature on the tenuous grounds that he was not a user of the kind of British English that came to be define the “mainstream” literary canon of English! By way of illustrating this, I revisit the first and the last stanzas of “After Lalou” by Ginsberg. It becomes evident that Ginsberg feels comfortable with the relatively proletarian linguistic style that many of Lalou Shah Fakir’s song-poems are composed in, as exemplified by his own use of near-slang colloquialisms in the poem.

“I.

It’s true I got caught in the world  
When I was young  
Blake tipped me off

Other teachers followed:

Better prepare for Death  
Don’t get entangled with possessions  
That was when I was young, I was warned

Now I’m a Senior Citizen and stuck with a million books a million thoughts a million  
dollars a million loves

How’ll I ever leave my body?

Allen Ginsberg says, I’m really up shits creek.

.

.

.

“VI.

I had my chance and lost it, many chances and didn’t take them seriously enough. Oh yes  
I was impressed, almost went mad with fear

I’d lose the immortal chance,

One lost it.

Allen Ginsberg warns you: don’t follow my path to extinction.”

In Sufi or Sufi-influenced lyric poetry and songs in the bulk of the numerous South Asian linguistic-literary traditions (Halder 2000/2011), a key matter of form is the poet’s insertion of his own authorial name and voice toward the end of each poem or song. This was noted and adopted by Rabindranath Tagore, for instance, in the lyric song-poems that he composed in the hybrid Braja-Buli language (and not in Bangla) beginning in his mid-teen years, under the faux late-mediaeval persona of Bhanu-Singh(a) Thakur (in the original, a play upon the lexical meaning of his given name *rabi* + *indranāth* ‘sun-ruler’). Allen Ginsberg has carried this even further in his Lalou-inspired poem, inserting his authorial voice into the end of every stanza of the poem. And yet this is mainstream Beat poetry in English, not an awkward translation or adaptation from a poem or series of poems from the “outermost circle” of globalized English (to use the late Braj B. Kachru’s term). It is, therefore,

at least as “mainstream” in terms of its functional positioning in globalized English as American English literature, overall, is considered to be.

A possible counter-argument to situating the English translations of lexically polysemous South Asian source texts in the global mainstream of English is the following. While Allen Ginsberg’s poem might be a part of “mainstream” English literature of our times, the original South Asian songs and/or poems in translation are just that, i.e., poems in translation, even if they are (actually or potentially) read by a global English readership. This has already been noted for the case studies relating to translations of the poetry of Kabir, and of Bulleh Shah as well as Lal Shah Fakir, as presented in Sect. 3.4. Therefore, how can they be considered to be situated, actually or potentially, within the global “mainstream” of English? This is not an easy argument to counter in relation to a relatively conservative mindset as regards what would count as the “mainstream” of English. The best that one can do, by way of a (possibly partial) response, is to point toward the considerable amount of recognition that has already come to be accorded to so-called “South Asian English” (see, e.g., Bagchi 1999) in the realm of original writing in English from South Asia: Booker-Prize-winning novels such as *The God of Small Things* by Arundhati Roy and *The Inheritance of Loss* by Kiran Desai, the Partition novella *The Ice-Candy Man* by the Pakistan-based Parsi writer Bapsi Sidhwa (realized on the silver screen as *1947: Earth* directed by the crossover filmmaker Deepa Mehta), and Sri Lankan English fiction are all exemplars of internationally read (and acclaimed) writing in English. Several of these texts are prescribed reading for courses in literature and in the interactions of literature with linguistics, pursued overwhelmingly by native English-speaking students, in leading universities of the English-speaking world (and elsewhere). The more esoteric of the translations are more often than not annotated for culture-specific terms and concepts (as, e.g., has been done in *The Oxford Tagore Translations: Tagore, Ghosh, and Chaudhuri* 2001), so that – as is amply attested in empirical terms worldwide, in my own experience – readers educated in “mainstream” English are able to read and make sense of these texts in translation without much difficulty. Not only this: the lexical polysemy encountered in the originals of the translations actually make for greater interest, on the part of the readership, in engaging with the historical and cultural antecedents that give rise to the polysemy. In other words, the lexical polysemy serves to intrigue readers and pique their interest in the historical-cultural moorings of these texts, even as the translations make linguistic and aesthetic sense to readers well-versed in the so-called “mainstream” of English writing. While these arguments cannot fully resolve the issue of whether such polysemy-laden translations belong to the “mainstream” literary canon of English as a global language today or whether they should be categorized as illustrative of functional regional-stylistic variation exemplary of World “Englishes”, they seem to be suggestive of an interesting dynamic of confluence and convergence of such functional variation with an increasingly enriched globalized corpus of literary writing that is available in and through English to readers (and audiences) worldwide.

### 3.6 Conclusion

This paper has attempted to bring to the fore a few of the practical problems faced by translators from the “peripheries” of the English speech area in global terms, especially in regard to translating lexical polysemy in original texts that are embedded in rich socio-cultural contexts of the South Asian subcontinent that are nonetheless geographically and socio-historically removed, if not remote, from the “mainstream” of English. I have endeavoured to illustrate the occurrence of these problems through considering four exemplars of translation into English from Old and Modern Bangla, Eastern Hindi, and Punjabi-Sindhi, respectively, and to raise the question of whether such translations illustrate functional variation in “globalized” English as it points toward the occurrence of “World Englishes”, or whether they instead contribute towards the formation of “mainstream” English literary output itself.

It has also been my endeavour to acknowledge through this paper my sense of enrichment and gratitude towards the enjoyable and valuable conversations and interactions on themes relating to translation, literary traditions and the place of English in South Asia in regard to these, functionalist, perspectives in linguistics, and stylistics in particular, with Professor Ravinder Gargesh (or Ravi-ji as I call him), as well as his encouragement and warm collegiality, throughout our years as overlapping faculty members in linguistics at the University of Delhi.

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# Chapter 4

## Emergency! Do We Still Have to Speak English?: English as a Lingua Franca for Aviation



Masaki Oda

### 4.1 Introduction

Communication between air traffic controllers (ATC) and pilots plays an important role in the safety of air traffic. According to the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), the accident rate in 2017 was 2.25 in 1 million flight departures (ICAO Global Aviation Safety Snapshot 2018 <https://www.icao.int/Pages/default.aspx> Retrieved July 17, 2018). In other words, the rate is not by any means higher compared to the accident rates in the other means of transportation. When an accident involving commercial airliners occurs, however, the impact of the event to the society is significant, partly because an air accident could kill a hundred of people in a moment.

The cause of these accidents varies. As a linguist, I am particularly interested in communication between two pilots who share the cockpit, and that between ATC and pilots, and find out if language related issues contribute to accidents. When accidents occur, authorities conduct thorough investigations and complete reports. Once the reports have officially been approved, they will be used as a substantial piece of evidence for determining the cause of accidents in order to come to the final verdict on the accidents. The reports could sometime serve as evidence to press charges against parties involved.

I am neither an expert of aviation nor a lawyer, however, I have been interested in how the air accident investigators regard one's right to communicate in his/her mother tongue, especially when it facilitates communication. If an accident or a critical incident occurred in Japan, a series of investigations would be carried out by the Japan Transportation Safety Board (JTSB) and the results are eventually made available to the public on their website. The reports are divided into two major categories: accidents and critical incidents, in accordance with the Japanese Aviation

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law chapter 76, primarily based on whether any fatalities were involved or not and, if an aircraft were damaged (<http://jtsb.mlit.go.jp/jtsb/aircraft/index.php>). Going through the reports submitted in recent years, I was able to see the cases in which communication between different aircrafts, as well as that between ATC and aircraft, was cited as causes of the incidents.

Before going into my discussion, I would like to clarify Aviation English, a lingua franca of the domain. Intemann (2008) discusses Aviation English as a world language. Aviation English standards are “defined by the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) and accepted almost all over the world” (Intemann 2008, p. 71). In his discussion, Intemann divides English used in aviation into three categories: English, a natural language; formal Aviation English, a variety defined by ICAO; and spoken Aviation English, the language actually used in transmissions. It should be noted that he considers Aviation English as an artificial language, which is distinguished from English we use in daily life.

Formal Aviation English, or the ICAO Phraseology has been agreed by 188 member states of the organization (Intemann 2008, p. 72). Its main purpose is “to make radio transmissions as unambiguous as possible in order to avoid potential misunderstandings” (Ibid.). It is used in large parts of the world, yet in some countries, for example France, local language is used even at an international airport such as Paris Charles de Gaulle, as mentioned in Intemann (Ibid.).

Aviation English is a lingua franca which both Native English Speakers (NES) and Non-native English Speakers (NNES) in this domain, including pilots and air traffic controllers, need to learn for smooth communication. It should be regarded as a separate language from English as a natural language, even though the language is English-based. As Intemann (Ibid.) suggests, it seems that both NES and NNES in aviation cannot separate the two ‘languages’ and thus use Aviation English as they use English as the natural language. Estival and Farris (2018) distinguish between ELF and Aviation English. They state that the latter “is a lingua franca and a variety of English but is not ELF” (1). They continue that although Aviation English is a lingua franca but “a stable variety” in contrast to ELF. (Ibid.). It has “a restricted domain and is only used for the specific purpose of communication in the aviation environment” (Ibid.).

One of the reports issued by the JTSB discussed above explicitly concluded that problems with the proficiency of English contributed to accidents or critical incidents, some citing that ‘miscommunication’ or ‘misunderstanding’ was a major factor contributing to the events. In these situations, pilots or air traffic controllers who are non-native English speakers believe that they have to communicate with each other in English, despite the fact that they share the same first language, Japanese.

In this chapter, I will review the transcripts of the communication in the JTSB reports which appear to have served as major sources for determining the conclusion of the investigation of the accidents/critical incidents, with a special attention to choice of language of communication under pressure.

## 4.2 Miscommunication and Air Safety

We see a number of publications featuring air safety including reflections of various accidents. Many of these books are written by journalists and/or aviation specialists and follow documentary style. Among the stories featured in these books, the collision of two Boeing 747 aircrafts at Tenerife in 1977 is described as the worst disaster caused by miscommunication (Beaty 1995; Faith 1996). The accident involves a Pan American Boeing 747 and a KLM Boeing 747, both of which have been diverted to the airport due to bad weather in their intended destination, Las Palmas. Cushing (1994), in his publication of language and aviation safety, cites the transcript of the communication among the two 747s and the control tower right before the two aircrafts collided:

- 1705:44.6 KLM 4805: The KLM four eight zero five is now ready for take-off and we are waiting for our ATC clearance (1705:50.77)
- 1705:53.41 Tower: KLM eight seven zero five you are cleared to the Papa Beacon, climb to and maintain flight level nine zero, right turn after take-off, proceed with heading four zero until intercepting the three two five radial from Las Palmas VOR (1706:08.09)
- 1706:09.61 KLM 4805: Ah-roger sir, we are cleared to the Papa Beacon, flight level nine zero until intercepting the three two five. We are now at take-off (1706:17.79).
- 1706:18.19 Tower: OK...Stand by for take-off, I will call you (1706:21.79).
- [Note: A squeal starts at 1706:19.39 ends at 1706:22.06.]
- [PAA: And we're still taxiing down the runway the Clipper one Seven three six (1706:23.6).
- 1706:21.92 PAA 1736: Clipper one seven three six (1706:23.39).
- 1706:25.47 Tower: Ah-Papa Alpha one seven three six report the Runway clear (1706:28.89).
- 1706:29.59 PAA 1736: OK, will report when we're clear (1706.30.69).
- 1706:61 [*sic*]. 69 Tower: Thank you.
- 1706:50: Collision: KLM on take-off run collides with PAA on ground. (Cushing 1994: 9-10, underlines and *italics* in the original).

By presenting this transcript, he illustrates several factors in communication 'clash' which could have contributed to the 'crash' of the aircrafts. In the transcript above, Cushing (Ibid.) identifies two crucial misunderstandings between KLM 4805 and the tower by underlines and italics. First, in response to KLM 4805's transmission at 1705:44.6, the tower replied "KLM 8705". It is not certain if this exchange has resulted in the negative consequences to follow, however, the exchanges here indicate that neither the pilots of KLM 4805 nor the air traffic controller has reconfirmed if the message was addressed to KLM 4805. In other words, the pilot of KLM 4805 assumed as though the previous message was sent to his aircraft without doubt, and thus continued to prepare for take-off, then seems to have started rolling as the pilot responded "We are now at take-off", before the tower told them "Stand by for take-off". In other words, it is possible to assume from the context provided in the transcript that the pilots have not given enough attention to the message from the tower.

According to Beaty (1995), the investigation carried out by the Spanish Civil Aviation Authority "found no evidence of mechanical or electrical failure" (85) including aircraft radios. Beaty (Ibid.) continued that the authority did not find any sign of crew incapacitation.

While I had difficulty in getting access to the original report by the Spanish authority, I was able to come to a tentative conclusion from various publications on the topic (cf. Beaty 1995; Faith 1996; MacPherson 1998), that problems in communication had contributed to the accident. This corresponds with Cushing's (1994) argument above that communication 'clash' could have contributed to the accident.

Faith (1996) further discusses the complication of the joint investigation of this accident "involving the Spanish, the NTSB (US), Pan Am, Boeing, the manufacturer, KLM and the Dutch government" (178). As we can see from the transcript above, the Tower does not seem to have issued clearance to take-off to KLM 4805, after it tells the Pilot "Stand by for take-off". However, the 747 starts rolling for take-off immediately. Faith (Ibid.) points out that "the Dutch were trying to pin the blame on the air traffic controller" (178) in order to divert the blame from the KLM captain van Zanten who was KLM's experienced chief training pilot at that time.

### 4.3 Contribution of Linguistics to Air Safety

The circumstances of the Tenerife accident above have suggested that there is a potential area in which linguists can contribute to the air safety. As a matter of fact, some linguists have analyzed communication specialized for aviation. These studies focus on communication between two pilots who share the cockpit, and that between ATC and pilots. For example, Nevile (2001) analyzes communication between pilots in the cockpit focusing on pronominal choice and the power relationship between the pilots. He concludes that exploring pilots' pronominal choices "can reveal how cockpit leadership, crew harmony, and a sense of who is in control of the plane, for example, are built through talk" (70). These are certainly important elements of air safety as communication in the cockpit is often plays a key role for air accident investigations.

Intemann (2008) analyzed communication between pilots and ATC and found out that the language actually used in transmissions was not necessarily the formal Aviation English they were supposed to use. Instead, spoken Aviation English was used by those with lower proficiency in English. In addition, native speakers of English as well as those non-native speakers of English with higher proficiency in English tended to mix their formal aviation English with English as a 'natural' language, and thus it might sometime increase ambiguity, as pointed out by Cushing (1994, pp. 7–16).

Intemann's (ibid.) study was based on "...transcripts from the cockpit voice recorders (CVR) available on the Internet, commercial video and DVD materials as well as on personal interviews" (72). This illustrates the difficulty for linguists to access the data, primarily because they are often not allowed to enter the cockpit, primarily for security reasons. Some countries even prohibit the general public to listen to ATC on the radio. Therefore, sources available on the Internet, including live streaming of ATC (e.g. Live ATC), transcripts as well as commercial DVDs could serve as very important data for analyzing communication in aviation.

Kim and Elder (2015) investigated the construct of aviation English by analyzing feedback from Korean airline pilots and air traffic controllers through a questionnaire and interviews. The results of the study suggest a discrepancy between the policy construct and the reality. While the main focus of the study was on the validity of the English language proficiency tests, the paper also talks about the role of English language in emergency situation, which is the major topic of this chapter. They cited one of the interviewees, SW, a Korean captain with 13 years of experience whose response reflects that “the pilots’ experience is more critical than their language background” (137). The captain in the interview argued against the ICAO’s biased assumption that insufficient English is attributed as the cause of accident. He stresses that having situational awareness on the spot is more important than English language proficiency, and higher English language proficiency alone would not reduce the risk of accidents.

More recently, Kim (2018), has analyzed communication between a Korean air traffic controller and a Russian pilot. She used a 17-minute segment of recorded radiotelephony discourse between a Russian pilot and a Korean air traffic controller in an abnormal situation. In this episode the Russian aircraft flying from Pattaya, Thailand to Incheon, Korea encountered a technical problem and thus requested to make a diversion “to its home country, Russia, via an alternative route” (409). Consequently, a series of negotiations occurs between them, while the controller needs to coordinate with controllers in the neighbouring areas the aircraft must pass through. The recording was played to six informants including three Korean practicing pilots and three Korean air traffic controllers. The informants had “knowledge and experience of the professional domain” (409). From their responses, it was found that the Korean traffic controller appeared to have had higher proficiency than the Russian pilot. However, some instances of difficulties in communication were attributed to “limited sensitivity to each other’s role and tasks, and failure to prioritize in eliciting information” (417). In the particular episode, Kim pointed out that “the noncompliance with radiotelephony conventions, namely readback and hearback and the use of phraseology whenever possible” (Ibid.) due to the lack of professional experience was discussed by the informants as contributing factors. It is, therefore, possible to say that the low proficiency of the language alone does not cause miscommunication in the domain.

Kim and Billington (2018) focused on the issues of pronunciation and comprehension in relation to the proficiency rating. The study had two research questions; one is, “What are the causes of miscommunication identified in the case study of ELF radiotelephony context”? and the other is “How are the features and challenges of ELF communication reflected and dealt with in the ICAO proficiency assessment criteria for *pronunciation* and *comprehension* (Italics in original) and associated advice for pilots and controllers” (142)? In order to answer these questions, the authors analyzed various sources of data including audio recordings of pilot-controller communication at the international airport in Korea. In response to their first research question, they found that non-compliance with radiotelephony procedure was one of the factors contributing to the miscommunication identified in their case study involving an Air France pilot and a Korean air traffic controller (151). One

instance discussed in the paper was the case of miscommunication in which the Air France pilot took the Korean air traffic controller's direction to 'hold short', an ICAO phrase which means 'a taxi procedure for departure (but to not enter the runway yet)', as 'position and hold'. The latter is old FAA (USA) phraseology meaning 'line up and wait on the runway' (146). It was apparent that the Air France pilot did not comply with the radiotelephony procedure defined by ICAO. This corresponds with Intemann's (2008) remark that native speakers of English as well as those non-native speakers of English with higher proficiency in English tended to mix their formal aviation English with English as a 'natural' language, and thus it might sometime increase ambiguity, as discussed earlier.

To address their second research question on the issues of pronunciation and comprehension. Kim and Billington (Ibid.) think that IACO has carefully considered ELF as evidenced in its manual (ICAO 2010) as, "a number of the features and challenges have been taken in account in developing assessment criteria" (153) of language proficiency rating, such as criteria for pronunciation and comprehension. One of their suggestions is that the ICAO's language proficiency rating scale "should include more specific mention of personnel having an awareness of the characteristics of their L1 phonology that may influence English pronunciation" (Ibid.).

The question, at this point is whether we should regard Aviation English as ELF. In his discussion on ELF tests, McNamara (2018) refers to Aviation English in order to argue for their feasibility. Citing some of the studies discussed earlier (Kim and Elder 2015; Kim 2018), he describes the context of tests of communicative ability in international civil aviation as an example of where "...the ELF character of the spoken interaction (air traffic controller communication in English with a pilot, either of whom may be non-native speakers of English) has long been recognized" (p. 21). In other words, communication in airspace is where interlocutors' critical awareness of the language in the context can significantly impact the safety, which is analogous to Bayyurt and Sifakis' (2017) discussion on EIL (English as an International Language)-awareness in teacher education. In addition, as Kim (2018) suggests, those involved in communication using Aviation English should be sensitive to each other's role and tasks and learn how to prioritize items to elicit appropriate information in order to deal with issues smoothly.

#### 4.4 Aviation English in the Japanese Airspace

A few years ago, I took a flight from Washington-Dulles to Tokyo-Narita operated by a US airline. The aircraft was equipped with an inflight entertainment system including a channel on which we were able to listen to the communication between the aircraft and ATC. On that particular day, the flight headed north to Montreal, Canada after it had taken off from Washington Dulles, then flew over the Arctic Circle. A few hours later, the aircraft entered Russian Air space, then flew south to Japanese airspace. In other words, the aircraft flew over the US, Canada, back to the US (Alaska), Russia and Japan. The pilots were using English, a mixture of formal

Aviation English and English as a natural language. However, I noticed that French was at least partially used by Montreal ATC with some pilots, while Russian was the dominant language used with Russian planes by Magadan (Russia) and Yuzino Sakhalinsk (Russia) ATCs. The role of French or Russian in the above cases corresponds to what Gargesh (2007, pp. 135–136) calls “complementary function” as these languages complement Aviation English. It is a natural process as the main purpose of communication between the pilots and the local ATC is to maintain safety in the airspace.

In fact, ICAO “still permits the use of other languages on the basis of mutual agreement between all air traffic control units involved” (Intemann 2008, p. 73), therefore the above cases are acceptable, and match with EMF. When the aircraft reached the Japanese airspace, English, including spoken Aviation English, formal Aviation English as well as English as a natural language was used, but Japanese was used neither by the pilots nor by the local ATC.

According to the Japanese Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism (MLIT) that administrates ATC, it is possible to use Japanese, although English is mostly used in communication between pilots and ATC (Kokudo Kotsu Sho 2008). This corresponds with the fact that ICAO “still permits the use of other languages on the basis of agreement between all air traffic units involved” (Intemann 2008, p. 73). However, I have rarely heard transmissions in Japanese by ATC, except in communication between pilots and their company and/or between pilots and vehicles on the ground. This has made me wonder if the pilots and ATC did not have an option of choosing Japanese—or took the rules too literally—even though it would facilitate communication, particularly in case of emergency.

As discussed above, Kim’s study (2018) indicates that the ability to prioritize items to elicit appropriate information to deal with the issues is important. This would also include the choice of appropriate language. The case reported in Kim (2018) involved a Russian pilot and a Korean air traffic controller, both of whom are NNES. Therefore, Aviation English should be the recommended choice in the particular contexts. The effectiveness of communication in the context is also supported by the knowledge and experience of the domain as indicated in the studies mentioned earlier (Kim and Billington 2018; Kim 2018, etc.). The question I would like to address in this chapter is what happens when all the parties involved in communication are NNES but share the same language. In the following sections, I will discuss the role of Aviation English in the context in which pilots and air traffic controllers share the same first language, i.e., Japanese, and the choice between them in case of emergency, based on critical incident reports involving airplanes issued by JSTB (Japan Transportation Safety Board).

## 4.5 Analyses of JTSB Critical Incident Report

In Japan, English is used in communication between pilots and ATC most of the time, as mentioned above. My question is whether English here refers to Aviation English defined by IACO or something else. Furthermore, I would like to investigate how the investigators' perception of Aviation English would affect investigations of accidents or critical incidents, especially when 'miscommunication' or 'misunderstanding' were cited as a major factor contributed to the events.

In order to address the issues, I will present two cases from the JTSB reports published in recent years. Both reports deal with critical incidents that took place in airports in Japan, and all the parties, including pilots and air traffic controllers involved appears to be native speakers of Japanese. In normal situations, they communicate in Aviation English. In other words, they share the same language, while Aviation English remains as the lingua franca of the domain. Unlike the case between a Russian pilot and a Korean air traffic controller presented in Kim (2018) in which Aviation English is likely to be the only common language in the situation, there was an option of choosing Japanese as a language for communication in the two cases reported below, especially when prompt exchange of information is crucial. Consequently, it is natural for us to believe that communicating in one's first language is much more effective. In each case below, the investigators cited 'miscommunication' as a contributing factor for the incident. However, I would like to find out if the investigators really looked into the issues beyond linguistic communication including the issues of sensitivity to each other's role and tasks, and ability to prioritize in eliciting information appropriate to the context discussed in Kim (2018).

### 4.5.1 Case 1: Sapporo-New Chitose, February 16, 2008

The first case reported here is a critical incident occurred at New Chitose Airport in Northern Japan on at 10:33 JST on February 16, 2008. It involved one departing aircraft (JAL 502), one aircraft just landed (JAL 2503) and one arriving aircraft (JAL 513). The Japan Air Self Defence Force is in charge of ATC at this airport. The final report of the incident published on December 20, 2008 cited that different interpretations of "Immediate take off" by the pilots are possible factors, which had contributed to the incident. The transcript of communication among the ATC and the aircrafts is as follows:

JAL 513: Chitose Tower, JAPAN AIR 513 on final Runway 01R 18DME

Tower: Japan Air 513, Tower, Runway 01R Continue approach.

Wind 330 at 9, RVR Touch Down 750m.

JAL 513: Continue approach Runway 01R.

Tower: Japan Air 502, Runway 01R Line up and wait, and RVR touch Down 750m.

JAL 502: Runway 01R, Line up and wait, Japan Air 502.

Tower: Japan Air 2503, Turn left B2 end of Runway. Cross Runway 01L



JAL 2503: B2 cross Runway 01L

Tower: Japan Air 502, **Expect immediate take-off**, traffic landing.

roll and inbound traffic 6 miles.

JAL 502: Roger, Japan air 502.

(JAL 502 starts to roll for take-off).

Tower: Japan Air 502. Stop immediately, Japan Air 502, Stop immediately traffic landing roll.

JAL 502: Japan Air 502.

Tower: Japan Air 513, This time go around.

Tower: I say again go around, Ah~Traffic landing roll and departure traffic on the runway.

JAL513: Go around, follow missed approach procedure.

Tower: Japan Air 513, This time turn right heading 090, Climb and maintain 4000.

(*JTSB Jyudai Insidento Hokokusyo AI-2009-1*, 2009, 54-59, Emphasis by the Author)

As you can see from the transcript, Tower cleared JAL 513 to land on Runway 01R, while asking JAL 502 to line up and wait. This means that the aircraft can enter the runway 01R but has not been cleared to take off. At the same time, TOWER gave JAL 2503, an aircraft just landed on Runway 01R, the direction to the parking spot. The problem is that, from the transcript, we cannot see if Tower has ever confirmed the aircraft has vacated the runway. In the meantime, Tower told JAL502 “Expect immediate take-off, traffic landing roll and inbound traffic 6 miles”, therefore, the pilots of JAL502 knew that another aircraft, JAL513, was about to land. As a result, the pilots of JAL502 seems to have believed that they were expected to take off immediately, even though they have not confirmed if JAL2593 has already taken off.

The final report for this critical incident (*JTSB Jyudai Insidento Hokokusyo AI-2009-1*, 2009) listed several causes for the incident including the use of “take off”. More specifically, the report concluded that “take off” should only be used for clearance for take-off or cancelling take off clearance (33, 36), and thus “Expect immediate take off” is not a normal usage in the context (33). This is the only linguistic issue the report listed as a possible cause of the incident The report concluded that the use of “take off” should be restricted to clearance and cancellation of take-off, citing the Tenerife accident involving two Boeing 747 s discussed earlier.

As a linguist, I see that the issue is more complex. Aviation English is supposed to be the lingua franca in this context. Intemann (2008) points out that in “nns [non-native speaker]/nns [non-native speaker] situation” when they share the same mother tongue, in this case, Japanese, the interlocutors “stick to the ICAO phraseology” (84) with few alterations. However, the utterance “Expect immediate take off” does not comply with the feature of Aviation English, an artificial language. The ATC seemed to have used English, as a natural language, in the particular utterance. In other words, the pilot of JAL502 and Tower were using ‘different’ languages. Therefore, pilots as well as air traffic controllers should have realized it, and made certain that they would use Aviation English (ICAO Phraseology).

For safety in the air, I have no objection to the use of Aviation English, as a lingua franca in normal situations. However, ICAO “still permits the use of other languages on the basis of agreement between all air traffic units involved” (Intemann 2008, p. 73), therefore, pilots as well as air traffic controllers may exercise an option



of using the language they share, in this case Japanese, as it would have facilitated communication. Consequently, the investigators could also have discussed this as an option to deal with difficulty in communicating in Aviation English.

#### 4.5.2 Case 2: Naha, Okinawa, June 3, 2015

The second case is another critical incident which occurred at Naha Airport in Okinawa at 13:24 JST on June 3, 2015. It involved a Japan Air Self Defence Force (JASDF) helicopter, one departing aircraft (ANA 1694) and one arriving aircraft (JTA 610). While this is a coincidence, the ATC of this airport is also handled by the Japan Air Self Defence Force as it was in the case of New Chitose Airport presented earlier. The final report of the incident published on April 27, 2017 cited that the interpretation of “Stand by” and “Immediate take off” by a helicopter crew was one of the contributing factors to the incident. The transcript of communication among the ATC and the three aircraft is as follows:

13:21:51 Tower: All Nippon 1694, do you accept immediate departure Next inbound four miles.  
 13:21:55 ANA1694: Affirm, All Nippon 1694, Accept.  
 13:21:57: Tower: All Nippon 1694 runway 18 at echo zero line up and wait stand by for immediate departure.  
 13:22:01: ANA1694: Roger. All Nippon 1694 line up and wait runway 18. 13:22:07: Tower: Jest 03 turn left echo six expedite vacating runway contact ground.  
 13:22:15: Tower: Jai Ocean 610 continue approach we have departure Boeing 737. Wind 210 at 13 expect landing clearance on short final.  
 13:22:23: JTA610: Continue approach. Jai Ocean 610.  
 13:22:32: Pony 41 (Helicopter): Naha tower Pony 41 good afternoon alpha five ready after airborne right turn cross runway KERAMA. 13:22:37: Tower: Pony four one, stand by.  
 13:22:40: Pony 41: Stand by Pony 41 request hovering operation. 13:22:43: Tower: Pony 41 hovering approved.  
 13:22:45: Pony 41: Hovering approved Pony 41.  
 13:22:40: Tower: All Nippon 1694 wind 210 at 12 runway 18 **cleared for immediate take off.**  
 13:22:55: ANA 1694: Runway 18 cleared for **immediate take off** All Nippon 1694  
 Pony 41: Right turn approve **immediately take off** alpha Five, Pony 41. (Overlap)  
 13:23:09: Tower: Jai Ocean 610 737 rolling runway 18 cleared to land wind 200 at 12.  
 13:23:15: JTA610: Cleared to land Jai Ocean 610 1 mile on final. 13:23:19: Tower: Roger.  
 13:23:27: (Pony 41 Helicopter took off)  
 13:23:42: (Pony 41 crossed over Runway 18) ANA1694: All Nippon 1694 reject take off helicopter ahead of us.  
 13:23:47: Tower: **All Nippon 65...6584? Roger.**  
 13:23:50: Tower: Jai Ocean 610. Go around.  
 13:23:51: (JTA 610 touched down)  
 13:23:57: Tower: Jai Ocean 610 turn left echo four.  
 13:24:00: ANA1694: **Turn left echo four All Nippon 1694.**  
 JTA610: **Turn left echo three Jai Ocean 610.**  
 (Reconstructed from Appendix 2, *JTSB Jyudai Insidento Hokokusyo AI-2017-1*, 2017: 70, Emphasis by the Author)

The final report for this critical incident (*JTSB Jyudai Insidento Hokokusyo AI-2017-1*, 2017) spotlighted that at 13:22:55, the helicopter (Pony 41) had taken the Tower's take off clearance for ANA 1694 as that for their own. This triggered the series of subsequent actions.

When ANA 1694 started to roll for take-off, the helicopter (Pony 41) also took off and flew cross the runway. As a result, the pilots of ANA 1694 decided to abort take off. At the same time, another aircraft, JTA 610, which had already been cleared to land, was asked to go around by the Tower. Nevertheless, it was too late for the aircraft to abort landing and thus it landed behind ANA 1694.

In a little more than 1 min between 13:22:40 and 13:24:00, we can observe a series of misunderstandings in communication. First, the Tower's take off clearance at 13:22:55 was for ANA 1694. However, both ANA 1694 and Pony 41 took it as a clearance for their own aircrafts, and took off. In addition, the Tower did not seem to have realized that this was happening. Second, at 13:23:42 when ANA 1694 aborted take-off, the Tower appeared to have been confused. At 13:23:47, the Tower was not able to read back the "reject take off" message by ANA 1694. It is not clear whether the Tower had realized that the message was from ANA 1694 or not. However, the utterance could have caused further confusion to those who were listening to the transmission. Third, after the Tower realized that JTA 610 had touched down, it instructed the aircraft to vacate the runway by exiting it from taxiway echo 4. However, the aircraft exited from echo 3, while another plane (ANA 1694) who had aborted take-off was already on the runway, exited from echo 4 taxiway.

Unlike the report on Case 1 presented earlier, a transcription of Cockpit Voice Recorder (CVR) was included in this report. From the CVR transcript, we were able to find that Japanese was exclusively used for conversations in the cockpits of all the aircrafts involved. The transcription of CVR recordings of ANA 1694 and JTA 610 is presented below (Indicated in *italics*).

13:23:15: JTA610: Cleared to land Jai Ocean 610 1 mile on final.

13:23:19: Tower: Roger.

13:23:22: (*ANA 1694 Co Pilot: Eighty*).

13:23:23: (*ANA 1694 Captain: Check*). 13:23:25: (*ANA 1694 Co Pilot: Throttle hold*).

13:23:27: (Pony 41 Helicopter took off)

13:23:32: (*ANA 1694 Captain: ヘリコプターが* [herikoputa aa ga][A helicopter]).

13:23:35: (*ANA 1694 Co Pilot: V...*) 13:23:37: (*ANA 1694 Co Pilot: One...Vr*)

(*ANA 1694 Captain: 危なくないですかね* [abunaku naidesu kane] [Isn't it dangerous?])

(*JTA 610 Captain: こんなことするのかね* [konna kot o surunokana][Are they serious?])

13:38:38: (*JTA 610 Co Pilot: ぎりぎりです。まだ離陸していませんよ* [girigiri desune. mada ririku shit enai desuyo] [Almost too late. They have not taken off yet]).

13:23:39: (*ANA 1694 Captain: Reject*).

13:23:42: (Pony 41 crossed over Runway 18) ANA1694: All Nippon 1694 reject take off helicopter ahead of us.

13:23:43: (*JTA 610 Captain: ヘリが* [heri ga][A helicopter])

13:23:44: (*JTA 610 Co Pilot: はい* [hai][Yes]).

13:23:47: Tower: **All Nippon 65...6584? Roger.**

(Reconstructed from Appendix 2, *JTSB Jyudai Insidento Hokokusyo AI-2017-1*, 2017: 70, Emphasis by the Author)

The CVR transcript above has revealed that the pilots on ANA 1694 switched between Aviation English and Japanese when they talked with each other in the cockpit. At 13:23:37, the captain suggested to the co-pilot in Japanese that the situation would be dangerous. This is still an informal conversation. Shortly, however, he switched the language to Aviation English to indicate that it was a formal declaration to reject take off. Again, the whole process took place within 20 seconds.

As with the Case 1, the report neither indicated the choice of language as a potential cause of the incident, nor suggested the use of Japanese, the language shared by the ATC and the pilot involved in the incident if it were considered more appropriate.

From the two cases, it is apparent that linguistics can, and has already made some contribution to the investigations of air accidents and incidents. Whether any linguist had been involved in the completion of the reports or not, the investigators have benefited from phonetics, phonology, as well as grammar. However, there is a danger of drawing conclusions of these important investigations just based on superficial analysis derived from prescriptive approach to language. With more help from linguistics, the reliability of investigations would increase. Studies involving analyses of radiotelephony discourses (Kim 2018; Kim and Billington 2018) discussed earlier would give the investigators valuable information, not only by providing examples from the actual pilot-controller communication, but also the results of analyzing them scientifically. The more linguists accumulate the studies, the wider range of examples become available for as references for investigations. In addition, a constant reflection of pilots' and air traffic controllers' views of 'smooth communication' in the domain, including the ability to prioritize items to elicit appropriate information to deal with the issues discussed in Kim (2018) have to be taken into consideration by the investigators.

## 4.6 Air Safety as a Joint Enterprise

The analyses of the critical incident reports have suggested that the pilots and the air traffic controllers are trying to use English even in critical situations. This is mainly because Aviation English is accepted as a lingua franca in aviation and thus is understood by everyone. In principle, this is a reasonable choice in normal situations. However, there are several issues to consider further. First of all, Aviation English, according to Intemann (2008, p. 71) is an artificial language which should be distinguished from English, a natural language, used in daily life. Therefore, the language should not inhibit communication. In other words, the language should be clear enough not to be interpreted in more than one way. It seems, however, those in aviation cannot distinguish between the two 'Englishes' as we can see from Intemann (2008) as well as the critical incident reports discussed earlier.

Second, in critical situations like the cases reported earlier, the priority for the parties involved is not to stick with one particular language, but to make certain that the communication is smooth. This corresponds with the outcomes of recent studies in English as a Business Lingua Franca (BELF). Ehrenreich (2010) points out the

importance of looking at the role of English as a shared language when one or more other languages exist in parallel and investigates the cases of English and German in a German based multinational corporation. From her observation at an international executive meeting, it was found that the managers she observed had excellent communication skills “despite a range of ‘innovations’ in their English” (p. 426). She refers to the concept of “Community of Practice” (CofP) (see Wenger 1998) and describe it as follows:

[i]n international business communities, accomplishing and communicating about a business task forms part of the members’ “joint enterprise,” whereas English (as well as other languages) is no more than a resource in the interactants’ “shared repertoires,”—albeit a highly functional one (Ehrenreich 2010, p. 427).

The shared repertoires “consists of linguistic and other resources which are the agreed result of internal negotiations” (Seidlhofer 2011, p. 87). It is therefore apparent that the competence in Aviation English entails resources other than linguistic knowledge. This corresponds with findings from Kim (2018) and Kim and Billington (2018) discussed earlier, both of which stressed the importance of knowledge and experience in the domain as an element of good communication in aviation. In the case of communication between air traffic controllers (ATC) and pilots, it is possible to say that accomplishing safety is their “joint enterprise”. If the parties share a language other than Aviation English, a default lingua franca, the use of the language should also be considered a resource and its use should not be discouraged. I am aware of the fact that, especially in critical situations, it must be difficult for anyone to take an initiative and add another language to Aviation English in an ongoing interaction. However, choosing the best option in the situation would definitely help the “joint enterprise” succeed. In the two cases reported above, I would suggest that the ATC should take an initiative and give the pilots an option of using Japanese provided that the pilots share the language. In the investigation of the accidents/ critical incidents, the investigators may also need to carefully examine the languages shared by the parties involved. In addition to investigate the cause of miscommunication from CVR and other sources, they should also look at if the best choice of language(s) has been made rather than focusing too much on whether ‘standard’ language has been used or not.

Finally, any rules or regulations concerning the language for communication including those by ICAO or MLIT in Japan should explicitly state what is more important in communication between the pilots and ATC is to accomplish safety, and thus any combination of languages is acceptable provided that it helps achieve the goal.

## 4.7 Conclusion

Aviation English will continue to serve as a lingua franca for air traffic control for some time. Therefore, pilots and air traffic controllers are expected to master it in order to communicate smoothly in the domain. It does not mean, however, that they

are expected to attain native-like proficiency in English, as a natural language. Moreover, Jenkins (2015) argues that the notion of ELF itself needs to be reconceptualized. She discusses three phases of ELF starting from its first phase, or ELF1, in the second half of 1990s in which the researchers “focused on forms and envisaged the possibility of identifying and maybe codifying ELF varieties” (77), the second phase, or ELF2, in which “the focus shifted to ELF’s variability” (Ibid.) and then to the third phase, or ELF3, in which the focus moves away from “ELF as *the* framework to ELF *within* a framework of multilingualism” (77: *Italics* in the original). Therefore, ELF should be viewed as English as a Multilingual Franca (EMLF), ‘a’ lingua franca in a multilingual context in which various languages including English as a natural language (Intemann 2008) are used. Jenkins (2015) continues:

English, while always in the (potential) mix, is now conceived as one among many other languages, one resource among many, available but not necessarily used, with ELF defined not merely by its variability but by its complexity and emergent nature (p. 77).

Furthermore, Aviation English has “a restricted domain, and is only used for the specific purpose of communication in the aviation environment” as defined by Estival and Farris (2018, p. 1). Therefore, the high level of proficiency in Aviation English entails one’s ability to communicate in the specific domain. As a number of studies involving analyses of radiotelephony discourses (Kim 2018; Kim and Billington 2018) in the aviation environment suggest that the proficiency of English alone cannot explain the causes of miscommunication. Instead, knowledge and experience of the domain also play significant roles in communication which would also contribute to the safety of the airspace. In the cases of critical incident reports discussed in this chapter, therefore, just looking at linguistics aspects of radiotelephony communication are not enough.

Pilots and air traffic controllers are expected to achieve a high level of performative competence (Canagarajah 2013) for aviation. Its important element is alignment which involves “connecting semiotic resources, environmental factors, and human subjects in relation to one’s own communicative needs and interests in order to achieve meanings” (174). Alignment, according to Canagarajah (Ibid.) is adaptability. This corresponds with ‘situational awareness on the spot’ in aviation pointed out in Kim and Elder (2015, p. 9) discussed earlier.

Aviation English should be regarded as English as a Multilingual Franca (EMLF) (Jenkins 2015) in a specific domain, which is available to pilots and air traffic controllers but may not be the language of choice at a time. In the cases of the Japanese pilots and air traffic controllers like those involved in the cases reported earlier, it is more important for them to become able to respond to “highly diverse, unexpected, and changing contexts and codes by strategically combining ecological resources” (174) including all the languages they share.

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# Chapter 5

## How Do Co-occurring Speech and Gestures Express Meaning in a Dyadic Face-to-Face ELF Interaction?



Hiroki Hanamoto

### 5.1 Introduction

This study aims to understand the complex process by which participants in English as a lingua franca (ELF) dyadic interaction employ both gestures and speech in successful interactions. While previous literature has found that ELF speakers use communication strategies in order to enhance mutual understanding, most studies focus on linguistic features (e.g., Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2001) and approaches to cognitive gestures (e.g., Gullberg 1998). Other studies (e.g., Goodwin 2003; Gullberg 1998) have found that ELF participants tend to employ both non-verbal elements like gesture and body movements and verbal features. However, few studies have examined the wide range of multimodal resources available to ELF speakers over the course of an interaction as a whole, and have analyzed gesture as a communicative function, involved in the process of co-creating meaning between a speaker and a listener. In order to fill some of these gaps in understanding, this study attempts to answer the research question of how ELF interlocutors display and utilize co-speech gestures and how this affects an ongoing interaction.

### 5.2 Literature Review

#### 5.2.1 *English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)*

ELF can be defined as, “connectivity in English but minus the lingua-cultural material that comes with the language” (Pakir 2009, p. 229) and is a result of increasing globalization. Non-native English speakers (NNSs) vastly outnumber native English

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speakers (NSs) (e.g., Graddol 2006; Jenkins 2006), meaning that most English use occurs between NNSs who do not share a mother tongue (Seidlhofer 2001). Thus, the majority of English users are multilinguals who have acquired or learned English to interact with “fellow multilinguals” (Kirkpatrick 2007). ELF interactions, therefore, occur in diverse multilingual situations where people from different cultures and language backgrounds communicate with one another through English. This understanding of English use can be applied to Japanese users and learners of English.

While ELF speakers may differ in their first languages, their lingua-culture, and their English proficiency, the term may be used to denote any English users: those who speak English as a second language, those for whom English is a foreign language, and NSs. When English is used in a lingua franca context, however, the norms, rules, or usages of a native speaker may not always be relevant for ELF speakers, even if a native speaker is included in the conversation (Jenkins 2006). Instead, communication is driven by the ELF speakers’ negotiations to overcome “dysfluencies and speakers’ limited processing capacity” (MacKenzie 2014, p. 145) and to be as explicit as possible while constructing meaning within the ELF context.

### ***5.2.2 Enhancing Explicitness in ELF Communication***

Enhancing explicitness or clarity is a valuable strategy in ELF talk to understand how form and meaning are co-constructed and to avoid or pre-empt problems in understanding (e.g., Björkman 2013; Kaur 2011; Mauranen 2012; Smit 2010). Mauranen (2012) argues that improving clarity promotes comprehension and thereby contributes to a successful communication. Each interlocutor in an interaction uses explicit language to close the gaps in shared linguistic and cultural knowledge through the use of interactional communication strategies. In other words, ELF speakers focus more on constructing knowledge than on correcting linguistics and making sure their English conforms to NS norms.

### ***5.2.3 Multimodal Resources to Enhance Explicitness***

Communicating explicitly or with clarity necessitates a high level of direct expression on the part of the speaker; ELF speakers are expected to resort to this strategy to ensure everyone understands what a speaker has just said and to correct or pre-empt problems in comprehension. With this in mind, in this section the author will take a look back at some findings related to the present study.

Researchers have described how ELF speakers enhance explicitness in interactions using various interactional communication strategies. First, many studies have found that repetition is a common interactional communication strategy ELF speakers employ when enhancing explicitness (e.g., Cogo 2009; Cogo and Dewey 2012;



Pitzl 2005; Watterson 2008). It is well-documented that same-speaker or other-speaker/recipient repetition (c.f. Tannen 1987) has a range of functions in discourse; in the case of ELF, it seems to be used as an accommodation strategy (Giles and Smith 1979) that highlights differences in order to enhance communicative conversation.

Second, paraphrasing and rephrasing are other means that ELF speakers employ to increase explicitness (e.g., Cogo 2009; Kaur 2010; Seidlhofer 2004). Paraphrasing and rephrasing allow interlocutors to prevent or pre-empt problems in understanding before they occur. Kaur (2009, p. 179) explains that when ELF speakers utilize this strategy, the paraphrased or rephrased message gives interlocutors an increased chance of hearing and of being understood, makes an utterance intelligible even if redundant, and enhances co-construction of meaning and mutual understanding.

In addition to the verbal communication strategies described above, participants in an ELF interaction employ manual gestures or embodied actions to convey meaning (e.g., Goodwin 2003). It goes without saying that a speaker conveys messages both verbally and non-verbally: this combination both conveys meaning and confirms communication problems. Birdwhistell (1970, pp. 157–158) finds that interlocutors employ a verbal/non-verbal feature ratio of 3.5/6.5 in a dyadic face-to-face interaction. This implies that non-verbal means including gesture can play a significant role in the communicative situation in addition to spoken language.

### 5.2.4 *Gesture's Role in a Face-to-Face Interaction*

In the course of face-to-face interaction, a speaker's intended meaning is expressed and displayed through the use of gestures combined with verbal output, or even in the absence of speech (e.g., Goodwin 2003; Gullberg 1998; Kendon 2004; McCafferty 2002). While visual gestures undoubtedly are useful and communicative semiotics means, it is commonly assumed that the relationship between gesture and speech and the meaning of different gesture types are dependent on the accompanying speech and different contexts. According to McNeill (2005) in *Gesture and Thought*, co-occurring speech and gesture, *spontaneous gesture*, can be divided into four different categories: *iconic gestures* (closely linked to the semantic content or movement of the speech), *deictic gestures* (pointing to an actual or metaphorical space), *metaphoric gestures* (imaginary abstract ideas and concepts), and *beat gestures* (rhythmic hand or finger movements).

The role of gestures in a face-to-face interaction has been investigated in a number of studies. Firstly, gestures can help express information useful for speaking and thinking (e.g., Kita 2003; Slobin 1996); therefore, gestures affect the thinking process (e.g., McNeill and Duncan 2000). According to Kita (2003), gestures are one of the indicators of how a speaker imagines the word in his/her mind and show us how language formulation is activated during speech production. In other words, gestures are an essential part of communication that work to display "a speaker's mental representation" (McNeill 1997, p. 190).

According to Krauss and Hadar's (1999) Lexical Retrieval Hypothesis, gesture production should increase as lexical demands increase. Several studies have demonstrated that NNS speakers tend to produce more deictic or iconic gestures than NSs (e.g., Gullberg 1998; Hardar et al. 2001; Zhao 2006). Furthermore, experimental research confirms the link between proficiency and co-speech gestures: Goldin-Meadow (2005), for example, reports that NNSs tend to use gestures more than NSs when speaking English as a lingua franca. In other words, ELF interactions which tend to be more NNS dominant are likely to involve greater use of gestures to compensate for lexical gaps.

Gestures can also serve pragmatic and communicative functions, either alone or together with speech, including indicating turn-taking (e.g., Mondada 2007), accommodation (e.g., Giles and Smith 1979), and assistive roles (e.g., Antes 1996). Several additional studies (e.g., Gullberg 1998; Kendon 2004; McCafferty 2002; McNeill 1992; McNeill and Duncan 2000) claim that gestures facilitate comprehension, such as by adding information and determining and disambiguating the meaning which a speaker intends to convey to an interlocutor. Other studies recognize that interlocutors both replicate similar forms and meanings through recurrent gestures and co-create meaning. McNeill (2005) describes these recurrent gestures as *catchment*, which is "recognized when one or more gesture features occur in at least two (not necessarily consecutive) gestures" (p. 116). In other words, when interlocutors share an understanding, gestural catchment allows them to "achieve alignment" (p. 164). We can conclude that interlocutors' gestures are oriented to the interactions and help co-construct meanings through co-speech gestures.

Increasing numbers of studies are investigating the communicative functions of gestures; however, most take a cognitive approach and regard gestures as "the inner process that lie behind the act of speaking" (Kendon 2001, p. 191). According to Gullberg (1998), this approach focuses on the intrapersonal functions of gesture and cannot explain why interlocutors gesture together. Previous studies have focused on particular types of gestures or on the functions of same-speaker or other-speaker/recipient gestures, (i.e., iconic and deictic [Kendon and Versante 2003]) or on the relationship between gesture and speech (Kita 2003). Little research has analyzed gesture as communicative and involved in the process of co-creating meaning between a speaker and a listener. This study aims to examine this research question within the ELF context and better understand how interlocutors in an ELF interaction employ gesture and how the use of gestures affects the ongoing interaction.

## 5.3 Methodology

### 5.3.1 Research Participants

This study involved six participants majoring in science and engineering: three native Japanese speakers (Shu, Yu, and Aki), one native Malay speaker (Hii), one native Nepalese speaker (Au), and one native Vietnamese speakers (Mi). They all

**Table 5.1** Study participants

Dyad	Name	L1	Relationship	English proficiency	Duration of recording (min:sec)
1	Shu (m)	Japanese	First meeting	Intermediate	17.45
	Hii (m)	Malay	First meeting	Intermediate	
2	Yu (m)	Japanese	First meeting	Intermediate	16.36
	Au (m)	Nepalese	First meeting	Intermediate	
3	Aki (m)	Japanese	First meeting	Intermediate	14.51
	Mi (m)	Vietnamese	First meeting	Intermediate	

participated voluntarily. These participants took a placement test, similar to the TOEIC test, when beginning their studies at university. Based on the results of this test, their English proficiency level is said to be intermediate. All participants signed informed consent forms before participation, agreeing to the video recording of their interactions and to the use of their images in publications. All names used in this study are pseudonyms to protect participants' privacy. Students did not know their interlocutors before recording their conversation. The basic facts about the participants, such as their attributes including gender, primary language, their mutual relationships, English proficiency level, and duration of recording time, are summarized in Table 5.1.

### 5.3.2 Data Collection

The author recorded the three interactions between NNSs, each consisting of one Japanese university student and one international student at a Japanese university between 2016 and 2018. Every interaction was recorded both visually and auditorily, using two high-performance digital video cameras with a microphone to capture both participant's non-verbal actions simultaneously from different angles. The first camera was set at the back corner of the table, closer to the participants, and the other was placed diagonally above the table. The author asked each participant in the recorded interaction to pin a microphone connected to the first camera on their chest or clothes in order to hear their spoken language clearly. Pairs were not assigned specific discussion topics prior to the interaction in order to facilitate interpersonal communication. They were encouraged to talk freely about whatever topic they chose, as long as it was in English. Thus, the topics were co-created through the participants' interactions. The total recording time varied from 14 min, 51 s to 17 min, 45 s.

### 5.3.3 *Data Analysis*

While this study attempts to understand how speech and gestures are used in ELF interactions when expressing meaning, it is not always easy to collect data regarding communication problems and their resolution. That is, in the process of looking at what is happening in the interaction, the author focuses on micro aspects of speaking and a close analysis of turn-taking sequence. Therefore, in this study we treat conversational interaction data as an emic, not focusing too much on form but rather paying careful attention to function. This allows us to determine what is happening in the interaction using conventions of conversational analysis transcription.

In order to understand the co-creation of meaning between interlocutors, the author employed multimodal analysis of both gesture and speech, using a bottom-up approach to clarify the detailed process by which unintelligible utterances or gestural actions become clear as participants make progress toward mutual understanding.

In this way, we attempted to address instances where meaning negotiation is initiated explicitly through multimodal repair sequences (Olsher 2008). As conversation analysis research reports (e.g., Firth 1990; House 2002), repair strategy in sequential turn-taking is the most frequently used communication tool in cases of communication problems. In this case, *repair* can be defined as a key marker of the initiation of meaning negotiation. In line with this multimodal analysis, the author also used a retrospective stimulated recall (RSR) in order to enrich and support our data analysis (e.g., Canagarajah 2007). The RSR tasks, including post-interviews, were conducted both in Japanese and English in order to confirm the participants' and author's observations about the recorded data. The RSR data, including post-interviews, were only used to support the data analysis and interpretation.

### 5.3.4 *Transcription*

The author transcribed and analyzed the three dyadic face-to-face ELF interactions using Jefferson's (1984) conversation analytic conventions and McNeill's (2005) conventions for non-verbal features (see Appendix for more details). Additionally, when transcribing non-verbal actions, he used ELAN, a multi-layered annotation software, to examine the gestures in context of the interaction and to demonstrate gesture "strokes" (McNeill 2005). The transcription of each dyad of interaction serves as the first step in analysis (Wagner and Gardner 2004), and the data was then analyzed relying both on the transcriptions and video recordings.

## 5.4 Results and Discussion

The data shows that participants employ various resources to pre-empt or resolve problems in understanding, including language, para-linguistics, or non-verbal actions such as gestures, laughter, and eye-gazing. Often combinations of the above occurred simultaneously. This suggests that multimodal resources—both verbal and non-verbal—contribute to a successful interaction. By paying careful attention to sequence organization, multimodal analysis reveals that participants deployed and managed unique turn-taking, particularly through linguistics repair work with gestures, to pre-empt or resolve communication problems and enhance explicitness.

The next section outlines four instances of communication problems in the recorded dialogue and how study participants negotiated these problems overtly and explicitly through multimodal repair sequences.

### 5.4.1 *Enhancing Explicitness through Iconic Gestural Catchment*

The first excerpt captures how a series of iconic gestural catchments together with verbal resources display alignment between interlocutors and make an utterance explicit and intelligible. In the transcript, a native Japanese speaker, Shu (S), and Malay speaker, Hii (H), are talking about a Japanese *manga* comic. Shu and Hii's behaviours including speech and non-verbal actions are annotated in ELAN transcript in Fig. 5.6.

Excerpt 1: “GANTZ? (1)” (from Dyad 1)

S (m) = Japanese; H (m) = Malaysian

→1. H: did you [watch(.) Gantz.

2. S: [((poking his body at H)) un? (.) Gantz?=  
3. H: =Gantz ((nodding repeatedly))

→4. S: Gantz: yeah↑ ((raising his body up and moving forward, while raising his right hand))

→5. {G[A:N:T:Z

→6. {((iconic: pretending to write the spelling “GA” with right hand))

→7. H: {[black ball

→8. {((iconic: pretending to express a ball with his both hands))

9. S: (.) uhm? ((poking his body toward H))

Both Shu and Hii are interested in Japanese comics and, in this excerpt, are talking about *Gantz*, a famous comic in Japan popular with youth around the world. It has also been made into an animated TV show and several animated movies.

In line 1, Hii asks Shu whether he has watched *Gantz* before. After a quick resolution of an *intelligibility* problem through the use of repetition (Schegloff 1992), Shu displays his understanding overtly “*yeah*”, a token acknowledgement. This utterance seemingly shows mutual understanding; however, he still initiates another



**Fig. 5.1** Line 6: ((pretending to spell, “GA”)). (Hii is on the left, and Shu is on the right)



**Fig. 5.2** Line 8: ((pretending to express a ball))

resource, i.e., hand gestures, in lines 4–6. For example, at one point he uses his right hand to spell out part of “GANTZ” (iconic), which appears to increase his explicitness using a different resource (Fig. 5.1). In response, in line 7 Hii replies with “black ball,” a key phrase used in the *Gantz manga*, to clarify. Interestingly, his utterances overlap with nonverbal action, namely Hii’s use of iconic gesture in line 8 to denote a “ball” (Fig. 5.2). However, Shu again displays a problem with his mental processing of “black ball.” In other words, his use of the term to symbolize *Gantz* does not quickly result in shared understanding. Therefore, the attempt to overcome ambiguity using a different phrase is not always an effective strategy to enhance explicitness, findings that contrast those of McCarthy (1998).



Excerpt 2: “GANTZ? (2)” (from Dyad 1)

→12. H: {G:A:N:T:Z.

→13. {((iconic: pretending to write “GANTZ” with his right hand))

14. S: (.) ah: =

→15. H: = {black ball. right?

→16. {((iconic: pretending to express a ball with both hands))

→17. S: ah:↑ {black ball (.) black ball

→18. {((iconic: pretending to express a ball with both hands and leaning back in his chair))

19. H: yes. yes (.) ((nodding repeatedly)) °haha°

Starting in line 12, Hii and Shu collaborate to co-construct meaning, making use of various semiotic resources. In line 12, Hii moves back to the word *GANTZ* and clearly utters each letter of the word in such a way that they overlap with the gestural message from lines 12–13 (Fig. 5.3). Unlike in line 6 (Excerpt 1), in which Shu gestures only part of the spelling, namely *GA*, here Hii utilizes non-verbal iconic gesture and pretends to write the full spelling of *GANTZ* in the air to fill in vocal gaps and enhance explicitness. After this, in lines 15–16 Hii again moves back to the spoken lexical item “*black ball*” and again connects the word with the same gesture he used in line 8 (Excerpt 1). Hii is clearly overlapping his explanation strategy by skilfully incorporating another available interactional resource: spontaneous gestures. This repetition of similar types of gesture is what McNeill (2005) refers to as a catchment, a tool for enhancing explicitness by providing a visual cue in addition to co-occurring speech.

In line 15, Hii uses a confirmation check token (“*right?*”) together with iconic gestural catchment in order to confirm if Shu again understands his meaning. This confirmation check is a strategy to make sure “the partner can follow the speaker” (Jamsidnejad 2011, p. 3762) and to enhance explicitness in a successful interaction. After saying “*ah:↑*” with a rising intonation to reflect a changing state in knowledge (Heritage 1984) and understanding, he quickly repeats the word “*black ball*” as an



Fig. 5.3 Lines 12–13: G:A:N:T:Z.

instance of repetition mixed with iconic gestural catchment. Iconic gestures provide visual cues and enhance the interlocutor’s attention. In so doing, Shu and Hii finally come to mutual understanding in line 19. Lines 15–18 show their collaboration through the use of multimodal resources such as latching, changes in volume, and iconic gestural catchment action (Figs. 5.4 and 5.5, 5.6).



Fig. 5.4 Lines 15–18: ((gestural catchment)) (1)



Fig. 5.5 Lines 15–18: ((gestural catchment)) (2)

Hii Speech 15	did you watch Gantz.	Gantz	black ball	GANTZ.	black ball, right?
Hii Non-verbal 16		nodding	gesture	gesture	gesture
Shu Speech 17	un? (Gantz?)	Gantz: yeah! GA:	uh?	ah:	ah: black ball (.) black ball
Shu Non-verbal 18	poking his body at H.	gesture	poking his body at H.	gesture	

Fig. 5.6 Multi-layered transcript: Lines 1–18



RSR allows us to clarify why Hii referred to “black ball” in the interaction. Hii told us, “I referred to *Gantz* as ‘black ball’ because ‘black ball’ is a keyword in the comic *Gantz*, and I thought [Shu] could infer what we were talking about from the word.” On the other hand, Shu told us, “Of course I know *Gantz*, and I could understand what he said right away.” Also, he said “black ball” many times because it is the most famous word in this comic. Shu and Hii therefore mutually constructed the meaning of the conversation.

In these sequences, we can see that the participants actively negotiated and co-constructed meaning through the use of various resources, including repetition and paraphrasing keywords, in combination with iconic gestural catchment.

### 5.4.2 Using Deictic Gestures to Clarify Tense Timelines

In the next excerpt, a speaker compares past and present tense timeline using left-to-center deictic gestures. This is an example of how deictic gesture supports conversation development. In this interaction, a Japanese male student, Yu (Y), and a Nepalese male student, Au (A), are talking about their school days:

Excerpt 3: “High school is hard” (from Dyad 2)

Y (m) = Japanese; A (m) = Nepalese

1. Y: {now. ver:y har:d.
- 2. {((nodding))
- 3. A: oh: very hard?=  
→4. Y: =((back channelling repeatedly))
- 5. A: high school is {harder:
- 6. {((deictic: both bands moving to his left side))
- 7. Y: (.) {ah:} (2) university is now: is ver:y har:d=  
8. {((bending his neck to his right side))
- 9. A: =oh-{NOW is very hard
- 10. {((deictic: putting his both hands on his knees -centre of his position -repeatedly))
- 11. Y: yes
12. A: uhn: ((back channelling repeatedly))

One can see that Yu tries to convey to Au that he is very busy and that his major in school is very difficult (line 1); however, his choice of vocabulary leads to ambiguity and vagueness. Au is unclear whether Yu is having a hard time in school or if he was having a hard time in the past, even though Yu started his turn with the word “now.” Au first adopts “let-it-pass” behaviour (Firth 1996) in line 3, before initiating a negotiation of meaning to clarify Yu’s meaning. In lines 5–6, Au tries to make the tense explicit by employing deictic gesture. Here, Au moves both hands to the left to symbolize the past tense while using the word “harder,” thus emphasizing the past tense using manual gesture (Figs. 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9).

In lines 9–10, Au uses another deictic gesture, this one different in terms of the spatial extent than that in line 6. This time, Au uses a deictic gesture (Figs. 5.10,



Fig. 5.7 Line 6: ((expressing the past tense)) f(1) (Au is on the left, and Yu is on the right)



Fig. 5.8 Line 6: ((expressing the past tense)) (2)

5.11, and 5.12) that involves moving both hands back to a central position of his body, *home position* (McNeill 1992), and putting both hands on his knees to symbolize the present tense at the same time as he says the word “*now*.” In line 9, Au verbally confirms that Yu did not feel that school was so hard in high school, but instead that Yu has had a very hard day at university. In other words, Yu is talking about something in the present tense. The speech and non-verbal annotations are shown in Fig. 5.13. Taking these two instances together (lines 6 and 10), Au uses a transversal timeline axis to contrast the tense timeline. That is, he moves both hands to the left to denote the past tense (line 6) and to a central position of his body for the present tense (line 10), in explaining time reference with the production of the temporal lexical expression.



**Fig. 5.9** Line 6: ((expressing the past tense)) (3).



**Fig. 5.10** Line 10: ((expressing the present tense)) (1)

Another example not only illustrates how deictic gesture, when accompanying speech, can enhance the explicitness of time reference of an ongoing conversation's events, but also (and more importantly) how it can fill gaps in verbal messages for the purpose of interactional alignment (Deterding 2013). Excerpt 4 is from a conversation between Mi (M), a male native Vietnamese speaker, and Aki (A), a male native Japanese speaker. The two have just finished talking about their favourite sports and are moving to the next topic: their school life, which can be considered a "safe topic" (Meierkord 2000, p. 11). In this excerpt, they are talking about university clubs, and Aki is attempting to convey to Mi that he has quit a club; however, he struggles to express this verbally:



Fig. 5.11 Line 10: ((expressing the present tense)) (2).



Fig. 5.12 Line 10: ((expressing the present tense)) (3).

Au Speech [R]	high school is harder:			oh: NOW is very hard	uhn:~
Au Non-verbal [R]		gesture			gesture
Yu Speech [R]			ah:~	university is now: is very hard	yes
Yu Non-verbal [R]		gesture			nodding

Fig. 5.13 Multi-layered transcript: Lines 5–12

Excerpt 4: “I fail the club” (from Dyad 3)

A (m) = Japanese; M (m) = Vietnamese

1. A: I. {belong to} [ah::
2.    {((looking at M))
3. M:         [(((back-channelling))
- 4. A: in: (2) ah: ((looking upward)) schoo:l festival::=
5. M: =oh::[::
6. A:    [club? ((bending his neck to his right side)) un?
7. M: I understand ((laughter))
- 8. A: ((laughter)) but-I: ah:I: (.) fail ((eye-gazing to M))
- 9. M: (2)
- 10. A: ((deictic: moving his right thumb to the left and right repeatedly))
- 11. M: ah:: you: don't:: {jo[in:
- 12.         { ((deictic: moving his right index finger to the left and right repeatedly))
13. A:         [ah: yeah. yeah=
14. M: =you don't do:
15. A: now ((nodding repeatedly))
16. M: ok ok ((nodding repeatedly))

In line 4, Aki refers to a “*school festival*” after processing difficulties such as a provoking pause and lexical searching. However, in line 8 it becomes clear that Aki’s choice of words doesn’t convey his desired meaning. Instead of “quit the club,” he says “*fail the club.*” It becomes clear that he is searching for vocabulary; he turns to non-lexical means such as cut-offs, hesitation markers, pauses, and eye gazing.

Mi then demonstrates to Aki his non-understanding by his request for clarification using two seconds of pause during his following turn (line 9). Aki then shifts his means of communication to deictic gestures in line 10 (Figs. 5.14, 5.15, 5.16, 5.17, 5.18, and 5.19): Aki moves his right thumb to the left and right repeatedly two



Fig. 5.14 Line: 10: ((expressing the time axis)) (1) (Mi is on the left, and Aki is on the right)





**Fig. 5.15** Line 10: ((expressing the time axis)) (2)



**Fig. 5.16** Line 10: ime axis)) (3)

times, indicating temporal time axis change, specifically the relationship between present and past tense, as mentioned in Excerpt 3. In other words, Aki sends this gestural message to convey that he has already quit the club.

What is noteworthy is that Mi also employs a similar deictic gesture using his right index finger as a gestural catchment, and they each initiate negotiation for enhancing explicitness for a successful interaction (Lines 11–12, Figs. 5.20 and 5.21). Namely, it can be argued that his deictic gesture movement appears to be shared repeatedly by Aki and Mi when mapping a time axis. Their gestures also reveal that while linguistic practices such as repair tend to be the preferred ways of



**Fig. 5.17** Line: 10 ((expressing the time axis)) (4)



**Fig. 5.18** Line 10: ((expressing the time axis)) (5)

addressing problems in understanding, it is also important to employ gestures as a visual aid, to achieve intersubjectivity and alignment between interlocutors often in combination with linguistic methods (Fig. 5.22).



Fig. 5.19 Line 10: ((expressing the time axis)) (6).



Fig. 5.20 Lines: 11–12 ((expressing the time axis)) (1)





Fig. 5.21 Lines: 11–12 ((expressing the time axis)) (2)



Fig. 5.22 Multi-layered transcript: Lines 8–16

### 5.5 Conclusion

This study used multimodal analysis of conversation analysis transcription conventions to understand the combined role of gesture and speech in ELF interactions. The author examined how interlocutors in ELF interactions display co-speech gestures and how the use of gesture affects the ongoing interaction. Although preliminary, this study’s findings demonstrate that research participants often employ gestures, especially iconic and deictic, alongside verbal strategies in communicative situations. Moreover, this study demonstrates that iconic gestures may provide visual cues and further reinforce verbal messages, and deictic transversal gestures may clarify differences in tense, thereby enhancing explicitness.

These gestural actions can be divided into three functions: supporting development of the conversation, clarifying the tense timeline of the ongoing conversation’s reference, and filling in difficult-to-express details. Moreover, in conveying message in their sequences, they attempted to explain and demonstrate their intended meaning or create an incomplete utterance through recurrent gestures. These catchments seem to serve to provide imaginary support and create shared understanding between interlocutors. In these ways, we can conclude that gestures do not always imitate images, rather gestures can be used to achieve alignment between interlocutors (McNeill 2005) in what can be understood both as accommodation (e.g., Giles

and Smith 1979) and a collaborative strategy (e.g., Kaur 2010). This study demonstrates that gestures may add more precision to verbal messages and enhance explicitness by forming common ground between interlocutors, compared to relying solely on lexical utterances.

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## Appendix: Transcription Conventions (Adapted from Jefferson 1984 and McNeill 2005)

[	overlapping utterances	=	latched utterances
{	overlapping utterances with non-verbal action	(.)	short pause of less than 1 second
:	extended sound or syllable	.	fall in intonation
-	cut-off by current speaker	NOW	speech much louder than surrounding talk
(( ))	non-verbal action	→	feature of interest to analysis

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# Chapter 6

## Exploring Functional Variations of Cultural Semiotics in Ha Jin's *Facing Shadows*



Zhichang Xu

### 6.1 Introduction

English has been undertaking a paradigm shift from the traditional ‘standard’ English to pluricentric varieties of English across the globe due to centuries of colonization, migration, and globalization (see also Nobuyuki Honna’s *Introduction* and Kingsley Bolton’s Chap. 2: *Modernity, Globalization and Asian Englishes* in this volume). The paradigm shift features a dual process of the globalization and the localization of English. As a result, English has been widely used and acknowledged as an International Language, and a Lingua Franca. In the meantime, English has been nativized into different varieties of English commonly known as world Englishes.

The nativization of English engenders distinctive features in linguistics, literary creativity, and cultural discourse and pragmatics among varieties of English, i.e., the ‘three concentric circles of English’ (Kachru 1982). One of the features of the ‘paradigm shift’ in English is that, variations in lexis, syntax, discourse, pragmatics and cultural conceptualizations among legitimate varieties of English are increasingly acknowledged in relation to their local and global contexts (Xu 2017). English is used more often in local and global contexts among multilingual speakers than monolingual speakers of English for a wide range of functionality involving intercultural communication. Another feature of the ‘paradigm shift’ is that, correctness and appropriateness associated with the use of English have become context dependent, i.e., contextualized ‘appropriateness’ becomes more relevant to the users in various contexts than the exclusive focus on the de-contextualized ‘correctness’ based on the traditional ‘standard’ of English (Xu 2017).

In this connection, English has become a language of transcultural creativity, particularly when it is used by multilingual writers in the sphere of literary creation.

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Unlike traditional English literature, where creative use of English belongs exclusively to ‘native’ speakers and writers of English in terms of their novel use of linguistic devices such as metaphor, punning, word play, rhyme, slang and idioms, transcultural literary creativity in world Englishes covers a wider range of variations resulting from the blending and meshing of linguistic codes, literary textures and cultural traditions other than those from the traditional native varieties of English. Gargesh (2006, p. 359) argues that “since the user of the non-native variety is bilingual, creativity is also manifested in different kinds of ‘mixing’, ‘switching’, ‘alteration’ and ‘transcreation’ of codes”. The ‘cultural semiotics’ in world Englishes becomes the ‘end product’ (Gargesh 2006, p. 359) of such manifestations, through which cultural expressions, symbols and schemas are constructed, transcending linguistic and cultural boundaries.

This chapter adopts Gargesh’s (2006) framework of nativizing poetic medium in world Englishes, and explores the functional variations of cultural semiotics, including expressions, symbols and schemas of Chinese cultural conceptualizations in Ha Jin’s *Facing Shadows*, a collection of poems written after the author migrated to the United States of America. Ha Jin is one of the Chinese American writers. He was born in China in 1956 and had his BA (English Studies) and MA (Anglo-American Literature) there, and he emigrated to the United States and obtained his PhD in one of the American universities. Ha Jin chooses to write his poetry, short stories, novels, essays and biography in English. His major works include the award-winning novel *Waiting*, as well as poetry, e.g., *Between Silences*, *Facing Shadows*, *Ways of Talking*, *Wreckage*, *Missed Time*, *The Past*, *A Distant Center*; short story collections, e.g., *Ocean of Words*, *Under the Red Flag*, *The Bridegroom*, and *A Good Fall*; novels, e.g., *In the Pond*, *The Crazyed*, *War Trash*, *A Free Life*, *Nanjing Requiem*, *A Map of Betrayal*, and *the Boat Rocker*; a biography *The Banished Immortal* and an essay *The Writer as Migrant*. He argues that “once we enter a foreign terrain in our fiction, Standard English may have to be stretched to cover the new territory” (Jin 2010, p. 466). Through data analysis of the cultural expressions, symbols and schemas in the poems of Ha Jin’s *Facing Shadows*, it can be argued that functional variations in Chinese English, and likewise in other nativized varieties of English, particularly in literary writing, are part and parcel of self-expression and transcultural creativity that mark the worldliness of English in an ever-expanding world Englishes literature.

## 6.2 Theoretical Framework

Functional variations among world Englishes can be traced back to the notion of ‘bilinguals’ creativity’, which is defined by Kachru (1985, p. 20) as ‘those creative linguistic processes which are the result of competence in two or more languages’. Bilinguals’ creativity involves “first, the designing of a text which uses linguistic resources from two or more—related or unrelated—languages; second, the use of verbal strategies in which subtle linguistic adjustments are made for psychological, sociological and attitudinal reasons” (Kachru 1985, p. 20). The study of the



bilinguals' creativity includes 'linguistic, literary and pedagogical' approaches (Kachru 1985, p. 21), and the literary approach focuses on "literary texts composed in a language other than what may be termed the 'mother tongue' of the writer" (Kachru 1985, p. 22). The main processes of creativity used in non-native literatures in English, according to Kachru (1985, pp. 23–24), include (1) 'expanded' contextual loading of the text, which involves 'an extension of the accepted literary and cultural norms'; (2) 'altered' *Englishness* in cohesion and cohesiveness, e.g., processes of stylistic 'foregrounding'; and (3) 'transferred' discourse strategies, with a 'mixed' style, or a style-repertoire appropriate to local concepts of culture.

Alongside the development of world Englishes, there has also been a 'World Englishes literature' undertaking 'new departures' and creating 'new worlds'. Varughese (2012, p. 17) defines 'World Englishes literature' as a literature that "explores the culture(s) of the country and people from which it is written (these countries belong to Kachru's Outer and Expanding circles); usually the literature employs the English of that place (to a lesser or greater degree)". Kirkpatrick (2015, pp. 465–466) argues that "new varieties of English are well represented by literature written in those varieties", and that "as new Englishes develop, so are new literatures and other cultural representations being created".

Bolton (2010) has explicitly explored issues of creativity and world Englishes, pointing out that in contrast with the 'conservative literary canon' associated with the UK and the US, "elsewhere and worldwide, English studies has now diversified and fragmented into a wide range of loosely-related curricula", where "traditional approaches to literature have been often displaced by populist approaches to cultural studies, language, and courses on film and media" (Bolton 2010, p. 455). Multilingual users of English are "typically always adaptable, always pragmatic, and always ready to adjust to new economic opportunities and lifestyles", and the functional variations in their use of English become a product of their transcultural creativity often associated with their multilingual repertoire and competence (Bolton 2010, p. 465).

Omoniyi (2010, p. 471) emphasizes on "the ideological complexity of the two categories *Writing in English* and *Writing in Englishes* within the framework of a sociolinguistics of globalization and the practice of writing in diasporic contexts", contending that "the normative categorization of writers by reference to geographical or regional identity is problematic in our contemporary world in which writers engage in unceasing dialogues with worlds beyond their own. Consequently, they find themselves in the cross-currents of global 'transcultural flows'". He also argues that multilingual writers experience the 'tensions' that are the consequence of their "multiple cultural locations and third space experiences, both in real time and in virtual reality. The third space is a construct rather than a territorial reference *per se* and, as such, it is a useful frame within which a writer's voice can be examined" (Omoniyi 2010, pp. 471–472). Multilingual writers 'indulge in multivariety Englishes' which is a reflection of their 'trajectories', as well as their 'locations at the moment of writing' (Omoniyi 2010, p. 487).

Jones (2010, p. 467) explores 'creativity' in light of broader social, cultural and critical dimensions of discourse, sharing Swann and Maybin's (2007) elaboration of

creativity as a “property of all language use in that language users do not simply reproduce but recreate, refashion, and recontextualize linguistic and cultural resources in the act of communicating”. He argues that “it is not just the text but language itself that is remade” (Jones 2010, p. 470) and that “creativity is to a large extent a matter of finding our way around constraints or limitations placed on us by the discourses within which we operate” (Jones 2010, p. 471). The ‘literariness’ in world Englishes literature should be accounted from a discourse analytical perspective in terms of “multiple intersections among texts, readers, institutions, and socio-cultural contexts” (Jones 2010, p. 468). Functional variations among world Englishes may not be exclusively about the creative use of the language, but also about seeing and constructing the world from a multilingual lens, in terms of reframing language acts that are taking place in multilingual contexts, and “contesting conventional orders of discourse and opening up possibilities for the imagining of new kinds of social identities and new ways of seeing the world” (Jones 2010, p. 473).

Literary writing emanating from multilingual sensitivity shows unique characteristics of nativized varieties of English, which “function not only as an additional linguistic arm in the culture of creativity, but also as a marker of identity in local contexts” (Gargesh 2006, p. 359). Gargesh (2006, p. 359) also argues that “since the user of the non-native variety is bilingual, creativity is also manifested in different kinds of ‘mixing’, ‘switching’, ‘alteration’ and ‘transcreation’ of codes. The nativized variety reveals the use of native similes, metaphors, transforming of personalized rhetorical devices, transcreation of idiomatic expressions, use of culturally dependent speech styles”.

“Languages are part and parcel of the cultural semiotic whose significations provide a distinct identity to a speech community. Their use of the language is intimately tied up with their socio-cultural beliefs and aspirations” (Gargesh 2006, p. 362). The cultural semiotics of world Englishes has been increasingly developed in a localized way. The nativization of English renders users of world Englishes “a form that is gradually moving away from the cultural semiotics of the standard British English” (Gargesh 2006, p. 359). As far as multilingual literary writers are concerned, they “incorporate their ‘native’ regional tongues into English”, as a result, “the standard English forms show a shift when they become bearers of the cultural semiotics” (Gargesh 2006, p. 362).

In terms of the use of ‘figurative language’ in relation to cultural semiotics, multilingual writers tend to use two strategies in the process of nativizing English, including using ‘metaphors and symbols’, which are unique to the writers’ cultural experiences, from “mythology, flora and fauna, social customs, localized attitudes and behaviours”; and using the ‘strategy of subversion’ to provide English symbols and metaphors with wholly new connotations so that they reflect the writers’ multi-cultural life experiences (Gargesh 2006, p. 367). In this way, ‘English will be as much a language of literary creativity’ in all those regions of the world active in literary creativity in English as it is in the traditional native speaking countries of English (Gargesh 2006, p. 370).

The notion of cultural semiotics that comprises cultural expressions, symbols and schemas for self-expression and transcultural creativity is closely associated



with the analytical framework of cultural conceptualizations from a Cultural Linguistics perspective. “Cultural semiotics has the means to analyse very different languages of culture not only through the communication process taking place in a culture but also by seeing these processes as culture’s self-communication. . . . In today’s world, between global and local processes there exists a field of tension in which many ambivalent and hybrid phenomena take place. Because of this, it is especially important to understand that the need of individuals and societies for defining their self, their identity, and the semiotics of culture is becoming increasingly relevant in achieving this understanding” (Torop 2015, p. 175). In addition, Cultural Linguistics “explores the relationship between language and cultural conceptualizations” and it can be adopted to examine cultural semiotics of world Englishes because English has been increasingly used alongside its functional variations by communities of speakers and writers around the world to express their ‘culturally constructed conceptualizations and world views’ (Xu and Sharifian 2017, p. 66). “Cultural conceptualizations are grounded in the sphere of bilinguals’ creativity” (Xu and Sharifian 2017, p. 69). Among the many different manifestations of ‘cultural conceptualizations’, image schemas and cultural conceptual metaphors are of particular relevance to cultural semiotics. Image schemas refer to “intermediate abstractions between mental images and abstract propositions that are readily imagined, perhaps as iconic images, and clearly related to physical or social experiences”; cultural conceptual metaphors are “cognitive structures that allow us to understand one conceptual domain in terms of another”, and they do not only have a rhetorical function, but provide a cognitive framework or a frame of thought to reflect our fundamental worldviews (Xu and Sharifian 2017, pp. 68–69).

The above review of the relevant literature shows that: (1) Gargesh’s framework of nativizing poetic medium in world Englishes manifests itself at three levels, (a) the mixing, switching, alteration and transcreation of codes; (b) the use of native rhetorical devices, such as similes, metaphors, idiomatic expressions, and culturally dependent speech styles; (c) the manifestation of cultural semiotics that signifies identities, socio-cultural beliefs and aspirations of the expanding communities of multilingual literary writers; (2) the framework situates itself in a much broader sphere of transcultural literary creativity which transcends disciplinary boundaries among world Englishes, Cultural Linguistics, and literary studies; (3) the framework renders an insightful perspective for unpacking translingual sensitivity and transcultural creativity in relation to the functional variations of cultural semiotics embedded in literary writing across world Englishes.

### 6.3 Data Analysis

The data for this chapter includes 38 poems in the collection of *Facing Shadows* written by Ha Jin. Ha Jin, currently residing in the United States, is a Chinese American writer, who served the People’s Liberation Army at a young age for a number of years, and completed his BA and MA degrees in China, and he migrated

to the United States in the 1980s. The collection of *Facing Shadows* was published in 1996 by Hanging Loose Press, and it is one of the earlier collections of Ha Jin's poetry. The collection has four sections, namely 'Ways of Talking', 'They Come', 'At Midnight', and 'Nets'. Each of the sections is named after one of the poem titles within the section. The poems vary in their lengths and themes.

Ha Jin has chosen English rather than his mother tongue Chinese to write poetry and fiction, and he has expressed how he feels about the linguistic code choice. For example, at the back cover of the collection *Facing Shadows*, Ha Jin expresses explicitly that "Unlike most exiled writers who are already established in their mother tongues, I had no audience in Chinese, so I thought the only way I could become a writer was to write in English. This means a lot of labor and some despair – but also, freedom" (Jin 1996, back cover). In addition, in two of the poems in this collection, Ha Jin expresses his sentiments regarding the use of English rather than 'our own tongue' (in his own words) for self-expression.

We're supposed to weave our personal grief  
 into the fortune of the large tribe,  
 whose strength resides in consuming  
 every one of us. This is why I feel  
 so miserable writing in English  
 which I love but wish not to use,  
 since we ought to labor in our own tongue,  
 to keep it from decay and make it great.  
 (Ha Jin, p. 66, 'To Ah Shu')

After losing a land and then giving up a tongue,  
 We stopped talking of grief.  
 Smiles began to brighten our faces.  
 We laugh a lot, at our own mess.  
 (Ha Jin, p. 11, 'Ways of Talking')

In this section, excerpts from *Facing Shadows* are selected after a number of close readings of the collection. These excerpts contain expressions, symbols and schemas of Chinese cultural conceptualizations. Gargesh's framework of nativizing poetic medium in world Englishes is adopted to analyse the excerpts, which embody Chinese cultural semiotics at three levels, including (1) the mixing, switching, alteration and transcreation of codes; (2) the use of native rhetorical devices, such as similes, metaphors, idiomatic expressions, and culturally dependent speech styles; (3) the manifestation of cultural semiotics that signifies identities, socio-cultural beliefs and aspirations of the expanding communities of multilingual literary writers.

#### 1. The mixing, switching, alteration and transcreation of codes

Multilingual literary writers "incorporate their 'native' regional tongues into English", as a result, "the standard English forms show a shift when they become bearers of the cultural semiotics" (Gargesh 2006, p. 362). In the following excerpt, the poet describes a dream he had in which his Grandma, who passed away some 14 years ago, visited him, and cooked 'a Mid-Fall meal' for his family.

Grandma, is it dangerous to write to you?  
 Everybody told me to forget the dream  
 I had last night when you came home  
 and cooked us a Mid-Fall meal.

(Ha Jin, p. 12, 'To My Grandmother Who Died in Manchuria Fourteen Years Ago')

A 'Mid-Fall meal' is conceptualized by Chinese as a sumptuous meal on the eve of the Mid-Autumn Festival, when family members gather together for a reunion dinner under the full moon, which falls on the fifteenth of the eighth lunar month. The 'Mid-Fall meal' features a year of good harvest, so various meat and vegetable dishes are prepared and cooked by the 'chefs' at home, usually the mothers or grandmothers. The meal is also served with various types of fruit in season and moon-cakes, which symbolize reunion, harvest, sweetness and happiness. The cultural semiotics of the expression 'Mid-Fall meal' can be implicit, however, the transcreation of the term from Chinese 'zhong qiu da can' (literally 'mid-autumn big meal') conjures up Chinese schemas of home, sweetness and reunion. In the case of the expression within the stanza, it also serves for the poet to reminisce his past experiences of his sweet home, and to express his connection to ancestors, and his nostalgia while living and struggling overseas.

In the following excerpt, the poet describes how he feels upon receiving a calendar. In the 70s, 80s and across to the 90s in China, wall scroll calendars were one of the most popular presents for the Lunar New Year. Such calendars come in a wide range of varieties, including pictures or paintings of flowers, landscapes, movie stars, as well as animals based on the Chinese zodiacs of the year. The calendars commonly cover 12 pages with a well-designed cover, which can be hung on walls for declarative purposes as well as functioning as a calendar indicating days and months of the year.

My friend sent me a calendar  
 full of dogs – a red wolf,  
 a white leopard, a mottled fox,  
 all painted by G. Castiglione,  
 an Italian monk who went to Peking  
 two hundred years ago  
 and became a master painter  
 at the Imperial Court.

The poet continues describing the calendar and how he feels about it.

Picture by picture  
 it sings of the Dog Year  
 and the distant wish  
 for health, fortune, and peace.

(Ha Jin, p. 45, 'On Receiving a Calendar')

In this stanza, the borrowing of the 'Dog Year' (a loan translation from the Chinese 'gou nian') is a mixing, switching or alteration that transmits from Chinese New Year discourse into that of English. It serves to create a context for the co-text of 'the distant wish for health, fortune, and peace' within the stanza, as most of the Chinese New Year wishes centre around good health, money and fortune, and peace and harmony. The cultural semiotics, analysed in the previous example, can also be implicit, however, the underlying image schemas of Chinese New Year celebrations

can be conceptually constructed among the readers, who are familiar with Chinese cultural conceptualizations of Lunar New Year, or the Spring Festival.

## 2. The use of native rhetorical devices

The use of native rhetorical devices is another level of functional variation of cultural semiotics in nativizing poetic medium in world Englishes. The following excerpts contain similes and metaphors with cultural references to relevant Chinese expressions and schemas. For example, the following excerpt contains an expression, i.e., *the peach as big as a ping-pong ball*, of both levels of nativization including the mixing and switching, and the use of native rhetorical devices.

I was three, in a green bib,  
eager to pick the peach as big  
as a ping-pong ball, the only one  
I saw on the tree.  
(Ha Jin, p. 16, 'The Peach')

A ping-pong ball metaphor is conceptualized with an apparent Chinese reference, as ping-pong or table tennis is commonly perceived by Chinese as one of their national sports.

The following two stanzas contain metaphors with Chinese folk references or idioms, e.g., *to explore the tigers' den*, and *to hire the devil to make bean curd*.

Before I left, your mother and sister  
and my friends all warned me not to go.  
They said everybody there  
was running away, why was I so eager  
to explore the tigers' den.  
(Ha Jin, p. 28, 'A Former Provincial Governor Tells About His Dismissal')

It is a place where money  
can hire the devil to make bean curd  
and your growth is measured by financial figures.  
(Ha Jin, pp. 32-33, 'An Escape')

The expression of 'the tiger's den' comes from a Chinese idiom, '*bu ru hu xue, yan de hu zi*', which literally means 'without exploring the tiger's den, how could one catch the tiger's son'. The idiom comes from the 'Book of the Later Han', known as a Chinese court document regarding the history of the Eastern Han Dynasty from 25 to 220 AD. The modern meaning of this idiom is that one has to experience harsh conditions to achieve high, and its near equivalent in English is 'nothing ventured, nothing gained'. The other expression 'money can hire the devil to make bean curd' comes from a Chinese idiom, '*you qian neng shi gui tui mo*', which literally means 'one with money can make a ghost grind the mill'. The idiom comes from a fiction written in the late Ming Dynasty around the 1600s. Its modern equivalent meaning is 'money talks'.

The fact that expressions containing metaphors and idioms of Chinese reference are adopted for the poems shows that the poetic medium has been nativized to convey Chinese cultural semiotics embedded in the Chinese historical, social and cultural discourse.

3. The manifestation of cultural semiotics that signifies identities, socio-cultural beliefs and aspirations of multilingual literary writers

The most implicit level of nativization of the poetic medium in world Englishes can be the manifestation of cultural semiotics that signifies identities, socio-cultural beliefs and aspirations. The following excerpt is about a dream of the poet, in which he 'went to a party' in a large hall that was full of 'paintings and calligraphy'. In this context, the explicit mention of 'calligraphy' refers to the 'handwriting' of the party host, according to the stanza below, 'hung in the air, piece by piece waving like wings'. This signifies the linguistic identities of the poet and his friend, whose calligraphy works are on display at the party in a large hall. Their shared mother tongue writing system comprises logographic characters, which in turn consist of strokes and radicals, if written in the form of calligraphy, can be perceived as 'waving like wings'.

Last night  
I went to a party in my dream.  
Voices and laughter were drifting in a large hall  
that was full of paintings and calligraphy.  
Strolling with ease  
I ran into the handwriting of yours  
hung in the air  
piece by piece waving like wings.  
(Ha Jin, p. 14, 'I Woke Up—Smiling')

The following excerpt is one of the childhood memories of the poet where he recalls that his mother did not eat 'good things'. It came to his revelation when his Grandpa questioned him whether his mother had a mouth, and whether his mother knew cherries tasted good. Indeed, his mother did eat good things but she wanted to save them for her children. The last two lines 'I dropped the bowl and began to cry. Cherries were sprinkled on the ground' were touching in the sense that the poet realised how much his mother loved him and sacrificed for him. This cultural conceptualization of Chinese motherly love has been depicted in the stanzas.

"Why don't you give your mom a cherry?"  
Grandpa asked, pointing his pipe at my head.  
"Mom doesn't eat good things," I said.  
"Why? Doesn't she have a mouth?  
Doesn't she know cherries taste good?  
Stupid boy, your mom doesn't eat  
because she wants to save them for you."  
I dropped the bowl and began to cry.  
Cherries were sprinkled on the ground.  
(Ha Jin, p. 15, 'My Mother Also Ate')

The cognitive conceptualizations that sacrifice is love, and misfortune brings glories to one's life are entrenched in the stanza, as analysed in the stanzas previously and below. The poet, at the time of writing the stanzas might be experiencing difficulties in settling down, e.g., finding a more stable job, and buying a house, and he might also be experiencing hardships and psychological challenges in the first years of

toughness in his migrant life. However, he expressed his ‘gratitude’ by relating to the Chinese cultural conceptualization that ‘the Lord of Heaven’ may challenge the real talents and make them live the bitterest lives full of misfortunes and yet ask them to sing their lives. The reference to the two well-known Chinese poets in the Tang Dynasty, namely Tu Fu and Li Po, shows how the poetic medium can be nativized in Chinese English in terms of altering the Englishness of the traditional English poetry.

I remember that fate of Tu Fu and Li Po—  
two great poets who had the bitterest lives.  
The Lord of Heaven wanted them to sing,  
so he made them feed on misfortune.  
(Ha Jin, p. 38, ‘Gratitude’)

The following stanzas come from a poem titled ‘Astrological Signs and Marriage’, which shows Chinese cultural cognitive beliefs regarding zodiac animals, particularly in relation to marriage. In this context, a dog, a cow, a mouse, a rabbit and a snake or ‘little dragon’, a monkey and a sheep are not animals *per se* in their literal sense, but people who were born in the year of these zodiac animals. So according to such beliefs, two persons born of the Year of Dog should not marry one another, and persons born of the Year of Cow and the Year of Mouse should not tie their knot either, neither do persons born of the Year of Rabbit and the Year of Snake. However, two persons born of the Year of Sheep and the Year of Monkey should be able to get along well in their marriage. Although these interpretations may sound superstitious and they may be heterogeneously distributed among Chinese, they are somewhat entrenched as Chinese cultural schemas and they play a role in people’s choices of their marriage partners and other life decisions, e.g., in which year couples decide to give birth to their children. In that connection, the Year of Dragon and the Year of Horse are considered auspicious years for child-birth (Xu and Sharifian 2018). It can be noted that in terms of the heterogeneous distribution of the cultural schemas of Chinese zodiac animals, people in certain areas of Southern China have the schema that the marriage between the persons born of the Year of Snake and the year of Rabbit may bring good fortune to the family, as they have the saying 蛇缠 (盘) 兔, 必定富 (literally meaning ‘snake wrapping around rabbit, bound to be wealthy’).

Two dogs shouldn’t share a roof.  
They will bark and bite  
till one turns tail or bites the dust.  
A cow must avoid a mouse  
that can enter her stomach  
through either nostril.  
A rabbit mustn’t nestle with a snake—  
a little dragon—that will kill  
without second thoughts.  
He’s a monkey while I’m a sheep.  
The fortune-teller said:  
the sheep had a good temperament  
eating grass and giving milk;

in contrast, the monkey had brains,  
 a capable shepherd by nature,  
 so we were a well-matched couple.  
 (Ha Jin, p. 44, 'Astrological Signs and Marriage')

The following stanza from 'I Sing of an Old Land' signifies the identities and aspirations of the poet in relation to his home country through a look and touch of the map of the 'Old Land' with deep emotions.

I touch the land at night –  
 My hands trace the map on the wall,  
 from mountains to villages and to rivers,  
 from plains to cities and to seashores.  
 I see the green fields of the South,  
the dark soil and birch woods of the North,  
 and snow swirling in summer.  
 (Ha Jin, p. 19, 'I Sing of an Old Land')

Towards the end of the stanza, the two lines, i.e., "I see the green fields of the South, the dark soil and birch woods of the North" conjure up typical landscape images of mainland China. The image schemas of the 'green fields' of the South, and the 'dark soil' and 'birch woods', in this case, from the poet's hometown, which is the Northeast of China can be activated among Chinese readers, or those who have geographical knowledge of China.

The analysis of the selected excerpts from Ha Jin's *Facing Shadows* shows that the poetic medium re-constructed by the poet with his sub-conscious Chinese cultural conceptualizations has been nativized at different levels, including the mixing, switching, alteration and transcreation of codes; the use of native rhetorical devices; and the manifestation of cultural semiotics that signifies identities, socio-cultural beliefs and aspirations of multilingual literary writers.

## 6.4 Discussion and Implications

Globalization and the spread of English have resulted in functional variations in terms of the uses and users of English around the world. The sphere of literary writing in the emerging and expanding world Englishes literature has become a liminal space where nativization of English and transcultural creativity have been gaining momentum. Adopting Gargesh's framework of nativizing poetic medium in world Englishes and analyzing the cultural semiotics of Ha Jin's *Facing Shadows*, this chapter comes to the implications that (1) it is normal to nativize poetic medium in relation to cultural semiotics in world Englishes literature; (2) transcultural creativity in literary writing in world Englishes is a natural response to the multicultural flows of multilingual writers and their shifting worlds; and (3) functional variation among varieties of English in literary writing can be regarded as a contribution to world Englishes literature.

## 1. Nativizing poetic medium in world Englishes literature

Apart from the many different functions of English, it is also a language of literary creation. It is normal for multilingual writers of English to nativize the language so that they incorporate their own cultural conceptualizations and experiences into their creative writing. D'Angelo (2017, p. 1) points out that "while language and culture are inextricably intertwined, the culture associated with English is not native/Inner Circle, but the local culture where English is transplanted and nativized."

In his article 'In Defense of Foreignness', Ha Jin elaborates on his views as a migrant writer that "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" (Jin 2010, p. 466). One way to expand the capacity of the language is to nativize the medium of literary creation, when multilingual writers start using their varieties of English to recreate, reproduce, refashion, recontextualize and re-schematize their transcultural experiences to achieve the 'unselfconsciousness about English' through nativizing the 'madhayama' or the medium (Kachru 2005, pp. 150–154). Sharma (2009, p. 49) argues that "the endo-normative nature of this 'madhayama' forms the basis of any variation of English".

Increasing research, as explored in the literature review section, shows that it is not only inevitable but also normal to nativize poetic medium by multilingual writers in relation to cultural semiotics in world Englishes literature. Multilingual writers tend to use their multilingual competence and strategies in the process of nativizing English in terms of mixing, switching, altering and transcreating linguistic codes and expressions, metaphors and other rhetorical devices to reflect and recreate their multicultural life experiences and 'performed identities' (Moody 2010, p. 541). These 'performed identities' not only reflect 'stereotypes and attitudes' within the larger culture towards the varieties and their users, but they also 'allow for the expression of multiple identities' (Moody 2010, p. 541). In this way, 'English will be as much a language of literary creativity' in all those regions of the world active in literary creativity in English as it is in the traditional native speaking countries of English (Gargesh 2006, p. 370).

What has been underlying the nativization of the poetic medium as well as other literary media is what Jin (2010, p. 486) refers to as the 'in-betweenness' of the shifting worlds of the multilingual writers. "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-betweenness, 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".

## 2. Transcultural creativity as a response to the multicultural flows in the shifting worlds of multilingual writers

The current spread of English is unprecedented, so is the degree of nativization of English in different spheres and parts of the globe. In relation to nativising English, Giri (2014) adopts Kachru's four different functions of a nativized English,



namely, instrumental, regulative, interpersonal, and imaginative/innovative, to explore the use of English in the sphere of literary writing in Nepalese context. As far as the 'innovative function' is concerned, Giri (2014, pp. 199–200) points out that creative writers in new Englishes 'manage to reflect their local experiences through their own particular lenses', and that their literary works serve as a channel for their 'sense of identity' as they promote 'regional/international understanding and cultural exchanges' (Giri 2014, p. 200).

"Globalization continues to spread, ... and transcultural flows continue to grow" (D'Angelo 2017, p. 1). Multilingual writers in today's world always "find themselves in the cross-currents of global 'transcultural flows'" (Omoniyi 2010, p. 471). They 'indulge in multivariety Englishes' which can be regarded as a reflection of their 'trajectories', as well as their 'locations at the moment of writing' (Omoniyi 2010, p. 487). Transcultural creativity is 'to a large extent a matter of finding our way around constraints or limitations placed on us by the discourses within which we operate' (Jones 2010, p. 471). In one of the interviews with the *New York Times* (Garner 2000), Ha Jin describes his use of English for poetry and fiction writing as an act of 'experiments'. He points out that as he writes, he can sense a freedom in English that he has never felt in his native language. "I had written a few poems in Chinese, but I wasn't happy with them. The Chinese language is very literary and highbrow and detached from the spoken word. It doesn't have the flexibility that English has. So I slowly began to squeeze the Chinese literary mentality out of my mind." This shows that 'transcultural creativity' is not a mere personal act or choice, but a natural response to the multicultural flows in the shifting worlds of multilingual writers.

### 3. Functional variation among varieties of English in literary writing as a contribution to world Englishes literature.

Functional variation among world Englishes has been receiving mixed perceptions ranging from deviations to innovations over the years. This chapter argues that functional variation among varieties of English in literary writing should be perceived as varying forms and functions of transcultural creativity. Transcultural creativity may go beyond the creation of novel texts in world Englishes, and it is about new ways of speaking, thinking and being amidst inter-discourses across cultures.

Through transcultural creativity, writers open up space for "contesting conventional orders of discourse and opening up possibilities for the imagining of new kinds of social identities and new ways of seeing the world" (Jones 2010 p. 473). D'Angelo (2017, p. 1) argues that "culture is something we 'do', not something which exists a priori" and that, "today we face a world of 'small cultures' which are dynamic, emergent, and ever-changing: with no fixed borders". In this connection, multilingual writers play an indispensable role in the inter-discoursal or transcultural communication through cultural semiotics of various levels.

Ha Jin points out explicitly the 'contributions' view of multilingual writers towards the English language. "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” (Jin 2010, p. 469). Therefore, it can be argued that functional variations in nativized varieties of English, particularly in literary writing, are part and parcel of self-expression, identity construction, and transcultural creativity that mark the worldliness of English in the ever-expanding world Englishes literature. It can also be argued that functional variations in nativized varieties of English, like what Daniel R. Davis predicts in the *Afterword* of this volume regarding ‘linguistic change’, “will on the one hand follow norms, themselves changeable within a community, and will on the other hand follow function. Function for its part will serve contexts of situation. And contexts of situation, inevitably, will change”.

## 6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the nativization of English in literary writing in relation to functional variation and transcultural creativity among varieties of English. I have reviewed relevant literature on linguistic creativity and cultural conceptualizations in world Englishes with a specific focus on Gargesh’s framework of cultural semiotics and nativizing poetic medium across varieties of English. Using Ha Jin’s *Facing Shadows* as research data, I have analysed three levels of functional variation in nativizing poetic medium in Chinese English, including the mixing, switching, alteration and transcreation of codes; the use of native rhetorical devices; and the manifestation of cultural semiotics that signifies identities, socio-cultural beliefs and aspirations of the expanding communities of multilingual literary writers. I have drawn the implications that it is normal to nativize poetic medium across varieties of English; transcultural creativity in literary writing in world Englishes is a natural response to the multicultural flows of multilingual writers and their shifting worlds; and functional variation among varieties of English in literary writing can be regarded as a contribution to the ever-expanding world Englishes literature.

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# Chapter 7

## Authority and Authenticity in Media Englishes and the Englishes of Popular Culture



Andrew Moody

### 7.1 Introduction: World Englishes in the Media

Within the many perspectives offered by the study of world Englishes, media studies and the systematic examination of media Englishes have consistently maintained a presence within the literature. Handbooks of world Englishes frequently include articles devoted to the examination of language from the media (Martin 2006; Moody 2020a), as well as more specialised media genres like advertising (Bhatia 2006; Hashim 2010), online media (Warschauer et al. 2010) and popular culture (Moody 2010, *In press*). This tradition of scholarship has done much to establish the notion of *media Englishes* (ME) as a functional variety of English generally, and one that has varying degrees of status (e.g. as an official language, *lingua franca* via international conventions, etc.) within specific English-using societies.

But what about the linguistic forms (e.g. lexical, phonological, morpho-syntactic, etc.) that are found within ME? Moody (2010, *In press*) notes the distinction between descriptions that focus on the formal features of a media language versus the functions of English in the media; the former can be thought of as ‘Englishes of the media’, while the latter is better represented as ‘English in the media’. The examination of formal features within the world Englishes literature generally follows two distinct patterns. In studies that examine ME from the Inner Circle, there is relatively little attention given to the *features* of media Englishes, and this is probably related to a strong connection between media and the use of a standard language. The connection between a standardised variety of English and the language of the mass media is so thoroughly conventionalised within the Inner Circle that the variety is often named for the media that use it: compare, for example, BBC English in the UK and Broadcast Standard in the US. In studies of ME in the Outer Circle, however, more attention is usually given to the formal features that appear in MEs,

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and this is probably related to the fact that Englishes in the Outer Circle are *standardising* (i.e. in the process of developing local norms) and, therefore, share commitments to both external and internal norms (Kachru 1985). Norms, then, function with the presence of Standard English (StE) to define what formal features appear within ME in the Inner and Outer Circles. Both circles take StE as a media norm, but in the Inner Circle the commitment to StE is as an endonormative variety. The Outer Circle's commitment to the same variety of StE, however, is as an exonormative variety and, like the Inner Circle, the communities of Outer Circle English users maintain an endonormative variety as a second emerging standard (see, for example, Gargesh 2006). It's not surprising, therefore, that studies of media Englishes with the Expanding Circle (like those of the Inner Circle) do not usually focus on the features of ME. Because the Expanding Circle remains solely committed to StE as an exonormative variety, there is no chance for internal norms to develop into a standard that will be adopted by local media. In this way, the differing commitments to endonormative and exonormative varieties within Kachru's model of three circles of world Englishes predicts how standard and non-standard Englishes will be used in ME from the three respective circles.

## 7.2 Authority in Standard English (StE)

The close connection between Standard English and the media is neither new nor unexpected. The earliest motivations for standardising the English language — motivations that produced standardised letters of the alphabet, spellings and some formalised rules of grammar in sixteenth-century England — grew directly from a burgeoning print industry in England (Fitzmaurice 2000; Millar 2012). In many societies, the standardisation process never extends to codify spoken forms of the language, but is instead limited to the standardisation of the written language; indeed, standardisation of written forms is always the source of standardisation and the most sophisticated achievement in codification of any standard language (Leith 1983). Consider, for example, the degree of variation found in spoken English in comparison to the more highly standardised written English, where a speaker's national variety (esp. British versus American) can be known much more quickly, easily and accurately in speech than in writing. The simple reason for this is that StE allows much more diversity in spoken English than it allows within the written standard. This is *not* to say that there is no spoken standard pronunciation, but there are significant differences in the way that spoken standards are adopted within the media across all varieties of English — spoken media standards in the United States and the United Kingdom, for example, function quite differently in specifying pronunciation norms (Milroy 2000). Nevertheless, authority is conveyed in the media primarily through the use of Standard English and, therefore, the variety is more closely associated with the media than almost any other social institution (Milroy and Milroy 2005; Moody 2020a).

### 7.3 Authenticity in Media Englishes (ME)

As StE is the primary conduit of authority in English, an industry of dialect reduction in the US (i.e. Mojsin 2016; Nelson 2015) and the UK (Bruhl 2010; James and Smith 2012) has developed to codify the spoken forms of StE. As suggested by at least one of these titles (i.e. Bruhl 2010), the experience of dialect reduction largely grows out of the theatrical traditions and illocution training that promoted StE as the language of the theatre and early forms of mass media. Dialect training methods such as the Classic Skinner Method, which is still used in the United States (Skinner 1990), suggest that much of the motivation for linguistic standardisation in the media may have begun in theatre entertainment. Queen (2015) stresses the importance of distinguishing between *informational media* (e.g. news) and *narrative media* (e.g. movies, television dramas or comedies, etc.) when examining linguistic performance. As narrative forms developed technologically — from, for example, silent films to radio dramas, from ‘talkies’ (sound films) to television programmes — Bauman (2011) argues that language variation, including non-StE language forms, were used creatively to signal stylistic shifts within the narrative performances. While StE retains much of its authority in the informational media, it lacks authenticity in the narrative media, and the introduction of authentic speech is exactly what one finds within the historical development of English in Inner Circle mass media (Lippi-Green 2012). The number of books on illocution training for StE are now complemented by a host seeking to teach actors to perform various English accents or dialects with a reasonable degree of authenticity (e.g. Blumenfeld 2002; Meier 2012; Sharpe and Rowles 2009). Although the desire for linguistic authenticity may have begun primarily within narrative media, one of the defining features of media Englishes in the Inner and Outer Circles is that authenticity becomes a value that is at least as important as authority, whereas it does not within the Expanding Circle (Moody 2020b).

### 7.4 Authority and Authenticity in Media: A Case Study of Key & Peele’s ‘Phone Call’

The authority of standard English and its inability to correctly project authenticity is illustrated in a comedy sketch entitled ‘Phone Call’ from Keegan-Michael Key and Jordan Peele’s television programme, *Key and Peele* (Key and Peele 2012c).<sup>1</sup> The sketch is 47 seconds long and casts both members, Key (KMK) and Peele (JP), as strangers on the street, each talking to someone else with no linguistic interaction with one another. The sketch first aired as the opening segment on the first episode of the *Key and Peele* television programme on 31 January 2012. A transcription of the entire sketch is provided in Transcript 7.1.

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<sup>1</sup>The video described and transcribed in this essay was originally uploaded to YouTube® in early 2012, but is no longer available on that platform. The author has confirmed, however, that there are no differences between the YouTube version and the Daily Motion version included in the references. Viewers can also find an imbedded video link to the YouTube video in Blair (2012).

**Transcript 7.1 Phone Call, Key and Peele (2012c)**

1 KMK: ...because you're my ↑wife and you love the theatre and =  
 2 = eh it's your ↑birthday @ (..)   
 3 Great. un- un- unfortunately the em (.) the orchestra =  
 4 << Peele walks from a building, walks past Key while looking at  
 5 his phone. >>  
 6 = is already filled up but they do have seats that are =  
 7 << Key looks at Peele. >>  
 8 = still left =  
 9 << Key and Peel make eye contact with one another. >>  
 10 = in the dress circle. ((shifts into African American English))  
 11 << Peale stops walking and stands in front of Key on a street  
 12 corner. >>  
 13 so if you wanna em me to get ↓them the↑A:tre tickets =  
 14 = right NOW I'm a [do it right now  
 15 JP: [whatsup ↑dog? I'm about five minutes away.  
 16 KMK: yeah, ok yeah, cool, they [good =  
 17 JP: [\*yeah\*  
 18 KMK: = singers, they all good singers.  
 19 JP: yeah SON:? (.) nah man, I'm about t- I'm TELLing you  
 man I'm =  
 20 = about to cross the [street, uh huh  
 21 KMK: [↓nah they got that ONE dude in it =  
 22 = that you LOVE, man he gonna be in it, yeah.  
 23 JP: \*nah\* come [on man you know I'm almost there, alright?]  
 24 KMK: [(that's a core performance = ]  
 25 = Alright now, I'm a gonna pick your ass up at six-[thirty, =  
 26 JP: [cool]  
 27 KMK: = then =]  
 28 = cool =  
 29 << Peele looks at Key and nods 'hello'. >>  
 30 = all right =  
 31 << Key looks at Peele, raises his eyebrows and nods 'hello'. >>  
 32 = yeah yeah yeah yeah the parking is uh =  
 33 = the parking's ↑FREE (..) =  
 34 = so they got [that (on lock)  
 35 JP: [<oh my god, Christian, I almost totally =  
 36 = just got ↑mugged right now::?> ((gay accent))

A number of Key & Peele's comedy sketches poke fun at racial identities and how language is used within various American communities. The awareness of racial diversity is highlighted by the fact that both Key and Peele come from biracial families; both comedians have white mothers and black fathers (Gross 2013). In a 2012 interview with Jesse Thorne, Key describes how their ability to understand (and laugh at) both African American and white American stereotypes and behaviours



stems from an ability to perform *cultural translation* because they are *fluent* in both cultures and, according to Key, ‘... we are bilingual, in a way, and, or bidialectal, if you want to say’ (Smith 2012: time, 19:50). In the interview Peele responds that ‘perhaps being of mixed background, it uh, we sort of liken it to sort of walking a tightrope at different points in our lives, and uh, at, at certain points it feels like we’re, we’re between two worlds, or we’re part of two worlds, or we question where our world is’ (20:19). Key goes on to explain that the way he speaks in the interview is his normal way of speaking and that it could easily be mistaken as white’ speech. In a 2012 interview with National Public Radio’s (NPR) Elizabeth Blair, Peele jokes about the degree to which Key’s speech style might be regarded as white:

BLAIR: Did anyone make fun of you growing up because you didn’t talk black enough?

KEY: Every single day of grade school.

PEELE: I still make fun of him. (Blair 2012)<sup>2</sup>

But this so-called ‘normal’ way of speaking is not necessarily a limitation to Key and his ability to project an African American identity. Instead, Key and Peele note that their ability to switch between sounding black and sounding white allows them to project identities that might normally be seen as menacing or threatening. Within the opening ‘stand-up’ segment of their first show Key and Peele discuss these identities and the stereotypes surrounding them:

(SOUNDBITE OF COMEDY SKETCH)

KEEGAN-MICHAEL KEY: And so we actually think that we’re particularly adept at lying, because on a daily basis, we constantly have to adjust our blackness.

JORDAN PEELE: Oh, yeah. Yeah.

(SOUNDBITE OF LAUGHTER)

PEELE: Like, I mean, to terrify white people.

KEY: Yup, to terrify white people...

(SOUNDBITE OF LAUGHTER)

KEY: That’s one of the main reasons. And then...

PEELE: ‘Cause I mean with our voices now, we sound very white. We are not intimidating anybody by the way we talk.

KEY: Oh, yeah.

(SOUNDBITE OF LAUGHTER)

KEY: We sound whiter than the black dude in the college a capella group. That’s how white we sound. (Blair 2012)

These characterisations of white and black speech reach an innovative expression in one particular character that Key and Peele created, ‘Luther, Obama’s Anger Translator’ (Key and Peele 2012b). The premise of the recurring character is that American President Barack Obama is unable to express the depth of his anger and that he has hired Luther to translate his considered statements into an emotional response. So, an initial statement by Obama like (1) below is followed by the translation in (2):

<sup>2</sup>The transcription of the interview and the ‘Soundbite of Comedy Sketch’ are provided by NPR, not the author. The transcription can be accessed from the webpage referenced in Blair (2012), or at <<https://www.npr.org/templates/transcript/transcript.php?storyId=145838407>>

1. OBAMA (KEY): First off, concerning the recent developments in the middle eastern region, I just want to reiterate our unflinching support for all people and their right to a democratic process. (0:30)
2. LUTHER (PEELE): Hey all y'all dictators out there, keep messing around and see what happens. Just see what happens! Watch!! (0:39)

Luther's translations are accompanied with threatening postures, gestures and movements around the set as Obama remains calm, seated and self-possessed throughout the sketch. But Luther's power to communicate anger, aggression and threat is largely defined by the fact that the character communicates in African American English. The statements in the opening 'stand-up' portion of their show — specifically that African American English can be used to 'terrify white people' and that when they sound white they 'are not intimidating anybody' — are illustrated in Luther's translations of Obama's messages. While Obama speaks white English that can neither frighten or intimidate, Luther speaks black English to fully express anger. In essence, what Key and Peele describe in their opening 'stand-up' segment and portray in both sketches is a type of bidialectal code switching between what they call 'white' speech and 'black' speech.

### 7.4.1 *Linguistic and Pop Cultural Code Switching*

Within popular culture, this type of projection of identity through language is called *code switching* (Editors 2018; Moody 2020b), a term that has been largely borrowed from linguistics and used with increasing frequency. Linguists typically use the term to describe shifts between one language (or one language variety) and another within an exchange between speakers, within a single turn or within a sentence, and, of course, the bidialectal code switching that Key and Peele describe is certainly recognised by most linguists as a form of code switching. The popular uses of the term, however, more directly address issues of racial and ethnic identity. For example, lead blogger of the NPR Code Switch team explains how their use of the term is somewhat different from linguists' use and why it was chosen to name their team of culture reporters:

We're looking at code-switching a little more broadly. Many of us subtly, reflexively change the way we express ourselves all the time. We're hop-scotching between different cultural and linguistic spaces and different parts of our own identities — sometimes within a single interaction.

We decided to call this team Code Switch because much of what we'll be exploring are the different spaces we each inhabit and the tensions of trying to navigate between them. In one sense, code-switching is about dialogue that spans cultures. It evokes the conversation we want to have here. (Code Switch 2013).

The code switch between white speech and black speech in the 'Phone Call' sketch, not only illustrates stereotypes and preconceptions about the use of both languages, it also challenges those preconceptions and suggests that authenticity is never very far from authority within media language.

### 7.4.2 *Authentic Languages and the Projection of Identity*

The humour of the ‘Phone Call’ sketch derives from the fact that the characters in the sketch use African American English (AAE) as an authentic language of racial identity, even when it may not be an authentic language of communication for individual speakers. Not only does the sketch portray stereotypes and prejudices about AAE — stereotypes and prejudices that will almost certainly implicate the audience for entertaining them — but it also questions the validity of a supposed relationship between racial identity and language. While AAE is used in the sketch as an authentic language that expresses the supposed racial identities of each of the sketch’s characters, the sketch also effectively demonstrates that AAE is *not* an authentic language used by either character.

Both characters perform code switching into AAE (in the case of Key) or out of AAE (in the case of Peele). In the sketch there is further good reason to think that each character, for the benefit of the other, performs AAE. Table 7.1 describes identifiable phonetic, lexical and morpho-syntactic features of AAE found in the ‘Phone Call’ sketch. Each of the features listed in Table 7.1 is a recognised feature of AAE as described in standard reference works like Mufwene et al. (1998) and Rickford (1999). The easily identifiable nature of these features is necessary to the comedic value of the sketch. Not only do each of the two characters realise (and, perhaps, implicitly acknowledge) that the other is speaking AAE, but the audience is also equipped to acknowledge this. The first sentence in AAE in the sketch clearly sets the tone for the interaction. In the opening line of the sketch, Key tell his wife that ‘she loves the theatre’ (line 01), using the standard American English pronunciation of *theatre* [ˈθi:et.ə]. But a few moments later Key code switches to AAE to say, ‘if you wanna em me to get them theatre tickets’ (line 13), pronouncing *theatre* as [θiˈeɪ.tə]. The contrast between his standard pronunciation and his AAE pronunciation is clearly noticeable within the opening seconds of the sketch. The number of AAE features in Key’s speech intensifies until, at the end he is even speaking to his wife with vulgarity to say ‘I’m a-gonna pick your ass up at six-thirty’ (line 25).

The ‘Phone Call’ sketch illustrates and utilizes (for comedic purposes, of course) many of the common stereotypes and prejudices related to AAE, and to the speakers of AAE. Because the stereotypes and attitudes toward the language variety are held by the entire speech community of American English speakers (see Labov’s 1968 definition of a speech community), the exploitation of the stereotype is understood by all and the humour is clear to both AAE and non-AAE speakers in the speech community. As demonstrated within the sketch (and other sketches, most notably Key and Peele 2012b), African American English can represent expressions of power, anger and even physical violence. These stereotypes are expressed by Peele in the last line of the sketch, ‘Oh my god, Christian, I almost totally just got mugged right now’ (lines 35–36). What makes these stereotypes humorous in the sketch, however, is that the audience is able to see what neither of the characters is able to see about each other: both are performing AAE in contrast to their usual language (used with their interlocutors) for the benefit of the other. In particular, there appears

**Table 7.1** Linguistic features of AAE found in ‘Phone Call’

Line	Form	Description
<i>Phonetic features</i>		
13	‘wanna’ [wʌnə]	Consonant cluster reduction
13	‘theatre’ [θi’ei.tə]	Back movement of primary stress
14	‘right’ [rat]	Diphthong reduction
15	‘whatsup’ [wəzʌp]	Consonant cluster reduction
15	‘dog’ [dɔ:g]	Vowel backing and further rounding
19	‘SON’ [sɔ:n]	Vowel lengthening and lowering
21	‘nah’ [nɔ:]	Vowel backing and further rounding
22	‘gonna’ [gʌnə]	Consonant cluster reduction
33	‘parking’ [pɔ:kən]	Loss of rhoticity
<i>Lexical features</i>		
14	‘right now’	As opposed to ‘now’
15	‘whatsup dog’	Affectionate greeting, ‘Dawg’
16	‘cool’	Slang
18	‘singers’	As opposed to ‘performers’
19	‘man’	Slang
21	‘dude’	Slang
25	‘pick your ass up’	Vulgarity
<i>Morpho-syntactic features</i>		
13	‘get them theatre tickets’	<i>them</i> as demonstrative pronoun
18	‘they all good singers’	Copula deletion
21	‘they got that one dude in it’	<i>have</i> deletion
22	‘he gonna be in it’	<i>is</i> deletion
25	‘I’m a-gonna’	Progressive <i>a-</i>

to be an obligation for each user to perform AAE when they are within earshot of the other and, based upon Peele’s final assessment that he ‘almost totally just got mugged’, the use of AAE might even be seen as defensive.

From the point of view of the audience, the humour also calls into question audiences’ attitudes toward AAE during the sketch. Each of the two characters in the sketch judges the other on the basis of race, and therefore chooses to speak AAE as a result of that judgment. And, as demonstrated above, this choice to speak AAE is understood by the audience regardless of the race of individual audience members because the attitudes toward AAE are held in common by the entire American English speech community. However, Peele, and perhaps Key, too, misjudges the level of violence suggested by the other’s performance of AAE, and the audience is similarly indicted in overestimating the menace suggested in Peele’s use of AAE. In the same way that the characters are proven wrong in judging one another, the audience is also proven wrong. Although the language attitudes and basic prejudices that the sketch relies upon are still intact and operative at the end of the sketch, they can no longer be applied accurately in observations of African American racial identity.

While AAE is a kind of authentic language that is used within the media to promote and project an authentic African American identity, the ‘Phone Call’ sketch demonstrates that the language is not always the preferred language of communication within the community, although there may be strong imperatives for using it. Finally, some mention should be made about the authentic voice that Peele’s character uses in the final two lines of the sketch. In Transcription 7.1 above it is simply glossed as ‘gay speech’, although this characterisation has not been verified by any empirical analysis; it is simply an impressionistic assessment of the type of speech that is performed. It should be noted, however, that Peele frequently *does* perform gay speech in this way in other sketches where the assessment of the speaker is neither ambiguous nor uncertain (see, for example, Key and Peele 2012a).

## 7.5 Implications for World Englishes

The case study of Key & Peele’s ‘Phone Call’ not only demonstrates the use of authentic and authoritative languages in the media, but it also illustrates how various languages are creatively and discursively portrayed within the media Englishes in the Inner and Outer Circles. Kachru (1985) characterises the Inner and Outer Circles as users of *norm-providing varieties* and *norm-developing varieties* respectively. Likewise, the Expanding Circle is comprised of users of *norm-dependent varieties*. There are, therefore, a number of important implications regarding the relative importance of authority and authenticity with the three circles, and these are summarised in Table 7.2. First the endonormative nature of English in the Inner and Outer Circles gives mass media content providers the freedom to discursively portray Englishes (e.g. varieties of English like ‘gay speech’ or African American English, both portrayed in ‘Phone Call’) within the narrative *and* informational media. However, we don’t find this kind of discursive approach to Englishes within the media Englishes of the Expanding Circle because the users here exclusively use varieties that are norm dependent.

The second implication of this analysis is related to the relative importance given to authority and authenticity within the ME of the Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles. As Inner Circle users are using varieties that are norm providing, there is a greater emphasis within the media to find ways to make the language appear more authentic. Authority is seen in the Inner Circle as implicitly included within the

**Table 7.2** Media Englishes (ME) across world Englishes

Circle	Variety Type	Normativity	Primary Concern of ME
Inner	Norm providing	Endonormative	Authenticity
Outer	Norm developing	Both endonormative and exonormative	Both authority and authenticity
Expanding	Norm dependent	Exonormative	Authority

discourse of the mass media, one that prefers standard English. Therefore, there are significant and meaningful chances in the Inner Circle to creatively use an English variety that is *not* StE to *authenticate* the language. This does not happen in the Expanding Circle, though, where any non-StE uses are prohibited in the norm-dependent environment. In the Expanding Circle ME are primarily concerned with projecting authority. And, in the same way that ‘there has been a conflict between linguistic norms and linguistic behaviour’ (Kachru 1985, 17) in the Inner Circle, there is a more or less equal distribution of attention toward producing authentic and authoritative Englishes in Outer Circle ME.

Finally, the third implication of this study is the innovation of assessing MEs in terms of the commitments to authority and authenticity. While authority has typically been understood solely in the context of StE and the processes that codify the standard, discussions of authenticity are not usually part of the analysis of language in the mass media. Instead, concerns about the authenticity of speakers has typically lead sociolinguistics to reject data from popular culture or the media because it was scripted and was presumed to be neither spontaneous nor naturally occurring. A more direct address of authenticity in media languages, then, allows us to potentially assess how authenticity is produced and maintained in cases in which the speech is nevertheless scripted. Although this has not been a dominant concern to most sociolinguists, it is indeed gratifying to see that analysis of authenticity has instead largely grown out of and been supported by the scholarly traditions of world Englishes.

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## Part II

# The Outer Circle Perspective

### Part Introduction

Part II of the volume explores the ‘push’ and ‘pull’ elements of the spread of English in the Outer Circle as a means to study functional variation of the language. The authors look into different influences including: English native speakerism, colonization, race, class, and local/popular use of language. The chapters of this part explore the impact of ‘younger’ English varieties in and beyond the conventional Kachruvian circles and among different generations within the regions; the usage of non-standard varieties of English in the media; the accommodation of lexical, syntactic and discursal fluidity to negotiate dominant trends, and the emergence of bi/multi-dialectal variations of English. This part aims to inspire educators to consider more linguistically-informed theorisations to celebrate current variations as well as to reconsider them if needed, and to view English usage across borders.

# Chapter 8

## Indian English in Lesser-Known Ecologies: Afghanistan, Maldives and Uganda



Christiane Meierkord

### 8.1 Introduction

It is a well-known fact that, starting from the late sixteenth century, English spread well beyond the British Isles, and timelines of this process are widely available, e.g. in Fennell (2001). The English (and later the British) more or less simultaneously extended their sphere of interest to West Africa, the Caribbean, North America and to India. In West Africa, this involved the establishment of slave trade ports and forts along the West African coast, starting as early as the 1550s (The National Archives n.d.). In the Caribbean, Barbados was the first territory to be occupied in 1605, Jamestown the first permanent establishment in Northern America in 1607. Whilst areas on the African continent were only formally colonised from the late eighteenth century onwards, the English language had also been used sporadically along the West African coast when the slave trade brought European languages to the area from as early as the end of the fifteenth century.

Activities in India commenced when, at the end of the sixteenth century, the United Netherlands as well as England aimed at entering the lucrative spice trade with Asia and to break the Portuguese monopoly in the area. In 1600, the British Crown granted a royal charter to the British East India Company, and trading posts were soon established in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay (now Mumbai). Missionaries soon followed traders, especially after 1659. More extensive contact with English commenced, however, only after the famous Macaulay Minute of 1835, which “was written to advise the government of the best language and education policy for the region, with the express aim of creating an English-based subculture in the subcontinent.” (Fennell 2001, p. 249). Following the Indian Mutiny in 1858, the British Crown officially took control of the colony and abolished the British East India Company. From then on, an elite of the Indian population was educated and trained

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in English: universities were founded in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in 1857, with English as their medium of instruction, and English got established firmly as the language of (higher) education and administration.

The early spread of English to the Indian subcontinent has resulted in a strong presence of the language in what today is India as well as in the neighbouring countries, albeit to a lower extent. As Gargesh points out, attitudes to English are generally positive, and English “is a symbol of the rising aspirations of its [India’s, cm] people for quality education and upward social mobility. It is no longer viewed as a colonial relic but rather a necessity as it is directly related to the present demand in both international and globalized local job markets.” (Gargesh 2015, p. 103). This attitude is not without problems, as Gargesh and Neira Dev (2017, p. 46) explain, since “most segments of the population of India do not receive the same kind of input or exposure to the English language in early school education, thereby creating difficulties for their admission into the hallowed portals of higher education in India, or at times even the completion of their higher education.” In the 2001 census, only 1% of the population stated English as their second language and only 226,449 gave it as their first language (Gargesh and Neira Dev 2017). The latest census to include a language question, Census 2011, reports on 259,678 persons who gave English as their mother tongue (Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs n.d.-a). However, the number of people who stated English as their first subsidiary, i.e. second, or as their second subsidiary, i.e. third language, increased drastically. A total of 82,717,239 reported English as their second language and 45,562,173 as their third language, which amounts to 10.6% of the 1210 million population in 2011 (Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs n.d.-b).

As Gargesh (2009) and Gargesh and Neira Dev (2017) explain, English performs various functions for those who report using it. Whilst it has a “complementary” or “equative” function for those bilinguals who use it in the same domains as their first language, it performs an “auxiliary” or “complementary” function for those who use it for restricted needs only, e.g. to acquire information, to study a particular subject, or when travelling abroad. For yet others, it complements their first language and serves as a lingua franca or as a medium of instruction. Not infrequently, Indians have taken their variety of English, and potentially its functions, into new territories.

## 8.2 Migration of Indians and the Spread of Indian English

People from the Indian subcontinent have been migrating for centuries. Indian merchants had been present on the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, as well as along the East African coast, when Vasco da Gama explored the region in 1497 (Gregory 1993, p. 10). In fact, they may have been in the area from as soon as the first millennium BC (Gregory 1993, p. 950; Twaddle 1990, p. 152).

Migrations of people from the Indian subcontinent, i.e. from what today are Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka (Kachru 1994,

p. 497), constitutes one of the largest movements in modern times. In 2014, more than 20 million people who have their roots in the Indian subcontinent<sup>1</sup> lived in other parts of the world, including Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, the Middle East, North America (Hundt and Sharma 2014, p. 1). Particularly large communities are found in Trinidad (appr. 40% of the population according to Rathore-Nigsch 2015) and in Fiji, where they make up the majority of the population.

Indians migrated for different reasons. During the British colonial period, large numbers were taken to Burma, Fiji (from 1879 to 1916, involving 61,000 people during the next 30 years; Lal 2006: p. 46.), Malaya, Mauritius (from 1834), Singapore (120 arrived with Stamford Raffles and by 1911 the Indian population had reached 28,454, Leimgruber and Sankaran 2014, p. 109), South Africa (approximately 150,000 between 1860 and 1911; Mesthrie and Chevalier 2014, p. 89) and Trinidad (144,000 between 1834 and 1838; Harakshingh 2006, p. 280) to work on the British plantations, either as indentured workers or on similar contracts. In the early stages of colonial rule in East Africa, approximately 32,000 indentured workers were brought to the area, mainly to work on the Uganda Railway (Gregory 1993, pp. 160–162). Also, Indian security personnel and soldiers were brought to several of Britain's younger colonies. At the same time, individuals moved to work for the British in their Empire as traders, artisans or clerks, and many set up their own businesses. After the colonial period, there were migrations, largely of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, to Britain after WWII and to the Middle East in the 1970s. More recently, highly skilled individuals have been moving particularly to Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the US.

A number of papers (e.g. Mesthrie and West 1995) have investigated how British and American English was spread around the world by missionaries, slave traders, military personnel etc. Similar to these two varieties, Indian English has, over the centuries, been dispersed, together with its speakers, who have been migrating more or less voluntarily. As Mesthrie (2008) describes, this happened in three different phases and also yielded three different types of diaspora. Of interest to this paper is what he calls the second diaspora, which “mainly covers the forced migration of slaves and indentured workers from India during the period of European (mainly British) Imperialism” (2014, p. 173). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Indian slaves were taken to Kabul in Afghanistan (see below), Cape Town in South Africa and to Port Louis on Mauritius. After the abolition of slavery, the British contracted Indians on indentureship contracts, i.e. contracts extending over a fixed period of time, which took Indians to Fiji, Guyana, Malaysia, Singapore, South Africa, Suriname, and Trinidad. As a result, around 3.5 million Indians were transported to these parts of the world to provide cheap labour between 1833 and the 1920s.

The next section discusses three countries which have not typically been associated with the Indian Diaspora.

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<sup>1</sup>These include what the Indian Ministry of External Affairs calls ‘people of Indian origin’ (PIOs) and ‘non-resident Indians’ (NRIs).

## 8.2.1 *Indians and Their English(es) in Afghanistan, Maldives and Uganda – Three Brief Histories*

Neither Afghanistan, nor Maldives or Uganda feature prominently in discussions of the Indian diaspora. This may be due to the fact that neither of them was a British colony and thus had no significant British settler population. Afghanistan was a British protectorate from 1881 till 1919, Maldives from 1796 to 1965, and Uganda from 1900<sup>2</sup> to 1962. None of the three countries witnessed large-scale immigrations of Indians as contracted workers. Nevertheless, Indian English has contributed to the linguistic ecologies of all three countries, albeit to varying degrees. The sections below provide concise summaries of the historical developments that led to the presence of Indian English there.

### 8.2.1.1 **English and Indian English in Afghanistan (History)**

British involvement in Afghanistan started in the eighteenth century, when the British aimed to extend their opium production from India into the country and, also to counter the Russian advances, “to create a large defensive buffer between its Indian holding and the expanding power of Russia” (Barfield 2010, p. 114). In 1838, the British signed the Simla Manifesto, which allowed them to station troops in Kabul, and in the following year, the British Indian Army<sup>3</sup> entered Afghanistan, thus introducing Indian speakers of English to the country. Following the immediate surrender of the emir Dost Muhammad Khan, large numbers of military personnel were deployed to Kabul (20,000), Qandahar (15,000) and other cities (15,000). However, this lasted until 1842 only, when following dissatisfaction with British control and, finally, a revolt against the British almost all died during massacres or when fleeing through the mountain passes.

Three and a half decades later, Russian intentions to advance into Afghanistan caused the then emir, Amir Shir Ali, to approach the British for military help. However, the British policy to “move forward to Afghan territory, gain control and create a buffer state to protect India” (Nawid 1997, p. 589) was met with sharp resistance, leading to the British declaring war and resulting in a second period of military intervention between 1878 and 1881. In 1881, an agreement was reached that made Afghanistan a British protectorate, giving Britain control of the country’s foreign affairs in return for their recognition of Abdur Rahman as the Afghanistan ruler. When his son, Amir Amanullah, aimed to gain complete independence and attacked the British Indian Army’s territory in the Khyber Pass area in spring 1919, a short one-month war ensued, after which the British withdrew from Afghanistan, and Afghanistan gained full independence in the same year.

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<sup>2</sup>In 1894, the British established a protectorate over the kingdom of Buganda, which they gradually extended to eventually cover the full area of what today is Uganda in 1900.

<sup>3</sup>See Duckers (2003) and the papers in Johnson (2014).

Given the largely hostile relationship between the two countries, the presence of the English language seems to have been through military personnel, who were of Indian background, hence speaking Indian English. There are no accounts of settlers or Indians aside of the military in Afghanistan. The amount of contact between the Indian military and the Afghan population is unclear but was, most likely, very restricted and probably hardly involved regular intimate interaction.

### **8.2.1.2 English and Indian English in Maldives (History)**

First contact with the British commenced in 1796, when the Maldives became a British protected area, leading to a formal protectorate in 1887. However, this did not involve any British personnel on the islands, as the British did not involve themselves in the internal matters of the country, apart from officially consenting to matters of succession to the throne of the sultan.

Speakers of English were only brought to Maldives, when the British built a military base in the South of the nation, on Gan Island in Addo Atoll, in 1941. This base initially served the Royal Navy and later the Royal Air Force (Meierkord 2018). Until 1976, permanently stationed British personnel of around 600, rising up to 3,000 during peak activity times, were stationed on Gan. Gan's original inhabitants were moved to the nearby islands after the completion of the base. About 900 Maldivians and 100 Pakistani, commuted from there to support the British staff on Gan.

At this time, the English presence in Maldives did not involve Indian English, but Pakistani English. However, teachers of English from various parts of the Indian subcontinent immigrated to Maldives after English was introduced as a medium of instruction in 1961, and when tourism had been introduced to the country in 1972, there was a need to not only invite teachers but also other expatriate workers. In particular, the government's decision on a national curriculum in 1984 and to use English as the sole medium of instruction, effective in all schools throughout the nation by the end of the 1990s, initially resulted in a huge influx of teaching personnel (see below).

### **8.2.1.3 English and Indian English in Uganda (History)**

Indians came to what today is Uganda when the British were constructing a railway to link Mombasa on the East African coast to Lake Victoria. The project started in 1895 and lasted until 1903. As in other parts of their Empire, the British employed Asians on indentured contracts, resulting in some 13,000 Indian coolies working on the construction of the line in 1898 (Lugard 1901, p. 149). After its completion, Asians were recruited to maintain the railway, resulting in a total of 39,771 staying in East Africa in 1922. Predominantly, however, Indians came voluntarily, from 1896 onwards, to open their own small corner shops, to work as skilled artisans, or to act as middle-men and traders in the cash crop trade. Thus, East Africa differs



greatly from Mauritius, Guiana, Trinidad, Natal and Fiji, where the vast majority of Indians arrived as indentured workers.

Whilst their number was only around 500 in 1903, Asians amounted to 13,026 in 1931 and the community increased to 82,100 until 1963. Many of them became English-speaking, and the community had its own schools, where teaching staff was entirely Asiatic and had received their teacher training outside of East Africa (Meierkord 2016, p. 64). Particularly those who served in secondary schools had typically taken their education and qualifications in India or Britain. Whilst before independence English was widespread in the Indian community and encouraged as a medium of instruction by the Aga Khan, it was typically not used for interaction with the local African population. Asians largely resorted to Kiswahili to interact with their domestic workers, customers and traders, because these lacked knowledge in/of English (Rathore-Nigsch 2015, p. 63). Later, however, towards independence, “Indian teachers were increasingly employed in African schools” (ibid, p. 55).

After independence, following a policy that aimed to Africanise the economy, a series of nationalist decisions, such as immigration and trading restrictions imposed on the Indians, culminated in Idi Amin’s decree in August 1972 that all Asians were to leave Uganda within 90 days, resulting in the emigration of the entire community.

### **8.3 Present Day Uses of Indian English in Afghanistan, Maldives and Uganda**

#### **8.3.1 *Indian English in Afghanistan Today***

Whilst English does not enjoy any official status in Afghanistan, where this function is performed by Dari and Pashto, English has been taught for several decades. In the 1960s, “[i]n the seventh through the eleventh grades English is studied for six periods of about fifty minutes a week, except in a few vocational schools where English is the principal medium of instruction and where the requirement may be as high as eighteen periods.” (Cannon 1963, p. 316). Teachers at the time were Afghans. Today, English is taught from the fourth grade onwards (Azami 2009), but many teachers seem to lack the competence and skills to teach English effectively. As English is valued as a tool for success in professional life, private language schools and foreign organizations such as the British Council, which has been active in the country since 1964, as well as the American Embassy, offer training courses. Probably due to this, a large number of English teachers currently come from India or have received training in India, using Indian English in the process.

Whilst Indian English is, thus, directly or indirectly spread through the education system, contact with the variety is also through interactions with Indians: India’s Ministry for External Affairs (MEA 2017, p. 4) reports that 2,500 Indians are estimated to live in Afghanistan, where they “are engaged as professionals in Banks, IT firms, Construction companies, Hospitals, NGOs, Telecom companies, Security

companies, Universities, Govt. of India sponsored projects, Govt. of Afghanistan and UN Missions.” The Government of India is regularly involved in development partnerships and has recently announced that on-going projects in the education sector, capacity building and human resource development are to continue until 2022. Besides such political, government-level activities, “Indian films, songs and TV serials are popular with the masses” (MEA 2017, p. 4), contributing to the familiarisation of Afghanistan’s population with both Hindi and Indian English. In fact, the Asia Foundation (2006, p. 76) found that, in 2006, 4% of the Afghan population reported that their first choice of broadcast station was for a Pakistani or Indian one.

### 8.3.2 *Indian English in Maldives Today*

Maldives may be the country which, over the last two decades, has witnessed the most rapid increase in English speakers. A number of factors have contributed to this development, which took place after the island state had been fairly isolated and unnoticed until it was discovered as an ideal tourism destination in 1972.

As has been mentioned above, Maldives introduced a national curriculum in 1984 and made English the sole medium of instruction in the 1990s. Currently, English is introduced as early as pre-primary, at the age of three. As a result, the younger population is highly fluent in English.

The national curriculum also paved the way for tertiary education, which, however, until the early 2000s (when the Maldives College of Higher Education started to offer courses after it was opened in 1998)<sup>4</sup> involved moving abroad, as colleges and universities were not yet in existence in Maldives. Tertiary education is also only available in the capital island, Malé. As such, it is affordable only to those who can send their offspring to live in the capital. Similarly, upper secondary education is concentrated in Malé, although there are upper secondary schools in a few other islands too. Again, this means that upper secondary education is not easily available to those living on remote islands of the country. India is “a preferred destination for Maldivian for education” (MEA 2016, p. 3).

During the last decades, before the government of Maldives decided in 2016 to replace the expatriate teachers with local, Maldivian, teachers, students must have been frequently exposed to Indian English. One teacher recruitment site explains that “[m]any teachers in the Maldives are from India and Sri Lanka, and despite following a British curriculum of Cambridge ‘O’ levels and ‘A’ levels, the children are not used to British accents.” (Hampson 2015).

Another factor that has contributed to the regular use of English as a second language in Maldives is the large amount of expatriate workers. Due to the limited labour force available in the country itself, Maldives has seen a gradual increase of

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<sup>4</sup>In 2011, the College became the National University of Maldives, now offering degrees at Masters level. Further information on the history of the University is available at <http://mnu.edu.mv/history/>

migrant workers (De Mel & Jayaratne 2011, p. 210). At the time of the most recent census, in 2014, 15.83% of the resident population were foreigners (National Bureau of Statistics 2015, p. 13), who work in the construction sector, in tourism, finance, insurance, real estate, and in education. Most of them live on the resort islands, i.e. those islands which were previously uninhabited and which the government has set aside for development in tourism (De Mel and Jayaratne 2011, pp. 212–3). On these islands, staff tends to be highly multilingual, using English as a lingua franca. Staff members on the resort island of Milaidho, for example, are from 18 nations, including Maldives, Philippines, Kenya, Namibia and India (Luig-Runge 2017). Communication in English as a lingua franca on these islands involves the use of second language varieties and foreign language varieties of English, including Indian English.

During the last decades, the initial shortage of trained Maldivian teachers resulted in a large expatriate workforce in the education sector. India's Ministry of External Affairs (MEA 2016, p. 4) states that

Indians are the second largest expatriate community in the Maldives with approximate strength of around 22,000. Indian expatriate community consists of workers as well as professionals like doctors, teachers, accountants, managers, engineers, nurses and technicians etc. spread over several islands. Of the country's approximately 400 doctors, over 125 are Indians. Similarly, around 25% of teachers in Maldives are Indians, mostly at middle and senior levels.

Besides education, the ties with India, who was the first country to recognise and establish official relations with Maldives after its independence in 1965, are also visible through the high popularity of Indian films, TV serials and music. In addition, the courses offered at the India Cultural Center in Male in yoga, classical music and dance "have become immensely popular among Maldivians of all ages." (MEA 2016, p. 4).

### ***8.3.3 Indian English in Uganda Today***

After the political unrest that characterised much of the 1970s and 1980s in Uganda, many Indians returned to what had been their's or their parents' home country. In 2003, the Indian (and Pakistani) community constituted an estimated 15,000 people. Recently, this figure seems to have increased considerably. India's Ministry of External Affairs, MEA (2015), reports an estimated 27,000 Indians and Persons of Indian Origin to be residing in Uganda. Indian companies are successfully conducting business and offering employment in manufacturing, trade, agro-processing, education, banking and financial services, automobiles, real estate, hospitality & tourism and in the IT sector. (MEA 2015). Although they only make up less than 1% of Uganda's population, estimates hold that they contribute 65% of the tax revenues and dominate Uganda's economy again.

Given the troubled past, attitudes in the local black population towards Indians are often negative. However, findings from a current research project conducted at

Ruhr-University of Bochum, in collaboration with Gulu University, indicates at least some passive contact with the Indian variety of English. When interviewed for the purpose of recording spoken Ugandan English and asked about their leisure time activities, many of our informants in Gulu, Kampala and Mbarara reported watching Indian Bollywood films and soaps on a regular basis. Furthermore, when we asked informants to express their attitudes to a variety of English accents, most of them found it easy to identify the Indian speaker amongst the voices they were listening to.

Contact with Indian English also exists through interaction with Ugandan Asian or Indian colleagues, superiors and employers. Furthermore, there are universities such as Isbat University or Aga Khan University in Kampala and schools such as the Aga Khan High School or Delhi Public School International in Kampala where a large number of staff members have an Asian background or are Indian expatriates. Also, collaborations with Indian universities, such as the one between Makerere University and Amity University Uttar Pradesh, introduce Indian lecturers to Uganda.

Sections 8.2 and 8.3 have indicated that Indian English has contributed to the linguistic ecology of Afghanistan, Maldives and Uganda alike (as a foreign, second or even first language). Both sections have furthermore revealed that contact was historically more intense in the case of Afghanistan and Uganda, but that it has recently been stronger in Maldives. These observations leave us with the question of to what extent Indian English has also made an impact on the Englishes spoken in the three countries. The next section explores this for the level of the lexicon.

#### 8.4 The Spread of Indian English – Evidence from the Lexicon

The lexicon of varieties of English is an area that makes influence from one language or variety on another most clearly visible. There is clear evidence of the fact that dialectal vocabulary from regions in the British Isles was carried to the settlement colonies of North America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Also, lexical items borrowed into postcolonial varieties, such as *bungalow* or *coolie* from Indian English or *ubuntu* from South African English, have made their way into what is frequently referred to as ‘global’ or ‘international’ English.

Whilst in the latter case, these items are likely to be used around the world, and hence constitute what one may call “second hand” spread of Indian English via global English, other terms are more clearly related to the migrations of speakers of Indian English. As Mesthrie (2014) explains, vocabulary studies are important “in matters of culture and identity” (2014, p. 172), and the Indian diaspora has contributed to “new cultural formations and cultural enrichment of territories” with particular influence in the areas of cuisine, dress, entertainment, literature and even politics. He further holds that there exists what he calls ‘diaspora lexis’, “words and

concepts emanating from the home country that have survived, perhaps with adaptation, in new terrains” (2014, p. 174). This mainly involves terms related to the experience of indentureship: *girmit*, *girmitya/girmitiya*, *madrasi/madraji/mandraji*; *Calcuttia/Kalkathia*, and *Lathas*.

Besides these, he identifies the following items in the above-mentioned fields:

- cuisine: *dhal* ‘split lentil soup’, *bhat* ‘rice’, *shak* ‘vegetables’, *roti* ‘unleavened bread’, *chapatti*, *bhaji* and *dhalpuri*,
- kinship terms such as *bhai* ‘brother’ and *ben* ‘sister’,
- dress: *salwar* ‘loose cotton trousers’, *kamiz/kameez* ‘long shirt typically with slits on either side’,
- music: *bhangra*.

The above-mentioned terms were investigated through simple google searches for the individual items on Afghanistan, Maldivian and Ugandan websites, identified via the countries’ country code top-level domains .af, .mv and .ug. The returned hits were scrutinised for mirror sites of international companies, and these were subsequently excluded from the analyses, as were hits where the item did not have the meaning mentioned above. The results of this search are summarised in Table 8.1.

Not surprisingly, those items which Mesthrie (2014) found to reflect indentureship or *girmit* did not feature on any of the sites, although they do in some of the descriptions of YouTube videos hosted in Uganda. As regards the further items, one clear finding is that all of them occur more frequently on Ugandan websites than on Afghanistan and Maldivian ones. However, this result needs to be interpreted with caution, as it may be a result of the different number of websites available from the three countries in general.

**Table 8.1** Spread of selected Indian English lexical items<sup>a</sup>

Item	Hits on .af sites	Hits on .mv sites	Hits on .ug sites
<i>Girmit</i> *	0	0	0
<i>Madrasi/madraji, Mandraji</i>	0	0	0
<i>Bhaji</i>	1	1	2
<i>Bhat</i>	0	0	0
<i>Chapatti/chapat/chapati</i>	4/0/6	11/0/10	49/12/54
<i>Dhal</i>	3	46	39
<i>Dhalpuri</i>	0	0	31
<i>Roti/rhoti</i>	8/0	19/0	37/0
<i>Shak</i> (‘vegetables’)	0	0	3
<i>Bhai</i>	9	6	12
<i>Kamiz/kameez</i>	4/26	1/5	9/46
<i>Salwar</i>	17	9	22
<i>Bhangra</i>	7	8	54

<sup>a</sup>*Ben* occurred too frequent with male persons used as a first name to allow for further analyses and was therefore discarded from these

Nevertheless, the higher amount may also be caused by the fact that, different from Afghanistan and Maldives, Uganda had a comparatively sizeable Indian settler community in the late nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth century.

Another interesting difference relates to the semantic fields to which the individual lexical items belong. Whilst Afghanistan has low numbers of hits for items in the food field, it has comparatively many when it comes to clothing. This may be due to the fact that *roti* and *chapatti* are not popular food items in Afghanistan. At the same time, the low amount of hits for *kamiz/kameez* and *salwar* in Maldives potentially stems from the fact that both are not common garments in the country. Interestingly Uganda has high hits for both, even though neither of the garments are worn by the local black population. Uganda also has very high hits for *chapatti*. In this case, the influence of the Indian food was high enough for it to remain a popular street food item until today, which has even developed into a novel item called Rolex, from rolled eggs, a rolled chapatti stuffed with scrambled eggs and, optional, onions and tomatoes.

## 8.5 Conclusions

In sum, Afghanistan, Maldives and Uganda tell three different stories of the spread of Indian English into new territories. Whilst Uganda is a classic example of the spread of this variety through the British Empire's procedures of dispersing Indians to work on plantations or infrastructure projects such as the East Africa Railway, Afghanistan and Maldives have other stories to tell. Afghanistan has a history of comparatively hostile presences of the British Indian Army, and Maldives has, historically, only witnessed extremely limited exposure to speakers of Indian English. Today, all three countries are home to Indian communities, but with very different sizes. Whilst in Uganda, Indians make up less than 1% of the population, Indians account for 5% of Maldives but for less than 0.01% in Afghanistan.

Despite these differences, Indian English has left its mark in the Englishes spoken in all three countries. The ways in which their varying histories as well as their present-day situations seem to be reflected in the use of Indian English lexical items indicate that any linguistic impact of Indian English on other varieties is crucially linked to their social histories characterising language contact between them and Indian English speakers.

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# Chapter 9

## English in Pakistan: Past, Present and Future



Tariq Rahman

### 9.1 Introduction

A traveller from an English-speaking country finds it easy to travel in Pakistan. The PIA (Pakistan International Airline), if that is the traveller's carrier to Pakistan, makes announcements in English in addition to Urdu, the national language. The air hostesses speak in English to the passengers. The immigration officials speak the requisite few phrases in English and even the taxi drivers and porters know enough English to serve the traveller. Out in the street, on the way to a hotel, the shops have signs in English as well as Urdu. Sometimes, confusingly enough, there are Urdu words written in the Roman script and vice versa. The hotel, if it is in an upscale locality, functions in English. In short, the penetration of English in Pakistani society, at least in the urban areas, is visible everywhere in the country. In short, the linguistic landscape—'the publicly visible bits of written language' as Blommaert describes it (Blommaert 2013, p. 1), reveals the linguistic history of this land: the Sanskritic presence (words originating from Sanskrit); the local contributions (words coming from the various Prakrits); the Arab and Turkish rule (words of Arabic and Persian in Urdu and the Perso-Arabic script itself) and, finally, the British colonial rule and American cultural domination (the Roman script and words of British and American English).

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## 9.2 Review of Literature

The scholarly literature in English has four major themes: historical, descriptive, Pakistani English, and English in education. The first is about the way English entered Pakistan (Rahman 2002); descriptive works focus on the role of English in Pakistan (Haque 1983; Abbas 1993; Rahman 2007, 2015; Mansoor 1983, 2005; Mahboob 2002). Scholars writing on Pakistani English (PE) offer analyses of how the variety of English in Pakistan is influenced by Urdu and other Pakistani languages (Baumgardner 1987, 1993, 1995; Rahman 1991; Saleemi 1993; Talaat 1993; Mahboob 2004, 2009; Mahboob and Ahmar 2004). The last theme is subdivided into two sub-themes: English as the medium of instruction (Rahman 1997; Coleman 2010; Mustafa 2011) and the teaching of English itself (ELT, TESL, EAP etc) (Channa 2012; Ashraf et al. 2014). More detailed description of the individual works of these authors is unnecessary since they will be referred to in the main body of this chapter.

This chapter is divided into three sections: past, present and future. Each section has sub-sections.

## 9.3 Past: The Muslim Response to English in British India

### 9.3.1 *Resistance and Rejection*

There was much resistance to and rejection of English to begin with in the early nineteenth century among Indian Muslims at the popular level. However, ordinary Muslims could not articulate clearly exactly what it was which made them oppose English to begin with. This resistance is perceived to be religious in nature but it was not purely theological. After all, Shah Abdul Aziz (1746–1823), a very influential Islamic Scholar (*alim*), had permitted the study of English (Aziz n.d., 571–72). Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (1829–1905), one of the pioneers of the Deobandi sub-sect of the Sunnis in South Asia, had also permitted it (Gangohi n.d. p. 54). So, had the pioneer of the Barelvi school of thought in Indian Islam, Ahmed Raza Khan Barelwi (1856–1921) (*Fatawa-e-Rizwiyya* in Sanyal 1996, p. 183, also see Hai n.d.). And of course, the Nadwat-ul-Ulama, at least in its initial period, aspired to understanding modernity through English while teaching about the faith (Zaman 2002, p. 69). And, Abd al-Bari of Farangi Mahal, (d. 1925–26), an influential seminary of Lucknow, specifically said that the *alim* should study English in order to understand the thought of the West (Robinson 2002, pp. 166–167).

The resistance was probably connected with insecurities about identity. Ordinary Muslims, being apprehensive of losing their identity in a welter of alien values brought with English, condemned it outright. Some of them might never have heard of the *fatwas* of their religious leaders, but they instinctively felt that English would

bring in new values and threaten their world view. This resistance and rejection still characterize the Islamic conservatives.

### 9.3.2 *Acceptance and Assimilation*

At the opposite end was the response of acceptance and assimilation. Though it legitimated itself in the name of ‘pragmatism’, it led to assimilation and, hence, to the emergence of modernist or secular, Westernized Muslims. It started because, from the pragmatic point of view, it was foolish to resist English especially when the Hindus and Parsis were getting more than their due share of power in British employment because of it. Hence the modernizing reformers—Abdul Latif (1828–93) (Latif 1861 in Haque 1968; Latif 1861) and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817–99) (Khan 1872) – insisted that the Muslims learn English and take their due share in power under the British. This response—the acceptance of English ostensibly for pragmatic reasons—became the defining feature of the new professional middle class which got completely alienated from the English-rejecting *ulema* (or *mullahs* as they were contemptuously called) and those who did not know English. Thus, English became the chief marker of modern identity: the major factor separating Muslim society into the English-using elite and the traditionally educated proto-elite or the illiterate masses.

### 9.3.3 *Pragmatic Utilization*

The third response to modernity was to accept aspects of it selectively, tactically as it were, in order to empower oneself while maintaining one’s identity as firmly as one could. This, essentially, is the Islamist response to English. The Islamists, educated in modern educational institutions, ‘are drawn to initiatives aimed at radically altering the contours of their societies and states through the public implementation of norms they take as “truly” Islamic’ (Zaman 2002, p. 8). Abul Ala Mawdudi (d. 1979), the major Islamist figure in Pakistan, emphasized the study of English but only to have access to the knowledge, and hence the power, of the West (for Mawdudi’s ideas about political power see Rahman 2018).

Going back in time, the Ahl-i-Hadith (called Wahabis), the inveterate enemies of British rule in India in the nineteenth century (Ahmad 1994), did not mind acquiring Western knowledge—especially if it pertained to armaments—because resistance was impossible without power. Some of the Wahabis who had been tried by the British in 1863–65 for anti-British resistance, ‘changed their names, took to learning English and achieved an equal degree of eminence in the new field of their activity’ (Ahmad 1994, p. 224). One of their leaders, Wilayat Ali, advocated ‘the use of guns and cannons in place of catapults used during the time of Prophet Muhammad against the “canon-firing infidels” (the British)’ (ibid, p. 283). This attitude towards

modernity—selective adoption for tactical reasons—is common to the Islamists all over the world even now. Militant groups, inspired by Islamist thought, such as the al-Qaeda of Osama Bin Laden are always ready to use modern technology and learn English to acquire it though they remain averse to the Western world view.

In short, there was an ambivalence in the nature of the project of English in Muslim society in South Asia. It was suspected because it was associated with alien values and, therefore, threatened indigenous identity. But, along with it, it was desiderated for pragmatic reasons either leading to assimilation in a quasi-Western mould or remaining rigidly and consciously opposed to it. The suspicion led to disempowerment because modern knowledge is, after all, predominantly in English. The acceptance led to varying degrees of Westernization or a constant awareness of antagonism and the creation of a siege mentality such as Islamists, especially those in the Muslim diaspora in the West, often appear to exhibit.

### ***9.3.4 English in the Areas Now in Pakistan Before 1947***

The areas which now constitute Pakistan were conquered almost a century after the British gained ascendancy in India. Sindh was conquered in 1843 and the Punjab (including the present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in 1849. In Sindh, as early as 1847, an Indo-British school was set up in Karachi for the education of ‘European and Anglo-Indian Children’. However, the Muslims of Sindh started learning English when one of their compatriots, Majid K. B. Hussanally Effendi (1830–95), created the Sindh Madressah-tul Islam in Karachi in 1885 (Rahman 2002, p. 186–188). In the Punjab, English was available in the colleges which the British established in the major cities, in missionary schools and, for the landed aristocracy, in Aitchison College (1886) in Lahore. In the N. W. F. P. (North-West Frontier Province), although there were English medium schools for British children as early as the 1860s, the Edwards College, a missionary college for Indian students, was established only in 1935 by Reverend Robert Clarke (Ahmed 1989, p. 15). In short, at the time of the establishment of Pakistan in 1947, English was available only in a few elitist schools or in institutions of higher education in the areas now called Pakistan. As in the rest of India, English was very much a marker of elitist status and the major language of empowerment for those who sought employment by the state or the corporate sector.

## 9.4 Present

### 9.4.1 *The Current Status and Functions of English in Pakistan*

English is not mentioned among Pakistani languages, the latest data of which is given below. However, it is used as a second language to some degree by educated Pakistanis.

Despite having so many major languages, Pakistan continued the language policies inherited from the British *raj*. However, there have been nationalistic statements concerning language policy in various documents, including the different versions of the constitution, statements by governmental authorities in the legislative assembly debates, and, above all, various documents relating to education policy which have been issued by almost every government. Language policies as seen in the 1973 Constitution of Pakistan are as follows:

- (a) The National language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.
- (b) Subject to clause (a) the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
- (c) Without prejudice to the status of the National language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measures for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language (Constitution 1973: Article 251).

Two things are immediately obvious. First, Urdu is the national language despite being the mother tongue of a minority. Second, that English remained the official language even after the 15 years stipulated in the constitution of 1973. The Supreme Court of Pakistan, however, ruled on 8th September 2015 that within 3 months the government should give it official status (Court 2015). The implementation of that order remains to be seen and the debate about it will be discussed later.

The major debate with reference to English since the beginning of the country was about the medium of instruction (Rahman 1997). While promoters of Urdu for nationalistic or religious reasons, like Syed Abdullah (1976), wanted Urdu to replace English in all official domains including education, the powerful bureaucracy, military and the urban middle class did not (Rahman 1997a). In the domain of education, the policy of the government is stated as follows:

English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards (GOP 2009, p. 20).

However, this policy has been changed by provincial governments from time to time. For instance, the Punjab government changed the medium of instruction in its schools from Urdu to English in 2008. Later, the British Council, which carried out an evaluation of these schools, concluded that even the teachers were not competent in English (PEELI 2013), and the experiment was ended. Elite schools do, however, use English as a medium of instruction from Class 1 onwards.

At the upper level, however, English is much in evidence. Thus, the ministries, both federal and provincial, communicate at the level of the officers in English. The

parliament makes laws in English, though the debates in the legislative assemblies take place mostly in Urdu. The officer corps of the armed forces functions in English. Most universities teach and examine most subjects in English though they do allow social science, humanities (languages, Islamic studies etc) to be taught and examined in Urdu (or Sindhi in Sindh) along with English.

As for the bureaucracy and the army, the very entry of new officers in their respective services, is dependent on their knowledge of written and spoken English. The army in Pakistan produces a number of publications to disseminate its narrative among its officers. These are official publications giving policies, tactical booklets, strategy papers, professional journals and magazines and all are in English. These have been analysed by Christine Fair, an American scholar, who has found them useful for providing insights into the worldview of the army as an institution (Fair 2014). It must also be mentioned that the autobiographies of retired senior military officers, like those of politicians and bureaucrats, are almost always in English. The officers also speak English spontaneously with each other though they often code-switch between English, Urdu and other Pakistani languages. On all official occasions, in training courses and on formal occasions, English is used. This English, however, has been strongly influenced by Pakistani languages as has been mentioned later in this chapter. It may be mentioned in passing that post-colonial literature in English in both Pakistan and India has used what Ravinder Gargesh calls 'nativization' creatively to create an authentically South Asian narratorial style. Gargesh mentions how switching, alteration, mixing and transcreation of codes has been used by Indian writers to create Indian post-colonial literature (Gargesh 2006). The same has happened in Pakistani literature in English though this chapter does not discuss this trend. In short, English is used for various functions of governmentality as well as creatively in Pakistan.

However, at the lower level in all these institutions—government, judiciary and the military—Urdu is used, except in Sindh, where Sindhi is also used in the rural areas. Thus, a police station in the Punjab or the Khyber Pakhtunkwa provinces will write down the report of a crime and carry out investigations in Urdu (not in Punjabi or Pashto). The lower courts will also function in Urdu. However, the officers of the police will submit their reports to higher officials in English and if the case goes to the high or supreme courts, they too will function in English and the Pakistan Legal Judgment (PLD) will give the judges' verdicts in English.

Suffice it to say that English is a marker of class and power in Pakistan. English is indexed with high status, urbanity, modernization and power. In these 'orders of indexality' (Blommaert 2010, p. 6), it constitutes a world apart from the world of the marginalized and the less powerful, at least in urban settings, which operate in the spoken vernaculars (Punjabi, Siraiki, Pashto and Baluchi etc) (see Table 9.1).



**Table 9.1** Population of Pakistan by languages, 1998 and 2017

Language	1998 (in % of total)	2017 (in % of total)	2017 in millions
Punjabi	44.15	38.78	80.5
Pashto	15.42	18.24	37.9
Sindhi	14.1	14.57	30.3
Seraiki (Siriki)	10.53	12.19	25.3
Urdu	7.57	7.08	14.7
Balochi	3.57	3.02	6.3
Hindko		2.42	4.7
Brohi (Brahvi)		1.24	2.6
Kashmiri		0.17	0.4
Others	4.66	2.47	5.1
Total	100	100	207.65

Sources: Census 2001, 107; Census 2017 in *Dawn* 2 May 2018

### 9.4.2 *English and Identity in Pakistan*

English is a marker of modernity, Western education, upward social mobility and urbanization in Pakistan. It has penetrated deeply into the cultural landscape of the cities, towns and even the villages of the country. Linguistic landscape, or cityscape as one may call it, is defined as under.

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. The linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic functions: an information function and a symbolic function (Landry and Bourhis 1997, p. 25)

In Pakistan it serves the first function at airports, railway stations, hospitals and universities but mostly it serves the second function in other locations. As Blommaert describes it, the linguistic landscape is pervasive and, in multilingual and multicultural entities like Pakistan, is superdiverse (Blommaert 2013). This diversity, however, is also linked to class which, in its turn, is related to the degree of Westernization in this country (for the class structure of Pakistan see Rahman 2012). Thus, if a haircutting saloon calls itself a ‘barber shop’ and a ‘hairdresser saloon’ in the Roman or the Perso-Arabic alphabet it is signalling that it is a modern, urban, elite institution catering for educated, English-using people and not just a rural *nai ki dukan* (*nai*=barber; *dukan*=shop). In this case, cast functioning as class also comes into play because the menial professions: *nai* (barber), *mochi* (cobbler), *tehi* (the man who presses seeds to obtain oil), *mirasi* (singer, musician) and *dhobi* (washer-man) are considered inferior and are lumped together in the category of *kammi* (manual labourers) and are traditionally the lower orders in the village social system (Rahman 2012, p. 116). Such people choose the English equivalents of their professions advertising themselves as barbers, shoemakers, laundry owners and so on. The word Urdu word for shop (*dukan*) too has a low status so it is not used in upscale localities where the English equivalent is prevalent. Certain Urdu words are either

obsolete or have changed their meaning and are habitually replaced with English ones. For instance, the words *maktab* and *madrassas* could be used for school and college but both are associated with traditional institutions for Islamic learning so they are not used for secular educational institutions.

### 9.4.3 *The Demand for English*

A number of surveys have been carried out to determine the demand for English among students, their parents and teachers in the country. Mansoor's (2005, p. 408) and Mahboob's (2002, p. 30) surveys indicate that English is the preferred medium of instruction both of students and their parents, especially at the higher level. The present author's survey (Rahman 2002, p. 595) seems to suggest that English as a medium of instruction is mostly desired only by those who are already being educated in it, while others regard it as something of a burden which prevents their social and academic advancement. However, conversations with students and parents have shown how keen parents are to invest in giving their children an English-medium education so that they can advance in the world.

A more reliable indicator of the increased demand for English-medium education is the increase in the percentage of those who appear in the British Ordinary (O) and Advanced (A) level examinations as opposed to those who opt for the Pakistani matriculation and intermediate examinations. This increase since 2002 is shown in Table 9.2.

### 9.4.4 *The Supply Side of English*

We have seen how much English is in demand in Pakistan. Let us now look at the supply side i.e. the institutions which purport to teach it. First, there are the non-elitist, so-called English medium schools. These schools are visible in all localities in the urban areas, even in small towns, and charge tuition fees from Rs. 50 to Rs 1000 per month. According to a census of these schools there were 33,893 of them in 2000 and 78% were primary ones (Census Private 2006). According to a survey

**Table 9.2** Increase in Those Taking British Examinations

Year	Matric + Intermediate	O + A levels	Total
2002	1,529,014	16,222	1,545,236
	98.95%	1.05%	
2013	2,103,000	65,000	2,168,000
	97%	3%	

Sources: For O' and A' levels, British Council, Pakistan (British Council 1986). For Pakistani examinations of 2002, all Boards of Intermediate and Secondary Education. For 2013 (ESP 2014: Table 10.8, p. 135)

**Table 9.3** Schools with Medium of Instruction 2006

No of Schools (2006)		Medium of instruction			
		Urdu	Sindhi	English	Other
Total	227,791	64.6%	15.5%	10.4%	9.5%
Public	151,744	68.3%	22.4%	1.4%	7.9%
Private	76,047	57.2%	1.8%	28.4%	12.7%

Census Private 2006: Table 23, p. 37. Figures add up to 100.1 in the original

**Table 9.4** Schools with Medium of Instruction 2012

Region (schools only)	Medium of instruction	
	Government Schools	Private Schools
Balochistan	Urdu (100%)	Urdu (49%)
		English (51%)
Azad Jammu & Kashmir	Urdu (97%)	Urdu (32%)
	English (3%)	English (68%)
FATA	Urdu (80%)	Urdu (12%)
	English (2%)	English (86%)
	Pashto (17%)	Pashto (2%)
Gilgit, Baltistan	Urdu (68%)	Urdu (16%)
	English (32%)	English (84%)
Islamabad Capital Territory	Urdu (97%)	Urdu (32%)
	English (3%)	English (68%)
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Urdu (66%)	Urdu (23%)
	English (3%)	English (70%)
	Pashto (30%)	Pashto (7%)
Punjab	Urdu (50%)	Urdu (35%)
	English (50%)	English (65%)
Sindh	Urdu (2%)	Urdu (59%)
	English (1%)	English (35%)
	Sindhi (97%)	Sindhi (6%)

ASER 2013: 17. NB: Figures do not add up to 100 because some schools are classified as 'mixed' i.e. not teaching in any one language in the original

carried out by the present author, the students of these schools had a biased, narrow-minded and negative view towards members of other religions and sects and were not averse to aggression and war with India (Rahman 2005). Non-elitist schools which call themselves 'English medium' show a significant increase from 2006 till 2012. By 2018 they may have increased further but no survey exists for the present situation. As for 2006 the numbers are as follows in Table 9.3.

The figures for 2012 are as follows in Tables 9.4.

It is clear from these figures that English-medium schools have increased as a percentage of all schools and that the private sector is the largest provider of such institutions. Bela Jamil, Country Coordinator of ASER in Pakistan, points out that private providers are increasing their share of schooling as the state withdraws its investment. Thus, in rural areas, within one year, the share of private providers has

gone up by 4%. In some areas, like Sindh, it has increased from 10 to 17% (Jamil 2015 in ASER 2015, p. 8–9). This is mostly because the children’s parents are attracted by the nomenclature ‘English-medium’ which most of these private providers use in order to advertise themselves. Most children, whether in public or private schools, do not learn to understand, read, write or speak English with any degree of proficiency. Manan et al. carried out research on these schools in Quetta, the capital of the Baluchistan province of Pakistan, and came to the conclusion that English is restricted to a repertoire of a set of classroom discourse. The authors suggest that ‘teaching English solely in the Urdu language, ultimately leaves little potential for communicative competence and meaningful learning of the English language and contents’. And yet, the English-medium schools, no matter how incompetent they may be, are popular because they promise to teach English, which is considered such a valuable cultural capital that low-income parents invest in it to benefit their children for life.

#### ***9.4.5 The Expense of Elite English Medium Schooling***

Nowadays, the richest and most powerful patrons of English are the capitalist owners of chains of schools in the cities of Pakistan (Beaconhouse, City School, Grammar School Systems). A small minority from the urban elite is, however, very proficient in the language since they attend expensive English-medium schools. About this situation the ASER Report 2014 says:

Some estimates suggest that they [those who attend elite English-medium schools] are no more than 3–5% of enrolled children in the country. These children do get a decent quality of education. They do quite well in standardized O/A level examinations... (Bari 2015, p. 12)

But this education is outside the reach of most citizens since the minimum wage is Rs 12,000 while the average fees per month of such schools is Rs 15,000/– per month (Bari, p. 12). Family income is probably the most significant factor in the child’s access to English. First, the highest enrolment level (85%) is in the richest quartile while the lowest (59%) is in the lowest quartile. The highest enrolment of girls (83%) is also in the richest quartile. The children of this most wealthy quartile attend elite English-medium schools (53%) while the poorest percentile sends children to government vernacular (Urdu and Sindhi) medium schools (Saeed and Zia 2015, p. 18–19).

The cost of buying the linguistic capital of English for middle class people in Pakistan is prohibitively expensive. Although scholars have different definitions of middle-class income, the present study uses the formula given by McKinsey (2010. Quoted from Nayab 2012, Table 9.1, p. 6). Estimates of the size of this elite vary as Durre Nayab brings out in her insightful paper. Her own estimate is 35% of the population (Nayab 2011, p. 21). Table 9.5 gives some estimate of the cost per student per month. Since the figures are five years old one may add another 10–20% increase in the fees given below.

**Table 9.5** Estimates of cost per student

Name of School	Level/Type of School Certificate	Monthly Fees	Proportion of fees to income*
Beaconhouse Schools in Lahore	O' and A' level (UK)	40,000	
Aitchison College	A-level	44,502 plus	
Grammar School (Lhr)	A-level	24,000	

In short, English remains a scarce good which is much in demand but, like all scarce goods, access to it is dependent upon the power and wealth of one's family. This is how it has always been since English-medium schools were established in British India during the nineteenth century.

### 9.4.6 *The Islamic Resistance to English*

Not everyone wants English to be taught in the country, however. The conservatives, chiefly led by the Islamic *ulema* in the *madrassas*, remain resistant to English in Pakistan as they had been in British India. They felt that the demand for English, though couched in pragmatic terms, was really part of the state's project to 'colonialize' Islam (a term used by Jamal Malik 1966). Ayub Khan's Commission on National Education (GOP 1959) recommended English as the alternative medium of instruction (the other was Arabic) in the *madrassas* at the secondary level. The *ulema* opposed these reforms and they 'were translated into action in a limited way' (Malik 1996, p. 128; for a report on the *madrassas* see IPS 1987).

Mawlana Muhammad Yusuf Ludhianwi (d. 2000) wrote a critique of the Government of Pakistan's report for reforming *madrassas* (GOP 1979). He argued that the educational system established by the British, of which English was an integral element, was meant to undermine Muslim identity. Summing up his views Qasim Zaman, a Pakistani historian, says:

Ludhianwi's critique of the *Report* of 1979 makes explicit an issue that is central to all discussion of madrasa reform: the question of religious authority. Any attempt at reform that is perceived to threaten the identity and the authority of the 'ulama is by definition suspect (Zaman 2002, p. 79).

The reason for this resistance to reform was not only English. Indeed, as Qasim Zaman argues, the real issues were those of power and identity. The *ulema* felt, and rightly so, that the reforms would modernize the *madrassas* by secularizing them and, hence, change their identity altogether (Zaman 2002, p. 77–79).

Yet, the *ulema* do not reject the pragmatic value of English altogether. The Ahl-i-Hadith teach it more consistently than the Deobandis, Barelvis and Shias. The ideological baggage of the West is scrupulously removed in some cases—as by the Deobandis—by writing special textbooks in which most lessons are Islamic (Rahman 2002, p. 314). The teachers who are hired to teach English are closely scrutinized

for their ideological proclivities and the students are not exposed to discourses, both electronic and print, originating from liberal Pakistanis or from foreign sources. In 1988, as calculated by the present author, the percentage of students who learnt English in the *madrassas* was only 2.2% (Rahman 2002, Table 29, p. 313).

In a report on the *madrassas* by the Institute of Policy Studies, a think-tank of the Jamat-i-Islami, it is recommended that English should be taught (Khalid 2002, p. 328 & 353). An earlier report from the same institution also considered this problem and, in principle, agreed with the necessity of learning English. However, Mufti Syed Kakakhel was of the opinion that English would distract the students from their study of religious subjects so it should be taught after they have finished their religious studies (Kakakhel 1987, p. 211).

In short, despite some misgiving among the lower level clerics, senior *ulema* agree with the teaching of English for empowerment, maintaining contact with the South Asian Muslim diaspora, preaching Islam in foreign countries and opening up opportunities of employment for *madrassa* graduates.

#### 9.4.7 *Pragmatic Utilization of English by the Islamists*

The response of the Islamists to English has been mentioned earlier. In Pakistan Syed Abul 'Ala Mawdudi (1903–1979), is undoubtedly the greatest thinker among the Islamists. His orientation towards Islam is revivalist whereas the *ulema* were conservative. Mawdudi interpreted Islam (submission to God) to mean *active* submission to God, by which he meant rigorously implementing the teachings of Islam with the aim of establishing the ideal Islamic order' (Nasr 1996, p. 57). From this came his emphasis on power—for without power no order, let alone an ideal one, could be established (Rahman 2018). And to obtain power in the world as presently constituted, it is necessary to learn modern subjects which are mostly in English. The Jamat-i-Islami teaches English in its *madrassas* of the Rabtatul Madaris. In the Sanvia Amma (equivalent to matriculation), the English course of this level (10th class) is offered. In the intermediate class, *Sanvia Khasa*, the F.A. (11 and 12 class) course is taught. English is also taught in the colleges of the Jamat-i-Islami (Khalid 2002, Annexure 7 and conversations with Jamat activists from time to time). In India too, the Jamat teaches English at the school level (Khalid 2002, Annexure 10).

In the last 20 years or so a number of Islamist organizations which believe in Jihad in order to transform the world, especially as regards the American military role in Afghanistan and the former state of Jammu and Kashmir, have come into being. They also run their own schools. Hafiz Saeed's organization Jamatud Da 'wah (Ahl-i-Hadith), which created the now banned Lashkar-e-Tayyaba has printed its own textbooks for English. They focus entirely on Islam, as interpreted by the Ahl-i-Hadith, and more on the militant aspect of this interpretation than other things. The preface of *Ud Daw 'ah Way to English* says:

We earnestly desire to enable our students to view Islam as a complete way of life rather than a mere set of rituals (FYG 2002, p. 64).

However, the young children are introduced to weapons and war in primers (p = pistol. In the Urdu ones t = *talwar* = sword and r = rocket and so on) (ibid 65). The books instruct teachers to repeat again and again ideas such as that of the necessity of making war with the infidels and using weapons (ibid, p. 66).

It may be noted that it is only very poor children who cannot leave their boarding houses and who are not exposed to the T.V, the radio and Urdu newspapers who are most influenced by their textbooks and teachers. In other cases, many other discourses do have an impact on them and dilute the religious fervour which is sought to be inculcated in them by the Islamic conservatives and the Islamist militants.

### 9.4.8 *The Features of Pakistani English*

The phonetic and phonological features of Indian English [IE] have been described by many scholars besides Kachru, like Masica (1966) and Verma (1957). The features of PE were first described by Rahman (1991, p. 18–40). Where Urdu is the first language of the speaker, the varieties of PE are like the varieties of IE with very minor differences. Where Punjabi is the first language of the speaker, speakers of PE and IE use the same varieties. In the case of Sindhi too, both speakers of PE and IE speak the same varieties. Only in the case of Pashto, because of their being very few first language speakers of this language in India, do the speakers of PE share more with the speakers of Pashto in Afghanistan when they speak English rather than speakers from India and, for that matter, speakers of other languages in Pakistan. Moreover, Mahboob and Ahmar (2004, p. 1010) have argued that some features of all varieties of PE are in a state of flux and others differ from person to person and situation to situation. Thus, the broad description of features in Rahman (1991) are not fixed nor do they apply to all speakers of PE.

#### 9.4.8.1 *The Sub-varieties of PE*

In this context it is relevant to remember that PE has four sub-varieties. There are, for instance, varieties which differ only in some phonological-phonetic features from Received Pronunciation [RP], but are otherwise identical to British Standard English [BSE]. This variety is used by people who have been exposed, generally for long periods, to BSE spoken in the RP accent. These are the fluent English-speakers mentioned above. This variety can be called Anglicized English and, in order to distinguish it from other varieties, we may call it Variety A. The acrolect (Variety B), differs from BSE in the dimensions of morphology and syntax as well as lexis and semantics in addition to that of phonology. It is used by Pakistanis who have been educated in English-medium elite schools or have had much exposure to BSE



and RP later. Many good journalists, administrators, professionals and other upper middle-class people write the acrolect or, at least, speak this variety of English. Most other people, however, write and speak the mesolect (Variety C), which differs more from BSE than the previous two varieties. Such people are in middle and upper middle-class occupations but they have generally been educated in Urdu medium schools and have not been much influenced by native varieties of English. The basilect (Variety D) is used by clerks, minor officials and typists, who have not had much education. This kind of English is full of clichés and is the least intelligible variety for foreigners. It is probably this variety which corresponds to Indian Pidgin English (Mehrotra 1982, p. 155).

### 9.4.8.2 Phonetics and Phonological Features

While the detailed treatment of the phonetic and phonological features of PE is to be found in Rahman (1991) and Mahboob (2004), it may be useful to summarise some main features of PE as spoken by acrolectal speakers. They do use the retroflex /ʈ/ and /ɖ/ when they speak the language. They also do not aspirate the plosives /t/, /p/ and /k/ in the beginning of stressed syllables (for IE see Rao 1961). Moreover, they use the vowels /o/ /e/ for the English diphthongs /ou/ and /ei/. People educated in vernacular-educated schools, and therefore less exposed to spoken English, tend to use a rhotic pronunciation and use the clear /l/ rather than the velarized (dark) /ɫ/ in the end of words. They also tend to use the vowel /a/ instead of rounded back vowel. Thus the vowels /ɒ/ and /ɔ/ are replaced by /a/ pronouncing cot as /kat/ not /kɔt/ (Rahman 1991). Right at the bottom are those who have very little formal exposure to English so they use what Indian linguists have called ‘butler English’ (Hosali 2005). Their pronunciation of English is least intelligible to native speakers. Other features, dependent upon the first language, are the substitution of /p/ for /f/ and of a vowel for /h/ by Pashto-speakers. The non-segmental features, too, give a distinctive intonation to varieties of PE.

### 9.4.8.3 Lexical Features of PE

The morphology and syntax of the varieties of PE are not different from IE (see Dustoor 1954; Das 1982; Verma 1982; Kachru 1965, 1982, 1983; Hosali 2005). The lexical features, too, are shared with IE because of a shared history (Yule and Burnell 1866). The differences from IE are in borrowing from Islam, indigenous cultures and Pakistan’s different experiences from India since 1947 (Rahman 1991; Mahboob 2009). To take the Islamic component first, Mahboob (2009, p. 188) says that ‘the English language in Pakistan represents Islamic values and embodies South Asian Islamic sensitivities.’ Turning to the word ‘drone’, it has been used as a verb in addition to its use as a noun in Pakistan. Examples are: ‘to drone’, ‘droning’, ‘droned’ which have entered the lexicon only a few years ago. They refer to the United States’ use of drones to fire missiles on perceived terrorist targets in parts of

**Table 9.6** Words used in PE

Word	Meaning
<i>Booty</i>	Material prepared for cheating in an examination. It probably comes from the Urdu word booty, which means a herb. Some people, however, maintain that it comes from the English word meaning 'loot', 'captured wealth'. Also used in IE.
<i>Bun-Kabab</i>	A young person educated in Urdu-medium schools belonging to the lower-middle and middle classes. Opposite of burger.
<i>Burger</i>	A young person educated in English-medium schools
<i>Children</i>	Besides the ordinary meaning of the word it is also used for 'students' of all ages even those in a university. In the latter sense it is a direct translation of the Urdu and Punjabi words ' <i>bachche</i> '.
<i>Dish</i>	Voluptuous, sexy girl. Used only in conversation among boys.
<i>Drone</i>	Verb from <i>drone</i> , meaning 'to destroy'
First and family Name	There is no strict distinction between first and family names so titles and formal forms of address are used with first names. Farzana Khan is more likely to be referred to as Miss Farzana than Miss Khan and so on. Also used in IE.
<i>Gulluism</i>	Disruptive conduct presumably supported by figures in authority. Gained currency in Pakistan's English-language press from June 2014, when a policeman called Gullu Butt, in plain clothes, vandalized vehicles allegedly to intimidate the Chief Minister of Punjab, Shahbaz Sharif's, political opponents.
<i>Lift</i>	To encourage, or give attention to someone (especially in a romantic way); e.g., 'the girls give lift to boys in good cars'. However, lift also means elevator and to allow someone to ride one's car as a favour.
<i>Mummy-Daddy Type</i>	Same as burger above.
<i>Shopper</i>	Plastic bags for carrying goods.
<i>Tension</i>	Worry. To 'take tension' means to 'worry' (Mohsin 2009: 22).
<i>Tight</i>	Beautiful or sexy girl. Pronounced /taet/. Used only in conversation between boys.
<i>Yo</i>	More positive than burger. Fashionable in a Westernized way.

Pakistan. Thus, the verb now means 'to destroy', 'to kill', 'to annihilate' and is used for anything from human beings to plans and ideas. The following chart sums up the recently acquired additions to the vocabulary of PE (Table 9.6).

Other words common to IE and PE—such as mutton for goat's meat, copy for notebook, curd for yoghurt, pass out for graduate, ragging for teasing or bullying etc—are not being repeated here. The similarities between IE and PE which have been noted earlier (Rahman 1991) are also not being repeated. It may be noted in passing that a contemporary corpora-based study of IE suggests that words like *hi fi* (posh, fancy); *pandit* (expert); *Mughal* (powerful person which is used in native varieties of English as Mogul); *meet* (meeting); *shift* (move); *loot* (rob) and *release* (be screened) are common between IE and PE (Sedlatschek 2009, pp. 108–116).

Verbal politeness in English follows similar patterns in north India as well as Pakistan. The following forms of address are commonly observed:

1. Sir Akram is our teacher.

Here ‘Sir’ is not a title as the person referred to is not a knight. It is being used for respect since in PE and Indian English mister (Mr) is not considered polite enough.

2. Madam Shazia is our teacher.

‘Madam’ and ‘Miss’, the latter in schools, are used with name.

## 9.5 Future

### 9.5.1 *The Future Implications of Current Debates*

The most recent debate, and one which has been going on in Pakistan for the last 3 years (see *The News (Encore)* 23 Sept 2015), is about the future status of English in Pakistan. It was triggered off by a court judgment earlier but got fresh impetus when The Chief Justice of Pakistan, Jawwad S. Khawaja, ordered on 8th September 2015 that within a period of 3 months Urdu will be made the official language of Pakistan. The short order is 12 pages long and much of it repeats well-known facts and arguments. The arguments are summed up as follows: using a colonial language degrades our language and our people who feel that they are being addressed by foreign rulers; it maintains the sense of superiority which the elite has; it increases the gulf between the ruler and the ruled; it creates and maintains an elite system of education which does not give equal access to everybody as far as employment is concerned. In the end the order mentions a letter by the Cabinet Division (dated 06 July 2015) which says that all policies of the institutions working under the federal governments should be translated into Urdu; all forms should be in Urdu in addition to English; Urdu sign boards should be erected outside all public institutions (hospitals, schools, police stations etc); passport and other offices should issue all forms in Urdu in addition to English; all websites of state institutions should be in Urdu; road signs should be in Urdu; all public events of government and semi-government institutions should be in Urdu; the president, prime minister and government representatives should give speeches in Urdu; the national language authority should be given crucial importance to carry out the above policy. A three-month deadline is given with a certain bureaucratic peremptoriness. The Court reproduces the above orders adding that the laws too should be translated in Urdu; the federal and provincial governments should coordinate with each other about the script to be used; that Urdu should be used for the competitive examinations; judgments should be given in Urdu and so on. The Court also repeats the three-month deadline which the Cabinet Division letter gives.

### 9.5.2 *Future Prospects for English and Other Languages in Pakistan*

If the Supreme Court's orders are implemented it will not bring about a linguistic revolution in the country. Most of the orders given by the court—officials making speeches in Urdu, documentation in Urdu and road signs in it etc. – is being done at some level. The crucial issue, which the court does not address, is that English is a well-guarded elite preserve. The armed forces, in fact, are the biggest owners and patrons of English-medium schools. Their cadet colleges, public schools and army schools as well as their six universities are tremendous investments. Then there are the chains of elite schools in the cities which educate the children of the urban elite as we have noted earlier. These are not mentioned in the orders of the court but, in all likelihood, they will keep up their function of teaching English to an elite to differentiate it sartorially, linguistically and culturally from the non-elite. Thus, while the government switches over to Urdu, the corporate sector, NGOs, banks and elite educational institutions will keep functioning in English. The class divide, expressed through language, will remain and the court's concern with the growing class gap will not be addressed.

For a long time, those who have studied Pakistan's language and education policies have concluded that they are biased against the ordinary people of the country and create a linguistic and educational apartheid. Thus, while they have advocated the teaching of English in as efficient a manner as possible as a subject, they have also insisted that the medium of instruction should be Urdu or the indigenous languages of Pakistan (Rahman 1996). Later this policy was argued passionately by Zubeida Mustafa who said the insistence in English had hindered real understanding for children (2011). Then the British Council, which had earlier focused only on the effective teaching of English (1986), now supported the teaching of the local languages and Urdu in schools in its reports (Coleman 2010; Coleman and Capstick 2012). Channa, who studied the perceptions of University lecturers towards English as a medium of instruction for science subjects, suggested that almost half of his sample was dissatisfied with it (Channa 2012). Recent scholarship too has called for greater use of Urdu in education (Ashraf et al. 2014) and that, despite the 'English-language fever' as Manan et al describe it, students in low-fees schools do not really learn English (Manan et al. 2015).

The present author has argued that the elite schools, being patronized by very powerful lobbies, will not give up English as a medium of instruction unless they are forced by an act of parliament to do so. However, since the owners of these schools will continue to own them, they will not lose their property. Moreover, their schools will retain their facilities and prestige as well as better teachers, so they will not lose their elite students either. Indeed, parents will choose them since, even if Urdu is the medium of instruction, they will teach English very well and they can use supplementary material for all subjects in English. Thus, there may be more resistance to this change from elite parents than owners of schools. This resistance will be based on snobbery and class interest mostly.

There is, however, a reservation which should be expressed here. For political reasons Urdu has been deliberately linked to religion, war and nationalism in Pakistan though it was also linked to love (Rahman 2011, pp. 164–198) and progressive ideas as in the left-leaning literary movement in Urdu called the ‘*taraqqi pasand adab*’ (progressive movement) of the 1930s was called (Malik 1967; Mahmud 1996). The politics of the period was responsible for this link but there is no reason why this link cannot be broken. While Urdu texts as taught in schools may create hatred for minorities and India and possibly strengthen an anti-India mindset (Rahman 2002; Nayyar and Salim 2004; Aziz 1993), this is not an argument not to use Urdu as a medium of instruction. It is an argument to produce peace-oriented texts as A.H. Nayyar and Ahmed Salim pointed out in 2004 in their report entitled *The Subtle Subversion* (2004).

However, even if English stops functioning as the official language of Pakistan and even the language of schooling in both the private and the public sector, it will still have a large profile in the country. First, it will keep functioning as the medium of instruction and examination in higher education as it is doing at present. It will also remain the language of research since it is a global language and Pakistan cannot afford to stop publishing in world level publications. It will also remain the language of those who study abroad, aviation and diplomacy and, since literature in it is gaining global recognition, it will also be the language of creativity in addition to other Pakistani languages like it is at present. In what way is this future different from the present then? Firstly, if schooling is not in English, the nexus between social class and language will be attenuated though English will remain informally embedded in the social life of the urban elite for all foreseeable future. This will mean that the chances of upward educational and social mobility for the non-elite, which constitutes the majority of the population, will increase. In short, there will be more equity, more social justice if such a policy is put into practice. However, the exposure to English will keep increasing as a force of globalization so the linguistic landscape and the cultural capital of English may not suffer much even if the policies advocated above are put into practice.

## 9.6 Conclusion

This chapter has described the reception of English by different stakeholders among the Muslims of India and the establishment of English in the areas now in Pakistan. There were three major responses to the language among Muslim communities in pre-partition India: resistance and rejection, acceptance and assimilation and pragmatic utilization. In some ways all three are in evidence in Pakistan though, on the whole, English has a major profile and is seen as linguistic capital. It is the language of power being used in the domains of power of the state and the corporate sector. Thus, it is in high demand. Responding to this demand it is supplied as scarce goods by schools, colleges and universities. It is perceived as the identity marker of an upwardly mobile, urban and educated identity.

The chapter describes the concept of Pakistani English (PE) comparing it with Indian English (IE) which shares many features with it. It also describes some contemporary debates about its future role in Pakistan about which the author gives his own opinion which is that, despite judicial activism about making Urdu a de facto official language in place of English, there is not likely to be much change in its high status or the demand for acquiring it which is contingent upon it. It is also necessary that Urdu, if it is to be used more widely, should be associated with peace and progressive ideas which can lead to peace with Pakistan's neighbours and increased sensitivity for human rights in Pakistan.

**Personal Note** *I have learned so much from the writings of Professor Ravinder Gargesh that it is impossible to give a precise item-by-item list. Indeed, I am amazed at the extent and diversity of his research: phonetic features of Indian English, role of English in education, Indian literature in English, and Persian - if this is not a Renaissance intellect, what is?*

*However, besides scholarship, I would like to bring on record his humanity. I was impressed by the courtesy he extended to me, my wife and daughter when we visited India for research in 2008. Indeed, I was touched with the way he cared for us when we stayed at the guest house in Delhi University.*

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# Chapter 10

## Variations of English Language Use on Facebook by Select Native and Non-native Speaker



Obiageli Pauline Ohiagu

### 10.1 Introduction

English language has become a global language and an acceptable medium for communications in many local and international settings. Billions of people worldwide speak English either as mother tongue, second language, foreign language, or lingua franca. Estimates of its speakers vary. Sevinj (2015) posits that it is one of the most important languages in the world, spoken not only in English speaking countries and serves as the official language in many other countries inhabited by people from various ethnic groups with their own languages and dialects, resulting in several variations of English. Gargesh (2004) describes Indian English as the link language between the educated as well as the most potent medium of higher education. Gombo (2017) extols English language given its universal recognition, acceptance, and usage as the language of international business, world leadership summits, most academic conferences, workshops and seminars irrespective of the official language of the host countries. Thurairaj et al. (2015) also observe that English Language proficiency is now a requirement in all areas of life and is used extensively in interstate and international communications. Bieswanger (2008) consents that English is recognized as a world language and the undisputed global lingua franca. Given its role as an acceptable means for communication in nearly every sphere of international interaction, a basic level of fluency in it is currently considered an expertise that individuals need in a globalized world, hence its growing dominance even in countries where it is neither the lingua franca nor the native language.

For example, although Pakistan has five major native languages – Punjabi, Pashto, Sindhi, Siraiki, and Balouchi with Urdu as the national language, yet English is widely spoken because the people consider English proficiency as prestigious. They often switch from Urdu to English to impress others or to show that they are

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modern or educated (Sadiq 2015). Likewise, speaking English commands some prestige among Indonesians and has become a symbol of education, modernity, and sophistication. In fact, many job vacancies in the country include English skills as one of the most vital requirements. There are loanwords and phonological adaption of English by most Indonesians (Lauder 2008, as cited in Setiawan n.d.). In Nigeria, it is the official language and one of the most preferred languages of communication even among people who speak the same language since it is seen as a status conferral or mark of sophistication and ‘civilization’.

Consequently, English has maintained its position as one of the dominant languages in both local and international media environment, including the Internet. Thurairaj et al. (2015) describe English as the language of Facebook and Twitter. One major consequence of such huge global usage and acceptance of the language is the multiplicity of varieties of English. According to Bieswanger (2008), English language is a truly global language that is used in a vast number of countries for a myriad of different functions. No other language has ever been subjected to so many uses by so many people in so many places. This partly accounts for the linguistic variation that accompanies the geographical distribution and functional range of English.

A cogent concern for this study is determining if variations can lead to varied interpretations of a message and the extent they can affect the effectiveness of communication. Since Facebook has become a nexus for global interactions among people with a diverse linguistic background, the focus of this chapter is, therefore, to identify English language variations there, their causes and implications on effective communication.

### **Objectives of the Study**

1. To identify the differences in the discourse patterns of native and non-native speakers of English on Facebook that may affect the effectiveness of communication.
2. To determine the causes of the differences in the discourse patterns of native and non-native speakers of English on Facebook.
3. To investigate the implications of these variations on the effectiveness of communication on Facebook.

## **10.2 Literature Review**

### ***10.2.1 Theoretical Framework***

This study is hinged on two major pluralistic theories of English: world Englishes (WE) and English as an International Language (EIL) with their emphasis on the variations of English in today’s globalized society, aiming for intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability. Both approaches subscribe to the pluralistic

feature of English and equal treatment given to all varieties of English and its speakers. In Bolton (2019) ‘Englishes’ consciously emphasizes the autonomy and plurality of English languages worldwide, while the phrase ‘varieties of English’ refers to the heteronomy of such varieties to the common core of English. Premised on what Bolton coined Quirk’s plea for linguistic tolerance, the use of ‘Englishes’ would thus be more appropriate than the expression ‘variety of English’ since “English is not the prerogative or possession of the English ... Acknowledging this must – as a corollary involve our questioning the propriety of claiming that the English of one area is more correct than the English of another. Certainly, we must realise that there is no single correct English, and no single standard of correctness” (Bolton 2019, p. 290). However, both expressions are used in this work.

Yet it can be argued that Kachru’s three Circles Model in Mufwene (2019) is an offshoot of the variety of English thinking where the ‘native’ speakers of English are considered inner circle. Bolton (2019) presents that the Inner Circle of the model referred to those societies where English is the primary language, those often referred to as native speakers such as USA, UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In the Outer Circle English is only one of the community languages in multilingual societies with official recognition as an official, co-official, legal, or educational language; used both as an intra-national and an international language, and as a language of literary creativity and expression. Postcolonial Anglophonic countries in Africa and Asia such as Nigeria, India are in this Outer Circle. The Expanding Circle comprises those areas where English is an “international language” and traditionally regarded as societies learning English as a Foreign Language (EFL), e.g. China, Japan, Korea.

### 10.2.2 *Conceptual Review*

Contemporary Internet revolution has affected every facet of human existence including the growth of English as a global language, the multiplicity of varieties of English and even the emergence of an online dialect. Citing Crystal (1997) Al-Saleem (2011) asserts that the Internet engineered globalization has created a strong demand for an international lingua franca, thus furthering English’s presence as a global language and also a strengthened attachment to local dialects and languages. The Internet, therefore, enhances global interactions in English and local languages as well as expanded use of both English and the other languages. The author predicts that with about 80% of international Websites in English in the mid-1990s, the Internet would encourage global use of English to such a degree that other languages would be crowded out. Setiawan (n.d: 21) also explains that the Internet has played an important role in making English more widely spoken in Indonesia. About 51 million out of 250 million Indonesians are said to be registered on Facebook where many of them are forced to communicate with other citizens of the world in English.

Language variation results partly from bilingualism/multilingualism. The level of multilingualism on social media perhaps cannot be found in any other communication environment considering the number of people usually involved in social media interactions. Arguably every human language still spoken is being used on social media. In fact, the Internet at large is helping most formerly endangered languages not to go extinct. With English being predominantly spoken by social media users who also speak many other languages, the multiplicity of English varieties on social media is guaranteed. Consequently, the emergence of social media has also increased English language variations among global communities in their online communications. Therefore, Facebook users wishing to express themselves within the plurality of the online community adopt the English language in very diverse ways that reflect their different linguistic backgrounds, resulting in online varieties of English. Likewise, Al-Saleem (2011, p. 202) affirms that ‘as an important new medium of human communication, the Internet is bound to have an important long-term effect on language use’.

According to Eisenstein (2014), the diversity in textual styles noticed on social media is attributed either to the fact that there is no regulation on social media writing compared to other written communication or to their demands of near-synchronous communication. Some lexical and phonological variables have also filtered into online media from spoken language. Such noticeable variables include alternative spellings – phonetic and eccentric, abbreviations and contractions, acronyms, etc. The global understanding of these linguistic features on social media and the frequency of their usage result in a social media dialect, to borrow Einstein’s words.

Thurairaj et al. (2015, p. 302) subscribe that the mushrooming of social networking sites ‘has helped create a whole young generation who have their own meta-language, which provides an opportunity to probe to what extent the English language is altered’. Considering that the Internet is one of the preferred media of communication in modern society and the predominance of English for such communications over the Internet, it is imperative to analyse the nature, causes and implications of English language variations especially on social media where much of online interactions take place.

### ***10.2.3 Empirical Review***

Specific studies carried out in different parts of the world also confirm the growing control of English in both everyday conversations and in online interactions. For example, Al-Saleem’s study (2011, pp. 197–200) indicated that ‘English is the dominant language used online among a particular group of undergraduate students of Internet users in Jordan’, especially for their online chats. Using a sample group of 44 undergraduates to study their language use on Facebook the writer found that 45.4% of the study group used English language to communicate on Facebook while only 11.3% wrote texts in their local Jordanian Arabic Script. Majority of the participants (38.6%) in the study code-switched English and Arabic but most

frequently used Jordanian Arabic to express highly personal content that they cannot express well in English. They usually start off in English and switch over to Jordanian Arabic when they feel they need to express themselves better. Jordanian Arabic was mostly found in greetings, humorous or sarcastic expressions, expressions related to food, holidays, and religious expressions.

A survey of language use on social media carried out by Gombo (2017) in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus found that although Turkish is the local language, out of 147 respondents, only 52 use Turkish on social media, for the others, English is their preferred language of communication in social media; then 127 of them rate English as the most commonly used language on social media. However, only 23 of the respondents were Turkish Cypriots while 124 were foreigners studying in Turkey where Turkish is the official language.

Thurairaj et al. (2015, p. 302) investigate some users of Social Networking Sites from China. They identified linguistic features such as code-switching, erratic spelling, excessive usage of short messaging texts and mother tongue interference in their English Language proficiency. Specifically, the study found that the most popular linguistic feature used was the exclamatory spellings of emotions, for example, Hahahah, wah, and woohoo. More than half of the respondents indicate that they use acronyms, misspellings, code-switching, Malaysian English (i.e. incorporates Malaysian slang into the English language), shortening of words, and repetition (e.g. okay okay). However, in formal writing students consciously avoid using abbreviations or short forms and misspelling. Thus, the study 'proved that the frequent use of short messaging had not majorly affected the English language proficiency of the participants. In academic writing, there was a conscious effort to stay clear of SNSs language'.

Da Silva (2013) found a high percentage of English borrowings and code-switching in her study of two blog short stories by Indonesian writers. Certain words such as 'meeting', 'game', 'chatting' and 'update' were commonly found in Indonesian sentences. Another linguistic feature found in this study was an apparent phonological adaption of some lexical items such as 'oke' (okay), 'eniwei' (anyway) and 'meibi' (maybe).

In Carrió-Pastor and Alonso-Almeida's study (2014) English texts written by Spanish learners were contrasted with texts written by native English speakers in order to detect the most common writing changes motivated by the mother tongue of the writers. The results demonstrated that there were 'differences in the texts produced by writers with different linguistic and cultural antecedents, although their language proficiency was high enough to not produce grammatical errors'.

According to Setiawan (n.d) the influence of western products and cultures such as fast food chains, Hollywood movies, western popular music and TV shows has made English familiar, particularly among young Indonesians. The use of English among Indonesians, especially on Facebook, is influenced by how colloquial Indonesian is used. The mistakes might reflect how some Indonesians combine their native language skills and knowledge of English. Some 'broken patterns' of English have started to emerge. Still, these patterns of English are understood quite well among Indonesians and might have become 'acceptable'. There is frequent use of



code-switching and English borrowing words among Indonesian users of Facebook. In some cases, code-switching is used to make better the meaning conveyed.

While these scholars have aroused one's curiosity on the nature of English language variations on social media, a comparison between native speakers and non-native speakers seem not to have been given much scholarly attention. So, from both a conceptual and empirical perspective there is need to fill this knowledge gap by comparing English language variations among the two groups, understand their causes and implications for effective communication or message comprehensibility.

### **10.3 Methodology**

Facebook posts of 60 users were purposively selected and analysed descriptively. To capture the plurality of English usage in the global context, the users were a mixed group divided into two: Sample A which comprised 10 native speakers of English (Americans) and Sample B which consisted of 50 users who represent all the models of speaking English as second language, international language, foreign language, or as lingua franca. Their countries of origin were constituted as follows: 10 Nigerians, 10 Kenyans, 10 South Africans, 10 Europeans (from Netherlands, Romania, Hungary), Latin Americans (from Colombia, Brazil), and Asians (India, Bhutan) and 10 others from any other part of the world. Their Facebook pages were visited and their posts for the period of 3 weeks which the data collection lasted were selected. Only 192 posts/comments were found useful for this study. The choice of these countries was based on the nationality of the people that constitute the researcher's Facebook network. The purpose was to achieve a near global experience.

### **10.4 Data Presentation and Analysis**

Data presentation was done in line with the research objectives presented in the introduction. On the demographic data of the study group, 32 were females while 28 were males; 11 of them were above 55 years old considered in this work as advanced in years whereas 49 were less than 55 years referred to here as young Facebook users.

Objective 1: To identify the differences in the discourse patterns of native and non-native speakers of English on Facebook that may affect the effectiveness of communication.

Variations found in the Facebook texts of users were phonetic spellings, code-switching, frequent use of slangs/informal expressions, emotional exclamations, one-letter-words, acronyms, abbreviated words, contractions, emoticons and

symbols. These signified deviations from the Standard English language writing. Some examples of each of these are presented below.

A. Phonetic spellings/expressions:

- i. Man, am *gud*.
- ii. *Hahahahahahaha*. This one is writing in tongues ooo.
- iii. Mother and *dota* looking cute. Thaz my sis.
- iv. Lukin good. Tnk Godooo.
- v. She made my day. Gooooossh.
- vi. Wahaladey this cccountryooooo. Dis is serious.
- vii. Whateva daddy and daughter re plannin, it will be exposed. How can they be talkin from mouth to ear and keep tellin me nt to worry.
- viii. Hbd, my fyn girl. I luv you.
- ix. I am homeeeeeee.
- x. lol 2ru talkooo.
- xi. My pipple, wot is happening?

Phonetic spellings (the practice of spelling words according to their sound) were identified in the conversations of both sample groups. However, Facebook users who were native speakers of English who were advanced in years were more consistent in using standard spellings and words. In contrast, the younger ones in both sample groups would many times spell words or expressions according to their sounds as shown above.

B. Code-switching:

- i. We love to smile & be in tune with nature. Owughi anyi si Eze mua anyi. He chose us.
- ii. Yes oh boss, I skipped gbegiri. E dey my plate oh.
- iii. Let us go, awughi ije otu onye. Oya, my people make we dey waka day don break.
- iv. Nwannem erudite! Grammar nka kariri muo!
- v. Kpam isi akpara Agnes. Ihu gi odi ka ihu Agnes? Be careful what you are copying.
- vi. I celebrate my nieces' performances in the national exams... Nani Kama watoto change.
- vii. A nice surprise and proof of responsibility. Umelea vizuri mama.
- viii. Very true, jomoko timregama. ivinda ya thano.
- ix. Wij gaan vrijdag gewoon op vakantie, een weekje naar de zon, naar Zuid-Spanje. En er komt een dag dat we gewoon op Times Square staan. If you can dream it, you can do it!
- x. Lecsó Karádyval, of course.

Code-switching (the mixing of words, phrases, and sentences from two distinct grammatical systems across sentence boundaries within the same speech event) whether intra-sentential switching and inter-sentential switching were observable in the discourse patterns of the non-native speakers of English as illustrated above;

most of whom were bilinguals/multi-linguals. For instance, in the conversations presented in i–v the writers code switched from English to Igbo, a local Nigerian language, or Nigerian Pidgin English and vice versa. Similarly, in vi–viii lexical items from Kiswahili and other local Kenyan languages were mixed with English language. The writers of ix and x also code switched from Dutch to English and Hungarian to English respectively.

C. Borrowing as loanwords:

- i. Before He speaks nothing has been said, and after He speaks nothing more needs to be said, *Okwuchaogwu!!!* I reverence you.
- ii. Amen *nwannekem*, how are you?
- iii. No *wahala*. I will soon meet u again.
- iv. They are dancing *Konkobilo* like one Senator that I know.
- v. Time for harvest *basi*.
- vi. I was a great farmer and *osuga* was one of my crops, I know it so well. Marijuana somehow resembles *Onyulo*.
- vii. *Amanagu...* I am glad this *ekesusii* word has seeped into the international dictionary.

The italicised single words shown in i–iv above were borrowed from either Igbo or Pidgin English, v–vii were loanwords from either Kiswahili or other local Kenyan languages. Borrowing of single words was also common among non-native speakers.

D. Frequent use of one-letter-words, acronyms, abbreviated words, contractions, etc.:

- i. May *ur* smiles never *b* cut short, have a colorful day (your, be).
- ii. I sent you a PM (personal message).
- iii. Pls pm the pic (please send the picture to my box).
- iv. I love u too much I dnt knw hw to stop. (you, don't know how).
- v. Bby best of u (baby, you)
- vi. Thx aunty 4 the gift...wink wink...Imao (thanks for).

One-letter-words, acronyms, abbreviated words, contractions in i–vii above were noticeable among young Facebook users from both groups whereas the older people avoided such usages. The same thing applied to slangs and informal expressions presented below in i–v.

E. Slangs/informal expressions:

- i. Happy birthday to you boo.
- ii. This is truly pissing me off.
- iii. Hahaha she is a slay queen. Tks Buddy.
- iv. Kinda like her poker face.
- v. Hey baby you look cute.

While code-switching/borrowing of single words were found only in the Facebook posts/comments of non-native speakers of English, phonetic spellings,

one-letter-words, abbreviations, acronyms, contractions, slangs, and emoticons were typically used by young people from both sample groups. Sometimes when these linguistic styles which deviate from Standard English are overused at the same time, the result is a piece of communication that cannot be understood except by those who comprehend the languages that are mixed or the emerging codes used by most of the online community. The Facebook texts presented below were taken from Sample B. While text i was posted by a user from Zimbabwe text ii was posted by a Nigerian Facebook user. Both writers come from very disparate linguistic backgrounds, yet, their discourse patterns appear to be similar regarding the use of contractions, abbreviations, one-letter-words, and phonetic spellings, resulting in the emerging global social media dialect (the netspeak) which deviates from Standard English.

F. Full texts displaying a mixture of these variations.

- i. Reali long oh wea wil i start frm? is to mak out tym and c u whn i cum to ph bt marine navy has more cash and if is d nig navy wrkn instantly is assur d oda u luk for a company xpect his doin it outside nig.
- ii. Ndingu Uyathandwa Stuurman am 4 yrs old ...monday was playing at ma grandmas yard... Few houses away frm ma parents house... This uncle ir rather supposed father father called wth no hesitation I went to him cos I know him.

In summary, Facebook users from Sample A who were of advanced years stick more to Standard English while the younger ones often use slangs and other forms of the ‘netspeak.’ Sample informal expressions or non-standard English taken specifically from this young generation of native speakers of English include: It looks yummy; that sucks; super pic, you guys rock; wow, gals, this is fabulous news; you are the bomb; big hug bro; hey hey happy birthday sis, a hug and kiss; soooo cute, she is fab; we gotta go; I noticed your emoji; I kinda like it; and one word slangs such as yikes, nope, hey, guy, yup, wow, etc.

Phonetic spellings were also dominant in the post of these US young Facebook users. Examples of such phonetic spellings found particularly from this group were: wawoooooooo; yessss, meow you look gorgeous girl; yayy, yayy; hahahaah; oh wowowowow; Waw! Waw! Waw; You better BEElieve, I’m BUMBLING around the airport ready to BUZZ off to Mexico city; while sample acronyms collated from this group included: I sent you a PM (personal message); FYI (For your information); Happy b day; etc.

Objective 2: To investigate the causes of the differences in the discourse patterns of native and non-native speakers of English on Facebook.

Phonetic spelling of words was perceived as an online discourse style for young people irrespective of their linguistic background as this habit cut across both sample groups. So, rather than their linguistic commonality, it was the age factor that determined user’s inclination to be part of this emerging social media dialect or discourse style. Phonetic spellings were also sometimes employed for emphasis or

for rhetorical effect (gooooossh, homeeeee, wawooooooo, yessss, wowowowow, you better BEElieve I'm BUMBLING around the airport ready to BUZZ off to Mexico City).

One word borrowing predominant among most of the bilinguals/multi-linguals in Sample B suggested that sometimes a word/phrase appears better expressed in one of the languages spoken. Examples of this were demonstrated above in nos. C i) Okwuchaogwu/God who has the final word and C ii) nwannekem/my very dear brother or sister. These words have stronger meanings in the original Igbo language than in the translated forms suggesting why the writers decided to avoid mutilating their meanings by translation. Other times it could be perhaps for lack of the appropriate vocabulary in English language as shown in nos C iv) konkobilo, C vi) osuga, onyulo and C vii) ekegusii. In other cases, word/s could be borrowed for emphasis. In general, code-switching is a consequence of limited vocabulary in the second language of bilinguals. This explains why native speakers of English were not code-switching because even as bilinguals they may not necessarily have the problem of expressing themselves well in English when discussing some topics, as could be the case with non-native speakers.

At other times some writers code-switched to include/exclude their friends who speak other languages in the conversation. For example, in this post '*to God be the Glory (Onyenweanyi riwe otito)*' the writer merely translated the expression in a local language.

Like phonetic spellings, letter spellings acronyms, abbreviated words, contractions, slangs/informal expressions, emoticons, hashtags and other symbols of expressions such as @ were used by young members of both study groups apparently to be in tune with the perceived online discourse style. For the young Facebook users regardless of their linguistic background, 'speaking' the social media dialect seemed fashionable.

Objective 3: To investigate the implications of these variations on the effectiveness of communication on Facebook.

This emerging online variety of English language may be undergoing a form of global acceptance especially among the younger generation who communicate online. This is positive from the perspective of language development. Setiawan (n.d.) citing Jenkins (2015) asserts that a language item cannot be assumed to be an error just because it differs from standard usage, but could be considered as contingent creativity and adaption; after all, language is dynamic. Therefore, such mistakes may not necessarily hint that the speakers are incapable of using English correctly; rather, that they adapt the language to their own contexts and create different patterns or new varieties of English.

However, the social media dialect may have ambiguous or confusing interpretations since the used codes do not always have clearly defined and unified meanings. Emoticons, for instance, can be interpreted in diverse and even conflicting ways by different people. Clarity of communication is also affected because the resultant writings are mixtures of English Language with many other languages spoken by users. The posts presented in Fi-ii above are classic examples of how vague such

writings can be even for people who speak the same language. For example, Fi which is translated as follows could have been interpreted in various ways by different readers:

Fi) It has really been long. Where will I start from? I need to make out time and visit you in Port Harcourt. Marine Navy pays better but getting employment in the Nigerian Navy is more guaranteed whereas in the Marine Navy you need to get a contract with a company unless he is thinking of working outside Nigeria.

The post presented in D vi above is also a good example of how ambiguous and confusing the social media dialect can be sometimes. In my arrogant opinion (Imao) as used in the context suggests that the writer may not even know the meaning of the acronym but just used it because it is a trendy slang online and everyone wants to join the bandwagon. It could also be that the intended meaning is missed by the reader, which still amounts to ineffective communication.

Another unwholesome implication of this online variety of English which is spreading among young people on Facebook is that some of those non-native speakers who are not very proficient in Standard English might find the online dialects filtering into their official English use. The vocabulary, grammatical structures, spellings, etc. used in official communication may be contaminated by the social media variety which they are more frequently exposed to and inclined to imitate. Thurairaj et al. (2015) observe that the shortcut language used and created on instant messaging is drastically deteriorating students' vocabulary. It becomes a challenge when users are unable to differentiate formal language from informal language and when students at tertiary level use improper formats and sentences that stultify Standard English.

## 10.5 Discussion of Findings

The discourse patterns of native and non-native speakers of English on Facebook differ significantly especially because of code-switching and borrowing predominantly found in non-native speakers' texts. Also, while native speakers usually stick to Standard English non-native speakers often use linguistic features which deviate from the Standard. The result thus confirmed the study of Carrió-Pastor and Alonso-Almeida (2014) that there are differences in the discourse produced by writers with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds even in circumstances where they have a common knowledge of the topic of discussion.

However, beyond linguistic differences or similarities age was another contributory factor to the variations identified. So, some non-standard linguistic features such as slangs/informal expressions, frequent use of phonetic spellings, acronyms, deliberate misspellings, word contractions, emoticons, symbols, etc. were found in the text features of both Sample A and B young Facebook users. Consequently, this finding adds to existing studies by showing that apart from linguistic and cultural differences, age can also contribute to language variation since young Facebook

users had similar discourse patterns irrespective of their different linguistic background. Thuraiaraj et al. (2015) note that many social networking site users have created Internet slangs to communicate and express their thoughts on social networking and mobile networks; such that the communication-style of these users is observed to be rather similar. They imply that despite their cultural and linguistic differences, the users in comparable age bracket still employ similar communication styles.

This study found that code-switching was not noticeable in the Facebook texts of the native speakers of English even when they were proficient in other languages. On the contrary, most non-native speakers consistently code switched. This suggests that limited vocabulary of the second language could prompt code-switching in the discourse patterns of non-native speakers. This finding confirms Basnight-Brown and Altarriba's (2007) position on reasons bilinguals code-switch such as poor vocabulary or the absence of lexical knowledge in one of the languages used. They believe that the ease or difficulty of retrieval of one language is another contributory factor. So, even when bilinguals know the needed word in both languages retrieving the word from memory may be faster/easier in one language than the other. Code-switching also happens when the expression that one is trying to communicate has a better translation in one language or because no identical/precise translation in the other language exists. Understandably, native speakers usually have a high proficiency level of the primary language such that they can generally express themselves well in English when discussing nearly all topics, unlike most non-native speakers.

This also agrees with Brezjanovic-Shogren (2002) who identifies some reasons that motivate code-switching and code-mixing as referential when there is lack of knowledge of one language on a certain subject; directive, when speakers exclude/include other participants in a conversation by employing the language familiar/unfamiliar to the person. In expressive function the speakers switch code in order to express their mixed identity, metalinguistic code-switching plays out when the speaker attempts to impress the other participants with a show of linguistic skills and finally, the poetic function is involved in switched puns and jokes. Thus, sample post such as 'to God be the Glory ...Onyenweanyi riwe otito' is directive since the writer's translation aims to include other participants to the conversation. Whereas Facebook users in the posts in 3 iv, vi and vii above were switching to other languages either because they didn't know the exact words in English or they couldn't easily recall the words (referential). Perhaps the reasons that explain why bilinguals code switch are also the causes of variations in their speech patterns/text features.

In summary, code-switching found only among non-native speakers of English may be an indication that having a limited vocabulary in the second language or lack of lexical knowledge of the subject matter as well as the ease or difficulty of retrieval of one language could be factors necessitating code-switching in the discourse patterns of non-native speakers. Code-switching also happens when bilinguals want to avoid mutilation of meaning through translation signifying that perhaps most people think in their primary language.



There are several implications which these variations may have. First, it is hypothetical that with time following the global usage and recognition of the social media dialect, it may also become an internationally accepted variety of English especially when the majority of the codes (such as emoticons, word contractions, one-word spellings, acronyms, etc.) will be universally understood. Drawing on the earlier stated thoughts of Quirk in Bolton (2019) that English is not the prerogative of the English which precludes that there is a single standard of correctness and Gargesh's (2004) observation that Indian English based on its phonetic differences is labeled a deviant variety, one would argue that there is also no single standard of phonetic correctness. Thus, the same linguistic tolerance could be applied to Facebook phonetic variations of spellings and other usages. Following its standardization (written in globally understandable codes) the Online English, or better still Social Media English may have become a new addition to Kachru's notion of world Englishes.

The demonstration of the "indigenization" of English language on Facebook in this study shows how English is adapted to social media communication mannerisms and the cultural traditions of its globally diverse speakers. However contrary to Kachru's insight of English Language acculturation by the Outer Circle of its speakers (Mufwene 2019), Social Media English involves acculturation by both the Inner Circle and Outer Circle of English speakers since it blends variational uses by native and non-native speakers in a manner that the Inner Circle speakers cannot dictate acceptable standards of this variety of English.

This futuristic perception of Social Media English is especially significant from Gombo's (2017) thoughts that the superiority of a language is determined by usage, global recognition and international acceptance in global education, business, and economic market. Although the online dialect may never be accepted for education and business conversations, its growing heavy use for much of social interactions could earn it a global recognition status. This is especially in view of Bolton's two major considerations for judging the use of a particular variety as a teaching model: first, that it is used by a reasonably large number of educated people; and, second, that it is mutually intelligible with other varieties used by educated speakers from other societies. On the first yardstick of being used by many, Social Media English may be rated highly but may not be exactly classified to a large extent as mutually intelligible with other varieties of English used by educated speakers in formal contexts.

Perhaps the forecast of Setiawan (n.d) that the Internet would encourage global use of English to such a degree that other languages would be crowded out would also be actualized, even if the English used online may not be the fixed American or British English taught in schools.

However, the online variety of English questions the comprehensibility of some of the messages communicated which may seem ambiguous to those who do not understand the mixed languages or codes. If effective communication takes place when the sender's intended meaning is precisely understood by the receiver, then the degree of effective communication achievable with some of these posts are controversial. Finally, the possibility of the adulteration of English proficiency of the

non-native speakers as a result of the influence of their heavy exposure to the 'corrupt' online variety of English is indeed worrisome. Although Thuraij et al. (2015) claim that the frequent use of short messaging had not majorly affected the English language proficiency of their respondents, the researcher's experience in marking scripts of undergraduate students in Nigeria is that sometimes there is an unconscious infiltration of this online variety of English, though limited, into academic writings. Therefore, in the future, it is also speculated that the social media dialect speakers may not always keep the online English totally away from some official writings even when they are not intending to do so.

## 10.6 Conclusions

The discourse patterns of native and non-native speakers of English on Facebook vary especially because non-native speakers code switch and borrow words from other languages. However, age also contributed to language variation since young Facebook users had similar discourse patterns irrespective of their different linguistic background as some non-standard linguistic features such as the frequent use of phonetic spellings, acronyms, deliberate misspellings, word contractions, one-letter-words, abbreviations, slangs/informal expressions, emoticons, symbols, etc. were found in the text features of both Sample A and B young Facebook users.

All forms of the netspeak language/codes identified in the posts of young Facebook users from both groups were assessed as an evolving global online discourse style for young people as determined by their age. Speaking the social media dialect has a bandwagon effect as many young people in both groups join the emerging trend apparently to be in tune with the perceived online discourse style in vogue. Phonetic spellings were also sometimes employed for emphasis or for rhetorical effect.

Code-switching and single words borrowing found among Sample B Facebook users suggested that sometimes a word/phrase is better expressed in one language. Other times it could be perhaps for lack of the appropriate vocabulary in English language or limited vocabulary in the second language. This explains why native speakers of English were not code-switching.

This researcher hypothesizes that in future sequel to the global heavy usage of the social media dialect for social interactions online, it may become an internationally accepted variety of English especially when the majority of the codes will be universally understood. This could pass as language development, contingent creativity, and adaptation that makes a language dynamic since change is a property of every language. However, this online variety of English sometimes questions the comprehensibility of some of the messages communicated which may seem ambiguous to those who do not understand the mixed languages or codes. The degree of effective communication achievable with some of the posts on social media is debatable. The risk of contamination of native speakers/users' competency of Standard English as a result of the exposure to the social media dialect is also real.

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# Part III

## The Expanding Circle Perspective

### Part Introduction

This part looks into the functional variation of English in Expanding Circle contexts, where English does not have an official status; nonetheless, it holds an important/increasing place and has an indispensable role to play. The chapters explore the forces and the dynamics that shape the functional breadth of English in a range of language contexts vis-à-vis the reality of globalization. These include: its increased popularity, relevance, enhanced prestige, and the demands it makes on the local ecology irrespective of deep-rooted cultural, political, religious, and or linguistic identities. The chapters emphasize that there is a need to describe the functions of English and carve out appropriate language policies to support the role of English in primarily mother-tongue based educational systems.

# Chapter 11

## Where English Is Headed in South America: A Speculative Glimpse



Kanavillil Rajagopalan

### 11.1 Warming up

My aim in this chapter is to survey the slow but steady incursion of the English language into the daily lives of the millions of people that inhabit the 12 sovereign countries and three major territories that make up South America. English is, by and large, a foreign language all over the continent, if you except Guyana (where it is the official language) and a smattering of small areas such as Malvinas/the Falklands whose inhabitants received British citizenship, thanks to the British Nationality Act of 1983. However, the English language is bound up with the geopolitics in which the continent is embroiled in much the same way as it is true to say of the continents of Africa and Asia, as indeed of every nook and cranny of this world.

In all these geographical areas, the history of European colonialism has left its long shadow and its nefarious consequences still persist, often in subtle ways. I shall zero in on Brazil, my adopted country and the one I am currently most familiar with. It covers an area slightly shy of half the continent's overall size, with a roughly commensurate share of its total population. The precise role of English is still difficult to pin down, but as I have argued elsewhere, it makes a lot of sense to characterize it as ambivalent (Rajagopalan 2003, 2008), to say the least, presenting a strange admixture of adoration and suspicion—a factor that must be considered when undertaking major policies designed to teach the language or promote it in other ways (Rajagopalan 2012b).

But, as the world shrinks at its current pace thanks to the ongoing and, from the looks of it, irreversible trend of globalization in progress (despite the occasional 'hiccups') and the phenomenal growth of the internet technology facilitating transnational communication at a hitherto unimaginable scale, the prospects for the spread of English seem guaranteed. But one must hasten to add that the English that,

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according to many scholars, will some day in the not-distant future emerge as a language of increased communication amongst most nations on this planet, will be one that will undoubtedly present itself in a thoroughly modified form, adapted to suit its new function as a truly world language (Brutt-Griffler 1998; Watterson 2011)—a phenomenon that many call ‘World English’ (Bailey 1985; McArthur 2002; Brutt-Griffler 2002; Rajagopalan 2004, 2012a).

## 11.2 Setting the Stage

### 11.2.1 *The So-Called “Discovery” of the New World*

As one contemplates the worldwide phenomenon of the spectacular advance of English as the world’s leading lingua franca, one is struck by the perception that the continent of South America is a newcomer to the field when compared to the rest of the continents on the terrestrial globe. This is generally attributed to the fact that the continent has had a long history marked by its isolation from the rest of the world, amply attested to by its unique flora and fauna. Geography might help explain this relative isolation, partially at least. But so does history. Especially when one insists on looking at the whole thing through the prism of the history as it is ‘officially’ told, that is to say, history as it is narrated from a Eurocentric point of view. Like its mighty neighbour in the northern hemisphere, the United States, it was, so the ‘official’ history tells us, ‘discovered’ as late as the end of the fifteenth century and that too, by accident or happenstance. The undeniable fact that there already were hordes of native inhabitants roaming these vast swathes of lands in what later came to be known as the Americas is all too often conveniently swept under the carpet. (Never mind that inconvenient detail for the time being!).

Christopher Columbus, the Italian explorer, who ‘discovered’ America and had initially entertained the impression that, through his “attempt to circumnavigate [the earth] in order to reach the Orient by way of the Occident” (Eco 1998, p. 6), he had found a new sea route to Japan, is a striking example of this discovery by sheer happenstance and serendipity. The idea was reinforced some two decades later by Amerigo Vespucci, his compatriot who later bequeathed his name to the whole continent and had the great merit of proving that the newly discovered land was a far cry from the outermost fringes of Asia, as was initially surmised, but in fact was an altogether new continent.

As a matter of fact, chance has played a crucial role at every step of the way in the discovery of the two continents that make up the Americas. Let us take the case of Brazil for example. Pedro Álvares Cabral, the Portuguese seafarer who ‘discovered’ Brazil, was under the impression all the time that he had discovered a *new* sea route to India, which he thought entitled him to some sort of one-upmanship over his enormously more illustrious predecessor Vasco de Gama who had performed the feat some years earlier.

### ***11.2.2 Early Colonization***

The history of early colonization too speaks volumes for the somewhat wayward attitude often displayed by the early seafarers who braved the waves into the unknown and made landfall on the continent. But here it is important to point out a key difference between those early settlers in North America and their counterparts in the Southern hemisphere. The Pilgrim Fathers, for instance, who settled in the New England area in the early seventeenth century, included a sizeable number of the members of the English separatist church who had fled from their homeland in order to escape religious persecution back home and who were determined to make the best of their lives in their newly discovered haven. Unlike these dedicated nation-builders, their counterparts in the Southern hemisphere were primarily interested in plundering the immense natural resources with a view to striking it rich and going back to where they came from (mainly Spain, which colonized most of the territories and Portugal, which brought into its fold the huge landmass today known as Brazil).

### ***11.2.3 The Way the History Shaped up in the Colonial Era***

The years immediately following the European “discovery” of South America was taken up by the rivalry between Spain and Portugal, two maritime powers of the period vying with each other to occupy as much of the continent as they possibly could. The prospect of a bloody armed conflict between the two powers was defused by the Treaty of Tordesellas, signed in 1494 and later ratified in Setúbal, Portugal. As a result, the continent was divided up, with Spain occupying the land along Pacific coastline, and Portugal the one along the Atlantic. But occasional skirmishes persisted off and on, often threatening to break out into all-out war, but luckily averted at the eleventh hour through outside mediation.

### ***11.2.4 The Postcolonial Era and the Continent’s Awakening to the World at Large***

Most of the South American countries won their independence from European rule in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Unlike the territory occupied by the Spaniards that saw bloody wars of independence fought by legendary figures such as Simon Bolívar and José de San Martín, resulting in its breakup into several independent states, the territory under the Portuguese flag experienced a practically bloodless coup (staged by none other than the reigning emperor himself who actually switched sides and severed all ties to the metropolis) and the resultant “smooth” transition and consequent maintenance of Brazil with its boundaries intact.



### 11.3 A Remark or Two About the History of Brazil's Sparse Contact with the English-Speaking World

Unlike many of the countries in Asia and Africa that today form part of the Anglophone world, Brazil has not had, from a historical perspective, any durable exposure either to Britain or the English language (Rajagopalan 2005a, 2006). In fact, most Brazilians typically associate the English language with its powerful neighbor to the north, the United States, that has a long history of keeping the countries of South America in its pecking order, invoking to that end the Monroe doctrine promulgated in 1823 (initially considered favourably by the countries on the continent, though quickly raising suspicions of a secretive “Big Brother” agenda) and, later, the so-called “Roosevelt corollary” in 1904 that laid to rest any remaining doubts regarding the true intentions of the then burgeoning superpower.

Great Britain influenced the destiny of the nation in no significant ways and whenever it did, it did so mostly on the sidelines and that too in extremely subtle, not overt, ways. Thus, in exchange for escorting the royal barge fleeing Lisbon in the face of impending Napoleonic invasion, Britain exacted from Portuguese King Dom Pedro I the right for special trading privileges and a host of other exclusive rights. Apart from that, its influence on the affairs of the nation was mostly exercised indirectly through its enormous influence on Portugal, the then decadent colonial power.

With the United States, it is an altogether different story. The late nineteenth century and the early twentieth bore witness to several brazen acts of abject meddling by the Big Brother in the affairs of the nations to the south. The so-called ‘Good Neighbour Policy’ (ostensibly a promise to refrain from that opprobrious practice and turn over a new leaf), was proudly announced by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 with a great deal of fanfare. But it actually turned out to be long on mellifluous talk, but short on concrete action. For, as many democratically elected governments on the continent fell victim to military coups one after another, it became soon clear to all and sundry who was surreptitiously pulling the strings from behind.

Over and above its vested interests to safeguard its southern flank from the prying eyes of emerging rival powers (such as the then menacing U.S.S.R., as the famous Cuban missile crisis of 1962 and the ill-fated Bay of Pigs invasion the year before were to testify to unmistakably), the United States also exercised its influence on South Americans at large through its soft power—to wit, its powerful film industry, with all the glitz and glamour associated with it, and after the end of World War II, its meteoric rise as the world’s only remaining superpower and the emergence of English as most coveted language worldwide.

Historically, up until the end of World War II, it was French that was Brazil’s most sought after foreign language, as indeed was true of many other countries on the continent. The language meant prestige, high culture and finesse. The elite sent their children to be educated in France. But the post-war era saw an abrupt change of direction and a sudden rush to everything American, including the English

language. Word borrowings from the language of Shakespeare, nay of Walt Whitman and Herman Melville, literally flooded the local idiom, Portuguese. Things reached such a feverish pitch that in 1999, a Federal Congressman tabled a bill proposing to ban the use of anglicisms (as well as pseudo-anglicisms), deftly camouflaged as ‘foreignisms’ (Rajagopalan 2002, 2005b). The bill didn’t pass muster in the lower house, but anyhow underscored the rising passions that had long lain dormant and now erupted in the form of chest-pounding nationalism fuelled by the distrust of the Big Brother to the north and its ultimate intentions vis-à-vis its ‘backyard’.

## 11.4 Globalization and the New World Order

Globalization, a trend that marked its presence in the late 1970s or thereabouts and gathered full speed soon afterwards reset relations amongst nations on hitherto unfamiliar terms. The growth of international travel and mass migrations owing to a variety of reasons as well as new technologies, that made communication across vast distances cheap and rapid as well as within easy reach of one and all, brought together people from distant lands. Never before that moment had the need for a world-wide lingua franca been felt so ardently.

As it turned out, there already was a candidate ready and fully prepared to rise to this challenge of world-wide communication: English. That said, care should be taken while considering what exactly is the language that we are talking about here. The rush to answer that question with the word ‘English’ and a cool shrug of the shoulders must be restrained, as a number of scholars have been at pains to point out for some time now. (Bailey 1985; Graddol 2006; Maley 1985). We shall hone in on this issue later on in this chapter. But let us first consider what credentials the English language brings to the table in order to prop up its claim to its present-day status as the world’s number one language of international communication.

## 11.5 English in the World Today

### 11.5.1 *The ‘Received’ Narrative*

The rise of English to its current status as the world’s leading lingua franca must be credited to a number of factors, the most significant of which is of course history. No doubt, the British were the most successful among the European powers who, from the end of the fifteenth century on, sought to bring the full weight of their maritime prowess to bear on their quest for distant lands and their wealth. The worldwide colonization spree that ensued resulted in the truly remarkable feat of what once was a tiny island in the north Atlantic ocean off the northeast coast of continental Europe transforming itself into ‘an empire where the sun never set,’ a

title it wrenched off from its rival, the Spanish empire. And the English language spread wherever the Union Jack was hoisted, guaranteeing it a truly world status. When the sun did finally set on the British empire towards the middle of the twentieth century, the language did not follow suit, thanks to the fact that the emerging world power to replace the decadent one, namely the United States of America, was also an English-speaking nation.

So far, so good. The major drawback with this ‘received narrative’ is that it is only part of the story. Besides, it is all too celebratory of a race of people who toiled hard and deserved to win the spoils of the many wars they fought, of the conquests they made along the way. To be sure, there is some truth to it. But then the key question to ask is: is it sufficient to maintain English as the language of international communication even today? In other words, is the sense of triumphalism inherent in the official account alone capable of explaining the enormous success of English as the world’s leading lingua franca?

To answer this question satisfactorily one must take into account certain key organic and contextual factors. Saraceni (2015, p. 31), for one, has taken upon himself the task of what he refers to as the “untidying” of the official history of the English language, that is widely held to have started off as a “purely Germanic language” and had its vocabulary enriched along the way through heavy borrowings from Latin and a number of other sources etc. Saraceni’s objection to that such a rosy and upbeat account has to do with the idea implicit in such narratives to the effect that English is a solid monolith and that the language of good old Albion somehow has come through unscathed despite years of contact with alien tongues.

### 11.5.2 *The Alternative Narrative*

Nothing could be further from the truth. As I put it more than a decade and a half ago (Rajagopalan 2004, 2011) and have made a point of insisting ever since, *the language that has emerged as the world’s leading lingua franca* is a whole new ball game which is English only in virtue of its historical ties to that language, but is in fact multicultural, multinational in its very make up as well as destiny. I repeat: what I am here referring to is the language that has emerged as the world’s number one means of international and intercultural communication.

If anyone still has any lingering doubts as to whether or not such a thing exists, just watch how people interact among themselves while patiently waiting in queues for their turn to check-in at major international airports all over the world. The language that gets spoken on these occasions does sound like English, but that is the best way that one can hope to describe it. What one actually witnesses is a veritable jambalaya of accents where the participants who come out most successful are the people who are adept at handling several languages, among them English (needless to say, in varying degrees of competence). And, as many of my readers will readily concur with me, thanks to their personal experiences in situations of the type that I

sketched above, it is the so-called native-speakers of English (most of them proudly and nonchalantly monolingual) that are all too often left scratching their heads trying to figure out what on earth the guy next to them was saying.

Along with a number of scholars who have appraised this phenomenon, I prefer to refer to it as ‘World English’ for reasons I have explored in greater detail elsewhere (Rajagopalan 2012a). For the time being, I shall content myself with saying that, from a lingua franca point of view, it is more important and interesting to focus on how different regional varieties reach across one another and strive to facilitate mutual comprehension and some semblance of unity, rather than dwell on the fissiparous tendencies noticeable all over the place. When all is said and done, it all boils down to a question of what one’s expectations are about the prospects of a world coming together (or, contrariwise, unceremoniously coming apart after the manner of the biblical Tower of Babel—cf. McArthur 1987). I personally prefer to nurture the first alternative.

In my view, the English language that will one day come out as the language of worldwide communication at a hitherto unforeseen scale in a world that shows all the clear signs of becoming multipolar and pluri-centric will be marked by hybridization to an extent as yet unimaginable. Trans-languaging will be the order of the day. In its spread to Britain’s former colonies, the language was already subjected to all manner of changes affecting not only its phonology and lexicon (the ones most susceptible to changes) but even its syntax long-considered its rock-solid base by linguists of different theoretical stripes. But, as the language spreads its tentacles wider, more and more people, hitherto not part of the Anglophone world, start using it more and more.

The evident fallout from this is not all that difficult to imagine. To cite Brutt-Griffler (1998, p. 381): “English has spread *and changed* to become an international language.” (the italics are from the original). She wrote this in response to Widdowson’s (1994) argument, alongside its most likely unwitting (as I should think) implication, that the spread of English as the world’s international language must give its (native) speakers some grounds for feeling proud of themselves and their achievement. Needless to say, what Brutt-Griffler is drawing attention to is that what made it possible for English to become an international language is the fact of its having had the ability to adapt itself to the new surroundings as and when they presented themselves and not remain resolutely resistant to them.

## 11.6 English and Its Extraordinary Adaptability

That the English language is an extraordinarily adaptable mode of communication is a fact that has been noted by a number of scholars (cf. Clark 2013). What is not often appreciated just as well is the fact that, as it gets ‘tossed around’ by more and more people who really are not among its traditional stakeholders, the language slowly ceases to be the exclusive property of those who traditionally claimed to be its sole proprietors, a fact noticed early on by Widdowson in the afore-mentioned

paper (Widdowson 1994). As a matter of fact, it seems true to say that it is the one language that seems to take care of itself even without the active presence of so-called ‘native-speakers,’ as amply attested to by the post-Brexit meetings of the European Union or the regular gatherings of the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) where English is regularly used for all routine transactions.

This does help call the bluff of the concept of the ‘native-speaker, a concept born out of 19th century’ imagination and undeniably of colonial provenance (Hackert 2012; Rajagopalan 1997, 2004, 2012b, 2018). English has become a language that has gained a life of its own, irrespective of whether or not the so-called ‘native-speakers’ mark their presence in the day-to-day interactions done with its help. From the looks of it, the policy adopted by the Trump administration in the U.S. of putting America first and turning its back on the rest of the world, and the decision by the UK government to unilaterally withdraw from its role on the European continent should lay to rest any remaining doubts one may have in this regard. As of now, these events do not seem to forebode any definitive setback for the surge of English on the world stage, as many seem to want to hastily conclude. Quite the contrary. The language in its metamorphosed avatar called ‘World English’ seems destined to continue to occupy centre stage, with or without the active presence and participation of its traditional custodians.

## 11.7 Spotlight on South America

As noted earlier, English’s role as a latecomer to the field in South America makes the situation somewhat different from what one observes in the rest of the world. But the winds are blowing in the same direction. And, judging by the giant strides that have been made thus far, the language’s—in its new avatar that I refer to as World English—future seems guaranteed. It has spread its tentacles to practically all walks of life, like massive word borrowings in areas such as the use of the internet, advertising, neon shop lightings and billboards and so forth, education, especially tertiary education, banking, trade and commerce; well you name it.

In light of sparse direct contact with the English-speaking world in the past (discussed above), it is hardly surprising that English language is still in its nascent stage of making its presence felt on the continent. Also, its development is far from uniform across the board. A report released by Merco Press, a South Atlantic news agency, showed that Latin America’s English proficiency was considered the lowest in the world. Even Chile, a country with a thriving economy and high prospects ranked very low on a list led by Peru, Mexico, Uruguay, Costa Rica and Argentina. Argentina ranks the highest, thanks to improved school enrollment rates that have been steadily rising since the 1970s. And the report went on to state: “Brazil, Columbia, Peru and Chile have improved, but they still lack the large base of competent English speakers necessary for a globalized workforce.” (<http://en.mercopress.com/2013/11/13/latin-america-s-english-proficiency-very-low>)

## 11.8 Changing Perceptions

Unlike the older generation of people who still eye the English language with some suspicion, an attitude they transfer from their fully understandable distrust of the one major country that speaks it, the younger ones are enamored of the prestige associated with it and access to the outside world that comes along with it. There is thus a noticeable generation gap among the populations between those who look at English askance and those who seem favorably disposed to it. Besides, in South America today no one fails to be impressed by the enormous job opportunities and the prospects for promotion that a working knowledge of the language opens up. And with that, there is an ever-growing scramble for learning the language, especially in major urban centers where the interest is most evident. It is not infrequent that one comes across advertisements for job opportunities that explicitly state that those who do not possess a minimum working knowledge of the language need not take the trouble of even applying.

The growing demand for learning English may be verified by the sheer number of language schools springing up throughout the length and breadth of Brazil. Most universities demand of the aspirants to their graduate courses a working command of English (especially the passive skills) as a precondition for entry. And the recommended bibliography normally includes texts in written English. The pressure on the students to learn the language reasonably well grows as the students realize that they need to present their research findings to international audiences at academic conferences to improve their job prospects once they come out of their universities.

## 11.9 The Future of English in South America

### 11.9.1 *A Conundrum of Sorts*

Speculating about what the future holds for the popularity of a language in a given socio-cultural setting is always tricky business, for the simple reason that a number of factors, many of which are thoroughly unpredictable, impinge upon the question. It is possible, however, to dispel some myths about the status of English as a world language that have been around for some time and gained traction even among otherwise punctilious researchers who delve into these matters.

The foremost among these is the idea that the fortunes of English are viscerally tied to the continued hegemonic role on the world stage of the countries traditionally associated with the language (the so-called ‘inner circle countries’, cf. Kachru 1985). The unmistakable implication is that English will cede its current status to some other language (or cluster of languages) that replace it once the countries that ‘own’ and promote it—and are responsible for its dominance—are superseded by others eagerly waiting in the wings to take its place—in much the same manner as

English took over from French at the end of World War II, or, French from German (at least in the sphere of scientific discourse), or for that matter, from such illustrious predecessors of times past such as Latin, Sanskrit and Arabic. Those who uphold this view may even invoke the famous lines of the poet Alfred Lord Tennyson that say: “The old order changeth yielding place to new. And God fulfills himself in many ways. Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.”

### ***11.9.2 Why Geopolitics Plays by Different Rules***

For all its initial appeal, the argument adumbrated in the foregoing paragraph is flawed and not all that fool-proof as it presents itself. For one thing, what guarantees the international reach of a language is not the brute force of the nations traditionally deemed its rightful owners or the sheer number of people that regularly speak it for their day-to-day affairs. By the first criterion, the Anglophone world may still have an advantage over the rest of the world but, with the rise of other global actors such as China, alongside many others down the line, what the power balance may look like in a not-too-distant future is anybody’s guess. As for the second criterion, namely that of the sheer number of speakers, Chinese must right now enjoy a clean headway vis-à-vis English, which it does not. This is not to say that the two criteria do not count. They certainly do. But what really matters is the language’s spread right across the globe, transcending cultural, ethnic, racial, linguistic barriers. It is here that English has a clear advantage over its rivals.

Perhaps even more germane to the issue at hand is the fact that in many of the countries where it started off as a language of colonial administration and later an additional language and a medium of instruction, English did outlast the end of the colonial period and today has taken root, developing into their own indigenous varieties with distinct local colors. This is the case with the countries that form part of the larger Anglophone world—the Commonwealth of Nations being a striking example. So much so that English is today a language sustained by speakers who were, until relatively recently, not counted as its customary users and their numbers are skyrocketing (the ratio is already 3:1). Needless to say, this is unique and unparalleled in history and is fast changing the language in its very entrails.

### ***11.9.3 Policies of English Teaching in Brazil***

Efforts have been made officially for the improvement of the skills of teachers of English in Brazil. In this context, Gimenez et al. (2016, pp. 219–234) discussed certain measures taken by the Brazilian government. They mentioned four programs.

1. National Development Plan for teachers in Public Education Systems & Network (PARFOR).



2. The Professional Development Program for teachers of English in US (PDPI) 2011 with second phase in 2013.
3. English without Borders 2013.
4. The National Policy for Inclusion & Diversity.

The paper discusses the consequences for learning & teaching English language greatly affected by globalisation. One of the main focus of PARFOR program was to provide a complementary second degree for those already holding a degree eg. a Portuguese language teacher who also teaches English without holding a degree in English.

The program mainly focuses on improving the skills of teachers teaching English:

1. The PDPI program aimed at sending teachers to the US (University of Oregon) for strengthening their oral and written fluency in English to learn methodologies and to use online resources for the training of teachers (p. 227). The PDPI program strengthened the view that “the view that native speakers know best”, a view that goes against the idea of the importance of the empowerment of local mode of communication.
2. English with borders (EWB) was launched as an ancillary to Science without Borders (SWB). This program was to prepare students to succeed in proficiency tests such as TOEFL & IELTS and it created new meaning for the fresh batches of teachers as now they could freely use English creatively in classroom. However, this freedom also poses one of the challenges i.e., how to deal with competing discourses about English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and standard English. It was believed that English is the language of native speakers and hence either the American or British English needs to be focused on in academic settings. So, even though they have a Lingua Franca variety in Brazil but in actual practice, they favored and enforced the native speaker’s variety (pp. 226–227).
3. Based on critical applied linguistic perspective to search solution for questions of genders, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, ideology and discourse (Pennycook 2001, p. 10), the last program had policies for Diversity & Inclusion for English language learning with democratic principles to address the problem of racial inequality in language learning. The curriculum attempts at tackling inequality and promoting an inclusive society. This perspective unfortunately is not shared throughout Brazil (p. 230).

## 11.10 Wrapping up

As of now, nothing stands in the way of prognosticating with a fair amount of certainty that the English language—or whatever that it evolves into in the course of its relentless surge worldwide—is destined to make significant inroads into the South American nations and the daily life of its millions of citizens. Regional variation and local socio-historical factors may make some regions lag behind the others.

Even with the overall perspective that the Lingua Franca is subordinated to the continuation of traditional practices of teaching English (i.e., native speaker-centered) and barring as yet unforeseen circumstances, it is safe to conclude that the die is cast and one may wager that it is a matter of when or how soon, rather than whether.

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# Chapter 12

## Shift of Functions of the English Language in the Context of Today's Russia



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### 12.1 Introduction

Though Kachru's Theory of Three Circles (1985) has been long established in sociolinguistics and many scholars use it in their academic work, the terms 'variety of English' and especially 'varieties of the Expanding Circle' are still a disputable area of linguistics. Many scholars, teachers, and ordinary users still believe in 'general English', preferring to speak not of their culture's English as one of world Englishes but rather of English *in* their country – for example, not of Russian English but of English in Russia (Proshina 2005, 2018; Ustinova 2005), as the former is often associated with learners' deficient English, a kind of interlanguage testifying to a bad command of performance. This brings forward the necessity to go into details and elaborate on the concept of variety of a language.

#### 12.1.1 What Is a Variety of English?

To begin with, a variety of English should be dissociated with learner English, as the social phenomenon which variety is – though comprised of individual performances – wider, more abstract and comprehensive than an individual one. Not every individual manifests all features typical of the variety in their speech, as well as not all marked peculiar features of an idiolect can be recognized as distinctive features of the variety inherent in the speech community.

When giving a general definition of language variety, we can rely on a dictionary of linguistic terms. The Concise Oxford Linguistics Dictionary, for instance, defines *variety* as “any form of a language seen as systematically **distinct** from others”

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(Mathews 2003, p. 236). This parameter has become an object for critique, for example, Mahboob and Liang (2014) say there are no unique features in any variety and the same features can be repeated in several varieties. Indeed, specific distinctive features of varieties, though not unique, can be combined in a different way at various levels of the language structure and such a combination of features makes distinctiveness of each variety.

Any variety is a multidimensional, functional, and dynamically developing entity. Multiple dimensions are characteristic of any language, which might be presented in oral and written forms of speech in various functions and contexts of situation. Since varieties of the Outer and Expanding Circles emerged due to language contact, which is still actively going on, to characterize and describe them, scholars employ the lectal continuum, or cline (Kachru 1983a, p. 77) that has been borrowed from Creolistics. When we deal with Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes, we imply that any variety's cline includes acrolect, mesolect, and basilect. Acrolectal English is typical of formal contexts of situations and is used by educated speakers/writers with a highly proficient command of English. For example, political figures at international organizations (UN, EC, a.o.), researchers, and journalists working for international agencies are usually users of acrolectal English, which is mainly distinct in its speakers' phonetic accent. Mesolectal English is reproduced by educated users in either informal contexts of situation or in formal contexts when, due to certain psychological reasons, the speaker/writer loses full control over their speech production. Finally, basilectal English is found in the speech of not sufficiently educated users who tend to make a pidginized hybrid of the language with clear imprint of their first language. It is the basilectal variety of English that is infrequently despised as Ruslish, Chinglish, or Hinglish and is taken for a deficient variety. To emphasize the idea expressed above, a variety as a sociolinguistic phenomenon cannot be restricted to only one lect (i.e., basilect); it includes the three lects but its description is made by the meso- and acrolects as performed by educated users.

For example, for many educated Russian speakers of English the distinctive linguistic features at the phonetic level include specific saltatory (rather than stepping) intonation, lack of aspiration in the voiceless stops /p, t, k/, devoicing voiced consonants in the word final position, and due to regressive assimilation in the middle of a word, like in [nju:spɛɪpə], specific rolled /r/-sound. (On writing this sentence, I caught myself on using the Russian syntactic feature – omitting the conjunction with the final homogeneous part of the sentence). At the grammatical level, Russian English is characterized by substituting the Present/Past Simple verbs for the Perfect forms (*I am in Moscow since Friday*) (see Proshina and Eddy 2016), loss or misuse of articles (*Do not lean on door* – the sign in Moscow metro trains), preference for complex sentences, especially impersonal ones instead of infinitive structures (*It is reported that plane has safely landed* for 'The plane is reported to have landed safely') and many other features that might be similar to other varieties but their entire set is somewhat different from that of other Englishes. At the lexical level, what differentiates Russian English is the use of Russian culture-bound words (*banya* 'steam bathhouse', *dacha* 'summer house', *khokhloma* 'wooden glazed

ware with handmade painting', *Palace of Culture*, etc.), sometimes specific words with either changed or new meaning (*shop tour, university groupmate*). At the discourse level, Russians, when speaking English, can be recognized by sounding too direct and peremptory, since they avoid using understatements, prefer imperatives, especially when giving advice, using masculine-oriented nouns and pronouns (*postman, chairman*) and so on. No doubt that these features are caused by the transfer of the Russian language features and Russian culture/mentality onto their English.

Sometimes a criterion to identify a variety per se is seen in the norm (Bruthiaux 2003 and Dröschel 2011). A language differentiated from other somewhat similar forms is believed to be a variety only if it has its own norms. For instance, Dröschel (2011, pp. 53–54) writes:

I believe that the key issue in the taxonomy of new varieties is the existence of an endonormative standard..., a set of norms that distinguishes the new variety from already existing varieties and that they are accepted by the majority of the speech community. Moreover, the speech community needs to be able to identify with the new variety and no longer have the target of the native standard in mind.

As we know from the works of Braj Kachru (1985), the so called “New Englishes”, that is Englishes of the Outer Circle, are developing their own norms, though not recognized unanimously and simultaneously, most of which are especially evident as spoken standards (see Hickey 2012). It will take time for spoken endonorms to change written standards, which originally were exonormative, but sooner or later this will definitely happen. The Expanding Circle varieties use exonorms but they do not fully coincide with the endonorms of certain varieties in the Inner Circle, due to the multiplicity of the former and singularity of the latter: speakers of the Expanding Circle varieties accommodate to various exonorms due to their needs (not necessarily British or American, they might easily follow Australian norms, for example, when studying in an Australian university, Indian standards when working in India, and so on). It is not infrequent that in the Expanding Circle the set of exonorms proves to be mixed from different varieties, while endonorms tend to make a uniform singularity followed by their users (an American speaker is hardly expected to speak like an Australian – if only not in “mock Australian” accent – in conformity with Australian norms that were codified not so long ago). Thus, norms are characteristic of all varieties. The specificity of norms in the Expanding Circle varieties consists in their greater variability and sometimes mixture.

However, the second part of Dröschel's quotation cannot but be agreed with. Standards become endonormative due to sociolinguistic or attitudinal codification (Kachru 1985 and 1991) of the speech community. This becomes necessary when the community become aware of their self-identity as expressed through their variety. As a matter of fact, cultural identity underpins any variety and lies as a ground for distinctiveness of this variety from others. When this is recognized by the community, doubts about the variety's existence begin to disappear (Webster 1789, p. 20 cited in Schreier 2012, p. 361; Kachru 1985; Seargeant and Tagg 2011, p. 512; close to this is also the concept of “covert prestige” of a variety in Hickey 2014, p. 249). This is what is named “linguistic liberation” (Kachru 1991, p. 4), or the awareness

of one's own linguistic identity manifested in a localized English. The increase in the awareness is facilitated by the growth of functions of a variety of English.

## 12.2 Language Functions and Their Interpretations

Defining and enumerating language functions is not a new issue but is, however, still a controversial one. Traditionally, when classifying functions, scholars refer to the works by Karl Bühler ([1934] 1990), Roman Jakobson (1960), and M.A.K. Halliday (1975). While Bühler identified three major communicative functions (expressive, representation, and conative), Jakobson added three more to these, to which he gave slightly different names (emotive, referential, conative + poetic, phatic, and metalinguistic), and Halliday named seven functions acquired by children in their socializing (instrumental, regulatory, interactional, personal, heuristic, imaginative, and representational). The instrumental function, in his definition, is used to express people's needs. The regulatory function is, in fact, equal to conative and imperative. The interactional function is used for socializing and forming relations with people. The personal function is similar to emotive and expressive and reveals feelings, opinions, and individual identity. The heuristic function is used to gain knowledge and is frequently named cognitive. The imaginative function includes narrative, magic, and creative, as it is used for storytelling and creating imaginary worlds; it is somewhat close to Jakobson's poetic function. The representational function is often identified as informational/informative, as it is used for conveying facts and information. Unlike Bühler, who considered the functions to be hierarchical, with the representation function being the most important, Halliday claimed that the functions make clusters, grouping into ideational, interpersonal, and textual metafunctions, which are also named as descriptive, social, and expressive (Richards et al. 1992, p. 150), and a language unit may simultaneously operate in several functions (see Hasan 2009), so the borders between the functions might be vague and diffusing and give rise to new subtypes.

This is why there exist so many classifications of functions. Most of them are associated with the sphere of use. For instance, Kachru (1983a) suggests the following functional uses of English varieties: *instrumental*, performed by English as a medium of learning in the educational system; *regulative*, the use of English in the legal system and administration; *interpersonal*, in everyday use as a link language and also as a code "which symbolizes modernization and elitism" (p. 78), and *imaginative/innovative*, later named as creative, used in various literary genres. In this chapter we will be talking about the function subtypes based on Kachru's categorization, though we dared to specify them in order to apply to the Russian context.

When describing the role of English in multilingual South Asia, Ravinder Gargesh (2006) uses another typology of functions. His classification includes *auxiliary* function used for acquiring knowledge; *supplementary* function used for tourism purposes; *complementary* function used for a link inter-ethnic purposes, and *equative* function when English is used parallel to the mother tongue of speakers.



These functions are similar to those we are speaking of: auxiliary function is close to instrumental; supplementary function implies informative intercultural one; complementary function is characteristic of English as a lingua franca, and equative function approximates English as a second official language that serves in regulative, instrumental, and creative roles. As we see, though the Outer and Expanding Circles have different types of varieties of English, their functions are very similar (like distinctive features of different varieties) but a set of functions and their quantitative relations are different.

It is worth emphasizing that a set of functions that varieties carry out in speech communities, like a set of distinctive features, differs in the three Circles. All the possible functions language can display in speech are found in the Inner Circle varieties, the major functions being nationally official (administrative) and interpersonal, with instrumental and creative functions taken for granted. The Outer Circle varieties (e.g. Indian, Singaporean, Nigerian, and Bahamian Englishes) tend to function in a more restrictive way: they share an official administrative/regulative function with an indigenous language (or languages) of the country; a smaller segment of the population use English in the everyday interpersonal function; the instrumental function of English is also more restrictive, as well as the creative function (literature, etc.), which, though rich enough, is shared with other languages of the users. The primary function of the Expanding Circle varieties (e.g. Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and other Englishes) is that of international communication, or as a lingua franca. Alongside this, due to the degree of globality, increased contacts and mobility, as well as change in the attitude to English, the Expanding Circle varieties of English are vastly developing new additional functions that were hardly known two or three decades ago. In this chapter we will discuss this phenomenon based on Russian English as an example.

## 12.3 Functions of the Russian Variety of English

### 12.3.1 *Instrumental Function*

The description of functions of English in the domestic Russian setting can be started from the instrumental function (see also McCaughey 2005; Ter-Minasova 2005; Ustinova 2005).

English was introduced *en masse* to Russian school curricula in the 1960s, substituting for German and French as a school subject studied from the fifth grade. However, it became a tool of education only in some schools with intensified language programs, which were few in the country (usually one or two schools in major cities). These schools, besides intensive English classes where students, starting from second grade, had a good training in listening and speaking, reading and writing, and offered classes of technical translation, English literature and sometimes geography and history in English. As compared with ordinary schools, having 2 or

4 h of English a week, schools with intensive programs had English classes almost every day. In the 1990s, secondary comprehensive schools introduced English in the elementary level (1st grade) but 2 h a day and a lack of English environment have not resulted in a great rate of learners' proficiency. However, *perestroika* affected not only the political and economic structure of the country; it opened the gate to international communication and thus increased motivation for learning English. Private classes with tutors, trips abroad – especially the so-called educational tours to English-speaking countries, possibility to get enrolled in university programs abroad, computerization and distance education, open access to English books, periodicals, and other mass media have been important factors for the increase in the level of command of English. Nowadays, the instrumental function of English can be found not only in English-language departments of universities, but also in a number of the so called joint dual degree programs and schools, such as the Russian-American joint program at Far Eastern Federal University: training economists both for Russian and international companies. (For more details concerning secondary and tertiary school, see Lovtsevich 2016; Lawrick 2016). Internationalization of education has been claimed to be a course of development naturally resulting from globalization, and an inherent part of the system modernization (Kukarenko and Zashihina 2017; Rozhenkova and Rust 2018), especially at universities, and English is a tool for implementing this course (Frumina and West 2012).

The efficiency of Russian scientists and scholars nowadays is evaluated by their publication activity. Publications included in the Web of Science and/or Scopus data bases raise the rating of a scientist/scholar and affect the salary. Needless to say, these publications have to be written in English (94.8%). This is a vehicle the Ministry of Science and Higher Education found to motivate Russian academics to reach an international readership and integrate themselves into the international scientific community. According to the data of *Acta Naturae* journal, the most active are scientists in physics, followed by space and earth sciences, mathematics, engineering, and chemistry (Kotsemir 2012). One of the steps to internationalizing scientific research is the requirement to accompany all articles in major Russian journals with English-language abstracts. (See more details in Lawrick 2016). Meanwhile, there are still a great number of problems in science and education where English serves as a tool. One of the problems is digital internationalization.

### ***12.3.2 Informative and Administrative Functions***

According to the data provided by the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), English language electronic sites of Russian universities, which are expected to open a window on the university life for international readers, leave much to be desired. The RIAC evaluated the quality of English language sites of 47 Russian universities and 11 top QS universities in non-English speaking countries by 108 parameters, and even the leading Russian universities proved to have English-language pages of low quality, for example Lomonosov Moscow State was the 30th

in the RIAC rank, St. Petersburg University – 28th, Bauman Moscow State Technical University – 26th, and Maurice Torez Moscow State Linguistic University – 32nd (Korostikov 2017).

English-language e-pages are available as part of the President of Russia site: <http://www.en.special.kremlin.ru/> as well as the Russian Government site <http://government.ru/en/>, with the page of Dmitry Medvedev, Prime Minister of Russia, <http://premier.gov.ru/>. Of 22 federal ministries, 14 duplicate the information in English, there being no English versions of the sites of the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Healthcare, newly established Ministry of Sciences and Higher Education branched from the Ministry of Education which has its English-language site; the Ministry for the Development of the Russian Far East, Ministry of North Caucasus Affairs, Ministry of Agriculture, Ministry of Construction, Housing, and Utilities, and the Ministry of Finance. Though the major information on English-language sites contains the structure of and sometimes news from the ministries, the existence of these English-language sites of over half of the ministries testifies to the developing administrative function of Russian English, which is certainly related to global interest in what is going on in Russia. Similarly, English-language information can be found on the sites revealing the activities and structure of autonomous republic administrations. However, few cities' administrations, excluding Moscow and St. Petersburg and some regional centers (Khabarovsk, for one), maintain English-language sites.

### 12.3.3 *Informative and Ideological Function*

In mass media (see Eddy et al. 2016), the use of Russian English has changed in a drastic way. In the Soviet period, quite a few English-language newspapers and periodicals were published in the country, the most famous being *The Moscow News* used not only to inform international readership of the events, ideology and culture in Russia, but also intended for students as an authentic material to study English. After the break of the Soviet Union, English-language newspapers mushroomed in many large cities as a link between English-speaking expats and business people and Russian companies and city administrations. Today there are only two English-language papers published in Moscow (*The Moscow Times*) and St. Petersburg (*The St. Petersburg Times*). However, many of the major papers published in Russian have an online version in English.

Since 2005, a round-the-clock TV channel *Russia Today* has been broadcasting in English. However, being somewhat too politicized, the channel is criticized for its lack of “Russianness”, as it does not open the window onto the multicultural world of Russia but rather presents an interpretation of the official point of view of the Russian government on the political and economic events in the world. Many of the presenters are native speakers of American or British English or being Russian, they tend to imitate American or British accent as much as possible (Kabakchi 2013).

### 12.3.4 *The Business Regulative Function*

The regulative (administrative) function of English is observed in Russia-based transnational companies that maintain their company's documentation, keep correspondence, and have meetings in English. But not only transnational companies, like Japan's *Uniqlo*, Swiss *Nestle*, Korean *Samsung* and others, many Russian businesses that want to deal with their international partners do require that their employees know English (see more details in Krykova and Lazaretnaya 2016). According to the HR-Portal, about 30% of the vacancy ads contain the requirement of basic conversational or fluent level of English (HR-Portal 2011). The degree of English command is a relevant educational characteristic of the employees and their prospective viability for the company that takes English as an element testifying to the prestige and good image of the company.

### 12.3.5 *Advertising Function*

While the administrative function of Russian English is closer to informational and intercultural functions, geared at international cooperation and international visitors, the informational function that is revealed in the cities' landscapes is aimed not only at international visitors but also at Russian English-knowing residents. Most of the directive signs in major Russian cities have inscriptions both in Russian and English. Many shop and service signs attract the customers' attention by unusual/creative English insertions or names that might be written in Roman script or in Cyrillic; they can use code mixing in the form of affixes or just letters (see Proshina and Ustinova 2012; Rivlina 2015; Ustinova 2016), for example, *TERRITORIЯ*, *Дверизуд*, *Пончик's*, *БуGOODи*, *ЗООмагазиn*, *WOW!КОФЕ*. It is not infrequent that advertisers commodify English including it in the names of commercial companies and their products – Fig. 12.1 illustrates Moscow road signs advertising the *МЕДСИ* *медицинский велнес* – *MEDSY meditsinskiyvelnes*, which literally means *MEDSY* (< medical system) *medical wellness*, a large private net of clinics. Another widely advertised company is *ОЛИМПИКСТАР фитнес-клуб* – *OLYMPIC STAR fitness club*, where all constituent words are of English origin and even the syntactical order of words is English rather than Russian, as in Russian the name of a company traditionally follows the generic name.

Alexandra Rivlina, who conducted insightful research into English and Russian interaction, including that in the urban linguistic landscape, argues that most of English inclusions in signs and advertisements are motivated by a symbolic rather than informative function – texts with English elements are marked by positive connotations as tokens of modernity, innovation, technical progress, and prestige (Rivlina 2014a, b). This is very close to the decorative function of English in consumer goods as described in Dougill (1987).

**Fig. 12.1** Moscow directing road sign



### 12.3.6 Linguistic Function of Increasing the Vocabulary Stock

The effect of the increase in English use in Russia is tremendous and results first and foremost in a flood of English words that have been borrowed by Russian. Anatoly Dyakov's (2014–2018) online dictionary of English words in Russian now contains about 20,000 entries. According to Elena Marinova (2008, pp. 37–38), English loans make up 74.3% of the words borrowed by Russian (as compared, French loans make up 8%, German – about 3%, other European languages–2.4%, Asian languages – 4.8%, classical Greek and Latin – 7.5%). Until the 1990s, most loans were borrowed by Russia's minority languages through Russian; nowadays, due to the widely spread English language use, they are borrowed directly from English. English is also responsible for indirect borrowing of Asian words that become fixed in Russian in their anglicized form (for example, Japanese *sushi* has a popular correspondence in Russian as *суши*, sounding like in English, while if it were translated directly from Japanese, it would have the form *суси*, sounding as *susi*).

Youth slang is most typical of using English roots that undergo derivational processes characteristic of the Russian language: e.g.,

*хавать* – *khavat'* <to have – means ‘to eat’;

*абилка* – *abilka* <ability – (in computer games) the ability of a character to do something;

*айфона* – *aifosha* <(diminutive) I-phone;

*безандертэнд* – *bez-understand* – ‘a stupid, slow-witted person’ (the Russian prefix *bez-* translates literally as ‘without’).

When borrowed into Russian, some English words change their meaning. For example, the word *salon* is defined by the Cambridge English Dictionary (CED) as ‘a shop where you can get a particular service, especially connected with beauty or fashion’. In Russia, you can come across an *autosalon* ‘autoshow’ or a *dental salon* ‘exhibition of new dental equipment’. The word *hall* is defined by CED as ‘a building or large room used for events involving a lot of people’. In Russia it often has the meaning of ‘a store for electronic goods’: *Plasma Hall*, *Digital Hall*, *Sony Hall*.

### 12.3.7 *Mass Cultural Function*

In the twenty-first century, Russia is not an exception in developing English-language pop-culture. In music (see e.g. Aleshinskaya and Gritsenko 2014, 2016), the impact of English is evident in performing English songs, creating American type of musical genres (country, blues, rock, rap), in Russian musicians and performers composing their own lyrics in English, and in coining band names with the help of English. My research of rock group names in Wikipedia has revealed that one-fourth of 200 group names have been influenced by English: some have English names (*Mechanical Poet*, *Aftermath*, *Blind Vandal*, *Never Smile*, *Everything Is Made In China*); some have English names written in Cyrillic (*ТаймАут* – ‘Time Out’; *Томас* – ‘Thomas’, *МобиДик* – ‘Moby Dick’); some use digraphical names (*Безумные Усилия*; *Анимал ДжаZ*; *Мультфильмы*; *Дёргать!*); some mix parts of words (*РОСКМЕХАНИКА*, *Баиня Rowan*); others play upon words (*Jane Air*; *Пен-Си* – ‘Pep- Si’; *БониHEM* – allusion to ‘Bonny M’).

### 12.3.8 *The Creative Function in Literature*

The creative function of English is manifested best of all in contact literature (Kachru 1983b), translingual literature (Kellman 2003), or World Literatures in English (Thumboo 2006), in our case, literature written by Russian authors in English (see in more detail in Butenina 2016). The result of “the cross-fertilization of English with Russian” is “linguistic palimpsests, where Russian underlies and affects the English of the texts” (Ryan 2013: URL). Though most of the authors

have published their works in emigration, their Russian mentality and the culture they were raised in shows in their English narrations, examples being novels and stories by Anya Ulinich, Lara Vapnyar, Olga Grushin, Ellen Litman, Irina Reyn, and many others. In 2017, the first English language novel written by a Russian author was published in Russia. It is titled *Russian – English Romance: Homage to John Fowles* and is authored by Tanya D. Davis, a pseudonym of a linguistics professor from Lomonosov Moscow State University. Written in acrolectal or mesolectal English, as is required by the narration, translingual fiction reveals the authors' Russianness, which is often done deliberately. In one of her interviews, Olga Grushin admitted:

I did attempt to imbue my English with a Russian feel, since I wanted the novel to convey a very Russian sensibility overall. I often retained Russian cadences in my sentences (hopefully while staying within bounds of English grammar), made stylistic allusions to the Russian classics, and in general tried to portray through my language the way of thinking of the entire generation of Russian intelligentsia of the sixties—a somewhat exalted, earnest way of relating to the world, when lofty words like "soul," "beauty," and "truth" were filled with everyday meaning (Greer 2014: URL).

The symbiotic nature of the translingual prose is brightly described by the reviewer of Anya Ulinich's *Petropolis*:

Context fills in the lack of literal understanding, while those who understand Russian can appreciate a memory of the language. For a Russian speaker, it's an expressive moment, a way to enter the intimacy of that language while remaining in the exile of the Latin alphabet; for an English speaker, it is perhaps a reminder that underneath the seemingly understandable prose is a parallel one that is totally incomprehensible .... Like the hybrid language she uses, Ulinich's concerns are also shaped by experience both in Russia and America, making it difficult to say that the book belongs more to one culture than another (Stromberg 2007: URL).

Another way of implementing the creative function of English is in code-mixing of book titles. In the bookstores a reader can find more and more books with hybrid names, like *Духless* by Sergey Minayev, *Sex в большой политике* by Irina Khakamada, *Брачный контракт или Who is ху...* by Tatyana Ogorodnikova, *Пролубофф/он* by Oksana Robsky; *iPhuck 10*, *Generation II*, and *S.N.U.F.F.* by Victor Pelevin, and others.

## 12.4 Conclusion

To sum up, Russian English as a variety of the Expanding Circle is a complex sociolinguistic phenomenon: functional and dynamic. Its dynamic development results in two aspects: (a) in dynamism of norms that might be applied in orientation of standardized Englishes that are necessary for or preferred by a user, and (b) in expanding its functions, the majority of which being informative, is aimed at worldwide intercultural communication and which has started to branch into regulative (administrative and directive), instrumental, creative, and symbolic functions. With the



increase in domestic domains of use (business, government, education, science, mass media, fiction, music, pop-culture), English affects and is affected by the Russian language, which results in developing the distinctive variety of Russian English, reflecting the Russian cultural identity and gradual mass passive bilingualism of the Russian population (Rivlina 2014a, b), whose knowledge of English is still far from proficient but who have mastered a great many English loanwords to be able to use them creatively in speech. This creativity is facilitated by the process of translanguaging (Canagarajah 2013; Garcia and Wei 2014; Proshina 2016) that has become typical of the current communicative situations, especially with the mesolectal and basilectal speakers of the variety.

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# Chapter 13

## The Semiotic Functions of English in Indonesia



Lauren Zentz

### 13.1 The Various Functions of English

Borrowing from Srivastava (1994), Ravinder Gargesh (2006) describes that in Mumbai, English fulfills the 4 following functions: auxiliary, supplementary, complementary, and equative. As an *auxiliary* language, it is a vehicle for acquiring knowledge – this is sometimes called a ‘library language,’ and it generally entails passive bilingualism (the individual in question can read and maybe understand orally the language, but they cannot speak or write it). As a *supplementary* language, it is used in communicative chunks, so to say, for basic communicative purposes in, for example, tourist interactions. Users of English at this level are considered ‘unstable bilinguals.’ As a *complementary* language, it is used e.g. for connecting people who do not share a common language. These speakers are considered ‘stable bilinguals.’ Finally, *equative* English is used freely as an alternate to another local/first language. People who use English in this way are considered ‘ambilinguals,’ according to Gargesh, meaning that they have probably been educated in an English medium school or they work in an English-medium international workplace, and they can freely alternate between a local language and English.

This approach to English in local ecologies in India provides useful insights regarding the types of fluencies most common in India, and it can easily be expanded to analyses of language use in other countries where English is not the primary language of communication. One in fact witnesses all of these functions of English in Indonesia, where the current analysis is focused. I argue, however, that these four categories of English’s functions do not encompass *all* of the ways that English is used in a given context. That is, if we focus only on English ‘users,’ or the ways in which a language ‘resides within individuals,’ we might overlook some of the ways in which English is actually deployed in any given location, and to what effects. In

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the following pages, I will invite the reader to consider uses of English forms as primarily semiotic acts. That is, in a shift from ‘user’ to ‘use’ or ‘performance,’ the local functions of English are seen to be not just communicative in terms of content, as the four above categories describe; they are also communicative in that they index, or ‘give off’ (Silverstein 1976, 1998, 2005; Blommaert 2007), the social positions of their speakers/producers, and they also index identity characteristics that their message recipients might want or admire, regardless of speakers’ levels of fluency in the language.

In order to explain this approach to language use in Indonesia, I will first describe the relations between states and conceptions of language, and then I will explain my theoretical approach to the various functions of English in Indonesia before continuing on to three data examples that will support this approach.

## 13.2 States and Languages

Ideologies of language in modernity – the era of the nation-state – tend to lump all types of language use together under monolithic categories (English, French, Indonesian, Javanese) and to then treat all manifestations of what looks like said language in relation to its ideal form, which is more often than not the collective ideal of the standardized form of that language. Under modernist language ideologies, languages become entities: they come to be seen as signalling certain practices or lifestyles, or even levels of innate or achieved intelligence, and it might even be worth paying to access them in order to get these other positive values associated with it, or indexed by (Silverstein 1976, 1998, 2005) the language in question. Under such a framework, it is easy to take an ideal form of a language and gauge anything from the language we see on a detergent label, to a street sign, to prescriptive talk about language and relate it all to a common center: the prescribed, standard norm.

State policies about language represent the modernist’s take on language – they refer to languages as discrete, concrete entities. In doing so, they influence language performances and ‘on the ground’ language beliefs, in everyday situations. Language forms and general behaviors in modernity are hierarchized through local, regional and state-level *de facto* and *de jure* policies (see also Johnson 2013; McCarty 2011). One effect created by the state policies and national-level talk about language is the depiction of languages as consumable, acquirable goods – that is, a speaker can acquire (or not) a given language. These languages-as-goods are accessed in a hierarchy of state educational systems, private schools and private language teaching centers, and thus the performance of language – in this case, English – is regularly symbolic of people’s differential access to any of these institutions. The ‘best’ institutions, where the ‘best’ English is learned, are considered to be the ‘center’ (of power, of accuracy, of education quality, etc), while the institutions requiring less privilege for admission are considered to reside on the peripheries (for our

interests – the peripheries of normative English language use (Blommaert 2010; Heller 2010; Heryanto 2007; Pennycook 2007)).

In keeping with this, Heryanto claims that the creation and control of a linguistic good under state-led nation formation has occurred alongside the establishment of institutionalized national ways of communicating. Such institutionalization, which necessarily has entailed differentiated access to institutions, has also created issues regarding rights, (non-)equity and a ‘... privilege to consume what is scarce’ (Heryanto 2007: 54; cf. Ruíz 1984). Thus, when someone uses a certain systematic way of performing language (cf. the types of fluency described by Gargesh 2006), this is not just their use of a language; it is a performance indexical of a certain status and a certain amount of access – not just to language, but largely to education, the primary and most pervasively state-controlled institution (Blommaert 2010).

With such differential access, views of what constitutes ‘good’ or ‘correct’ language vary from place to place. Languages are not finite objects; performances considered as being ‘in English’ or ‘in Indonesian’ are highly context-defined; and the work done in linguistic performances is never only ‘linguistic,’ content-driven, or referential *per se*. Language, in fact, is largely semiotic in nature, and sometimes an expression’s semiotic content actually takes precedence over its referential content (consider for example, the phatic call and response pattern in the US: ‘How are you?’ ‘I’m fine.’ cf. Brown and Levinson 1987; Sacks 1975). That is, we signal things through language – we don’t just communicate literal meanings – and additionally, each linguistic signal is communicated alongside other semiotic devices that construct the value of the linguistic sign *per se* as well as the value of the whole multimodal semiotic presentation (Agha 2005; Blommaert 2010; Duranti 1997; Haviland 1998; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Pennycook 2007; Silverstein 2005). That is, standard and non-standard forms of English in any location cannot be read in a decontextualized fashion, for it is not a matter of whether their formulations are correct or incorrect per the standard norm; we must instead investigate how it has come to be that these forms are situationally appropriate when read through a local lens.

As access is differential, so is the valuation of language forms in any given context. When language forms move across contexts, they enter differently scaled environments with different linguistic forms and different expectations about them. Anthropological and postmodern approaches to language challenge preconceived notions of what we call languages and instead encourage us to examine contextualized chunks of discourse, and to examine the work that they do in any given communicative event (Agha 2005; Pennycook 2001, 2007, 2010; Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003; Silverstein 2005, to name just a few). That is, language is an online process, it is constantly being performed and constructed, it is semiotic in nature, and its meaning is entirely dependent on context. Language is assembled in interaction to convey multiply layered messages and to achieve various communicative goals, such as changes in footing (Agha 2005; Goffman 1979), assumptions of stance and status (Jaffe 2009), as well as relationship to the receiver of the message and to other things and people in the world. All such signalling, indexing, or cueing (Gumperz 1982; Silverstein 2005), accompanies and often takes precedence over

literal meaning. When language is performed, it is generated through local conventions, or frames (Goffman 1974) for ways of interacting, creating meaning and achieving understanding.

Ethnographic research is particularly suited to address language holistically – to address the functionality of language locally at a given point in time – due to its insistence on understanding the contextualized nature of utterances (Blommaert 2010, 2013; O'Connor and Zentz 2016; Pennycook 2010). That is, language forms are not purely referential, and 'languages' are not bound and finite entities; rather 'linguaging,' (Jørgenson 2008) or the act of performing language, occurs among and between actors who are locally, politically, and historically situated.

### 13.3 English and Indexicality

Applying this theoretical viewpoint to English, we have a language – or forms @ [oih] indexical of a language – that travels globally and is manipulated locally by actors in order to achieve situated meaning within local ecologies that are framed, or scaled (in part), by decisions and beliefs at the top, state level, where national policies are made. Local and long-term residents within these ecologies are fluent at communicating meaning and identity in locally situated ways, and they regularly identify or disidentify with, and evaluate, all language forms that they interact with. Thus, under institutions commonly regimented with language policies and ideologies that categorize languages as local, national or foreign, language ideologies can also be found through linguistic performance and talk about it, as both represent individuals' and groups' relationships with and access to the institutionally driven social creation and circulation of 'languages' as consumable, performable goods (Blommaert 2010; Heller 2010; Heryanto 2007; Pennycook 2007).

Pennycook addresses contemporary manifestations of English under this approach:

... [A]cts of English identification are used to perform, invent and (re-)fashion identities across innumerable domains. English, like other languages, does not exist as a prior system but is produced and sedimented through acts of identity ... What we therefore have to understand is not this 'thing' 'English' that does or does not do things to and for people, but rather the multiple investments people bring to their acts, desires and performances in 'English'. (Pennycook 2007: 110)

Locally meaningful semiotic uses of language are bound to a singular occasion within time and space (Blommaert 2007, 2010; Pennycook 2010; Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003). Specific to English, its spread and repurposing throughout the world particularly highlights the semiotic nature of language and its re-scaling through integration into local contexts far away from where English is spoken as a primary language.

In Indonesia, local residents at all demographic locations use and approach the various formulations of English available to them in locally meaningful ways. English is apparent on product labels, in popular entertainment, and in 'the



Indonesian language' itself in the form of increasing numbers of English loanwords into Indonesian (Hassall et al. 2008; Sneddon 2003). In the Indonesian public sphere, Sneddon (2003, p. 176) describes, 'Speaking English or spicing one's speech with English words, phrases and even whole sentences, is so frequent among educated people that the need to keep up puts enormous pressure on many to acquire such skills.' This is enacted among the upper middle classes and it is also modelled in many venues, including: in the widely circulated talk of pop culture stars; in newspaper articles, often with direct transliterations or translations into Indonesian next to them; and in speeches by government officials, dating back to Indonesia's first president Sukarno (1945–1965), who 'throw English expressions into their speeches, sometimes without a clear idea of what they mean' (Sneddon 2003, p. 177).

In keeping with Heryanto's comment on scarcity and value, Bourdieu (1986, pp. 18–19) states: '... any given cultural competence ... derives a scarcity value from its position in the distribution of cultural capital and yields profits of distinction for its owner.' To show off one's English in Indonesian public spaces is not just a display of English per se. Instead, speaking English in public is often a semiotic display indexing everything that it 'hitchhikes' along with it (Mendoza-Denton 2011): access to higher education and wealth; or, in the case where one 'spices' his/her speech with English words without having those material goods, achievable aspirations at best, and false aspirations to an unachievable status at worst. It is with this in mind that I assess the presence and use of English in Central Java, Indonesia.

### 13.4 Functions of English in Indonesia

The formation of the Indonesian state began long before its national constitution was written. However, achieving independence was an important breaking point – a 'critical juncture' (Sonntag and Cardinal 2015) as the state transitioned to full sovereignty and began to engage in its nation formation project by consolidating internally and integrating externally into a world that had already globalized in many respects.

Suresh Canagarajah claims that not long after postcolonial states began to form, another force moved in: 'Although Non-Western communities were busy working on the decolonization project, the carpet has been pulled from under their feet by another movement, globalization.

... It is as if one historical process subsumed another before the first project was complete.' Applying this phenomenon directly to the English language, he states, 'There are significant differences in the project of both movements: decolonization entails resisting English in favor of building an autonomous nation-state; globalization has made the borders of the nation-state porous and reinserted the importance of English language for all communities' (Canagarajah 2008, p. 222; see also Kachru 1986).

Alongside local languages and the national language, Indonesian, English has been legislated since soon after the nation's founding. Its mention in language

planning documents is available as early as 1954. In the Proceedings of the Second Indonesian Language Congress (*Putusan Kongres Bahasa Indonesia II*) just 9 years after Indonesia declared its independence, language planners discussed both English's importance and their resistance to it.

- (a) This means that in order to perfect Indonesian as the language of science and culture in the broadest and deepest sense, a climate and atmosphere must be created in such a way that the language can develop in a perfectly smooth manner.
- (b) The above-mentioned climate and atmosphere is only possible if it is ensured with a strict politics of language as a natural step towards Article 4 of the National Constitution, which states, "The official language of the Republic of Indonesia is the Indonesian Language." In such a politics, there must at least be a set of clearly defined efforts within the framework of national development, as follows:
  - (i) Firm stance toward foreign languages, for example reconsideration of the teaching of English in secondary schools that is now carried out broadly and evenly, with the possibility of changing it with "Foreign Linguistic Schools" for the interests of the nation in international relations. (Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa 2011)

This ambivalence toward English has remained a common theme for language planners and at national levels of discussion – both legislatively and culturally – through present day (cf. Coleman 2016; Sugiharto 2014; Zein 2019; Zentz 2017). Legislators want the language for instrumental purposes – that is, it is hard to access all the information one might want, if one does not speak English – but at the same time, citizens must only use English instrumentally; they should not let it interfere with their Indonesian language and thus their 'Indonesianness.' With these top-down influences in mind, we will now consider three examples of how English is used and viewed in everyday contexts in Central Java, Indonesia.

### ***13.4.1 Three Examples of English Functionality in Indonesia***

The three data samples below are extracted from ethnographic research I conducted in Central Java in the 2009–2010 academic year as well as on a summer visit in 2013. During the former period, I was a teacher-researcher in the English Department at Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana in the city of Salatiga, and I had eight focal participants, all English majors, with whom I conducted interviews throughout the course of the year. Of the eight, Dian and Angelo are referred to below.

As a foreigner in Indonesia, the different aspects – semiotic, referential, ideological – of language use become quite apparent. While English is hardly spoken save for the English language classroom, international schools, and international workspaces, 'pieces of' English are found everywhere. Below, I will address the local presence of English in Salatiga in terms of its functionality: that is, what does English *do* locally? To examine this, I will focus on three examples from my data:

English on a store sign; English in branding and advertisement; and speaking English in public in Salatiga. Through these examples, I wish to demonstrate that despite frequent legislation regarding ‘the English language’ – particularly with an eye to keeping it out of Indonesianness – English is semiotically everywhere, performing important communicative functions. Its presence ‘gives off’ (Blommaert 2007) notions of aspirational identities and characteristics when it is disembodied (i.e., on signs), and perhaps admirable, but also ‘snobby’ characteristics when embodied (i.e., when uttered by an individual).

### 13.4.1.1 Billboard English

This first example is a photograph I took of a sign in the main commercial district of Salatiga, particularly in an area with a high concentration of furniture stores. The sign seems ideal or aspirational (Kress and Van Leeuwen 1996) and it displays an American flag, a white mother with her baby, and the brand American Pillo Spring Bed.



Text 1: Toko Sumber Jaya.

The inclusion of the aspirational image associated with American Pillo indicates a happiness and comfort associated with both Americanness and Whiteness. I asked some students for their points of view on this image and others from the same district in Salatiga. One participant stated that the English on this sign was intended to indicate both luxury and an international feeling, ‘because the brand “American” is used, along with a foreigner’s pictures (Angelo). Another participant claimed that in fact the image on this sign was more important than any of the language written on it. Ignoring the race of the mother and baby, she stated that the picture ‘is trying to tell us that the spring bed is very comfortable, even the baby looks happy’ (YW).

In light of such a specifically American-oriented brand presentation, I was curious to know where the brand was actually from, and so I went online and found the American Pillo homepage (<http://www.americanpillo.com/>). The page presented a photograph of a White mother and her baby lying on a bed together – a similar

image to that displayed on the sign. The website was entirely in Indonesian, though, and it turned out that the brand was an Indonesian company based just outside of Surabaya, the largest city in eastern Java, located just a few hours east of Salatiga. Therefore, despite the ‘Americanness’ of the American Pillo sign, and the English on it, the sign is completely Indonesian. As such, the image might be thought of as selling a domestic, or local, imaginary of prestige, one that is tied to the ‘look’ of an upper middle class European-American family. To buy this mattress, or to dream of buying it, is to participate in a domestically-created imaginary that paints the US as ‘having it all’ – happiness, luxury, comfort, and perhaps even a lifestyle associated with European-American Whiteness.

In this next example, I examine more deeply in conversation with one research participant, Dian, the presence of English in advertisement and branding locally, and what it might mean, or what functions it might perform, for local residents.

### 13.4.1.2 Advertisement English

In an interview one day, I asked Dian if she had seen English in advertisements, did she remember any, and why was English used locally in this way? She spent quite a few minutes listing examples of English that she came across daily. After she finished listing, she tried to explain what motivated the makers of such goods to use English in their branding:

Text 2: What matters is that it’s seen as cool.

Dian: there are a whole lot now ads...that a lot of them are using english and maybe...[those] who make the stuff...want to be seen as more modern...maybe they use english because english is more global...if it’s english y’know, sure everyone will know it and it’ll be seen as cool...

Lauren: and the other day I was talking with a friend who said it’s no big deal if someone uses a product that uses english, for example...a watch or a shirt. that uses english. it doesn’t matter if they know the meaning or not what’s important is the english, yeah? or not-

Dian: um sometimes like in writing on clothes...that actually sometimes I read the grammar and it’s wrong. there are structures that are wrong but they don’t care what matters is that it’s seen as cool...a whole lot y’know. then actually the english its impact yeah, a whole lot more and more people who are using english and, and a lot of people who are more and more interested...like performers, when they’re interviewed on infotainment, they yeah sometimes use english but a lot of it’s wrong...maybe they just wanna be seen as cool...but in ads yeah a whole lot y’know ads now, and I haven’t come across the name of goods, for the newest now it seems like there aren’t any in indonesian. (Dian, Interview 2, February 2, 2010)

In this excerpt, Dian has explained that in her view, there is so much English in branding that it is in fact impinging on the presence of Indonesian in such contexts. When asked why so much English was present, she explained that its function was to indicate prestige, and such prestige increased a buyer’s desire to purchase the

item or to watch the show. Furthermore, she stated that in linguistic terms, referring to the standard English language that she was studying in school, none of the English used in those advertisements needed to be grammatically correct; in fact, most Indonesians who came across the goods would not know whether it was correct or not (for further discussion in this vein, see Zentz 2015, where Dian and I discuss the presence of English on a t-shirt in a local clothing boutique). What was important instead was the work that English performed locally: as above with the American Pillo sign, English indicates prestige, wealth and mobility, and it is this aspirational symbolism carried locally that encourages people to purchase goods with English on them, or to watch TV shows with English names.

In the final example below, I will briefly explore how the prestige of English locally is not without social conflict. That is, as also suggested by Dian above ('they want to be seen as cool'), displays of English, when embodied, symbolize not only prestige and mobility, but they also indicate that the speaker of these utterances is showing off their access to the resources that one would need in order to have such prestige and mobility. This is socially off-putting – or, as Angelo states, it indicates that the speaker lacks 'sociolinguistic competence' in the local language setting.

### 13.4.1.3 Spoken English

Students I spoke with over the course of the 2009–2010 school year admitted that English is not something for local Indonesian people to use when they are out and about in public places. As Angelo stated in our second research interview, it is completely inappropriate for Indonesian people to speak English together in public. He relied on his Sociolinguistics course terminology to describe his disapproval of two girls whom he had heard speaking English to each other in the town's mall: '*Pokoknya kecerdasan dia mungkin dalam mempelajari bahasa tinggi tapi sociolinguistic competencenya yang kurang*' (The bottom line is maybe she has high intelligence for learning language, but it's her sociolinguistic competence that's lacking) (Angelo, Interview 2, November 27, 2009). In a later interview Angelo took advantage of his awareness of my delight in culinary adventures to provide the following analogy describing local citizens' motivations for speaking English in public:

Text 3: Everyone should see wow, I'm mastering it.

Angelo: ...in my opinion, people that here. they are just starting to be able to speak english. just starting to be able to. so, feeling like they newly can: then wow. they want to show it off. yeah the thing it's like this see. uh: you have just- have just mastered a food recipe.

Lauren: a what?

Angelo: a- you've just mastered a food recipe. chinese food for example. no. not chinese food. indian food. its spices are all sorts of things right? and you master it. (meaning that) you know every single day you cook it and: you want all people to see it. to the point where those who you usually cook for uh: co- usually you only cook for MD and MI. now you come to cook for for, [prof]. and you cook and you bring it to common room, for for every-

one to, um: to take uh uh give a taste. and: like later when you have group interview you cook and you share it with us. they're just like that, because, you're mastering something that in the eyes of most people is difficult. india. indian indian cuisine. that see the spices are all sorts. the spices there are, up to ten- uh the ingredients and the seasoning is very complicated. and once you master it well, you want like what I said earlier. everyone, everyone should see wow. I can. I'm mas- mastering it. (Angelo, Interview 3, February 1, 2010)

Just like showing off a new style of cooking that one might have recently learned, English, according to Angelo, is a commodity rarely accessible, and perhaps not even sought, by all Indonesian people. It is considered a language and a subject area difficult to master for most; not quite like learning the simple spice combinations of Chinese cooking, but rather like the incredibly complex and intricate combinations that Indian cuisine is known for. Perhaps, then, someone who has acquired this English language commodity would like to show it off just as a cooking hobbyist would want to show off a new, complicated and rarely accessible style of cooking she had just learned. However, this display of access to spices new, novel and hard to acquire would only be appropriate among friends, and perhaps more specifically, among friends who shared equal interest in cooking and had equal access to international cuisines.

Through this analogy, Angelo was pointing out that in local society it was inappropriate to show off in public one's (developing) mastery of English. One must, rather, be demure and save that new skill for the privileged places where it belongs in the Indonesian context: in the English classroom, within the walls of the university's English Department, with international friends, and with local friends who equally share an interest in and access to the English language.

### 13.5 Discussion

Modernistic, *de jure*, language policies such as those discussed and formulated by Indonesian language planners and national level government members do take part in forming the language ideologies that inform the *de facto* local language use described above. That is, national language policies participate in the formation of language ideologies and access to linguistic resources (ie., access to English fluency) on local levels through any given polity. However, as seen here, they do not control the presence of language forms; instead, they are one of many factors that inform their social valuation.

Communication through 'the English language' is actually quite rare in Indonesia – that is, Gargesh's speaker types form a very small portion of Indonesian society (see also Kachru 1986 for mention of its limitation to elite circles). 'The English language' is seen at the national level as a tool that is both necessary for most Indonesians to have, and so it must be taught in all schools; but at the same time it is an intruding force and it dangerously challenges the *one* national identity

(cf. Billig 1995) – and one's national identity – if they use it. The social valuation that this has led to in this specific locale is that on signage, it indexes prestige, upward mobility, wealth, and comfort, and in people it indexes similar things, but it is often seen as a negative: one's performance of English with fluency is brandishing of their privilege – an unwelcome and 'snobby' behavior indeed!

Through the examples above, I have approached language as describable from various vantage points. When we talk about *languages*, we are speaking in an ideological sense. That is, there is no finite object or even list of words that constitutes 'the English language,' and so when people talk about it, or talk about its speakers, they are referring to a set of behaviors, pronunciations, lexical items, and morpho-syntactic patterns that signal that one is communicating content through an English medium at a given time. If we only talk about English in this sense, though, we miss what is actually happening on the ground – how 'pieces' of English are deployed on a regular basis to 'give off' ideas associated with 'the English language' as an ideological phenomenon. This is where it is useful to approach the subject of language ethnographically, and semiotically or in terms of its functionality locally – that is, how and for what purposes it is deployed on a regular basis. What we have seen based on the interviews and data presented above is that English in Salatiga is generally deployed, often accompanied by specific imagery, to indicate high value, high quality, or a prestigious lifestyle.

What we have learned about English in Indonesia, then, is that its producer need not have 'complete fluency', or perhaps any level of fluency (though see Blommaert and Backus 2011 for an attempt at listing many of the possible types of fluency that an individual might have) in the language in order to deploy English to great effect. It is in fact the majority of instances of English in Salatiga that are this way. Those who do have fluency in the language (Gargesh's 'stable bilinguals' and 'ambilinguals'), rare though they be, are advised to keep their language to themselves, lest they come across as showing off their privilege. Under the modernist notion of distinct and separate languages, where speakers can have varying levels of fluency in a language, and the language is deployed or not at certain times (when dealing with tourists, when reading academic books at a university library, when traveling outside of the home country, cf. Bauman and Briggs 2003; Errington 1998, 2008; Gargesh 2006; Kachru 1985, 1986; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Milroy 2001; Mühlhäusler 1996; Srivastava 1994), we gain only a partial picture of how English manifests and what influence it has in local economies or ecologies. However, when we treat English, or any language, as an ideological object of commentary and as a semiotic resource to be displayed at different times for different purposes, then we get a more nuanced image of the myriad ways in which 'a language' can appear in a given societal grouping.



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# Chapter 14

## Conflicting Interests: English Language Status, Function and Challenges in Oman



Fauzia Hasan Siddiqui and Runita Sahai

### 14.1 Introduction: Sprawling English Power in the Arabia Gulf Countries

In the history of languages, after Latin, English has been able to establish itself as a *lingua franca* or the world language as Al-Dabbagh (2005) calls English, ‘the Latin’ of the contemporary world. Initially, British colonisation and later American industrial and technological supremacy helped English become an undisputed International Language (EIL). Phillipson (1992, p. 1) interestingly says, “whereas once Britannia ruled the waves, now English rules them” (the colonies), as it is evident in English being the official language of 1.4 billion people across fifty-two countries and five continents of the world (Hasman 2000, p. 2). Establishing a similar claim, Crystal (2012) states that one third of the world population has useful English level to engage in everyday communication. No other language has ever spread across the globe at this exponential rate. Pennycook (2001, p. 81) states, “it has become one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from, further education, employment, or social position”. This stands true for the Gulf region too.

The socio-economic situation in the Arabian Gulf region has witnessed development at a staggering-pace since the discovery of oil in the region in the mid ‘90s. New towns, buildings, schools and hospitals emerged at an exponential rate. However, this dynamic transformation of the region created demand for a huge number of expat workers from the Western English-speaking countries, Asia, and other Arab countries. English happened to be the *lingua franca* of this new face of the region (Findlow 2006). For better or worse, over the past few decades, there have been efforts to make English parallel to the native language ‘Arabic’, at least

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in the educational policies and reforms. Hence, Gulf countries endeavour to keep with the growing demand of English as an international language (EIL), to maintain world communication, international relations and business. If not all, the majority of academic institutions, from primary to tertiary level, use English as their medium of instruction. Introduction of Western curricula, recruitment of more native English teachers and establishment of a number of Western university branches is growing rapidly in the region. Many local educational organisations have affiliation with English speaking institution, for instance while UAE has campuses of American University, Murdoch University, University of Wollongong, Oman has Bradford University, University of Strathclyde, University of Leeds, a German university, etc. Other Gulf Corporation Council (GCC) countries i.e. Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar also have seen a similar trend. Leaders and governments of the region see quality education as the key to their development and modernisation, and English as the tool to achieve these aims. Having branches of foreign institutions in the country is to facilitate opportunities of studying in English universities in the comfort of one's own land (Kirdar 2007). Additionally, English is being promoted as the language of tourism, leisure and daily life. Depending on various factors, this trend may be faster in some countries of the region than others. Nevertheless, despite all the needed financial support and reforms in English language teaching to bring English into the prime domain, there is a slow improvement or deteriorating popularity of English in many Arab countries (Syed 2003; Karmani 2005).

## 14.2 English in Oman: Functions and Challenges

Geographically, Oman's location has been strategically important for the Western countries because it shares its borders with Yemen, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates, which has served as a gateway to the Indian subcontinent and East Africa. However, it was never a colony of any Western nation. Oman is well known historically and is a developing nation where a renaissance began under the new leadership of His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said in the 1970s. Like the other countries in the Arabian Gulf, Oman's development also began with the discovery of oil in the region. It built its trade relations with many non-English speaking countries like Turkey, Germany, France, Italy, etc. but English was the language of communication in general.

The economic boom in Oman since the 1970s brought expatriate workers from all over the world. Oman's Ministry of National Economy report by Information and Publication Centre in 2003 (as cited in Rassekh 2004) claims, the total population of the country in 2002 was 2,538,000, composed of 1,870,000 Omanis and 668,000 expatriates (26.3%). Data from 2003 shows that there were 1.77 million Omanis and 0.552 million expatriates for a total of 2.33 million people. These changing demographics of the population necessitated a common international language which by default became English because, either the expats were native speakers of English or the non-native speaker who used it as a second or foreign language. Oman has acknowledged English as the only official foreign language in

the Sultanate and a tool that serves multiple purposes locally and globally. “English in Oman receives political, economic, and legislative support from the elite as represented in the government, which determines its place on the social hierarchy” (Al-Issa 2002, 2005). Moreover, English has played an important role in the national development and helped institutionalize all major sectors in the country (Al-Busaidi 1995; Al-Issa 2002). Al-Issa (2002) states that, “people in Oman learn English for science and technology acquisition, pursuing higher education, travelling to non-Arabic and English-speaking countries, finding a white-collar job and cultural analysis and understanding.” To understand the status of English in Oman in relation with Kachru’s (1985) three concentric circles of English functions: Inner, Outer and Expanding, Oman can be placed in the Expanding Circle. In other words, English in Oman is an International Language (EIL) which is not spoken by a large local community with great diversity or distinct characteristic like in the case of Outer Circle countries such as India or Singapore. However, there have been initiatives to reform English Language Teaching (ELT) policies and exploit EIL for modernisation and development of Oman and bring it into the mainstream. Before 1970, education in Oman was limited to Islamic education. There were only 3 state schools and only 900 male students. In 1970, His Majesty Sultan Qaboos Bin Said came with a modern vision and believed in “Education for All”. This was the turning point in Oman’s educational system. Times of Oman (2018, feature article page) reported Ministry of Education (MoE) data of 2017:

there are 1,125 public schools catering to a total of 579,024 students. Private schools in Oman also saw a 10 per cent increase in the number, with 636 schools catering to 105,680 students. Meanwhile, 63,760 students are currently enrolled in the Sultanate’s 44 international school.

Among many reasons, the two fundamental reasons for educational reforms were: the preparedness to meet the challenges of globalisation, and Omanisation. Omanisation is the policy of nationalisation, to make Oman self-sustainable and reduce its dependency on expatriate population (Rassekh 2004).

Following the education directives of the MoE, English was introduced as an important language to align with the country’s vision of development and modernisation which stems from Islamic principles, that advocates peace, harmony and significance of international communication (Richards 2015; Atkins and Griffiths 2009). English was therefore the best means to achieve these goals and was consequently empowered in Oman’s education system. At the primary level, ELT reforms went through two phases. In the first phase of General Education System (GES), English was introduced from grade 4. Its curriculum was written by Longman in England. Later in 1999, in the second phase of Basic Education System (BES), English was introduced from grade 1. The two systems ran parallel for a few years, but the old GES was totally phased out in 2010 (Al-Issa and Al-Bulushi 2011; Al-Zedjali and Etherton 2009).

At the higher education level, based on the recommendations of foreign universities operating in Oman, in 2007, Oman Accreditation Council (OAC) directed institutions to enrol students in English affiliated university courses only if they had an IELTS overall band score of 5.0/ or TOFEL 500, else students have to undertake

General Foundation Program (GFP) with great emphasis on English language proficiency (Al-Issa and Al-Bulushi 2011). The reforms at primary and tertiary levels to empower English has brought more opportunities, progress and success but not to the desired and expected level.

Although the Omani government has acknowledged the significance of EIL and wants to promote it through ELT reforms, there is “less direct attention to use it for communication within individual countries and within the region as a whole” (Moody 2012, p. 11). Despite learning English from a very young age, many have to take extra tuitions for English. Often lower English proficiency deprives young Omani of secure good jobs (Al-Issa 2011; Al-Mahrooqi 2012b; Al-Mahrooqi and Asante 2010). Research in Oman ELT has been trying to identify shortcoming and making recommendations to manage them. While Al-Toubi (1998) and Al-Issa (2007) see rigidity and inflexibility in the syllabus, the exam-based system, lack of educational aid, and large class sizes, hinder required English language proficiency. Similarly, Siddiqui (2013) argues, traditional grammar and exam-focused language teaching are a barrier. Al-Mahrooqi (2012a) reports ineffectiveness of teachers, lack of opportunity to practise English outside class, and unsupportive parents to be responsible for students having low English proficiency. Yet, it is important to see if there is any additional underlying concern of English cultural imposition as an obstacle in learning and teaching English.

### 14.3 Conflicting Desires: English language Vs indigenous identity

Globalisation and English as an international language (EIL) are seen optimistically, but not by all. International spread of English poses several challenges like: linguistic, educational, cultural, political, economic and ethical (Graddol 2006). Identifying the challenges of EIL, Modiano (2001, p. 341) warns, “in the rush to participate in the global movement, the spread of English can potentially wreak havoc on any number of languages and cultures.” He calls it a “dangerous bedfellow”.

Many see English as a threat to indigenous cultures and local languages. The concept of culture has various interpretations. While Spradley (1980) and Brown (1986) believe that culture comprises the concepts of people’s experience, behaviour, knowledge and artefacts which are conveyed through language, Young (1996, p. 37) defines it as “the whole way of life of people.” Also, Brown (1986) believes, bringing culture to the classroom with the language is inevitable because language and thoughts are inseparable, and thoughts in-turn are influenced by culture. Scholars see culture, language and identity closely linked to each other (Dai 2011; Zhao 2011; Al-Dabbagh 2005. Similarly, McDevitt (2004) maintains that it is not possible to learn a language without its culture. Hence, damage to any one aspect of culture can put the other at risk and losing a language would mean losing culture,



and in turn one's identity. In other words, English also cannot be learnt or taught as a stand-alone entity. Does this open a debate that learning English is jeopardising one's native language and consequently, culture and identity?

Though the dominance of English debate is heating up across the globe, deep-rooted Arabic indigenous Islamic culture is perceived as more vulnerable by many. According to Al-Issa and Dahan (2011), English has started to set a dangerous precedent, both in education and society, because it appears to remove Arabic from its position of prestige and power. Lately English has gone up the ladder from a foreign language to an official second language in the UAE, making it seem as standing against Arabic language and culture. Hopkyns (2014) calls English a "double-edged" sword for the region.

The desire to embrace English as an International Language (EIL) and at the same time seeing it as a threat to national and cultural identity, is overwhelming. GCC countries on one hand are committed to 'Arabization', which is revival of the Arab legacy through teaching of Arab history, geography and literature at all educational levels. For instance, the chairperson of the Qatar foundation for education advocated revival of Arabic for economic, political and social advancements (Morgan 2007); on the other hand, this commitment is being challenged because of "prioritization of international communication and competition" (Findlow 2006, p. 20). As seen in the January 2012 announcement by the Supreme Education Council in Qatar that Arabic would be the medium of instruction in all the major courses of Qatar University (Belhiah and Elhami 2015). Similarly, in UAE, this conflicting interest can be seen in the academic and political areas. There are concerns that Arabic language and 'national identity' are at threat (Hellyer 2008). Recently, the UAE government has proactively looked into safeguarding Arabic language and its culture. As a step forward, the National Strategic Plan for 2016 emphasised Arabic language and Emirati culture on its social reform priority (Randall and Samimi 2010).

This conflict can be seen in Oman too. Omanis are also encouraged to preserve their culture and identity that comes with Arabic language, and use English only as a tool for international communication (Al-Mahrooqi 2010; Al Suleimani 2010). However, to create authenticity in ELT, a lot of Western books and other material are used. This is creating concerns about inappropriacy or incompatibility with the indigenous Arabic values and culture; hence, influencing the younger generation negatively. Sharifian (1999, p. 2) expresses concern that there is "a conflict between the students' value system and those of the mainstream ELT tradition". Undisputedly, language, culture and identity are inseparable. Therefore, to embrace a foreign language, it is important to have a positive attitude towards its culture and readiness to accept it. If a language and its culture is seen as a threat, it can be challenging to learn it in its original form. This dilemma is generally faced by a large population that uses English as a second language, foreign language or an international language. However, is it necessary to learn English in its native form which comes with its culture, and to what extent?

## **14.4 The Study**

This study explored the attitude towards English as an International language, its function, its impact on cultural identities at two levels (study groups): undergraduate students, and Omani English language teachers.

### ***14.4.1 Research Methodology***

The research approach adopted for this study was evaluative in nature for both teachers and students. The data was collected through structured questionnaires; however, the questions varied for the two identified study groups, teachers and students. The reliability of the questionnaires was determined through the split-half method in order to ensure internal consistency of the questionnaire. The established reliability for teachers' questionnaire was 90% and the students was 92%. Some personal interviews were also conducted to get a deeper insight.

### ***14.4.2 Study Group and Sample size***

The study groups were from a semi-government institution in Oman and the sample population was concentrated in the English Language Centre that offers a General Foundation Programme (GFP). Sample size included 31 teachers and 57 students.

### ***14.4.3 Limitations***

1. The study was performed only in one Higher Education Institution.
2. Gender impact on English language learning was not considered in this study.
3. Ethnic background of the teachers on their opinions and views was not studied.

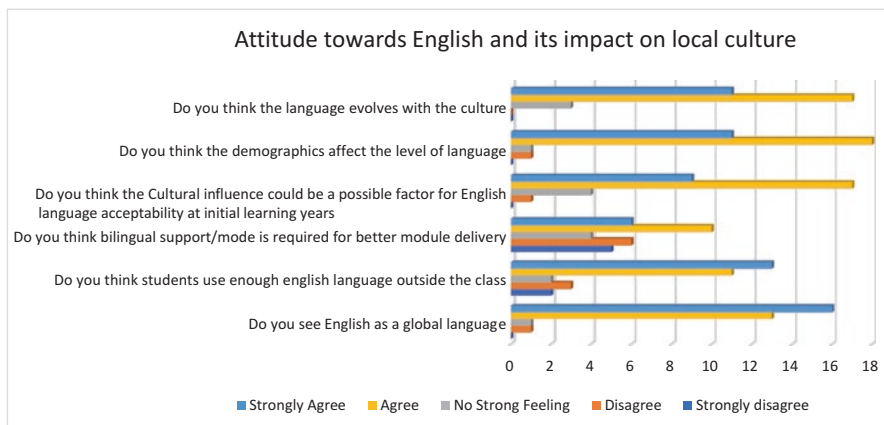
### ***14.4.4 Data Analysis, Findings and Discussion***

#### **14.4.4.1 Study Group 1 – Teachers**

For this research, 31 copies of the questionnaire were distributed to the teachers and the responses were used for data analysis. The information of the teachers is as follows:

Study Group 1 – Teachers	
Total no. of respondents	31
Nationality	Omani
L1 of English Language Teachers	
Arabic	23
Swahili	5
Baluchi	3
Gender	
Male	19%
Female	81%
ELT experience	
≥ 5	13%
≤ 5	52%
≤ 10	35%

To understand the attitude of Omani English language teachers (tertiary level) towards the relevance of English as an international language in Oman, a five-point Likert scale was used.



The responses to the questions given exhibited interesting facts. 94% of the respondents strongly agreed that culture plays an important role on how a language grows and takes shape in the contemporary era, and believed that English was an imperative international language. This realisation itself demands an enhanced acceptability of English Language in the local communities, and an unrestrained adaptability in the existing society. This finding helps recommend solutions to encourage positive and enthusiastic mindsets towards English language.

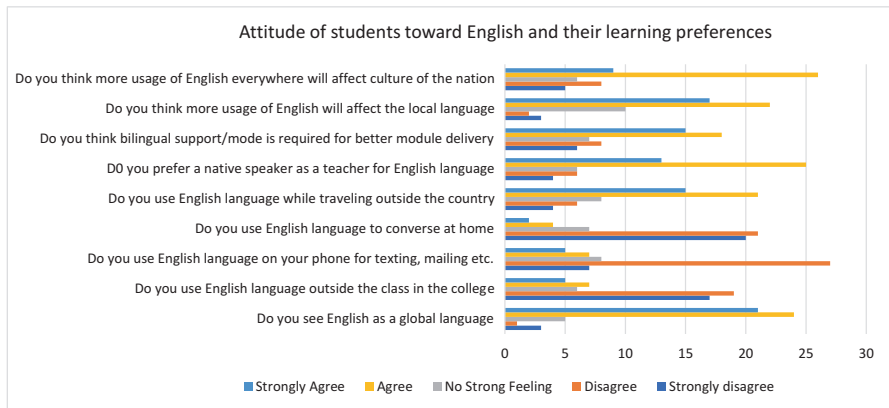
However, 84% strongly believed that Oman’s strong indigineous culture and language largely could be the main factor hampering the acceptability of English at large. Another critical issue which was explored through the questionnaire was about bilingual mode of teaching in English classes. Interestingly, while 51% of teachers

agreed to the importance of bilingualism (Arabic-English) in English classes to preserve cultural identities and adaptability of English in the local context, 35% strongly disagreed with its benefits. This perhaps is due to the limitation of this research where the ethnicity and the micro-cultural dimensions were not taken into consideration. In other words, although all the teachers in the study group were Omani and spoke Arabic, they belong to different ethnic groups of Oman i.e. Balushi and Zanzibaris who speak Baluchi and Swahili respectively as their first language.

In addition, 93% of the respondents agreed to the fact that demographics has an impact on the acceptibility of EIL; however, 6% of the teachers were in disagreement with it. With regards to students using English outside the classroom, 77% of teachers reported limited English communication. This demonstrates an obvious inhibition of using English in day to day life and making it a part of their culture or identity. This can also be interpreted as the reason for the limited acceptability of English language nationwide.

#### 14.4.4.2 Study Group 2 – Students

57 students who responded to the questionnaire were from the same institution as the teachers, studying in GFP (English language course). However, 3 were not considered because they were non-Omanis. Genderwise, 65% of the participants were female and 35% males. Most of the students were in the age group of 18–20. All these students responded to the questionnaire, that aimed at eliciting their attitude towards learning English language and their preference of teachers and teaching processes. The following graph presents the responses of students on a Likert’s scale of 5.



Similar to the teachers, a vast majority, 83% of the students, agreed on accepting significance of EIL while only a few either disagreed or had a neutral opinion. Moreover, on eliciting their views on the cultural impact of integrating English language in local societies, the respondents expressed concerns. 72% agreed that widespread use of English will negatively impact Arabic language. However, 18 % of the

students were neutral and about 10% disagreed. Additionally, 65% mentioned that extensive English usage will directly affect the Omani culture while 24% disagreed. Therefore, it can be inferred that, while most of the young Omanis acknowledge significance of English as an international language, they observe its negative impact on the culture and local language.

The responses also show limited use of language beyond classrooms which could be either due to limited internalization of the language or its perceived impact on their cultural identity. In the responses, while 66% of students denied communicating in English beyond classrooms, 76% admitted not using it at all at home. Similarly, 63% denied texting or emailing in English. Interestingly, 66% accepted that they converse in English while travelling outside the country. Therefore, it can be inferred that there is a limited and low internalization of the language in local and cultural scenarios. Nevertheless, students have no inhibitions using English language outside their local and cultural setup. It could be perhaps due to their perceived fear of losing local language, because if one takes a language “away from the culture, you take away its greetings, its curses, its praises, its laws, its literature, its songs, its riddles, its proverbs, its cures, its wisdom, its prayers” (Fishman 1996, p. 81) or to put it together, you take away one’s identity.

In response to student’s preferences for teachers and bilingual support, 70% of the participants expressed their preference of a native-speaker as their teacher. 61% wanted a bilingual (Anglo-Arabic) mode of teaching. This presents an interesting gap between their preferences and expectations.

## 14.5 Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the attitude of Omani teachers and students toward EIL and its possible implication in the Arabian Gulf countries. There are concerns that EIL may not only diminish the role of Arabic but also create socio-political disharmony, because Arabic as a language and culture is the uniting block of the Arabian gulf countries and represents people’s identity. Whether fear or reality, this concern should be addressed.

It is imperative to understand that it is a myth that only one language can exist at one given time in a given region. History has shown evidence of languages co-existing and flourishing at the same time in the same region. They are like an ecosystem where one living thing supports another. India can be a good example of this. It was a British colony for nearly two centuries. After independence, English became the language of the constitution and one of its official languages. India also became the second-largest English-speaking county in the world (Masani 2012). But, although arguable, English did not negatively impact India’s deep-rooted culture, languages or its national identity. This could be attributed to India’s approach of making the English language its own. To become a vehicle of local communication, a foreign language often takes a distinctive local form. In the example of India, English deviated from its original standard native form and people often hybridize and diversify it to suit their purpose (Pennycook 2007; Canagarajah 1999, p. 181).

Now turning to the Omani context, it is one of the examples of multilingual countries where languages have co-existed and flourished. For centuries people of the coastal areas of Oman have been multilingual (Al-Busaidi 1995). Besides Arabic as the national language, there are other language like Swahili, Persian, Balushi, Luwati, Hindi, and Urdu spoken in the region for generations (Risso 1986). None of the languages have diminished the status of Arabic or damaged the core Arabic culture. Thus, English can also co-exist if its ownership is taken in both teaching and learning without jeopardising the native language and culture.

The two main recommendations that can address the perceived English threat to Oman's cultural identity are: need of reforms in curricula and English teacher's preferences. To begin with, revisiting English curricula can be beneficial. Atkinson (2004, p. 279) sees it as "very much a burning issue at the beginning of the 21st century" (p. 79). Embedding culture in language teaching is crucial and it can be best done locally. Norton (1997) warns, if learners of English see it as a foreign language that they do not own, they may not see themselves as legitimate speakers. Additionally, with foreign content, learners may have to carry additional cognitive load on top of the linguistic challenge, which may result in uncertainties and feelings of alienation. There should be no inhibitions about deviation from 'standard' English or having a variation if any. To own English, it is important to localise it. For instance, use of 'Allah' and 'In-Sha-Allah' (god willing) when talking about plans and intentions is very commonly used during conversation between both native and non-native speakers of English living in the Arab countries. This is one example of hybridisation and should not be considered a problem or lack of proficiency in English.

Currently, in Oman most of the institutions use curriculum and course books written by English publishers. For example, in Pre-university, the General Foundation Program (GFP) uses course books like Headway, Cutting Edge, 'Life' or other EAP Cambridge books. Some of them are using the editions of books that are published as 'middle-east edition', yet, it is important that the course books which are written locally can best mirror Omani culture and values. English should also be encouraged in local literature such as comics, novels, movies, news and other entertainment. This will let students engage with English, as their own, reducing the fear that English will superimpose upon their culture. In fact, through this, they can share their culture and concerns to the wider world (Holliday 2014; McKay 2004).

Secondly, there should be more emphasis on bilingual Omani teachers. Often knowledge, proficiency and skills in teaching English are mixed up with native-like pronunciation or "sounding native". However, it is imperative to acknowledge that there are multiple variations of English as 'world Englishes'. Kachru (1985) argues, English does not belong to the Inner Circle alone. People who speak it have its ownership and the speakers in the Outer Circle (non-native speakers) are not obliged to identify with the Inner Circle (native speakers of English). This goes for the English spoken in the Expanding Circle too. Variation in English with local impact should not be considered as bad English and should not be judged by the Inner Circle. In this regard, learning English from local (Omani) English teachers should be promoted. Having a similar view, Belhiah and Elhami (2015) suggest that Arab universities reconsider recruitment trend of monolingual native speakers of

English. Times have changed, and the reasons and purpose of learning English should be established from the onset; which is to use English as an international Language (EIL). Graddol (2006) suggests replacement of the concepts of English as a foreign Language (EFL) or English as a second Language (ESL) with ELF (English as a lingua franca) which intends to facilitate real communication between non-English native speakers, or with EIL, where, “intelligibility is of primary importance rather than native like accuracy (p. 87). Smith (1992) also emphasizes the functional use of English and measures it on a scale of intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability, which accommodates the variations of English as ‘world Englishes’ (WE). To teach English, language proficiency is the most important component (Lafayette 1993) and not only native speakers but also Omani Teachers of English may have a high level of language skills to teach English.

Encouraging more Omani non-native English teachers can serve two main purposes: preservation of cultural identity, and Omanisation. Native speakers of English bring their culture and values which may influence students negatively, and “as a result they usually fail to build a rapport with students, which may have detrimental effects on their academic career” (Belhiah and Elhami 2015, p. 36). Learning English from Omani English teachers would also mean more interaction between people with common culture and values, less cognitive stress to cope with new approaches and ways of thinking, and less fear of being misunderstood or influenced. This would also promote a culture of bilingualism by a balanced use of Arabic and English, which is not a difficult competence because, as Crystal says, two thirds of children around the world develop competency in two languages because of the bilingual environment that they grow up in. In addition, having Omani teachers will provide more opportunities to local teachers of English and would support the policy of Omanisation.

This study concludes by making a case that gulf countries should work towards the localisation of English and make it their own, because this will empower English as an International Language (EIL) without jeopardising indigenous language and culture. Moreover, use of Arabic should equally be encouraged because “using native language at tertiary level is also a symbol of cultural, national identity, and even self-respect and pride” (Troudi 2007, p. 7).

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# Chapter 15

## Functions of English: Education, Entertainment and Commercials in South Korea



Hyejeong Ahn and Seongyong Lee

### 15.1 Introduction

The first official introduction of the English language to the Korean peninsula occurred in 1882 when King Kojong signed a treaty of amity with the United States and the United Kingdom. However, until the late 1980s, English had only been used by a handful of elite government officials and its function was limited to a small number of official protocols. The early communicative functions of English can be traced back to the time of the Korean War from 1950 to 1953. During the war, a handful of ordinary South Koreans experienced direct contact with the English language for the first time, mainly through US military personnel. Around 300,000 US military were stationed in South Korea (hereafter, Korea) during the war (Kane 2006). During this time, some forms of English were used by street children to beg for chocolates and chewing gum from passing American soldiers. In addition, up until the 1980s, travel for holiday purposes by ordinary South Koreans was strictly regulated (J. Kim n.d.) and the main economy of Korea was based on the domestic agrarian industry (Yoo 2008). This did not require ordinary Koreans to have any contact with the English language or its speakers. Thus, ordinary Koreans had little exposure to the language and the function of English in Korean society was minimal.

However, in the late 1980s Korean exposure to the English language dramatically increased as a by-product of the country's tremendous effort towards internationalisation. Korea adopted an export-oriented economic strategy and held two international sporting events, namely the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Seoul Summer Olympic Games. In 1989, the Korean government removed its overseas travel ban. The presence of the English language in society was felt, and from this time on the role of English has gradually become diversified. Undoubtedly, English is now the most important foreign language in Korean society and plays a number

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of critical functions in various domains. This paper examines the functions and forms of English in three broad sociolinguistic domains, namely: education, television dramas and online commercials.

## 15.2 English in Education: A Tool for a Symbolic Measure of Academic Success

Korean zeal for English learning is often described as “(American) English fever” (Ahn 2013; Park 2009) and this has given Korea the nickname *yeong-eo-gong-hwa-gug*<sup>1</sup> (the Republic of English). These two terms, “(American) English fever” and “the Republic of English”, may well reflect the critical functions of English in the Korean education system.

In order to have a contextual understanding of the critical function that English plays in Korean education, this section firstly presents a brief historical account of the development of English education with an explanation of the significance of education in Korean society. The Korean obsession with educational attainment is called *gye-yug-yeol* and is extensively discussed in a number of studies (Park 1994; Seth 2002). These studies argue that this intense *gye-yug-yeol* is largely associated with people’s attitudes and a social system that measures success according to educational achievement. The disproportionate level of scholastic achievement in Korea is evident from the amount of money spent on educational institutions. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2016) Korea spent the largest amount of its GDP on educational institutions in 2014 when compared with other OECD countries and Korea outranked all other OECD countries with almost 70% of its citizens aged between 24 and 34 years holding a tertiary educational qualification. The report also stated that while nearly 100% of Koreans aged between 24 and 34 years had completed their upper secondary education, only 43% of Koreans aged between 55 and 64 years had completed their senior secondary education, indicating a remarkable increase in the educational attainment of Koreans over the past three decades. In addition, between 2000 and 2016, the number of Korean students studying overseas grew to more than 200,000, making Korea fourth in the world for the highest number of students pursuing studies abroad, with the most favoured destination being the USA. In 2016 alone, 223,908 Korean students went overseas to study and nearly half of these students went to “English speaking countries” such as the USA, Australia, the UK and Canada, with more than half of the total number choosing to study in the USA (Statistics Korea 2017b). This trend of studying overseas is fuelled by the belief that studying overseas, and in the USA in particular, is a requirement for securing a good job in Korea, where there is a crisis in oversupply of highly educated employees.

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<sup>1</sup>The transcription system used in all examples in this article follows the Revised Romanization of Korean (국어의 로마자 표기법 [gugeoui romaja pyogibeop]) which is the official Korean language romanization system in Korea proclaimed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The Korean passion for studying in the USA is essentially attributed to Korea's historical relationship with the USA. After the Korean War, there was a close involvement of the US military with Korean politics and society, simultaneously, the presence of the English language spoken by Americans became apparent in Korean society and the English language naturally became synonymous with American English. From the mid-1960s, Korean society also experienced an emergence of an elite English-speaking group of citizens who returned to the country after receiving higher education in the USA. These US-educated returnees constituted a new power group and became symbols of success and wealth. This has also strongly influenced the importance of English in the eyes of Koreans seeing it as a critical means of advancing the country.

The emphasis on learning English is well documented in Korea's English curriculum policy. Since the first national English curriculum policy was implemented in 1954, English education has been given a top priority by the government and society. For example, in 1992, the government launched its English program called EPiK (English Program in Korea) to foster primary and secondary students' English communicative ability (NIEED 2016). A large number of "native" English speakers, primarily selected from six "English-speaking" countries: the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the UK and Ireland were employed. In addition, college level English education also experienced significant changes in the 1990s, employing a large number of "native" English teachers, mainly from the USA. In 1997, a radical change also occurred in primary level English education when mandatory English lessons were introduced. The introduction of mandatory English lessons into primary education sent out explicit and powerful messages to the public about the government's official view of the importance of English skills. The view was also reflected in the admission requirements of prestigious universities such the influential group of universities known as SKY.<sup>2</sup>

The importance that the government and universities placed on the need to use English directly caused an unprecedented and continuing expansion of the private English education industry. In 2015 alone, Koreans spent approximately US \$17 billion on private education, and almost half of this amount was spent on English language learning. Approximately 68% of Koreans aged between nine to 17 years received private education in English in 2017 (Statistics Korea 2017a). Many of these students received their tuition at private cram institutions; the so called *ib-si jeon-mun hag-won* that are built to mainly prepare high school students for the college entrance exams, all with a strong focus on preparing for the English tests. The English obsession is also evidenced by the high volume of publications of English test preparation books with titles such as: *I can help you to raise your English score*<sup>3</sup> (Y. Kim 2015b) and newspaper articles such as *A summary of university*

<sup>2</sup>SKY is an acronym used to refer to the three most prestigious universities in South Korea: Seoul National University, Korea University and Yonsei University. This term is widely used in South Korea, both in media broadcasts and by the universities themselves.

<sup>3</sup>내가 수능까지 영어 성적 올려 줄게 [nae-ga su-neung-kka-ji yeong-eo seong-jeog ol-lyeo jul-kke].

*responses to the 2018 English scores*<sup>4</sup> (S. Kim 2017) targeting high school students who are preparing for the English test in the college entrance exams. According to the BIGkinds program, one of the most comprehensive big news data analytical tools in South Korea analysing the news reported in newspapers and television (The Korea Press Foundation 2018), there were 4,054 newspaper articles dealing with topics related to the English college entrance test between April, 2017 and March, 2018, compared with 3,271 newspaper articles dealing with the Korean college test (Korea Press Foundation 2018). This may well indicate that Korean society is interested in hearing more about the English test than the Korean test. Furthermore, from 2008 to 2009, more than 12 million Koreans took the TOEIC test, costing the country approximately US \$47million for the application fees alone (J. Kim 2015a). What is also interesting to note is that pre-schoolers are also targets of the private English education industry. Some affluent families send their children to expensive “private English-teaching kindergartens” to learn English. There are approximately 900 of these kinds of kindergartens in Korea, whose monthly tuition fees range from US\$1,000 to more than US\$2,000 (Ministry of Education 2017).

This strong emphasis on the paramount place of English in the education system is attributed to successive governments highlighting the importance of developing students’ English skills, seeing such skills as “critical linguistic tools” for the country’s global survival; even though such claims have been heavily criticised. Song (2011), for example, argues that despite the official government stand that English is a critical linguistic tool for the country’s global survival, English in Korea has mainly been used to provide “a primary mechanism of elimination that conserves the hierarchy of power relations already established in South Korean society” (35). Ahn (2012) rightly argues, that for the majority of students in Korea, the English language largely remains an academic exercise with little motivation to learn more than what is required to receive high scores in the designated tests. Students, parents, English teachers, and school administrators all consider the ultimate purpose of English education to be high student achievement in English test scores in order to qualify for entry to highly regarded universities or to acquire higher status jobs. As a result, the forms of English that are emphasised in education are the highly standardised varieties that are included in the major English tests, in particular, the American variety of English (Ahn 2015, 2017a). The status of the “American English variety” was once again confirmed in Ahn’s (2017a) study that argues that teachers of the English language in Korea may see the social value of the localised variety of English, the so-called “Korean English”, yet they are reluctant to use it or discuss it in the classroom with students as it has little ‘educational vale’. In sum, in the educational domain in Korea, the nickname of the “Republic of English” may well suggest that English, particularly, a variety of American English, is the most highly desired language to master and English is one of the most critical determiners for one’s educational success.

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<sup>4</sup>2018학년도 대학별 수능 영어 반영방법 한눈에 보자! [2018hag-nyeon-do dae-hag-byeol su-neung yeong-eo ban-yeong-bang-beob han-nun-e bo-ja].



### 15.3 English in Korean Television Dramas: Creative and Stylistic Use for Domestic Viewers

The large body of prior research into the function of English in Korean entertainment media in such fields as K-Pop, movies and talk shows has generally investigated the use of English as a semiotic resource. The use of English in K-Pop (Lawrence 2010; Lee 2004, 2007, 2011), for example, is to generate special effects such as getting audience attention and expressing resistance against the conservative social norms of Korean society. The English expressions are unintelligible to the public in Korea and Lee (2004, 2007) argues that the English language provides a “safe” place for Korean youth to voice their opposition to the conservative social norms and express their “modern” identity. In addition, Ahn (2017b) argues that English in T.V. dramas serves various communicative purposes among young Koreans reaching a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds. She identifies three main functions of English used in Korean television dramas:

- (1) To perform particular communicative speech acts such as casual greetings, authoritative speech and to create emphasis.
- (2) In professional settings to generate the impression of professionalism, being up-to-date and knowledgeable.
- (3) The use of English in particular domains such as a luxurious party events, fashion and food.

(Ahn 2017b: 175)

The present study expands on the functions of English in Korean television dramas by examining how the English language is incorporated into the titles of Korean television dramas. A total of 222 television dramas were aired in Korea between 2016 and 2017 by six main television channels, namely: KBS2, MBC, SBS, tvN, JTBC and OCN. As can be seen in Table 15.1, out of the 222 dramas, 59 (27%) used English words in their titles (for the list of drama titles, see appendix 1). Almost all of these dramas have dual titles, one for domestic viewers and the other for international viewers. In many cases the titles for international viewers and domestic

**Table 15.1** Korean drama titles with English words from 2016 to 2017

TV channel	Year	No. of drama broadcasts	No. of titles with English	English only	English + Korean
SBS	2017	22	5	1	4
	2016	20	4	3	1
KBS	2017	38	7	3	4
	2016	34	7	4	3
JTBC	2017	14	6	3	3
	2016	6	1	1	0
tvN	2017	24	7	2	5
	2016	13	6	5	1
MBC	2017	27	5	2	3
	2016	24	11	5	6
Total		222	59	29	30



viewers are identical. There are, however, a notable number of titles which are different and often are shortened or simplified versions of the original. For instance, the title for domestic viewers is, *Circle*: 이어진 두 세계 [seo-keul i-eo-jin du se-gye: the two connected worlds], while the title for international viewers is *Circle*. Another example of the simplified version for international titles is that of the domestic drama entitled, 낭만*doctor* 김사부 [nang-man-dag-teo gim-sa-bu]. The closest translation of this title would be, “The romantic doctor and teacher Kim”. However, the international title is *Dr Romantic*. In addition to the international titles being shortened, some of the titles for international viewers have drastically different titles. For example, for one drama, the title for domestic viewers is, “I am sorry 강남구 [a-i-em sso-li gang-nam-gu] and the translation of this title would be, “I am sorry Kang Nam Gu (name of a character)”, but the international title is, *I am sorry but I love you*. Other similar cases can be found in the titles for domestic viewers, such as 마스터: 국수의 신 [ma-seu-teo-gug-su-ui sin: The master-The god of the noodles”] and 전설의 셔틀 [jeon-seol-ui syeo-teul: Legendary shuttle], while the these titles have been changed to *The master of revenge* and *Legendary Lackey* for international viewers.

It should be noted that most Korean drama titles are presented to viewers using the Korean alphabet called *Han-geul* except for two drama titles, *W* and *The K2*. English words incorporated into the titles of Korean television dramas are transliterated and rendered in *Han-geul*. For example, the title 수상한 파트너 [su-sang-han pa-teu-neo: suspicious partner] is presented in *Han-geul*. The last word 파트너 [pa-teu-neo] is the English transliteration of “partner” and rendered in *Han-geul*. For easy reference, the present study uses English words to indicate the English transliterated part of the titles and uses *Han-geul* to indicate the Korean part with its phonetic descriptions followed by their meanings in English in square parentheses. Thus, for example, the drama title 수상한 파트너 is written as 수상한 [su-sang-han pa-teu-neo: suspicious] *partner*. The scope of the present study does not include an in-depth examination of the reasons for such variations in the international titles as it may be that the titles are such in consideration of the fact that international viewers may have little knowledge of Korean names and culture. Instead, this study focuses on the examination of the English used in the titles that is aimed at domestic viewers.

Two types of English usages are identified in titles for domestic viewers, those formed with “English only” words and those formed with a “combination of English and Korean” words. The composition of the English only titles ranges from a title that has only one English letter such as *W* in it, up to four words such as, for example, *Cheese in the trap*. The most popular compositions of English only titles are one or two English worded titles such as *Voice* and *Radio romance*. Titles that include both English and Korean, are categorised into four types. The first type has an English noun with a Korean description such as 수상한 [su-sang-han pa-teu-neo: suspicious] *partner* and 내성적인 [nae-seong-jeog-in: introverted] *boss*. The second type, is where there is a combined title with a suggestive part and an implicative part. Usually, the suggestive part of the title uses one English word, while the implicative part uses Korean words. The implicative parts offer more description in a

synopsis of the title. This type of Korean drama title includes *Remember*: 아들의 전쟁 [a-deul-ui jeon-jaeng: Son's war], *Master*: 국수의 신 [gug-su-ui sin: The god of noodle] and *Circle*: 이어진 두 세계 [i-eo-jin du se-gye: the two connected worlds]. The third type of Korean drama title is formed by an English word imbedded into the Korean language. In this case, the Korean language works as the matrix language<sup>5</sup> (Myers-Scotton 1993). Examples of this type of title include, *Robot*이 아니야 [ro-bos-i a-ni-ya: I am not a robot] and 오늘도 *tambourine*을 모십니다 [o-neul-do taem-beo-lin-eul mo-sib-ni-da: Today I am also learning the tambourine]. The English words “robot” and “tambourine” are embedded into sentences that follow Korean syntactical rules. The fourth type of combination English title includes the use of a Koreanised English word such as *Carrier*를 끄는 여자 [kae-li-eo-leul kkeu-neun yeo-ja: The women who carries the suitcase] and *전설의* shuttle [jeon-seol-ui syeo-teul: The legendary shuttle]. The English word “carrier” has experienced a semantic shift, meaning “a suitcase” in the Korean context, and the word “shuttle” is the result of a truncation process applied to the English words “shuttle bus”.

As can be seen in the analysis above, the English language is popularly used to devise dynamic Korean television titles for domestic viewers and their forms are creative and heterogeneous. Considering the significant impact television drama titles have, the inclusion of English elements in the titles would signify that English has become a familiar linguistic resource for Korean viewers and television drama producers.

## 15.4 English in Korean Online Commercials: Linguistic Construction of Social Identity

The business world has been identified as one of the pivotal agents in facilitating the spread of English into a local speech community, resulting in the mixing of English with a local language. This is reflected in the articulation of the local voice of language users (Brutt-Griffler 2002; Hatano 2013; Moody 2006). Previous research on English mixing in television and print advertisements has found five different categories of social identity: “modernity”, “attention-getting”, “humour”, “euphemizing”, and “English proficiency” (Baumgardner 2006; Chen 2006; Garcia-Yeste 2013; Jung 2001; Lee 2006, 2015). Lee (2006) analyses English-Korean mixing in 720 television advertisements in terms of “modernity” in relation to such domains as technology, gender roles, and taste as a cultural form. In these domains, she identifies four salient features, including “modern”, “young”, “innovative”, and “liberal,” which are aligned with the use of English mixing in Korean commercials. Lee (2015) argues that the function of English in this domain is significant, not only as an effective means of advertising by which advertisers’ mottos are delivered to their

<sup>5</sup>Matrix language provides the grammatical frame of the sentence as a whole.

target audiences but also as the “product itself” as advertised by English institutes, which represent ideologies of authentic English for global competitiveness (p. 238).

This section aims to explore the use of English in online commercials in Korea in order to understand how English mixing in recent Korean advertisements contributes to the articulation of linguistic identity. This section adopts online advertisements as the unit of analysis as electronic-commerce (e-commerce) has been sharply expanding over the last five years in parallel with an increasing number of internet and mobile users in Korea (Ministry of Science and ICT 2018). In fact, the size of the Korean e-commerce market more than doubled between 2013 and 2017 with the volume of online shopping transactions increasing from 38.5 trillion Korean won to 92.0 trillion won (Statista 2018). A total of 201 online advertisements were collected from Gmarket, which was ranked second among the major open market platforms in June 2016 (Hong and Peterle 2017). Four major retail sectors were selected for the discussion of advertising discourse in e-commerce: *Living*, *Appliances*, *Food* and *Fashion*, which account for the top market segments (eShopWorld 2017). Drawing upon Lee’s (2006) sociolinguistic categorisation of advertisements, these 201 advertisements were divided into two major categories, Korean-only advertisements (KO) and English mixing advertisements (EM). EM lexical items were further categorised into three different linguistic categories: English words (EW), English-Korean transliteration (EKT), and English phrases (EP). The top ten EM words from each sector of *Living*, *Appliances*, *Food* and *Fashion* were selected to discover emerging themes pertinent to linguistic identity as constructed in the EM corpus. Finally, a qualitative analysis of the corpus data was conducted to explore how EM represents linguistic identity in the case of each advertisement.

As seen in Table 15.2, the number of advertisements that include any type of EM was 183 out of the total of 201 advertisements. It is noticeable that with the exception of the *Food* sector, EM was used in all advertisements across the sectors of *Living*, *Appliance*, and *Fashion*, which shows a significant imbalance. This result does not support Lee’s (2006) research, where KO encompasses the sectors of *Food*, *Medicine*, *Finance*, and *Cellular phones*. A potential reason for such a discrepancy between the two studies is that the data set of this section is limited to e-commerce where target consumers are younger than those in Lee’s (2006) study (eShopWorld 2017). The other possible explanation is that the spread of English has been increasing in the Korean speech community over the last 12 years. For example, in Lee’s (2006) study a specialised refrigerator for kimchi was representative of KO advertisements, whereas in this section the same product includes EM as in the following example:

(1) **The Original** 덤채. 냉기 에어컨튼 존, 최적의 온도를 찾아주는 스마트 쿨링

**Table 15.2** Proportion of EM and KO in 201 Korean online commercials

	Living	Appliance	Food	Fashion	Total	
EM	47	60	35	41	183	91%
KO	0	0	18	0	18	9%
Total	47	60	53	41	201	100%

**The Original Dim-Chae. naeng-gi Air Curtain Zone, choe-jeok-ui ondo-reul chaja-juneun Smart Cooling.**

“**The Original Dim-Chae. The cold in Air Curtain Zone, Smart Cooling for the optimal temperature**”

The use of EM in the words, *The Original*, instead of its Korean counterpart 원조 [won-jo: original] is used to emphasise the status of the product as a market leader, with its technological features displayed using Korean transliterated English words as in the examples of *Air Curtain Zone* and *Smart Cooling*. The use of these words shows that technology and modernity are two important themes used to identify most home appliances in recent years. A total of 1,000 EM words and phrases were obtained from 201 advertisements. Table 15.3 shows the number of EM words in each sector.

These 1,000 EM items were further classified into EM, EP, and EKT as described above. Table 15.4 shows that the proportion of EW to EKT items are almost equal while EP items occur with the least frequency. Note that EW refers to a lexical item that is not integrated into the Korean language, whereas EKT represents the case in which EW is at the initial stage of localisation while it becomes assimilated into the Korean phonological system (Kim 2016; Xia and Miller 2013).

Table 15.5 (below) shows the top five EM words appearing in each sector and across all the sectors. In the *Living* sector, *design, premium, set, brand, and smart* are the five most frequently appearing EM words, revealing that EM represents modernity (*design* and *smart*), trustworthiness (*premium* and *brand*). The top five EM items in the *Appliance* sector have something to do with modernity (*design, new, and smart*) and trustworthiness (*super*). In the *Fashion* sector, *brand* and *item* represent trustworthiness, *new* and *summer* reflect modernity, and *daily* denotes a sense of comfort. The top five EM words across all sectors represent the characteristics of trustworthiness (*brand, premium, and best*), and modernity (*design* and *new*). However, in contrast, the top five EM words in the *Food* sector point only to trustworthiness (*premium, brand, fresh, natural, and best*), which indicates a

**Table 15.3** Number of EM in a corpus of 201 advertisements in all sectors

	Living	Appliance	Food	Fashion	Total
N	47	60	53	41	201
EM	254	354	116	276	1,000
Mean	5.4	5.9	2.2	6.7	5.0
SD	3.6	2.9	2.1	3.7	3.3

**Table 15.4** Three types of EM in a corpus of 201 advertisements

	Living		Appliance		Food		Fashion		Total	
EW	116	45.7%	175	49.4%	68	58.6%	136	49.3%	495	49.5%
EP	6	2.4%	9	2.5%	8	6.9%	13	4.7%	36	3.6%
EKT	132	52.0%	170	48%	40	34.5%	127	46%	469	46.9%
Total	254	100%	354	100%	116	100%	276	100%	1,000	100%

**Table 15.5** Top ten English words in the four sectors

Rank	Living	Appliance	Food	Fashion	All sectors
1	Design	Design	Premium	Brand	Brand
2	Premium	Metal	Brand	Item	Design
3	Set	New	Fresh	New	New
4	Brand	Smart	Natural	Summer	Premium
5	Smart	Super	Best	Daily	Best

different aspect of identity. Lee (2006) suggests that EM words in the *Food* sector represent the contrasting of modern taste with traditional taste. Thus, this section, unlike Lee (2006), subdivides linguistic identity as reflected in the use of EM into the characteristics of modernity, trustworthiness, and a sense of comfort.

A contrasting pair of words representing foreign versus domestic products in the *Food* sector are *oil* and 기름 [*gi-reum*: oil]. Here trustworthiness is represented in two different ways; the former represents a foreign product whereas the latter represents a domestic product:

- (2) **Avocado Oil** 아보카도 오일 엑스트라버진, 베트남에서 그대로 눌러짠 아보카도오일 100%

**AVOCADO OIL avocado oil extra-virgin**, Vietnam-e-seo geu-dae-ro nul-leo-jjan avocado oil

“**AVOCADO OIL avocado oil extra-virgin**, 100% **avocado oil** directly pressed in Vietnam”

- (3) 100% 국내산 참깨, 들깨를 사용해 착유한 참기름 350 ml

100% guk-nae-san cham-ggae, deul-ggae-reul sa-yong-hae chak-yu-han cham-gi-reum 350 ml

“100% domestic sesame seeds and perilla seeds are used to extract 350ml sesame oil.”

*Oil* in Example (2) represents a foreign product that is produced and imported from Vietnam and guarantees its high quality. Note that avocado oil is not produced in Korea, which is why English words such as *AVOCADO* and *OIL* are used and their function is to represent a sense of foreignness. By contrast, the domestic product is represented with a Korean word 기름 [*gi-reum*: oil] in Example (3). The copy, 100% 국내산 [guk-nae-san: domestic] emphasises that this Korean sesame oil, a domestic product, is made of domestic ingredients such as 참깨 [cham-ggae: sesame seeds] and 들깨 [deul-ggae: gerilla seeds]. Thus, in these examples contrasting pairs of foreign and domestic products clearly show that EM is used to represent the foreign origins of products and this use of EM contributes a sense of trustworthiness to building up the commercial identity of the product.

Example (4) from the *Food* sector shows another way that EM is used to construct a linguistic identity of trustworthiness in Korean e-commerce advertisements. Here a sense of foreignness is combined with a quality seal of approval from Good Manufacturing Practice (GMP) after inspection. The copy in this excerpt stresses that the product, Whey Protein, has won GMP approval from the Ministry of Food and Drug Safety, which makes it look trustworthy with the supporting words 안전

[an-jeon: safety] and 신뢰 [sin-lwue: trust]. EM words emphasise the product's ingredients, and the fact that it is one of a series of products also functions as a vehicle for the linguistic construction of trustworthiness on the basis of a sense of foreignness.

(4) 식품의약품안전처 GMP인증, 웨이프로틴WPI. PERFORMANCE SERIES since 2014. 안전하고 신뢰할 수 있는 GMP인증 건강식품을 선택하세요!

sik-pum ui-yak-pum an-jeon-cheo GMP in-jeung, wei-pro-tin WIP. PERFORMANCE SERIES since 2014. an-jeon-ha-go sin-lwue-hal-su it-neun GMP in-jeung geon-gang-sik-pum-eul seon-taek-ha-se-yo!

“Winning GMP approval from Ministry of Food and Drug Safety GMP, Whey Protein. PERFORMANCE SERIES since 2014. Take safe and trustworthy supplements winning GMP approval.”

Examples (2) and (4) reveal that a sense of foreignness is marked with EM words to create a sense of the trustworthiness in the products containing imported ingredients and that this creative linguistic practice is particularly conspicuous in the *Food* sector. Such discourse around trustworthiness has been adopted by copy writers to serve as an effective advertising strategy (Lee 2006).

Drawing upon “audience design” suggested by Bell (1984), Lee (2006) posits that target audiences of advertising include addressees, who are direct receivers of the communicated message and auditors who are indirect receivers of the message. She argues that EM is adopted in commercials to appeal to a certain type of audience, which gives a possible explanation for why EM and their Korean counterparts both work to articulate a linguistic identity of trustworthiness in products in the *Food* sector. The use of language mixing in commercials is not an isolated linguistic phenomenon but the reflection of a dynamic relationship between the media and its audience (Petery 2011). Thus, linguistic identity associated with EM contributes to an effective communication of commercial messages to target audiences who are potential consumers (Lee 2006, 2015; Petery 2011; Piller 2003).

## 15.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the functional use of hybridised and localised English in the domains of education, television drama and online commercials in Korea. Based on empirical data in these three domains, this study argues that English is used by members of the Korean speech community as a means of communication to fulfil diverse aspects of social interaction, whether their English follows a standard form (education) or a non-standard one (television drama and e-commercials). The process of localisation and stylised use of English in the Korean context shows that Korean speakers are not passive recipients of English in the global spread of English into the Korean society; rather, they actively engage in creative production of their own forms and meanings of English which reflect their knowledge, beliefs, and practices at the societal level (Brutt-Griffler 2002; Hatano 2013; Lee 2004, 2006, 2007, 2015). Thus, this study concludes that English serves as a vehicle for Korean

speakers to articulate their desires, messages and identities. English functions in these three domains in various ways:

- (1) Standardised forms of English are the critical indicators by which students' academic success is evaluated.
- (2) The creative and stylised use of English in the titles of Korean television dramas make significant contributions to interactive communication between the viewers of the television dramas and producers.
- (3) English-Korean mixing in online commercials is a linguistic tool for indexing social identity, which makes possible an effective transmission of commercial messages to target audiences.

In Korea, hybridised and localised forms of English as well as the standard variety are widely used for domestic consumption. In the domain of education, on the one hand, English is used mainly as a tool for measuring academic success and monitoring job prospects, which compels most students to pursue learning Standard English as it is the target form of major standardised English tests. On the other hand, mixed and nativised English forms, also known as a non-standard variety of English, frequently appear in the titles of Korean television dramas. These creative and heterogeneous forms of English are intended to serve as linguistic resources for viewer-producer interaction. English in Korean online commercials is also highly localised to function as a vehicle of transmitting messages from the media producers to their target audiences. The use of English in the 201 advertisements in Korean e-commerce suggests that English mixing in this domain projects linguistic identities associated with the advertised products; identities such as modernity, foreignness and trustworthiness, which make them marketable and attractive.

The use of English in daily lives is based on shared subjective knowledge among members of a local speech community (Brutt-Griffler 2002). The findings of this chapter suggest that a highly hybridised and creative use of English is employed by Korean speakers for communicative purposes at the societal level and that the media, as well as Korean audiences, are significant agents of spreading English into the Korean speech community (Lee 2017). Further study into the attitudes of Koreans toward the use of localised English in the media needs to be undertaken to understand how and why they engage in language mixing practices.

## Glossary of Korean Words

낭만 /nang-man/	romantic
사부 /sa-bu/	master
냉기 /naeng-gi/	cold
온도 /on-do/	temperature
그대로 /geu-dae-ro/	directly, as it is
눌러짤 /nul-leo-jjan/	pressed
참기름 /cham-gi-reum/	sesame oil



인증 /in-jeung/ approval  
 안전 /an-jeon/ safe  
 신뢰 /sin-lwue/ trustworthy

**Appendix: Korean Television Drama List Broadcast Between 2016 and 2017<sup>6</sup>**

Broadcast channel: SBS			
2016		2017	
육룡이 나르샤 (Six Flying Dragons)	돌아와요 아저씨 (Come Back Mister)	낭만닥터 김사부 (Dr Romantic)	수상한 파트너 (Suspicious Partner)
대박 (The Royal Gambler)	판따라 (Entertainer)	피고인 (Innocent Defendant)	다시 만난 세계 (Reunited Worlds)
닥터스 (Doctors)	원티드 (Wanted)	귓속말 (Whisper)	당신이 잠든 사이에 (While You Were Sleeping)
달의 연인-보보경심 려 (Moon Lovers: Scarlet Heart Ryeo)	질투의 화신 (Don't Dare to Dream)	엽기적인 그녀 (My Sassy Girl)	이판사판 (Judge vs. Judge)
끝에서 두 번째 사랑 (Second To Last Love)	그래, 그런거야 (Yeah, That's How It Is)	조작 (Falsify)	우리 갑순이 (Our Gap-soon)
리멤버-아들의 전쟁 (Remember)	고호의 별이 빛나는 밤에 (Gogh, The Starry Night)	사랑의 온도 (Temperature of Love)	언니는 살아있다 (Band of Sisters)
애인 있어요 (I Have a Lover)	미녀 공심이 (Beautiful Gong Shim)	의문의 일승 (Oh, the Mysterious)	브라보 마이 라이프 (Bravo My Life)
미세스 캡2 (Mrs.Cop 2)	유부녀의 탄생 (The Birth of a Married Woman)	푸른 바다의 전설 (Legend of the Blue Sea)	사임당 빛의 일기 (Saimdang, Memoir of Colors)
사랑이 오네요 (Here Comes Love)	당신은 선물 (You Are a Gift)	달콤한 원수 (Sweet Enemy)	아이돌마스터. KR - 꿈을 드림 (The Idol-Master KR)
마녀의 성 (The Three Witches)	나청렴 의원 납치 사건 (Kidnapping Assemblyman Mr. Clean)	초인가족 2017 (Super Family 2017)	수요일 오후 3시 30분 (Wednesday 3:30 p.m.)
		아임쏘리 강남구 (I am sorry but I love you)	사랑은 방울방울 (Bubbly Lovely)

<sup>6</sup>The broadcast year is calculated based on the last day of the drama aired in public.

Broadcast channel: KBS			
2016		2017	
오 마이 비너스 (Oh My Venus)	빨간 선생님 (The Red Teacher)	화랑 (Hwarang: The Poet Warrior Youth)	오 마이 금비 (My Fair Lady)
무림학교 (Moorim School)	전설의 서틀 (The Legendary Lackey)	완벽한 아내 (The Perfect Wife)	김과장 (Good Manager)
동네변호사 조들호 (My Lawyer, Mr. Jo)	한 여름의 꿈 (Summer Dream)	쌈마이웨이 (Fight for My Way)	추리의 여왕 (Queen of Mystery)
뷰티풀 마인드 (Beautiful Mind)	즐거운 나의 집 (My Happy Home)	학교 2017 (School 2017)	7일의 왕비 (Queen for Seven Days)
구르미 그린 달빛 (Love in the Moonlight)	평양까지 이만원 (Twenty Dollars to Pyeongyang)	란제리 소녀시대 (Girls' Generation)	맨홀-이상한 나라의 펄 (Manhole)
우리집에 사는 남자 (Sweet Stranger and Me)	동정 없는 세상 (Explicit Innocence)	마녀의 법정 (Witch at Court)	매드독 (Mad dog)
장사의 신 (The Merchant: Gaekju 2015)	국시집 여자 (Noodle House Girl)	저글러스 (Jugglers)	흑기사 (Black Knight: The Man Who Guards Me)
태양의 후예 (Descendants of the Sun)	웃음실격 (Disqualified Laughter)	월계수 양복점 신사들 (The Gentlemen of Wolgyesu Tailor Shop)	최고의 한방 (Hit the Top)
마스터-국수의 신 (The Master of Revenge)	아득히 먼 춤 (Dance from Afar)	아버지가 이상해 (Father is Strange)	최강 배달꾼 (Strongest Deliveryman)
함부로 애틀하게 (Uncontrollably Fond)	피노키오의 코 (Pinocchio's Nose)	황금빛 내 인생 (My Golden Life)	고백부부 (Go Back Couple)
공항 가는 길 (On the Way to the Airport)	아이가 다섯 (Five Enough)	우리가 계절이라면 (If We Were a Season)	강덕순 애정변천사 (Kang Duk-Soon's Love History)
부탁해요 엄마 (All About My Mom)	여자의 비밀 (Secrets of Woman)	만나게 해, 주오 (Let Us Meet, Joo Oh - feat. Gyeongseong Wedding Information Company)	나쁜 가족들 (Bad Families)
별난 가족 (The Unusual Family)	TV소설 내 마음의 꽃비 (TV Novel: My Mind's Flower Rain)	당신은 생각보다 가까이에 있다 (You're Closer Than I Think)	우리가 못 자는 이유 (Why We Can Not Sleep)
천상의 약속 (The Promise)	백희가 돌아왔다 (Becky's Back)	혼자 추는 왈츠 (Dancing the Waltz Alone)	Slow
페이지 터너 (Page Turner)	우리집 꿀단지 (Sweet Home, Sweet Honey)	정마담의 마지막 일주일 (Madame Jung's Last Week)	까까머리의 연애 (Buzz Cut's Date)

(continued)

Broadcast channel: KBS			
2016		2017	
장영실 (Jang Yeong-sil)	베이비시터 (Babysitter)	무궁화 꽃이 피었습니다 (Lovers in Bloom)	이름 없는 여자 (Unknown Woman)
TV소설 별이 되어 빛나라 (TV Novel: The Stars are Shining)	다 잘될거야 (All is Well)	TV소설 그 여자의 바다 (TV Novel: A Sea of Her Own)	빛나라 은수 (Still Loving You)
		개인주의자 지영씨 (Individualist Ms. Ji-young)	다시, 첫사랑 (First Love Again)
		TV소설 저 하늘에 태양이 (TV Novel: That Sun in the Sky)	맨몸의 소방관 (Naked Fireman)

Broadcast channel: JTBC			
2016		2017	
마담 앙트완 (Madame Antoine: The Love Therapist)	청춘시대 (Hello, My Twenties!)	그냥 사랑하는 사이 (Rain or Shine)	한여름의 추억 (Summer days)
욱씨 남정기 (My Horrible Boss)	판타스틱 (Fantastic)	폼위있는 그녀 (The Lady in Dignity)	솔로몬의 위증 (Solomon's Perjury)
마녀보감 (Secret Healer)	이번주 아내가 바람을 씹니다 (Listen to Love)	청춘시대2 (Hello, My Twenties! 2)	힘센여자 도봉순 (Strong Girl Bong-soon)
		더 패키지(The Package)	맨투맨 (Man to Man)
		언터처블 (Untouchable)	막판 로맨스( 웹드라마) (Last Minute Romance)
		마술 학교( 웹드라마) (School of Magic)	어쩌다 18(웹드라마) (18 Again)
		힙한 선생( 웹드라마) Hip Hop Teacher	알 수도 있는 사람( 웹드라마) (A Person You May Know)

Broadcast channel: tvN			
2016		2017	
치즈인더트랩 (Cheese In The Trap)	신데렐라와 네명의기사 (Cinderella with Four Knights)	막돼먹은 영애씨15 (Ugly Miss Young-Ae season 15)	크리미널 마인드 (Criminal Minds)
피리부는 사나이 (Pied Piper)	안투라지 (Entourage)	내성적인 보스 (Introverted Boss)	부암동 복수자들 (Avengers Social Club)

(continued)

Broadcast channel: tvN			
2016		2017	
또 오해영 (Another Oh Hae-young)	기억 (Memory)	그녀는 거짓말을 너무 사랑해 (The Liar and His Lover)	슬기로운 감빵생활 (Prison Playbook)
싸우자 귀신아 (Hey Ghost, Let's Fight)	디어 마이 프렌즈 (Dear my friends)	썸클 이어진 두 세계 (Circle)	도깨비 (Guardian: The Lonely and Great God)
혼술남녀 (Drinking Solo)	굿와이프 (The Good Wife)	하백의 신부 2017 (The Bride of Habaek)	내일 그대와 (Tomorrow With You)
응답하라 1988 (Reply 1988)	THE K2	아르곤 (Argon)	시카고 타자기 (Chicago Typewriter)
시그널 (Signal)		이번 생은 처음이라 (Because This is My First Life)	비밀의 숲 (Stranger)
		막돼먹은 영애씨 16 (Ugly Miss Young-Ae Season 16)	명불허전 (Live Up to Your Name, Dr. Heo)
		세상에서 가장 아름다운 이별 (The Most Beautiful Goodbye)	변혁의 사랑 (Revolutionary Love)
		화유기 (A Korean Odyssey)	직립보행의 역사 (History of Walking Upright)
		박대리의 은밀한 사생활 (Assistant Manager Park's Private Life)	소풍 가는 날 (The Picnic Day)
		B주임과 러브레터 (No English title)	오늘도 템버린을 모십니다 (No English title)

Broadcast channel: MBC			
2016		2017	
화려한 유혹 (Glamorous Temptation)	달콤살벌 패밀리 (Sweet, Savage Family)	불야성 (Night Light)	역도요정 김복주 (Weightlifting Fairy Kim Bok-Joo)
몬스터 (Monster)	한번 더 해피엔딩 (One More Happy Ending)	역적: 백성을 훔친 도적 (The Rebel)	미씽나인 (Missing 9)
캐리어를 끄는 여자 (Woman with a Suitcase)	굿바이 미스터 블랙 (Goodbye Mr. Black)	파수꾼 (The Guardians)	자체발광 오피스 (Radiant Office)
내 딸 금사월 (My Daughter, Geum Sa-wol)	운빨로맨스 (Lucky Romance)	왕은 사랑한다 (The King in Love)	군주-가면의 주인 (The Emperor: Owner of the Mask)

(continued)

Broadcast channel: MBC			
2016		2017	
결혼계약 (Marriage Contract)	쇼핑왕 루이 (Shopping King Louie)	20세기 소년소녀 (20th Century Boy and Girl)	죽어야 사는 남자 (Man Who Dies to Live)
옥중화 (The Flower in Prison)	다시 시작해 (Begin Again)	투깝스 (Two Cops)	병원선 (Hospital Ship)
아름다운 비밀 (Beautiful Secret)	좋은 사람 (Good Person)	아버님 제가 모실게요 (Father, I'll Take Care of You)	로봇이 아니야 (I'm not a robot)
워킹맘, 육아대디 (Working Mother, Babysitter Father)	최고의 연인 (Dearest Lady)	도둑놈, 도둑님 (Bad Thief, Good Thief)	돈꽃 (Money Flower)
가화만사성 (Happy Home)	마이 선샤인 (My Sunshine)	밥상 차리는 남자 (Man in the Kitchen)	돌아온 복단지 (Return of Fortunate Bok)
아름다운 당신 (Beautiful You)	마이 리틀 베이비 (My Little baby)	별별 며느리 (Sister-in-Law)	훈장 오순남 (Teacher Oh Soon-nam)
		당신은 너무합니다 (You Are Too Much)	행복을 주는 사람 (Happiness Giver)
		언제나 봄날 (Always Spring)	세가지색 판타지 (Three Color Fantasy)
		불어라 미풍아 (Blow Breeze)	빙구(웹드라마) (Bing Goo)
		황금 주머니 (Golden Pouch)	

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# Chapter 16

## English Language Programs for Seniors: Motivational Constructs and Teaching Objectives



Jamie Shinhee Lee

### 16.1 Introduction

The English language serves various functions in different speech communities. Many studies address some aspects of symbolic and indexical significance (see e.g. Ahn and Lee, Chap. 15, as well as Zentz, Chap. 13, in this volume). Creative functions of English are also emphasized particularly in the context of literature and writing (see e.g. Kachru 1983; Gargesh 2006). Practical functions such as academic advancement and career opportunities are readily noted as well. For example, Cook (2009) suggests that inadequate English proficiency affects an individual's professional life. However, how English affects mundane daily activities is not considerably researched in linguistics.

Research on second language acquisition frequently discusses identity issues (see e.g., Adamson and Regan 1991; Geeslin and Long 2014; Ha 2009), but it is mostly about how second language speakers such as immigrants and international students utilize certain language variables to highlight particular identities. Most research on second language acquisition focuses on children and young adults, overlooking an aging population such as senior citizens. Older adults are not generally viewed as prospective learners (Purdie and Boulton-Lewis 2010). Linguistics as a discipline has paid little attention to gerontology with the exception of a few studies (see e.g., Coupland et al. 1988, 1994; De Bot and Lintsen 1989; Levine 1996). These previous studies present valuable insights into the language of the elderly, but their focus is mainly on language loss/attrition (e.g., De Bot and Lintsen 1989; Levine 1996) or on speech accommodation strategies between the young and the elderly (Coupland et al. 1988) and between doctors and patients (Coupland et al. 1994). According to Williams and Giles (1991), the literature concerning the elderly is predominantly concerned with 'decrements of ability,' which includes linguistic

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ability (pp. 105–106). However, no significant research on the elderly and their second language acquisition is readily available, which is arguably due to the perception that ‘old people’ are not active foreign language learners. According to Kim and Kim (2015), ‘second language learning experiences among the elderly have not yet received particular attention from researchers and policy makers’ (pp. 120–121).

This study examines English language programs offered at a senior citizen center in a working-class neighborhood in Seoul, Korea. Based on interviews with teachers and senior citizens, this paper will investigate the social function of English education for the elderly and discuss the interplay between language learning and social participation as well as language-related ageism and identity issues. For analysis, naturally emerging themes and predominant narratives will be highlighted based on insights mainly from studies on motivation and self-perception such as Dörnyei (2005, 2009), Kim (2012), Kim and Kim (2015), and Ryan (2006).

## 16.2 The Elderly and Learning

Self-satisfaction, self-actualization, and the joy of learning are often mentioned as significant motivational constructs for aging learners (Ryan and Deci 2000; Scala 1996). In their research on Hong Kong Chinese senior citizens’ life learning experiences, Leung et al. (2006) report that the elderly ‘learn for expressive motivation rather than instrumental motivation’ and they favor ‘practical courses such as languages and health-related topics’ (p. 1). Kim and Kim (2015) observe that ‘among older adults in Korea who participated in lifelong education activities, 76.7% had learned English as an L2 (Center for Educational Statistics Information 2010)’ (p. 121).

Kim and Kim (2015) argue that globalization has enabled English to exercise its influence on ‘daily life in Korea’ and further contend that ‘it is likely that the need for elderly learners to learn English is increasing’ (p. 121). Lee’s (2016) research reveals that senior citizens perceive English as ‘ubiquitous’ in modern Korean society and articulate their desire to learn English to deal with the ever-increasing presence of English in various aspects of their daily routines, including watching TV, reading newspapers, dining out, and shopping (p. 331).

Learning English is generally accompanied by language anxiety. Learners tend to think that their proficiency does not reflect their learning efforts; they feel that they try hard but cannot speak it fluently. English language anxiety noted in Lee (2014) is also observed among senior citizens in the present study. However, unlike young professionals who are pressured to learn English to perform better in international and global contexts, senior citizens are motivated to learn English to do better in regional contexts. Similar to senior citizens in Lee’s (2016) earlier research, the elderly in the present study fear that without some knowledge of English they cannot successfully participate in meaningful communication with their grandchildren or act as informed consumers in modern Korea. The teachers in the study identify their main teaching objective as helping senior citizens feel less limited in dealing with sociolinguistic challenges posed by the growing use of English in contemporary Korea.

### 16.3 Data

As a follow up study on senior citizens and their linguistic attitudes conducted in 2008, I collected additional data in the summer of 2011 in a working-class neighborhood in Seoul, Korea. Among the 25 districts known as *gu* in Seoul, the area in which data collection was conducted shows the lowest housing prices sharply contrasted with Gangnam known for high priced houses and posh apartment complexes.

Two teachers and 14 senior citizen students were interviewed—13 females and one male. Interviews with the students lasted 45–60 min and involved questions about their learning experience at the senior citizen center and their motivation for learning English as well as their opinions about the benefits and challenges of learning English. Interviews with the teachers lasted 40–45 min. They were asked about their teaching experience, teaching materials, teaching methods and perceptions on their students. I also made classroom observations involving three different levels (i.e., basic, intermediate, and advanced) taught by the teachers I interviewed and kept field notes about classroom instructions, class activities, and interactional dynamics between the teacher and students. I visited these classes twice, a week apart, for a total of six classes. However, for this paper, only the interview portion of the data was analyzed. All interviews were conducted in Korean. The audio-recorded interviews were transcribed in Korean first and subsequently translated into English.

Both teachers are female and majored in English. Neither was educated in an English speaking country, but they are experienced teachers. T1 has 20 years of teaching experience and taught an intermediate level class at the center for a year or so. T2's teaching experience is not as extensive as T1, but she has worked at the center longer than T1 and was teaching two classes (basic and advanced) at the time of data collection.

Following the English language program coordinator's suggestion, I made an announcement about interviews when I visited classes at the center. Their participation was voluntary and I managed to recruit 14 willing participants. The senior citizen interviewees were aged 64–82 and the length of their English education at the center varied from 6 months to 4–5 years. All participants who volunteered for audio-recorded interviews happened to be female except one. According to the teachers, female students are proportionally more dominant than males (70–30% or 80–20%), but the actual subject pool was even more disproportionate because I was not able to recruit male participants except one. The one and only male happened to be the most proficient English speaker. Gender and age dynamics between the researcher and interviewees possibly attributed to the fact that male senior citizens did not volunteer as willingly as females senior citizens did.

### 16.4 Discussion

Interview questions focused mainly on three aspects: (1) senior citizen students' attitudes towards the English language in general as well as learning English at the center; (2) senior citizen students' goals and objectives of learning English; and (3)

teachers' attitudes towards senior citizen students and teaching objectives. The predominant discourse from the students as well as the teachers is *ssemekulswu issnun yenge*, which roughly translates 'practical' English but literally means the English language they can actually use.

### 16.4.1 Senior Citizen Students' Attitudes and Motivation

When it comes to the discussion of motivation in SLA, several scholars have incorporated the notion of self-perception including Dörnyei's (2005, 2009) and Kim's (2012) 'L2 Motivational Self System' and Higgins' (1987) 'self-discrepancy theory.' L2 learners tend to focus on what they ought to be and what they could be in the future as motivational factors, which Dörnyei (2009) respectively labels 'ideal L2 self' and 'ought-to L2 self' (pp. 105–106). Another study which provides useful theoretical insights is Ryan's (2006) research on an L2 self within an imagined global community. Ryan (2006, p. 38) argues that 'language learning is primarily concerned with how people regulate their future or future oriented actions.' According to Ryan (2006), there are three basic possible selves: (1) an expected self, reflecting realistic anticipated outcomes of a future action; (2) a hoped for self, reflecting an individual's wishes and aspirations; and (3) a feared self, reflecting a generally negative set of future outcomes that the individual seeks to avoid (p. 39).

Kim and Kim's (2015) study on elderly Korean learners' participation in English learning through lifelong education provides useful analytic frameworks because the context of their study is very similar to the present study and its analytic focus is motivation. They propose the following five motivational constructs: (1) self-actualization (2) ideal L2 self (3) ought-to L2 self (4) face-saving, and (5) instrumentality. *Self-actualization* refers to 'the idea that elderly learners are motivated to learn English by the feelings of satisfaction and delight they get from knowing English' (p. 125). The second motivational factor, *ideal L2 self*, is concerned with the notion that 'learners are motivated to learn English by imagining their future self-images as competent English users and by relating English proficiency to their future goals' (p. 125). *Ought-to L2 self* suggests that 'learners may feel a sense of obligation and have concerns about the opinions of others in their L2 learning. Such learners may be motivated to learn English in order to live up to others' expectations and to be acknowledged by them' (p. 125). The fourth factor, *face-saving*, 'reflects the belief that a learner may encounter embarrassing and humiliating situations if he or she does not have enough English knowledge. Such learners may feel that learning English is necessary in order to prevent such circumstances and to save face' (p. 125). The concept of instrumentality is often mentioned as a motivation in second language acquisition (Gardner 1985). Instrumentality has to do with an L2 learners' desire to fulfill practical and tangible objectives by learning the target language (Ellis 2001; Kim and Kim 2015). For example, getting a job, becoming better educated, and passing the exam can qualify as instrumentality according to Kim and Kim (2015, p. 126).

### 16.4.2 *Great Interest in English*

Elderly learners in Kim and Kim's (2015) study mention 'their interest and enjoyment of the learning itself' as the main motivation for learning English (p. 131). Similarly, among the five motivational constructs discussed in Kim and Kim (2015), self-actualization is most notably prevalent in narratives provided by senior citizens in this study. The senior citizen students' learning goals in the present study are modest, but their satisfaction is high; they are mainly interested in figuring out some English words they often encounter in their daily lives (e.g., watching TV, reading newspapers, going shopping, dining out, etc.). Thus, their interest is not connected purely to intrinsic motivation because they tend to have particular objectives in mind, which have more to do with the notion of instrumentality. Developing basic letter recognition skills and building vocabulary emphasized in the center's English program are positively evaluated, and most senior citizen students mention this kind of teaching focus as something very helpful. Similarly, the teachers also confirm the students' view by sharing enthusiastic student reactions to basic letter recognition activities they prepared. The teachers also mention how impressed they are about senior citizen students' passion for learning, which is also confirmed in the interviews with senior citizens. All senior citizen participants in the present study express 'great' interest in learning English. To a question about whether they would be interested in continuing English classes at the center, the most common response was '관심많아요' ('I am very much interested'). Regarding specific reasons why they want to learn English, they often mention sociolinguistic challenges they face because they do not know English. Smakman (2018) argues that 'being a monolingual native speaker in a country where a second language—English or another one—is growing in dominance leads to reduced power' (p. 149). Excerpt (1) is a case in point.

#### Excerpt (1)

The world is all developing. A lot of English appears everywhere. I see many English words on TV and in the newspapers. If I don't know (English), I fall behind. That is why I want to know (English). (S4)

S4's reply indicates that she is aware of the strong presence of English in the media and not knowing English puts her in a disadvantageous position. A similar concern was raised by elderly women in Lee's research (2016). Lee reports that senior citizens perceive that 'some knowledge of English is required to be informed shoppers and diners in contemporary Korea since it is common that product information including names is presented in English' (p. 332). Lee's (2016) paper on folk notions of globalization and English in South Korea argues that underprivileged senior citizens tend to overstate the importance and predominance of the English language in contemporary Korean society by using expressions like 'English is everywhere' and 'Everything is in English' (pp. 331–333). Lee (2016) argues that senior citizens who do not know English perceive their inability to understand English 'as a major disability, limiting their independence, negatively affecting their

self-image, and forcing them to occupy a disempowered position in the family' (p. 319).

To the question 'Do you like learning English? If so, why are you learning English?' S2 offers the following answer:

Excerpt (2)

I like it (learning English) so much! It's so much fun! It is fun even if I learn one or two words at a time. We ask many questions. While watching news, I heard the expression *net-work*. I asked what it was and the teacher explained. I often get frustrated because so many English words appear on TV these days. I jot them down and ask the teacher, or sometimes the teacher explains what these words mean even before I ask her. I like my teacher very very much! I like her so much! (S2)

S2's learner satisfaction comes from her improved word recognition skills. She sounds content as long as she learns new words. The amount of new English vocabulary is not her main concern; learning itself is exciting for her, which is an illustrative example of intrinsic motivation (Ryan and Deci 2000). Excerpt (2) also shows that she is not a passive learner. She actively seeks the teacher's help and asks questions about English words she does not readily recognize on TV. In short, she is a self-initiator and stays highly motivated.

### 16.4.3 *Self-Imposed Ageism*

Another predominant narrative in the data has to do with self-imposed ageism and generation conscious talk. The reason I opt for the term 'self-imposed ageism,' not ageism, in this study is because senior citizens themselves articulate age-conscious narratives particularly related to their memory and how their memory problem affects their learning. On the other hand, they are proud of their grandchildren's 'impressive' (in senior citizens' estimate) English and they perceive this as concrete evidence convincing them that English should be learned at a young age. According to Patkowski (1990), the finding that child L2 learners are usually superior in terms of ultimate proficiency remains unchallenged by current research findings (pp. 80–82).

English-related ageism and generation conscious talk are reported in Lee's (2014) research on TV dramas and talk shows. Lee (2014) notes that ageism is prevalent when it comes to perceptions on English proficiency. The elderly are generally viewed as incompetent in English and demonstrate 'old-fashioned' pronunciation features, which are often subject to mockery. Lee (2014) observes that 'some populations are stereotypically more harshly characterized as "incompetent" in English than others... In particular, senior citizens and middle-aged housewives with no careers are routinely typecast as the English unknowing in Korean entertainment media' (p. 38). Lee (2014) explains that 'elderly Koreans are widely believed to possess very little or no knowledge of English, whereas young children are reported to speak better English than previous generations mainly because of

their early exposure to spoken English in kindergarten' (p. 39). What is different about the present study is that actual people (i.e. ordinary senior citizens with real life challenges, not some made up TV drama characters) shared their own personal observations and difficulties in their own words, not through acting. Excerpt (3) is an illustrating example of self-ageism.

Excerpt (3)

I certainly have interest in English, but I forget soon after I learn. When I am in class, I know it well. But after a few days, I forget what I learned. (S12)

Also, what is significant is that several senior citizens use the first person plural pronoun *wuli* ('we') to refer to their memory issue, which makes it a generational problem rather than an individual difficulty.

Excerpt (4)

Our memory is poor, so we forget so quickly. (S4)

Senior citizens complain about their inability to store or retrieve information after they acquire it and then contrast their inability with their grandchildren's praiseworthy ability to absorb information swiftly and use it skillfully. Lee (2014) notes that 'generation conscious ageism regarding English proficiency typically characterizes senior citizens as sociolinguistically underperforming, which sometimes forces them to be in a vulnerable position both in familial and social contexts' (p. 33). Excerpt (5) is a good example of that.

Excerpt (5)

My six-year-old granddaughter is learning English from a native speaker. She knows English well. She knows more English than I do. Because she is so young, she won't forget. But we forget and that's why we can't do what she can. (S5)

It is worth pointing out that senior citizens in the present study contrastively highlight their linguistic inadequacy and fading memory in comparison only with their grandchildren, not with their children. Their children can still be an object of envy because they know much more English than senior citizens themselves, and yet their children's language ability is not overtly admired. I argue that this is a revealing indication that another layer of generation consciousness is at play, hierarchically placing grandchildren higher than children in terms of language proficiency.

#### ***16.4.4 The Ideology of Necessitation and Future Generations***

Another noteworthy narrative in the data is primarily concerned with English language ideologies and attitudes. Lee (2010) discusses several competing discourses about English in Korea including (1) English proficiency influences national competitiveness (2) Conversational English is a top priority (3) English only instruction is desirable, and (4) English brings equality (pp. 249–253). The three ideologies



proposed in Park's (2009)'s research are also pertinent to this discussion. The ideology of *necessitation* is the idea that success in a global economy requires the mastery of English. Second, the ideology of *externalization* asserts that English is the language of the other, and therefore the mastery of English is difficult and English is considered to be the unspeakable language. The ideology of *self-depreciation* asserts that Koreans are poor English speakers despite their longtime investments in learning English (p. 26). Particularly, the ideology of *necessitation* is explicitly articulated by the senior citizen students in the present study in relation to their grandchildren's future and career. They justify the necessity of being fluent in English, stating that it is important for academic success and employment. Excerpt (6) below shows that senior citizen students subscribe to the idea that English is used as a lingua franca and the ideology of *necessitation* is viewed as particularly important for future generations' financial stability and career advancement.

Excerpt (6)

Because English generally works, we should teach children (future generations) English. If they are fluent English speakers, they can make a living in another country. Don't you think? (S8)

S8 envisions future generations as a transnational workforce. Thus, the necessity of English fluency is globally contextualized.

### 16.4.5 *Perceived Dominance of the English Language*

The following two excerpts show narratives about the sensed prevalence of English in Korea. The seemingly dominant presence of English in consumer culture tends to trigger anxiety among senior citizens. The senior citizens in Lee's (2016) research suggest that in contemporary Korea 'Illiteracy in English is the new illiteracy' (p. 333). S8's narrative is a case in point. In excerpt (7), S8 expresses her frustration with a growing number of English words in the Korean linguistic landscape. However, her narrative is not all defeating. In fact, she acknowledges the benefit of taking an English class at the center, which enables her to recognize basic expressions such as 'OPEN.'

Excerpt (7)

S8: When I walk around and see something written in English, it is frustrating. But I figured out, for example, what OPEN meant after taking a class here.

R: Didn't you know it before?

S8: No, I didn't!

S8 suggests that her anticipated learning outcome is to possess basic word recognition skills in English, to be specific, familiarity with some common English words emerging in the linguistic landscape of Korea. In other words, her desire to learn English is very much locally grounded. However, better-educated senior citizens who are enrolled in advanced classes tend to express more globally-oriented goals.

S10's narrative in excerpt (8) below is globally conscious and more experientially based. S10 projects a feared self (Ryan 2006). Reflecting on her overseas trips, she expresses her English-related frustration.

Excerpt (8)

When travelling overseas these days, I get the feeling that we need to know English. It is frustrating. I feel like I am speech impaired. It's just like you are verbally disabled! (S10)

Similar to the educationally underprivileged senior citizens in Lee's (2016) research, the inability to speak English is described as a disability, i.e., 'speech impaired' and 'verbally disabled' by S10 in excerpt (8). Some participants in Lee (2016) used expressions such as 'visually impaired' 'blind' 'an ignoramus' when they complained about not recognizing English words in the Korean linguistic landscape as well as on TV and in the newspapers (p. 333). Their frustration had to do with sociolinguistic struggles in a local context. Most participants in the present study also vocalize their domestic linguistic challenges, but a couple of participants who had the opportunity to visit their children residing in English speaking countries tend to be more globally conscious. The present study shows that the senior citizens in the basic level class tend to focus exclusively on sociolinguistic difficulties they encounter locally, whereas students in the advanced class with some overseas travelling experiences remark on sociolinguistic obstacles on a global scale.

#### ***16.4.6 Resultative Motivation and the Joy of Learning***

Ellis (2001) argues that satisfactory learning outcomes positively impact the learner's motivation, which he calls resultative motivation. If learners feel that they do well in class, they stay motivated to do better. In the case of senior citizen students in the present study, learner satisfaction seems to fuel their motivation. If they find classes useful, they continue to attend them. Similar to the other senior citizens in the present study, S2 has great interest in practical English, i.e. basic word recognition skills, and she is totally satisfied with her English class at the center because it provides information she needs. However, learner satisfaction also goes beyond simply recognizing some English words in print media. It also seems to help senior citizens cope with the increasing presence of English in consumer culture as well. For example, S2 notes that English appears in the Korean linguistic landscape and argues that her education at the center has been empowering because she can now 'figure things out' on her own when she eats out at a restaurant or goes shopping.

Excerpt (9)

Because I am learning English here... there are so many English signs nowadays. I used to just pass them before. When we go to restaurants, things and names are written in English. Now I can take a quick look at signs, figure out which section (at a supermarket) serves/sells what. It is fun to get to know things one by one! That's why I go to class. (S2)

'Self-actualization' in Kim and Kim (2015) is articulated as a motivational construct by several senior citizens in the present study as well. Knowing some English seems to positively affect their self-image as well as how they are perceived by their family members. S12's narrative suggests that her using English, albeit very simple, boosts confidence and invites positive feedback from her son. The fact that she had limited formal education seems to intensely fuel her desire to learn English.

Excerpt (10)

S12: I get to know one thing at a time. I can do it. If I get to learn one by one, I can do it, right? For example, when my son goes to work in the morning he says 'tanyeokeysupnita' ('I will be back') then I say 'Have a nice day!' in English. He likes it very much. (He is very much impressed.)

R: How about you?

S12: I am proud of myself! That is because I had only 6th grade education. I had to drop out when I was in 7th grade because the civil war broke out. I only knew the alphabet. It makes me proud that I am learning something. That makes it fun and keeps me going.

What prevented S12 from completing her education was neither her lack of motivation nor her inadequate intelligence; political turmoil and economic instability due to the Korean War in the 1950s forced her to drop out of school. This unwanted interruption in her education greatly motivates her to continue with her education, which gives her a sense of overcoming an obstacle.

### 16.4.7 Success Story

Earlier examples in this paper are mainly concerned with sociolinguistic anxiety and frustration reported by the senior citizens. In contrast, the next excerpt shows a rather 'triumphant story,' which suggests that communicative successes or the impression of successes could be empowering to the learner and the learner's motivation can be enhanced as a result. Excerpt (11) features a success story, and its impact is described rather dramatically. It shows how a little knowledge can go a long way. S7, who completed only elementary school education, reports that she felt superior to much better educated colleagues in the workplace when she was able to comprehend an English utterance that was incomprehensible to her coworkers.

Excerpt (11)

I still worked in my late thirties. I was working at a fitness center at the time. There were some American members working out at the gym. They spoke only American English. Both Korean men and women worked there. Some Korean members were CEOs. There was a snack bar. Some foreigners ordered food in English. I was just learning the alphabet back then. I had no time to study because I was working full time. One day a foreigner ordered food in English. Four of us were there—a high school girl, a male college student, the owner of the bar, and myself. When the American customer ordered his food, the owner said 'yeah' but he asked us what the customer said. No one seemed to know. Mind you that they were all college students. Miss Kim didn't understand, but I did. The owner asked what I heard. I said, 'One orange juice, two pickle, two pitcher draft.' My boss was quite impressed

that I understood the American customer. I felt great! It felt good. One day the owner brought in something he purchased. The word 'soy' was written on it. I said, 'Isn't soy khong (in Korean)?' Then Miss Kim felt so jealous. She was making a fuss about falling behind (not knowing as much as a middle-aged woman) and insisted on enrolling in a language program. (S7)

Notice that the English utterance S7 proudly recites contains some grammatical inaccuracies, i.e., 'two pickle' and 'two pitcher draft.' By 'two pitcher draft,' she means two pitchers of draft beer. However, no one in that interactional space challenged S7 or pointed out her inaccurate English. In fact, her better educated colleague 'Miss Kim' (a high school graduate) was 'envious' of S7 who finished only elementary school because S7 understood what Miss Kim could not, signaling that the ability to comprehend English conversations was ratified as something desirable. Although S7 was not highly educated, she was able to occupy a higher position than Miss Kim at that interactional moment. Her sixth grade education ceased to be a stigma because S7 earned respect from Miss Kim who was a high school graduate. S7's English skills, albeit minimal and rudimentary, temporarily enabled her to overcome education level-based social stratification prevalent in Korea.

## 16.5 Teachers Perspectives

Not only senior citizen students but also teachers see value in teaching so-called practical English—the kind of English that can be 'put to good use' instantaneously.

### 16.5.1 Practical English

To a question about the course material and content, T1 responds that she focuses primarily on something concretely related to real-world knowledge. She reports that her students' curiosity often influences her teaching focus. For instance, she notes that many of her senior citizen students inquire about English words frequently appearing in broadcast as well as print media. T1 indicates that most of her students are interested in basic reading and comprehension skills. Similarly, many elderly women in Lee's (2016) research mention 'basic reading skills as their main goal' (p. 338). As examples of practical English senior citizens are often curious about, T1 provides words such as *IMF*, *news*, and *stagflation* in excerpt (12).

Excerpt (12)

They learn with passion. They appreciate practical English—real-life examples. For instance, things like *IMF*, *news*, *stagflation* and so forth. Elderly people feel alienated because of English. In this class, they get to understand and figure out what they didn't know before. Because they now know some English, they say, 'it is totally satisfying!' and 'it is so good!' They tell me it is good to know English they encounter in their daily lives.

They say it is so good! I don't necessarily treat them as my regular students. I think it is good if I can help them learn what they need to know in everyday life. (T1)

T1 praises how passionate and motivated her senior citizens are in comparison to younger students she has taught. She claims that her high school students are not highly motivated and often lack discipline and maturity. In contrast, she notes that her senior citizen students are dedicated and steadfast even though they do not always show satisfactory improvement. T1 observes that her senior citizen students are punctual, if not early, and rarely miss classes. Also, she notes that many of her students do not mind retaking the same course. In fact, she reports that most senior citizen students prefer repeating the same course two or three times because they tend to forget what they learn because of their 'old age,' which is also repeatedly mentioned as a difficulty by the interviewed senior citizen students.

Even though there seems to be social stratification between basic class students and advanced class students because of their formal education level, both groups are interested in everyday English, which T2 represents as 'practical words' in excerpt (13).

Excerpt (13)

There is a goal commonly shared between my basic class and advanced class students. Since there is so much English used in everyday life, ultimately, they want to know practical words. (T2)

### ***16.5.2 'Good Education' and English***

Another function English fulfills for senior citizens seems to be related to their desire to hold on to their 'glorious' past. T2 notes that many students in her advanced English class are high school graduates, which could be viewed as 'good education' for that generation. In the 1950s when these senior citizens were school aged, Korea was devastated by war and poverty. Finishing high school at that time was considered a notable achievement and a luxurious lifestyle many people could not afford. Senior citizens with high school education desire to take refresher courses with the aim to brush up on their English. Taking advanced English courses at the center allows them to stroll down memory lane and relive the life of the privileged elite youth they once were. T2 notices this tendency in excerpt (14).

Excerpt (14)

They forgot what they learned in school and I noticed that they have deep desire to relearn what they forgot. (T2)

Conversely, for those who did not have 'high education,' learning English functions as evidence proving their intelligence. To the question 'Do you know why senior citizens in your class want to learn English?,' T2 answers as follows:

### Excerpt (15)

One of the most common goals they have is to fulfill their self-actualization. They all lament that they were very smart but didn't receive enough education. They have 'han' about being poorly educated. So it is for their own satisfaction. (T2)

T2 mentions the word han (恨), which roughly translates 'resentment' or 'deep regret.' Glionna (2011) characterizes it as 'the ineffable sadness of being Korean' and argues that it is 'as amorphous a notion as love or hate: intensely personal, yet carried around collectively, a national torch, a badge of suffering tempered by a sense of resiliency.' According to the teachers, several senior citizens expressed han about not receiving enough formal education, which is a 'personal' but at the same time a 'collective' experience for the generation that had to endure the civil war and resultant economic struggles. 남아선호 사상 (namasenho sasang), the notion of favoring a son over a daughter, was particularly prevalent in Korea at the time; it forced daughters to quit school and work to support their brothers pursuing higher education. Years later these female senior citizens can now afford to live for themselves without sacrificing for family anymore. Taking classes at the center provides them with an opportunity to continue their education, which they so desired but could not afford when they were young.

## 16.6 Conclusion

For senior citizen students, learning English later in life fulfills the function of self-actualization and enables them to relive their youthful past (for advanced class students) or allows them to live a student life they could not afford when they were younger (for basic class students). In the midst of English saturated (in their view) contemporary Korean society, learning English serves practical purposes for senior citizens.

According to Horwitz et al. (1986), 'Language anxiety is reported to be generally caused by concern for negative evaluation, communication angst, and test fear' (cited in Lee 2014, p. 40). English language anxiety (Lee 2014) is also observed among senior citizens in this study. However, unlike young professionals, senior citizens' language anxiety is triggered by local communicative needs and domestic sociolinguistic demands. Without some knowledge of English, the elderly are concerned that they cannot successfully participate in consumer culture as shoppers and diners and they cannot fully enjoy entertainment media and print media in modern Korea.

The teachers in the study identify their main teaching objective as helping senior citizens feel less limited in dealing with the increasing presence of English in contemporary Korea. The teachers in the study report that senior citizens' passion and desire to learn English surpass those of younger generations and learner satisfaction is high especially when they are taught practical/real-life English vocabulary words they encounter frequently in everyday life. With the help of English programs,

senior citizen students can now recognize English signs in the linguistic landscape, read English product names and menus, and understand English keywords on TV and in newspapers. They may not know much yet, and they may not remember everything they learn. However, just the feeling of increasing knowledge itself seems to be satisfying to the senior citizens at the center.

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# Part IV

## Pedagogical Implications

### Part Introduction

Part IV takes on the functional variations of English from a pedagogical perspective. The chapters in the previous parts engage in discussion of the multiplicity of speakers/users and ways in which they use the variations for a range of functions of English. While most chapters in this volume have reiterated Gargesh's four functions English fulfils, *vis-à-vis*, auxiliary, supplementary, complementary and equative, the issue that these chapters have addressed differently is the issue of their pedagogy. A number of chapters in this volume, for example, have explored the tension between the 'imposed paradigm' which questions the validity and relevance of their education, and raises the issue of their legitimacy; and 'new paradigm' which advocates for recognition, establishment and acceptance of the emerging Englishes. The chapters in this part, then, explore the complexities and concerns of adapting local Englishes in policies, procedures, practices, and most importantly, locally appropriated pedagogy. The chapters point out a need for adaptable ELT policy to manage the change as well as curriculum and linguistically accountable curricular materials that 'allow diverse peoples to connect directly and can lead to a safer, more prosperous, and more sustainable world based on improved international understanding, and to which the ELT profession can make a significant contribution'.

# Chapter 17

## Has English Medium Instruction Failed in Pakistan?



Ahmar Mahboob

### 17.1 Introduction

This paper questions whether EMI (English medium instruction), as practiced in many schools across Pakistan, has been a failure. The sources, which include data on the MOI (medium of instruction) preferences of the general population, English language proficiency scores of teachers and students, and government documents, indicate that the current language in education practices in Pakistan are not producing the results expected and may, in fact, be a cause for why students drop out of or fail in/through education.

EMI has been a consistent, albeit controversial, part of the educational environment in Pakistan, as in many “post-colonial” countries. English was first introduced to this part of the world when the British started trading with India under the guise of the British East India Company. The use and prestige of English grew from that point on. As the Mughal Empire – and the use of Persian as the language of arts, sciences and governance – was neutralised and India became part of the British Empire, English became integrated into the legal, educational, and other systems of the country. After independence, while designating Urdu as the sole national language, Pakistan maintained English as an official language and it has continued to play a key role in the economic, educational, social and political life of some of the people of the country (Mahboob and Jain 2016; Mahboob 2019).

The choice of maintaining English in Pakistan was both a pragmatic and a political decision. It was pragmatic because it was the language used in government and higher education before independence; the language had already been developed to function in these contexts; and people were already familiar with it in those contexts. And it was political because, in the absence of another local language that served all the functions that English did, selecting another language would (and did)

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potentially suppress other languages and alienate speakers of those languages. Thus, English, partly for political, partly for pragmatic, and partly for a lack of will and effort has remained a prominent part of the educational context of Pakistan. Today, while there are numerous Urdu and some Sindhi and Pushto medium schools in the country, English medium schools tend to have more prestige; furthermore, when it comes to higher education, other than a handful of institutions, all adopt English as the medium of education.

It needs to be noted that while EMI, especially in the context of higher education, has been on the rise in many parts of the world (see, e.g. Doiz et al. 2013; Taguchi 2014), the situation of EMI in Pakistan is different. One of the main reasons for the recent surge in EMI in different parts of the world (and specially Europe) is the adoption of policies of globalisation and internationalisation of (higher) education (e.g. Bologna process in Europe). However, in the context of Pakistan, the presence of EMI is a result of historical processes rather than deliberate decisions to globalize or internationalise its education system (although these arguments are made in support of maintaining EMI). English has been a core part of the educational and government structures of the region since before the country was established.

Another key difference is grounded in the high linguistic diversity of Pakistan. Pakistan has a linguistic diversity of 0.802 on the Greenberg index (Lewis et al. 2016). This number, which is calculated based on the population of each language as a proportion of the total population, suggests that a large number of people do not share their first or heritage language. With over 70 ethno-linguistic groups and only a handful of them used in educational contexts, many feel that the use of a few selected languages pose challenges to literacy and educational development of their children (see, for example, Rahman 1996). This adds further fuel to political conflicts, many of which are grounded in the vast differences in the socio-economic conditions between various ethno-linguistic and regional groups of people across the country. In such a context, the local debate is not simply about how EMI can be improved, but rather what language(s) should be the MOI. The orientation of the recent research on EMI can, in contexts such as Pakistan, perhaps be counterproductive because it takes EMI as a given and does not engage with broader issues of MOI which are of concern to the local populations (see also Hamid's 2013 review of Doiz et al. 2013). To avoid this limitation, this paper will discuss EMI issues in Pakistan within a broader MOI debate. In order to do this, I will first provide a brief overview of some of the issues around MOI in Pakistan before focussing on EMI issues in more detail.

## 17.2 Language in Education in Pakistan

In this section, we will first explore data on peoples' preferences for MOI and then examine data that relate language heritage to education. This analysis will then be used to critically evaluate the National Education Policy (NEP). However, before we present and discuss the data or the NEP, we need to note that Pakistan does not

have a documented language policy or language-in-education policy. This is not to say that there is no policy on language in Pakistan – there is; but there is no official document that specifically outlines and discusses the national language policy and its implications for education etc. (see also Mahboob and Jain 2016).

Since gaining its independence in 1947, Pakistan has followed a three-language approach: Urdu as the national language, English as the official language, and one language recognized for each province. This policy has also been adopted in education, where schools are either English medium, Urdu medium, or, in the case of some schools in Sindh and KP, use the provincial language as the MOI. According to the Ministry of Education (Pakistan 2009, p. 71), 68.3% of government schools use Urdu as the MOI; 15.5% educational institutions in Sindh use Sindhi as the MOI; 9.5% use other languages (Pushto, Balochi, Arabic etc.), and 10.4% use English as the MOI. While the report does not provide statistics about private schools, a majority of them tend to use English as the MOI, as will be noted later.

### ***17.2.1 Preferences for MOI***

ASER (Annual Status of Education Report), one of the few sources of educational statistics in Pakistan, provide some data relevant to the discussion on MOI in its 2012 report. Table 17.1, taken from ASER's 2012 report, summarizes the results for participants' preferred MOI, their home language, and the actual MOI in the schools in rural settings across various regions of Pakistan. Although there appear to be some gaps in the data included in Table 17.1, these results do suggest that a large proportion of those surveyed prefer Urdu or the home language as a MOI (the only majority support for English is in Islamabad Capital Territory). In Sindh (Sindhi), FATA (Pushto) and KP (Pushto), there is a strong preference for home language as MOI. These three regions are also the only ones where the home language is actually used as a MOI, even if in a small percentage of the schools surveyed. Khan (2015) and Rahman (1996) amongst others point out that Pushto and Sindhi speakers are very proud of their language, traditions and customs and therefore put more effort (including political pressure) in sustaining them in and through education.

The data in Table 17.1 shows that there is an inverse trend in the choice of MOI between government and private schools. While a majority of government schools use Urdu as a MOI, a majority of private schools use English as the MOI. Dearden (2014) reports that private schools comprise almost 60% of all secondary schools in Pakistan. While Dearden's report does not provide a distribution of these schools across the various regions of the country or across rural and urban areas, the figures do suggest that the use of EMI in private schools may be one factor that makes them attractive. If parents want to send their children to an English medium school, but the government schools offer only Urdu medium education, then parents may choose to send their kids to private EMI schools, if they have the means to do so.

The contrastive distribution of MOI across government and private schools, and a generally high preference for Urdu or home language as a MOI raises some

**Table 17.1** Preferred MOI, the home language, and the actual MOI

Region	Preferred medium	Home language	Medium of instruction	
			Government schools	Private schools
Balochistan	Urdu (69%)	Balochi (44%) Pushto (34%)	Urdu (100%)	Urdu (49%) English (51%)
Azad Jammu & Kashmir	Urdu (70%)	Hindko (34%) Pahari (21%) Urdu (15%)	Urdu (97%) English (3%)	Urdu (32%) English (68%)
FATA	Home language (60%)	Pushto (99%)	Urdu (80%) English (2%) Pushto (17%)	Urdu (12%) English (86%) Pushto (2%)
Gdgit Baltistan	Urdu (54%)	Shina (47%) Urdu (1 %)	Urdu (68%) English (32%)	Urdu (16%) English (84%)
Islamabad Capital Territory	English (49%) Urdu (46%)	Urdu (47%) Punjabi (28%)	Urdu (97%) English (3%)	Urdu (32%) English (68%)
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Home language (45%) Urdu (39%)	Pushto (77%) Hindko (11%)	Urdu (66%) English (3%) Pushto (30%)	Urdu (23%) English (70%) Pushto (7%)
Punjab	Urdu (56%) English (31%)	Punjabi (65%) Seraiki (21%)	Urdu (50%) English (50%)	Urdu (35%) English (65%)
Sindh	Home language (90%)	Sindhi (86%) Urdu (1%)	Urdu (2%) English (1%) Sindhi (97)	Urdu (59%) English (35%) Sindhi (6%)

Source: ASER (2012)

interesting questions. For example, while 70% of those surveyed in Azad Jammu and Kashmir stated that they would prefer Urdu as the MOI, 68% of the private schools in the region use English as an MOI. There are many possible interpretations for such discrepancies. One possibility is that even though people may prefer one language as a MOI, they may choose to study in another because of its perceived socio-economic value.

The data from the ASER report cited here appears to be in contrast with other statistics on the preference for medium of education. For example, Mahboob (2002) reports (see Table 17.2), which corroborates findings by others such as Mansoor (2005), Irfan (2013) [see Mahboob 2017 for a comparison between these three studies], that 76% of the respondents in his study stated that English should be the MOI in primary schools; 94.4% stated that it should be the MOI in high schools and at the university level. In contrast, only 65.4% stated that Urdu should be the MOI in primary schools; 37% stated that it should be the MOI in high schools; and 26.5%

**Table 17.2** Language and MOI preferences

Question	Number of respondents	Yes	No
Is it important to study English?	255	252 (98.8%)	3 (1.2%)
Should English be the medium of instruction for primary education?	250	190 (76%)	60 (24%)
Should English be the medium of instruction for high school education?	248	234 (94.4%)	14 (5.6%)
Should English be the medium of instruction for university education?	250	236 (94.4%)	14 (5.6%)
Is it important to study Urdu?	254	227 (89.4%)	27 (10.6%)
Should Urdu be the medium of instruction for primary education?	246	161 (63.1%)	85 (34.6%)
Should Urdu be the medium of instruction for high school education?	246	91 (37%)	155 (63%)
Should Urdu be the medium of instruction for university education?	245	65 (26.5%)	180 (73.5%)
Is it important to study your first language (other than Urdu)?	50	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
Should your first language be the medium of instruction for primary education?	50	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
Should your first language be the medium of instruction for high school education?	50	2 (4%)	48 (96%)
Should your first language be the medium of instruction for university education?	50	0 (0%)	50 (100%)

Source: Mahboob (2002)

stated that it should be the MOI at the university level. Of the informants who spoke a language other than Urdu as their first language, only 10% stated that their first language should be the MOI in primary schools, 4% stated that it should be the language of instruction in high schools, and none of the informants said that it should be the MOI in universities. The findings from Mahboob's study provide a much stronger support for English in terms of preferences than the ASER report and a much weaker support for local languages. It also shows variation of attitudes towards the various languages based on the level of education, something that is missing in the ASER data. One reason for the large differences in the attitudes between the two surveys might be the source of data for these studies. While the ASER data shared here was collected in rural settings, Mahboob's data was collected from students and faculty at a large public university in Karachi. The fact that participants in Mahboob's study – as in most of the other surveys carried out at universities – had already made it to a university where English was the MOI may have also influenced their responses.

The differences in the attitudes documented in the two studies above point towards a wider divide within the society. On the one hand, people who have gained



status and power tend to know English and in turn support English (this includes bureaucrats, military officers, and other high level government officials who need English in order to rise to their positions); while, on the other hand, those who do not know English would like education – and success through education – to become accessible to them through Urdu or a local language as MOI. Since those who know and value English control policy decisions, they maintain policies that keep the position of English in place (as will be seen later). This perpetuates and reinforces the socio-economic status (SES) of the various communities and peoples. It is this reinforcement of the socio-economic class variations through education (and especially EMI) that has led researchers such as Khattak (2014), Rahman (2004), and Shamim (2011) to label the current educational system in Pakistan as linguistic and educational apartheid.

### 17.2.2 *Language Background and Educational Poverty*

Researchers, activists and policy consultants are aware of the problems of MOI in Pakistan and have argued that the current system results in unequal outcomes for students and that while students from urban middle-class settings do relatively well, children from minority, rural, and lower SES groups struggle in school. Students, especially females, those in rural settings, those from lower SES, and those whose mother tongues are not recognised in the educational system, face extreme difficulties in continuing their education. Recent data sourced from UNESCO and published in Coleman and Capstick (2012) (see Table 17.3 below) corroborate these observations.

Table 17.3, which only includes six major first languages, four of which (Balochi, Punjabi, Pushto, and Sindhi) have the status of ‘provincial’ languages, collected from the 17–22 year olds, lead to some very disturbing observations. The youth of Pakistan, if it does not belong to Urdu or Punjabi speaking background, has a very

**Table 17.3** Education poverty in 17–22 year olds in Pakistan by mother tongue

Mother tongue	Education poverty <sup>a</sup> (%)	Extreme education poverty <sup>b</sup> (%)	No education (%)	Average duration of education (years)
Seraiki	54.6	47.9	38.7	3.7
Balochi	54.1	53.2	40.2	3.8
Sindhi	49.8	46.9	40.0	4.4
Pashto	42.7	38.0	26.5	4.9
Punjabi	25.1	20.8	12.1	6.5
Urdu	11.2	10.2	9.1	8.4
Other	36.6	34.4	29.0	5.6
National	34.5	30.7	23.6	5.7

Source: Coleman and Capstick (2012, p. 40)

<sup>a</sup>Education poverty: proportion of population with less than 4 years of education

<sup>b</sup>Extreme education poverty: proportion of population with less than 2 years of education

high probability of having no education at all, or of having spent less than 5 years in school. This includes the youth from Sindhi and Pushto speaking backgrounds, where privileged dialects of Sindhi and Pushto are used in education.

This high education poverty rate has serious consequences for the individuals concerned as well as for the economy and national development, and may result in increased crime, extremism and radicalization. In the absence of education or secure economic prospects, these large numbers of youth can become targets for criminal activity and radicalization, which can (and is) leading to national instability. The current events in Pakistan, including extremism, intolerance, violence and terrorism that are reported in the news everyday are possible outcomes of weak education in Pakistan.

While the data in Table 17.4 paint a dismal picture of educational achievement in Pakistan in general, they document how children from minority language backgrounds have a much higher ratio of educational poverty. While Table 17.4 does not provide data on gender, regional or economic disparities, the Global Education Monitoring Report website provides additional statistics on these and other disparities (but not on MOI or mother tongue). The Global Education Monitoring Report website shows that gender disparity in literacy skills is greatest in the poorest populations of the country and the least in the richest populations, regardless of the region (although there are variations across the regions). The regional disparity report shows that the highest literacy rates are in Punjab and the lowest in Balochistan and KP, with Sindh towards the lower end of the spectrum.

### 17.2.3 *Pakistan National Education Policy (NEP)*

In a context where the educational ‘apartheid’ is peaking and leading to national instability, it is surprising that questions about language in education policy, research into classroom practices, research on the communities and their educational experiences, are still not at top of national agenda and debate in Pakistan. There is little

**Table 17.4** Results from Pakistan

Pseudonym	School	Essay <sup>a</sup>	Summary <sup>b</sup>	Quick Placement Test <sup>c</sup>	Declarative knowledge test <sup>d</sup>		Language used in class
					Language	Pedagogy	
Butt	UMI	2	4	32	6	4	Mostly L1
Ghaus	UMI	2	2	21	2	1	L1 & L2
Mahrn	EMI	1.5	2	23	0	1	Mostly L1
Sarfaraz	EMI	1.5	1	26	2	3	Mostly L1
Fatima	Elite-EMI	2.5	2	46	5	4	L2 only
Hassan	Elite-EMI	2.5	3	54	7	3	Mostly L2

Source: Kamhi-Stein and Mahboob (2011)

government action on these issues. And, instead of seriously considering alternatives such as mother-tongue based multilingual education policy (which has been adopted in many other countries, such as the Philippines, see, e.g. Cruz and Mahboob 2018) or plurilingual approaches (see, e.g. Canagarajah and Ashraf 2013), the Pakistan National Education Policy (NEP) fails to provide a vision or leadership and continues to push Urdu and English as the two main MOI.

While recognising the issue of education inequity in Sect. 3.5, Overcoming Structural Divides, the NEP continues to promote and reinforce the position of English. The underlying assumption in NEP is that structural divides can be overcome by giving all students access to English. Policy action 3, Sect. 3.5, of the NEP states:

Ministry of Education in consultation with Provincial and Area education departments, relevant professional bodies and the wider public, *shall develop a comprehensive plan of action for implementing the English language policy in the shortest possible time, paying particular attention to disadvantaged groups and lagging behind regions* [emphasis added]. (Pakistan 2009, p. 28)

In addition, policy action 4–8 state:

4. The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject.
5. The Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction up to Class V.
6. English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards.
7. For 5 years Provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/official regional language, but after 5 years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only.
8. Opportunities shall be provided to children from low socio-economic strata to learn English language. (Pakistan 2009, p. 28)

The policy promotes the adoption of English, first as a subject, then as a MOI for mathematics and science. It also states that English will be the mandatory language for teaching science and mathematics across all grade levels after 2014. The policy gives some recognition to ‘official regional languages’, but none to non-official regional languages. Some (e.g. Habib 2013) argue that these policy decisions are based on parents’ demands and the assumption that students need to learn English and learn about science and mathematics through English because English is the language of knowledge-production in these fields. However, initial reports from the field are quite negative. For example, Bari (2013), writing in the *Daily Dawn*, notes that teachers are used to teaching in Urdu or a local language and are unable to teach their subjects in English, “let alone helping students learn English”.

The Coleman and Capstick (2012) report along with a number of other academics (e.g., Khattak 2014; Manan et al. 2015; Khan 2015; Rahman 2010) have also questioned these policies and argue that such policies may further disadvantage students from non-elite backgrounds because they do not have appropriate English

language skills (or, for that matter, Urdu language skills) to study mathematics and science through the medium of English or Urdu. Regardless of the criticisms, the government is slow to make any changes. One reason for this may be that the government officials, bureaucrats and other high-powered entities believe that English can give access to others in the same way as it gives them a position of power. On the other hand, people who are struggling feel that English is keeping them away from access to education and socio-economic stability and thus state that they want access to education in Urdu or a local language, while still sending their children to non-elite private EMI schools (if they can afford it) in the hope that their children can learn English and do better (as noted in our discussion of the ASER 2012 report earlier). These beliefs and practices contribute to the maintenance of English language hegemony and perpetuate socio-economic class variations.

Based on the data and policies reviewed above, it appears that the NEP and current government policies reflect a gap in understanding of issues between what experts and policy makers believe should happen (or what they would like to happen) and what is actually happening in reality. The problems in the conceptualisation and implementation of educational policies and a lack of a clearly formulated language-in-education policy have created a situation where one can ask if EMI educational institutions fail their students, parents, communities and the country? We will look into this in more detail in the next section.

### **17.3 Evaluating the Success of EMI in Pakistan**

In the previous section, we considered how the MOI issues in Pakistan have resulted in unequal distribution of access to education across various ethno-linguistic and regional communities, which may impact the country's economic and political stability. Regardless of the issues with current practices, the government (via the NEP) continues to push for Urdu and English MOI. We will now focus our attention to issues of EMI in the context of schools and will first look at data that document teachers' language and professional knowledge and then data that evaluate students' language abilities. The results from this analysis show that a large number of teachers (including English language teachers) have low English language proficiency and have very low declarative knowledge about their profession. In addition, reports indicate that students' English language abilities are also quite weak. These results further lead to the question of whether EMI in Pakistan has failed.

### 17.3.1 *Teachers' Language Proficiency and Professional Knowledge*

In a TIRF funded project, Kamhi-Stein and Mahboob (2011) gathered data on teachers' language proficiency and their professional knowledge about teaching and learning from Pakistan, Argentina, and South Korea. The data for this project was collected using a battery of tests and observations, including a Declarative Knowledge Test (which included items on both language and professional knowledge), Cambridge Quick Place Test, an essay task, and a summary writing task. In addition, teachers were asked questions about their beliefs about language use in class and were also observed teaching. In Pakistan, the data was collected from English language teachers in three schools (two teachers in each school): one government Urdu-medium school (UMI), one (non-elite) private English-medium school, and one private elite-English medium school. Some of the data from Pakistan is given in Table 17.4 below and the averages for the three countries in the study are given in Table 17.5.

The results from Pakistan showed that there were differences between teachers' language proficiency between the elite EMI schools and the other two schools; and between the UMI school and non-elite EMI school. The teachers in the elite EMI had the strongest language skills amongst the three schools and the teachers in the UMI school had better English language proficiency than the non-elite EMI school. Furthermore, one of the two teachers in the UMI school had noticeably higher language proficiency than the other. Of the six teachers in the study, only two (both from the elite EMI school) used mostly English in their classes. The English teachers in the non-elite EMI school were observed using the least English in their classes.

In addition, Table 17.5 shows that the average scores for Pakistan were markedly lower than those for Argentina and South Korea. And that even the most proficient of teachers in the elite EMI school had lower language scores than the average scores of the two other countries. This was a surprising finding as English has a long

**Table 17.5** Average scores for the three countries

Country	Number of participants	Essay <sup>a</sup>	Summary <sup>b</sup>	Quick placement test <sup>c</sup>	Declarative knowledge test <sup>d</sup>	
					Language	Pedagogy
Argentina	7	3.57	4.14	54.86	8.71	7.57
South Korea	7	3.00	3.50	42.29	8.58	6.57
Pakistan	6	2.00	2.50	33.67	4.17	2.67

Source: Kamhi-Stein and Mahboob (2011)

<sup>a</sup>Essays: 1 = inadequate, 2 = marginal, 3 = adequate, 4 = effective

<sup>b</sup>Summaries: 1 = incompetent summary, 2 = suggests incompetence, 3 = some developing competence, 4 = minimal competence, 5 = competent, 6 = clearly competent

<sup>c</sup>QPT: Possible total = 60

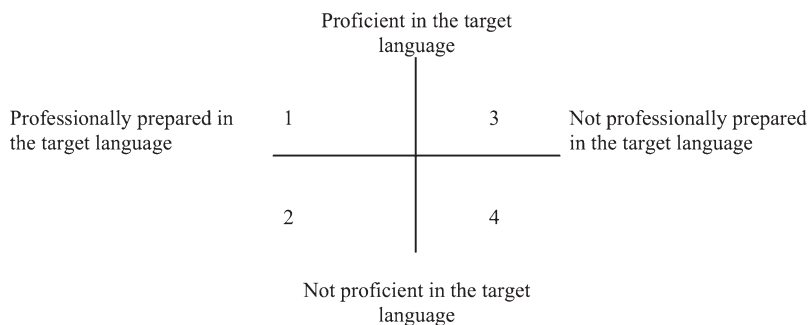
<sup>d</sup>DKT: Language: Possible total 10; Pedagogy: Possible total 9

history in Pakistan and is an official language of the country; the other two countries in the study belong to the Kachruvian expanding circle and started using English in educational contexts relatively recently. However, both South Korea and Argentina do have stronger economies than Pakistan and invest much more of their GNP on education in their local languages than Pakistan. A 2010 UNESCO fact sheet states that Pakistan has some of the worst education indicators in the world and that the funding on education was further reduced from 2.6% of GDP in 1999 to 2.3% of GDP in 2010 and currently sits at around 2.9% of GDP. This low investment in education may be one reason for Pakistan's poor performance in education.

Table 17.4 also shows that none of the six teachers observed were able to secure even 50% in the pedagogy part of the DKT; and two of them got only one item right on the test. While the elite-EMI teachers did better than the other two schools, their scores were again considerably lower than the average scores for the two other countries in the study. One of the teachers at the UMI school also scored as high as the teachers in the elite EMI school. This set of findings is just as alarming as the one for language proficiency. Of the participants in this study, three had professional qualifications: Butt had an M.Ed.; Ghaus had a B.Ed.; and Fatima held a diploma in teaching. However, regardless of these qualifications and years of professional experience, none of these teachers scored over 50% in the DKT-pedagogy; this result, in turn, questions the quality of the professional preparation of these teachers.

To study the relationship between language proficiency and professional preparation, Kamhi-Stein and Mahboob (2011) adopted Pasternak and Bailey's (2004) framework. Central to their framework are two notions. First, language proficiency and professional development need to be perceived as continua. Second, "there are different degrees of proficiency: being proficient is a continuum, rather than an either-or proposition" (Pasternak and Bailey 2004, p. 163). Figure 17.1 below presents the framework.

As explained in Pasternak and Bailey (2004), Quadrant 1 reflects those teachers who are both proficient in the TL and professionally prepared. Quadrant 4 reflects those teachers who are not proficient or professionally prepared. Quadrant 2 reflects teachers who are professionally prepared but are not proficient in the TL and



**Fig. 17.1** Pasternak and Bailey's continua of target language proficiency and professional preparation

Quadrant 3 reflects teachers who are proficient in the TL but are not professionally prepared.

The results from the Pakistani study showed that all six of the teachers fall in quadrant 4 – they are neither proficient in the language nor do they have appropriate professional knowledge. These findings, from English teachers, reflect a dismal state of education across the board – including in at least some of the elite EMI schools. One question that emerges here is: with such low language proficiency and poor professional knowledge, how successful can these teachers be in helping their students develop sufficient English language proficiency to study all the other subjects through English?

A more recent study, the PEELI Report (British Council 2013), corroborate the findings reported above and extends them to look at not just English teachers, but teachers of all subjects. The PEELI Report entitled ‘Can English Medium Education Work in Pakistan: Lessons from Punjab’ is an evaluation of the impact of the Punjab Government’s implementation of the NEP and teaching mathematics and science through English in all schools from grade 1 onwards. In carrying out this review, the British Council collected language proficiency data from 1720 teachers in the province of Punjab using their Aptis test. The results of the test are presented using CEFR levels. Table 17.6 below summarises their findings of the differences between private school and government school teachers. It needs to be noted that the UNESCO reports, discussed in an earlier section, document that Punjab has the strongest education indicators of the four provinces in Pakistan. Thus, based on the results and discussion below, we can argue that the situation is perhaps even worse in the other three provinces.

Table 17.6 shows that more than 56% of all teachers surveyed have no English language competency at all; of these, a higher proportion of teachers in private schools have no English language proficiency as compared to government schools. On the other end, only 2% of the government and 3% of the private school teachers have B1 (intermediate) or above level of language proficiency. These results provide further support to the Kamhi-Stein and Mahboob’s (2011) study and shows that school teachers in Pakistan generally have very low English language proficiency.

In addition, the PEELI Report also provides a summary of findings based on the MOI that teachers work in. Some of these findings are included in Table 17.7 below which shows that while the highest percentage of teachers with B1 or higher English language proficiency teach in EMI schools, they only comprise 6% of teachers in these schools. 44% of teachers in EMI schools have no proficiency in the English language at all and 50% have basic proficiency (A1 & A2). The state of things in

**Table 17.6** Teachers’ language proficiency based on CEFR levels in government and private schools

	A0 (%)	A1 (%)	A2 (%)	B1 (or above) (%)
Government	56	30	12	2
Private	62	22	12	3

Source: PEELI Report (British Council 2013)



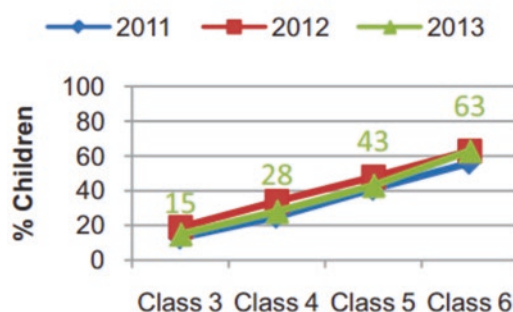
**Table 17.7** Teachers' language proficiency based on CEFR levels across various MOI schools

	A0 (%)	A1 (%)	A2 (%)	B1 (or above) (%)
EMI	44	31	19	6
Bi/multilingual	58	25	15	2
UMI	62	28	9	1
Mother tongue	53	33	13	0

Source: PEELI Report (British Council 2013)

**Fig. 17.2a** Students' English language ability in rural areas. (ASER Report 2013)

**Children who can read English sentences**

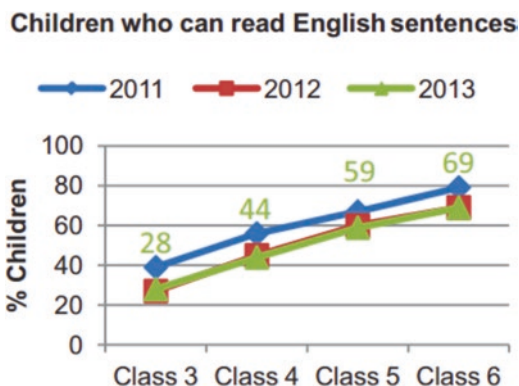


other schools, including bi/multilingual schools is still worse; with no teachers in mother tongue schools surveyed reaching a pre-intermediate level of English language proficiency (B1).

### 17.3.2 Evaluation of Students' Language Abilities

So far we have looked at two studies that report on teachers' language proficiency. All data reviewed shows that teachers (including English language teachers) have low English language proficiency and weak professional knowledge. A separate data source, the ASER Report (2013), provides us snippets into students' English language ability. Figure 17.2a provides a summary of students' English language ability across the rural parts of the country and Fig. 17.2b provides comparable statistics for the urban parts of the country. Both these figures provide comparative data over a period of 3 years (2011–2013) and use the same criterion for assessment: "Ask her/him to read the 4 sentences. If s/he reads all 4 correctly, then mark her/him at the 'sentence level'" (ASER 2013, p. 41). 'Sentence level' is the highest level of English language ability as measured by ASER and corresponds to Grade 1 & 2 Competencies, Standards, and Benchmarks of the National Curriculum for English Language (2006). While this criterion may not meet the requirements of standardized testing, the data does provide a general impression of students' language ability. Before we look at the data, we need to note one other thing: the figures provided here are based on cross-sectional data and therefore do not show a language development trajectory.

**Fig. 17.2b** Students' English language ability in urban areas. (ASER Report 2013)



The data included in Figs. 17.2a and 17.2b help us make a few observations. First, in general, there is little change in any one class across the 3 years reported here. This suggests that there is little cohort effect on these statistics, with one exception. A slightly larger number of students in the urban areas in 2011 seem to have been able to read four sentences correctly than those surveyed in 2012 or 2013. The ASER Report does not provide any additional data or explanation for this slight anomaly.

The two figures also show that a slightly higher number of students in urban areas are able to meet the test target in each grade level. However, what is perhaps more revealing is that by grade 6 the difference between rural and urban settings is greatly reduced. The 2013 figures show that 13% more of grade 3 students in urban settings were able to read four sentences than those in grade 3 students in rural settings. This gap widened to 16% in grade 4 and 5, but then drastically reduced to only 6% in grade 6. Again, the ASER Report does not provide any additional data or explanation for these changes. If these figures are to be relied upon, they suggest that while students come into the rural and urban school system with different ability levels, this difference is minimized within a few years. Further investigation into this may provide useful insights that can help improve the quality of schooling across both rural and urban settings.

This low student performance on one basic matrix in the ASER report across urban and rural areas over 3 years poses serious questions about the success of English language education, including EMI, in the country. The results, unfortunately, suggest that the current schooling system is not working. As these students continue their educational journeys and scrape through to higher education (if they are able to somehow manage that), they will face enormous troubles there, as most of the institutions of higher education use EMI (see Mahboob 2017).

## 17.4 Concluding Remarks

The data presented in this paper from a number of sources to indicate that neither the current level of English language proficiency of the teachers nor their professional knowledge is sufficient for them to successfully help their students to be able to learn English or learn through English. Other data presented here shows that there

are gaps in the educational abilities of various ethno-linguistic groups and that people from different backgrounds have varied attitudes and desires regarding the MOI. The analysis of this data show that the current NEP, which insists on the use of Urdu or English as the main MOI, has not fully succeeded in providing quality and equitable education to children across the country. These findings underscore the urgency of revising the NEP, providing substantial training and support to current and future staff, and developing a well-researched and clearly articulated policy on the use and support of local languages in education.

This paper provides evidence that shows just how problematic things really are. A lack of will or action by the government will continue to divide the people of the country and increase the gap between a majority of semi- or illiterate people with poor economic prospects and a minority of rich and powerful people with access to world-class resources and education. These divisions can give further opportunity to extremist and criminal elements to attract the poorly educated and ill/semi-literate people to fundamentalist, radicalised and criminalised positions and endanger the state.

Finally, this paper documents that in the context of Pakistan, and perhaps other post-colonial nations, debates and discussions about EMI need to be couched within broader discussions of MOI. Without doing so, we may be inadvertently supporting positions and policies that support EMI at the cost of local languages and the people who speak these languages.

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# Chapter 18

## Changing Language, Continuing Discourse: A Shift Toward ELF and Persistent Native-Speakerism in Japan's ELT Policy



Saran Shiroza

### 18.1 Introduction

As “globalization” replaces “internationalization” as a buzzword in the Japanese discursive sphere, a conceptual shift has also occurred from English as a foreign language (EFL) to English as a lingua franca (ELF). Japanese policymakers consider English ability, along with IT skills, essential constituents of “global literacy.”

The advance of globalization and the information-technology revolution call for a world-class level of excellence. Achieving world-class excellence demands that, in addition to mastering information technology, all Japanese acquire *a working knowledge of English—not as simply a foreign language but as the international lingua franca*. English in this sense is a prerequisite for obtaining global information, expressing intentions, and sharing values. (PMC [The Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century] 2000, p. 10, *emphasis added*)

As Gargesh (2006, p. 91) points out in South Asian context, English is now accepted as an “asset” that represents “educational and economic progress” in Japan as well. Knowledge of English is seen to provide individuals with a key to success and enable a nation to become part of the global community. This rhetoric echoes what Kachru termed the “alchemy of English”: “knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science, and travel” (Kachru 1986, p. 1).

Despite top-down initiatives, however, Aladdin's lamp has been beyond the reach of many Japanese learners of English. Officials cite the low rankings of Japanese test-takers in standardized exams like TOEFL and TOEIC (MEXT<sup>1</sup> 2012a). Business

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<sup>1</sup> Monbusho (Ministry of Education) was reorganized in 2001 into Monbu-Kagaku-Sho, or the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). To ease understanding, this paper uses “education ministry” to refer to both the pre- and post-2001 organizations.

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leaders blame grammar-focused instruction for their employees' lack of English proficiency and reluctance to engage in overseas operations. Parents demand that school education equip their children with practical English skills (BERD 2006). The perceived failure to produce successful language learners is not uncommon in Expanding-Circle countries, where educators often face issues including difficulty in motivating students, a lack of teachers' competence and confidence in English, and the struggle to develop an appropriate methodology (McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008). Although the Japanese education ministry has responded to these concerns by setting score targets in standardized exams and promoting communicative instruction, policymakers argue that teachers and students have only partially attained the goals set in policy proposals, hence the need to accelerate English education reforms.

In the academic field of English language teaching (ELT), teaching English as an international language (TEIL) addresses the need to better prepare learners to become competent users of English in international contexts and provide teachers with the theoretical and practical resources to do so (Matsuda 2012; Sharifian 2009). TEIL studies agree that traditional mono-model pedagogy is no longer tenable and that a fundamental change in every aspect of ELT is needed. Applying TEIL as an analytical lens, this chapter examines how the current and future ELT policies in Japan embody their changing focus from EFL to ELF as a response to globalization. Following Seargeant (2009, p. 57), the present study regards "policy" as "the statements of intent issued by the administrative authority of a country concerning goal-oriented procedures of action" as contrasted with practice, which is "the way in which such proposals are enacted within the classroom." The study of language policy encompasses not only "statements of intention for language-related decision-making in a polity" but also reveals "fundamental elements of the discourses that politics construct around languages and their attendant cultures" (Liddicoat 2007, p. 33). Thus, studying official documents with the stated aim of implementing ELF-centered ELT in Japan should yield insights into assumptions and value judgments in conceptualizing ELF.

This chapter focuses on contrasting the overall tones and rhetoric in various policy proposals with TEIL principles, thereby leaving room for detailed exploration of each reform scheme. The critical analysis instead aims to identify the discrepancy between the stated intention of shifting Japan's ELT from an EFL to ELF orientation and the underlying inclination for native English speaker (NES) norms. Scrutinizing the language used in these texts highlights the continuing discourse of English as a language for outward internationalization, rather than part of the linguistic repertoire of multilingual and multicultural global citizens.

## 18.2 TEIL Principles as an Analytical Lens

Conventional ELT, especially EFL teaching, assumes that learners seek communication with NESs and integration into their culture, and that the best instruction is provided by NESs speaking only in the target language. Conversely, TEIL must be based on a new set of assumptions: (1) English is increasingly used in multilingual and multicultural settings, (2) the native speaker model is becoming irrelevant to most English learners, and (3) the appropriate method of teaching English depends on the local learning culture (McKay 2002). McKay and Bokhorst-Heng present the following principles that should inform “an EIL pedagogy in an era of increasing globalization” (2008, p. 180):

1. EIL curricula should be relevant to the domains in which English is used in the particular learning contexts;
2. EIL professionals should strive to alter language policies that serve to promote English learning only among the elite of the country;
3. EIL curricula should include examples of the diversity of English varieties used today;
4. EIL curricula need to exemplify L2-L2 interactions;
5. Full recognition needs to be given to the other languages spoken by English speakers;
6. EIL should be taught in a way that respects the local culture of learning. (*ibid.* pp. 195–198)

Similarly, Matsuda and Matsuda (2018) clarify what the TEIL paradigm entails: (1) exposure to multiple varieties of English, (2) focus on communication strategies, (3) cultural materials from diverse contexts, and (4) understanding of the politics of EIL.

Putting the emerging paradigm into practice, local educators knowledgeable of the local language and culture must take initiatives to design an appropriate curriculum and pedagogy. However, many are yet to fully accept TEIL, hence the urgency to develop TEIL-informed teacher-training programs and facilitate collaboration between ELF scholars and ELT practitioners in areas such as materials development and testing (Matsuda and Matsuda 2018, p. 72). To set TEIL in the Japanese context, where native-speakerism is persistent and prevalent (e.g., Houghton and Rivers 2013), researchers and educators must first address many questions including whether the curriculum provides opportunities for learners to encounter native and non-native varieties of English, empowers Japanese teachers of English (JTEs) to resist the popular perception idealizing NESs and their monolingual teaching method, and encourages learners to foster self-awareness as independent users of EIL without judging them only against NES norms.



### 18.3 The Changing Face of ELT Policies in Japan

Japan's ELT has been the focus of many academic studies both in Japanese and English, mostly through a historical approach (Seargeant 2009). Recent important contributions stem from critical perspectives that reveal a persistent native speaker-oriented and often simultaneously ethnocentric attitude toward English and its education (Hashimoto 2000; Kubota 2002, 2018). Some studies focus on “English as a second official language” (Hashimoto 2002; Matsuura et al. 2004), primary English education (Kanno 2007), and the internationalization of higher education (Rose and McKinley 2017). Furthermore, studies on ELT practices that incorporate the TEIL perspective have rapidly accumulated. Besides investigations of teaching materials (Kawashima 2009; Matsuda 2002; Takahashi 2014; Yamada 2010) and teacher-training programs (Matsuda 2017), empirical work provides examples and resources to implement a TEIL-informed language classroom (Hino 2012). However, fewer studies scrutinize the discourse underlying various ELT reform projects inspired by advancing globalization, specifically regarding TEIL principles, thus substantiating the research outlined in this chapter.

My analysis focuses on recent policy documents that espouse ELF teaching: (1) Five Proposals and Specific Measures for Developing Proficiency in English for International Communication (MEXT 2011), (2) English Education Reform Plan Corresponding to Globalization (MEXT 2013), (3) the new Course of Study implemented in 2020 (MEXT 2017), and (4) the proposed Core Curriculum for teacher training (Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku 2017). Other documents consulted include the Strategic Plan to Cultivate Japanese with English Ability and the Action Plan (MEXT 2002, 2003), as well as the past and current Courses of Study. I examined the original Japanese versions and contrasted them with official English translations when available. My discussion centers on the policies concerning primary and secondary programs, because their high enrolment rates of almost 100% indicate a greater intra-national impact.

The centerpieces of the reform plans include (1) the earlier introduction of English in primary education, (2) promotion of a “teaching English through English” (TETE) policy in secondary schools, and (3) development and implementation of a standardized framework for assessing communicative competence. The 2008 revision of the Course of Study installed once-to-twice-a-week English language activities (without assessment) into the fifth and sixth grade syllabi, and the latest edition in 2017 offers them to third and fourth graders. Fifth and sixth graders are to now receive subject English classes (with certified textbooks and grading) thrice a week. The TETE principle was implemented in senior high English classes in 2013, and extended to junior high from 2020. Although the requirement has been relaxed following strong protest from JTEs, the ministry reports that the ratio of English use to Japanese in classrooms has increased, demanding further improvement throughout the curriculum (MEXT 2014). To establish a coherent evaluation system that better assesses students' communicative competence, the official policies have set target scores in TOEFL and other standardized tests since the 2002 Action Plan. JTEs are

also required to achieve higher scores in these exams to improve their proficiency and make English-only classrooms feasible. Furthermore, the ministry recommended that colleges adopt the standardized tests to fulfill the English language component in their admissions and/or graduation requirements, implementing several government-funded projects that provide financial incentives. All these directives were issued under the banner of upgrading Japan's ELT to meet the "global standard." However, they are only widening the "conceptual gap" (Seidlehofer 2002) between the principles and practices of teaching ELF, which is addressed below in terms of models, methodology, and assessment.

## 18.4 Conceptual Gaps Between TEIL and Japan's "New" ELT

### 18.4.1 *Model Users of English: Global Englishes Versus Inner-Circle English*

Throughout the post-war years, Japan's ELT treated American English as the model. In contrast, the reform plans suggest a change toward a poli-model approach in line with the TEIL framework, in which model English users are the speakers of local, educated varieties of English. For instance, regarding language elements, the Course of Study for Upper Secondary School states that consideration should be given to "the fact that different varieties of English are used throughout the world as means of communication" (Monbusho 1999). However, no mention is made on the possible establishment of a Japanese variety of English or empowerment of JTEs as model users of EIL. Rather, recent proposals intensify native-speaker dependency both in primary and secondary education by encouraging the greater involvement of NESs as Assistant Language Teachers (ALTs) who team-teach English classes with JTEs and advise local education boards (MEXT 2013). The education ministry aimed to ensure every elementary school access to ALTs by 2019 (MEXT 2014). Because Japanese classroom teachers have not been trained to teach English, ALTs are expected to provide the necessary English input during lessons, while classroom teachers are assigned the role of model learners, undermining their status as teaching professionals. Although most ALTs are neither language experts nor certified teachers, their nativeness "qualifies" them to lead classes. In one survey, more than 60% of homeroom teachers responded that ALTs played the primary role in ELT activities (BERD 2006). The involvement of native-speaking ALTs is also vigorously promoted in secondary education, where a TETE policy has been espoused as a tenet of communicative language teaching (CLT) (McKay 2012).

The main supply source of ALTs is the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme, which began as a youth exchange program in 1987. In 2017, 5163 people were invited from 44 countries, among whom 4712 from 23 countries serve as ALTs, including a few each for languages other than English, namely French,

German, Chinese, and Korean (CLAIR *n.d.*). However, the statistics show NES dominance among program participants. Of the participants in 2017–2018, 91.5% (4312) ALTs are from 6 English-speaking countries: the US, the UK, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and Ireland, with most being from the US (59.4%). Recently, the program added South Africa, Singapore, Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago as designated English-speaking countries. In addition, several non-English-speaking countries such as the Netherlands, Slovenia, and Switzerland are also sending ALTs, implying that the program is slowly opening its doors to Outer- and Expanding-Circle speakers. However, a word of caution must be added about whether this trend truly reflects a shifting attitude among Japanese policymakers toward non-native-speaker teachers. The widening definition of English-speaking countries may not have resulted from an affirmative policy change for a more culturally diverse teaching body, but from increasingly fierce global competition for Inner-Circle speakers of English (Yamada 2005). The fight has already begun, even within Japan, to secure regular native-speaker attendance in schools. A recent newspaper article reports that weekly visits by ALTs to a public junior high school have decreased to monthly since the elementary schools in the vicinity started inviting ALTs for their newly introduced ELT classes (Hirayama 2018).

While the government-sponsored project is becoming slightly more inclusive, the teaching materials in use demonstrate a persistent preference for Inner-Circle models, notably American English. Kawashima (2009) concludes that the speakers on the authorized textbook CDs remain predominantly North American, with more than 90% of the narrators speaking either American or Canadian English. This is striking, since the visual representation of the characters in these textbooks is diversifying. Most junior high school textbooks now in use have Japanese students as protagonists, with Chinese, Korean, Brazilian, and other non-English-speaking people appearing as their resident friends and visitors, though far fewer than Inner-Circle NESs (e.g., Takahashi 2014). As Suzuki et al. (2017, p. 496) note, “Despite the conceptualization of ELF in the rationales of reforms, classroom realities are very different. NS English is presented as a lingua franca and students learn this for international communication”. Where the pictures in the textbooks show interactions apparently in ELF, the accompanying sounds present them only in American “Standard” English, prompting a skewed perception that ELF simply disseminates American English. Certainly, this does not empower students or teachers to become users of educated local varieties of English, but leads them to consider themselves failed learners of an unachievable “standard.”

Matsuda and Friedrich (2012) mention that the selection of American variety as a dominant instructional model does not in itself pose a problem. It may even be reasonable for Expanding-Circle countries to adopt such an “established” variety because of its widely recognized, though not universally proven, legitimacy. However, the selection should be made only after considering various factors including students’ goals and needs, the availability of resources, and local attitudes toward variation in English, and be complemented with raising awareness of its sociolinguistic realities to prepare students for encounters with diverse varieties of English (*ibid.*). However, there is no sign of considered decision-making in

selecting a model for Japanese students. Rather, the Course of Study has ambiguously prioritized American English by recommending the need to teach “contemporary standard pronunciation,” for which the instructional manual adds only an equivocal explanation:

English is used worldwide in various ways, its pronunciation and usage varying greatly. Among the varieties of modern English, the instruction should be on a so-called standard pronunciation, neither biased toward a particular region or group of people nor too informal. (Monbusho 1999, p. 33, my translation)

Nevertheless, a notable change is evident in the 2017 edition of the instructional document, which may bring a slow but steady shift in the traditionally Inner-Circle dependent syllabi. While still encouraging JTEs to seek cooperation from NESs in phonetic instruction, the manual also asserts that “it is important to expose students to not just English spoken by their teachers and ALTs but also various English speech sounds so that they can deepen their understanding of ELF and increase confidence in their English” (MEXT 2017, p. 96, my translation). The importance of increasing student exposure to non-native English use is reiterated in the rationale regarding the TETE principle:

Non-native English teachers tend to flinch from using English differently from those who use it everyday. However, it is important for the students to be exposed not just to English spoken by such people [as daily English users] but also to English spoken by their teachers. Considering the wide use of English across various countries and areas in our contemporary world, it is important [for them] to have opportunities to encounter different kinds of English. Particularly for them to gain confidence in their English and learn to use it with pride, their teachers’ attitudes and behavior toward English use they witness in class have an immense impact. This is why the teachers are advised to actively use English so that the classrooms become actual communicative situations. (MEXT 2017, p. 87, my translation)

In this context, Glasgow (2013) highlights the urgent necessity of providing resources and guiding JTEs to develop confidence in their English use, particularly when they report feeling insecure about pronunciation (Miura 2010). Otherwise, teachers can be “obstacles to ELF-aware approaches” (Suzuki et al. 2017, p. 497). One proposed measure to reeducate teachers to accommodate an ELF-focused pedagogy is the Core Curriculum developed in 2017 by a project team commissioned by the education ministry at Tokyo Gakugei University. Evidently reflecting the TEIL perspective, the Curriculum requires that pre- and in-service teachers complete coursework to understand historical changes in English and the sociolinguistic reality of ELF (Tokyo Gakugei Daigaku 2017, p. 114).

However, the Core Curriculum was prepared according to the preceding official recommendations, wherein I highlighted implicit native-speakerism. The Core Curriculum was compiled by academics, while the recommendations and reform plans were the work of ministry bureaucrats and council board members including business people. Their different stances and perspectives are reflected in the respective documents, and may have resulted in conflicting approaches to ELT. Actually, some official projects include contradictory messages in a single document. For example, a report on the Five Proposals (MEXT 2014) lists two potentially conflicting objectives as follows: Through communicating with NESs and local talents

proficient in English, (1) students are to be exposed to the Standard English sounds and acquire accurate pronunciation while (2) they are ensured to have regular opportunities to convey information, express their opinions, and engage in interaction in English without worrying about making mistakes. Which direction between the primarily mono-model approach and the proposed multi-model approach the curricular innovations will take we must closely observe. However, one thing is clear: increasing native-speaker involvement to introduce English in elementary schools earlier and promote English-only instruction at all levels of education will alienate JTEs, the primary agents in ELT in the formal education system. Rather, available resources should be allocated to train pre- and in-service JTEs to become competent and confident users and teachers of EIL (Kirkpatrick 2018).

#### ***18.4.2 Desirable Teaching Method: Locally Appropriate Pedagogy Versus Oral-Focused CLT***

As its response to the global spread of English use, Japan's ELT increasingly emphasizes the importance of developing oral communication skills. The shift in language was evident in the 1998 Course of Study, which first employed the term "communication" as a loanword written in *katakana*. The focus since has been on maximizing students' exposure to the target language by providing opportunities to use it in classroom activities such as debates and discussions. However, CLT-oriented pedagogy has been slow to replace the traditional teaching practice focused on grammar and reading (BERD 2016). Researchers cite factors including class size, limited resources, lack of teacher and student confidence and competence to engage in meaningful interaction in English, teacher beliefs, and the negative wash-back effect from college entrance examinations (Gorsuch 2001; Gottlieb 2008). Acknowledging that these problems "hindered" the spread of CLT has resulted in reform plans aiming to further promote CLT and eliminate traditional practice.

However, the TEIL framework challenges the premise of CLT, because it sidelines the local culture of learning and students' first language (L1). TEIL recommends developing and adopting a locally appropriate pedagogy, in which students' native language and culture are valued as important resources to scaffold the learning of a target language. Holliday's distinction between weak and strong versions of CLT (1994) is noteworthy in this context. The weak version, grounded in the Western conceptualization of communication, prioritizes oral interaction and active participation in various classroom activities such as group discussions and debates. In contrast, the strong version, based on a broader definition of communication, allows students to use their L1 to enhance their textual comprehension, providing a more suitable option for Outer- and Expanding-Circle countries. Nevertheless, the former is more often embraced in the widespread understanding of CLT. The focus on oral communication according to the CLT syllabus is also the mainstay of the ELF teaching understood in Japan, which relies on and reinforces the popular belief

that “authentic” communication in English occurs only when there are NESs, or simply “foreigners” (Tsuneyoshi 2013), involved.

The view of NES variety as authentic or “genuine” English (Yano 2011, p. 131) provides a rationale for hiring more NESs in CLT-centered ELT, because they are viewed as providing “living English” to students:

...a native speaker of English provides a valuable opportunity for students to learn *living English* and familiarize themselves with foreign languages and cultures. To have one’s English understood by a native speaker increases the students’ joy and motivation for English learning. In this way, the use of a native speaker of English has great meaning. (MEXT 2003, *emphasis added*)

The expression “living English” in Japanese is “*ikita Eigo*,” which is also used in the 2011 Five Proposals. However, the provisional English translation prepared by the education ministry employs “practical English” as an equivalent. This gap in translation indicates the two faces of these policy documents, namely the public face to release information to the international community and the domestic face for the Japanese linguistic community. The discourse on native speakers providing “living English” suggests that what JTEs offer in the classroom is deficient, obsolete, or unusable, even though they are the “authentic” users of EIL. The native-speaker-oriented mentality (Yano 2011), or what Kachru (2005, p. 90) termed the “native speaker syndrome,” compromises what little confidence many JTEs have in their language skills. The top-down pressure to conduct an English-only classroom further undermines teachers’ confidence in their English skills: “Local bilingual teachers are ideally placed to understand the localized English needs of their learners and to design a pedagogy appropriate for the particular local context. Unfortunately, their own lack of self-confidence and top-down ministry directives do little to encourage them to undertake this task” (McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008, p. 50).

Also implicit in the rhetoric on “living English” is regarding NESs, along with ICT, as “commodities” to be imported and marketed, as evident below:

Proposal 3: Providing students with more opportunities to use English through *effective utilization* of ALTs, ICT and other means: *ALTs are a valuable asset* increasing opportunities for students to come across practical English [*ikita eigo*], and to actually use English by themselves, in the course of team teaching and other activities. In this country, there are few opportunities, other than classes, for students to communicate in English; hence it is important to *efficiently utilize ALTs* in out-of-school activities, such as clubs and circles, thus aiming at reinforcement of English skills. (MEXT 2011, *emphasis added*)

The discourse on commodifying NESs is grounded in the essentialist dichotomy between NESs and the Japanese (see Toh 2012) and the binary conceptualization of English and Japanese, i.e., the linguistic attitude that equates Japanese nationals with Japanese speakers and ethnic Japanese, and English speakers with foreign nationals, i.e., as non-Japanese outsiders. McConnell presents a voice from a JET-invited ALT, who found his assigned role “dehumanizing,” because the foreign teacher is essentially regarded as a “curiosity, a ‘living globe’ wheeling out on special occasions” (2000, pp. 125–126). Moreover, while there are numerous bilingual and multilingual speakers of Japanese, English, and other languages in Japan, their



presence is seldom considered in these policy documents, despite the rich linguistic resources they offer (Hashimoto 2013; Kubota and McKay 2009).

A further problem regarding the ongoing ELT reforms in terms of methodology is that they start by rejecting conventional pedagogy, which focuses on the acquisition of structural knowledge using L1 as a learning aid, as ineffective, outdated, and detrimental to developing communicative abilities. Even though CLT, as currently understood in academia, does not exclude explicit teaching methods and grammatical instruction, it remains to be confirmed as more desirable and reflective of progressive pedagogy (Murray 2018, p. 51). Ironically, current global business leaders, educators, and policymakers with effective communication skills in Japanese and English are the products of conventional instruction, while the younger generations supposedly trained in a more communicative syllabus are struggling to showcase their improved skills. Furthermore, contrary to popular belief in oral primacy, the need to read remains central to global communication. The emergence of communication forms such as e-publications, emails, and instant messaging has made the ability to read accurately all the more important and useful. Thus, the teaching focus on reading skills and use of translation to assist reading is not only justifiable, but also beneficial in ELF-informed classrooms (see also Shiroza 2014, 2016).

#### ***18.4.3 Improved Assessment Scheme: Localized Exams Versus Those Developed in Inner-Circle Countries***

Language assessment is one difficult area regarding implementing EIL pedagogy, because established assessment practices, grounded in the monolithic view of English, tend to evaluate accuracy and fluency against established native-speaker norms. However, the hegemony of the Inner-Circle standard is increasingly questioned in terms of its relevance to multilingual and multicultural users of English (e.g., Jenkins 2006; Newbold 2018). For example, Davidson highlights “a well-established and legitimate concern that large, powerful English language tests are fundamentally disconnected from insights in analysis of English in the world context” (2006, p. 709). Thus, in the TEIL framework, it is important, and particularly urgent in Outer- and Expanding-Circle contexts, “to create localized versions of a standardized exam, incorporating situations and language features that are relevant to the local context” (Matsuda and Matsuda 2018, p. 73).

Japan’s “New English Education corresponding to globalization” (MEXT 2013) also requires a new assessment framework that better evaluates teachers’ and students’ oral communicative skills. A central tenet of the assessment reforms is the revision of college entrance exams, which, according to the official understanding, have negatively impacted the teaching practice in secondary schools through an excessive focus on grammatical and lexical knowledge and reading comprehension skills. Based on the belief that high school teachers and students are working toward securing students’ college admission, the proposal recommends that universities



incorporate listening and speaking components in the applicant screening process so that secondary-school teachers start investing class time on speaking activities as part of test preparation. According to the Five Proposals,

It is pointed out that English entrance exams in universities do not always aim at English skills required by the global community including speaking ability. The entrance exams must be modified so as to involve not only listening and reading skills stipulated by the Courses of Study but also speaking and writing, with all the four skills tested at proper balance. (MEXT 2011)

However, to assess the four skills “at proper balance,” the proposal does not just recommend developing and implementing new types of English tests for Japanese college applicants, but advocates adopting standardized proficiency tests exemplified by TOEFL and TOEIC, two widely recognized exams developed and administered by Inner-Circle institutions:

The Government shall encourage the use of TOEFL, TOEIC and other external certification tests for Admission Office exams, general entrance exams and other types of entrance exams, from the standpoint of proper evaluation of foreign language communication skills of prospective students. (ibid.)

Conventional exams developed by individual universities and the Center Exam by the National Center for University Entrance Examinations have been criticized for their “unsuitability” in global education, because they only test reading and listening skills.<sup>2</sup> A new nationwide exam that incorporates writing and speaking components was developed for implementation in 2020 but intended to be replaced by TOEFL, TOEIC, and other standardized exams<sup>3</sup> administered by private enterprises in 2023.

The adoption of TOEFL as a substitute for entrance exams was first suggested in 1986 by an interim advisory board for the prime minister, but later dropped from subsequent proposals. The idea resurfaced a quarter-century later in the Five Proposals, and has since been repeatedly advocated by various governmental and quasi-governmental organizations including the ruling Liberal Democratic Party’s project team and prime minister’s advisory committee (Kantei 2013; LDP 2013; MEXT 2012b). The plan has also been espoused by business leaders including Mikitani Hiroshi, CEO of the Japanese e-commerce giant Rakuten, which made headlines in 2010 by announcing its decision to “Englishnize” (Mikitani 2012), or designate English as an official working language. As an appointed member of several advisory committees for the prime minister and chair of a project team for educational reforms in Keizai Doyukai [Japan Association for Corporate Executives (JACE)], Mikitani (2012) asserts that all Japanese universities should adopt TOEFL as an admission requirement, because the traditional entrance exams promulgate

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<sup>2</sup>Note that the four skills framework is discursively constructed and has been challenged as part of the Western-driven knowledge structure (See Kumaravadivelu 2012).

<sup>3</sup>By March 2018, eight exams were approved by the ministry as legitimate substitutes for the Center Exam, namely Cambridge Assessment, TOEFL iBT, IELTS, TOEIC, GTEC, TEAP, TEAP CBT, and Step EIKEN.

*juken eigo*, or the English for entrance exams, which is unusable outside Japan and thus not worth learning. Under his chairmanship, JACE announced its proposition urging the government to promote the widespread use of TOEFL in Japanese higher education institutions (JACE 2013). Aligned with these initiatives, the use of TOEFL and TOEIC is expanding in Japanese colleges. Currently, 14.2% (111 universities of 779; 17.4% of national and 15.7% of private universities) require prospective students to submit TOEFL scores to qualify for admission or receive favorable treatment in some general entrance exams (CIEE 2017). Moreover, 47% of national and 34% of private universities require certain scores in TOEFL and/or TOEIC as a graduation requirement (Kawai-juku 2014).

The adoption of TOEFL in Expanding-Circle countries has been problematized elsewhere such as in Saudi Arabia. For example, Kahn warns that by using “TOEFL as a placement test, educators and learners depend on tests that may be isolated from their learning culture” (2009, p. 195). Although the adoption of TOEFL is justified by the fact that the medium of instruction in many Saudi Arabian universities is English, she notes that it has more to do with the availability and face validity of such high-stakes international tests. Students and their families believe that “a curriculum that uses TOEFL as a benchmark for language proficiency must be of high educational standard” (*ibid.*, p. 203), because the test is developed in Inner-Circle countries and accepted internationally as a token of advancement. Similar beliefs emerge in Japanese policy documents that insist on incorporating TOEFL to adapt its education to the “global standard.”

Other problems of adopting standardized tests in Japan include (1) guaranteeing valid and feasible test administration and (2) securing education equality. Questions have been raised regarding how to provide the exams for all 500,000 college applicants and whether the skills assessed match those that secondary schools teach and universities require of their incoming students. Furthermore, exam-driven learning in secondary schools, where reform proposals cling to the idea of education driven by instrumental motivation, must be avoided. In addition, opportunities to take these tests are not equally guaranteed, because of factors including the affordability of test fees, accessibility to test venues, and availability of test-prep resources. TOEFL/TOEIC preparation courses are proliferating in for-profit college-prep organizations throughout Japan. This approach is inconsistent with socially sensitive EIL pedagogy, which propagates, “If English is to become a truly international language, educational leaders and planners need to establish policies that afford English access to learners of all economic backgrounds” (McKay and Bokhorst-Heng 2008, p. 196).

Traditionally, each university in Japan has administered entrance examinations at its own discretion. Even after the National Center Exam<sup>4</sup> was launched as a

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<sup>4</sup>The Common First Stage Achievement Test (*Kyotsu-Ichiji*) was introduced in 1979 and administered until 1989 as an admission requirement for national universities. It was superseded by The National Center Test for University Admission, with the revised schedule and content allowing applicants to apply for more than one national university and enabling private universities to use the scores in their admission decisions.

standardized college admission test in 1990, national universities have conducted further screening based on their internally developed exams, and most private universities have had limited use of its scores in admission decisions. However, the proposed reforms are leading Japanese universities to a unified applicant screening process, which is not compatible with the inclusive, diversity-sensitive TEIL framework. The “locality” in locally appropriate teaching and testing does not just mean “national” as opposed to global, but the particularity of each educational environment, necessitating that each university make an effort to regain control of its own discretion in preparing and administering procedures to evaluate prospective students according to its own educational principles.

## 18.5 Conclusion

Thus far, this chapter has highlighted a contradiction in Japan’s ELT policy discourse between the stated objective of implementing ELF-focused pedagogy and the persistent and exacerbated NES orientation. While endorsing ELF should entail acknowledging diversity in English use, the proposed ELF pedagogy in Japan renews the emphasis on the Inner-Circle model; whereas localized teaching practices should be encouraged, imported teaching methodologies represented by CLT are promulgated; whilst locally developed assessment is desired, TOEFL and other standardized tests are replacing conventional college-specific exams. Changing language in curricular documents does not embody discursive transformation in conceptualizing English and its status in Japan. Rather, what is articulated is “a society which still maintains an ambivalent attitude to the English language” (Seargeant 2011, p. 10).

The ideological transition from EFL to ELF has been discussed in other Expanding-Circle contexts such as Indonesia (Kirkpatrick 2018; Zein 2018). The prestige and practical value of English has never waned but only grown steadily, not just in Japan but across Asia. English now plays a significantly larger role in these countries than ever before. For example, English-medium instruction (EMI) is rapidly expanding throughout East and Southeast Asia. There is also a growing trend in schools to offer English lessons at an early stage of education. In addition, exposure to English outside the school setting has increased considerably due to advances in ICT. The internet plays a vital role in the lives of young people, and their daily use of social networking sites and other online activities provide access to a range of varieties of English in Asia and elsewhere (Zein 2018).

However, there is a significant difference between Japan and many other Asian nations in their sociolinguistic landscapes. For example, Indonesia is one of the most linguistically diverse nations in the world. Although the country has established Bahasa Indonesia as the national language, the majority of Indonesians speak it as a second language. Kirkpatrick (2018) suggests that the use of their own national language as a lingua franca has accustomed them to linguistic variation and further developed their tolerance for such variation. Therefore, diversity in English

as a lingua franca is more likely to be accepted in Indonesia than in other more linguistically homogeneous nations (ibid., p. 195). In contrast, there is a “strong essentialist view of the national language” in Japan, which was formed through a largely “successful” attempt to establish a standard national language that overrode minority languages and dialects, and united the nation under a common national identity (Galloway and Rose 2015, p. 46). The process of language standardization created the ideology that identifies the nation with one ethnic group sharing a single language. Galloway and Rose suggest that this may partly explain the insistence on a “monolithic view of linguistic diversity,” which makes it difficult to recognize and accept variation in English (ibid., p. 176).

As McKay states, a localized pedagogy must be established that is “socially sensitive to the diversity and richness of the English used today in an increasingly globalized and complex world” (2012, p. 346). Such pedagogy must achieve “a balance between local and global concerns” (ibid., p. 345). However, Japan’s ELT lacks this balance, disregarding historically situated locality and pursuing the imagined global standard currently epitomized by ELF. Furthermore, there is a risk that ELF, along with preceding concepts like EIL, will be consumed away as another import from Western knowledge production. Therefore, ELF scholars and educators must continue scrutinizing policy proposals for implication of native-speakerism ingrained in people’s minds and obscured in the proclamation of ELF. It is also urgent to empower local educators by reappraising the values of conventional pedagogy as basis for developing a localized practice of socially-sensitive ELT.

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# Chapter 19

## CLIL Pedagogy for EIL in Higher Education



Nobuyuki Hino and Setsuko Oda

### 19.1 Introduction

The present chapter reports on an ongoing project for devising pedagogy of EIL (English as an International Language) (Smith 1981; Hino 2018a) or ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) (Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2011) for EMI (English-Medium Instruction) (Doiz et al. 2013; Murata 2019) classes in higher education in various fields of discipline. Drawing on the concept of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) (Coyle et al. 2010; Dalton-Puffer 2011), which is applicable to higher education (Watanabe et al. 2011; Smit and Dafouz 2012) as well as primary and secondary levels, this methodology is referred to as CELFIL (Content and English as a Lingua Franca Integrated Learning) (Hino 2015, 2019). In comparison with an approach which Smit (2013, p. 15) calls “implicit ICELF (Integrating Content and English as a Lingua Franca),” where the learning of ELF is incidental to EMI, CELFIL may be characterized as “explicit ICELF,” with its predefined objective of utilizing EMI classes to help students to learn ELF skills.

EMI courses in higher education have been studied chiefly from linguistic and micro-sociolinguistic perspectives (e.g. Smit 2010, 2019; Mauranen 2012; Gotti 2014) as well as macro-sociolinguistic and administrative viewpoints (e.g. Shohamy 2013; Jenkins 2014; Kirkpatrick 2014, 2017; Yamamoto and Ishikura 2018) rather than with respect to their pedagogical potential as CLIL opportunities. Thus,

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Some portions of this chapter have appeared in their earlier forms as parts of two working papers, Hino (2017c, 2018b).

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methodologies for the simultaneous learning of content and ELF (or EIL) are largely yet to be explored (cf. Dalton-Puffer and Smit 2016; Iino and Murata 2016).

Hino (2019) put forth, by building upon Hino (2015), a proposal on the “approach, method, and technique” (Anthony 1963) for CELFIL. The present chapter analyzes CELFIL with a more comprehensive framework of language pedagogy known as “approach, design, and procedure” (Richards and Rodgers 1982, 1986, 2001, 2014), while also incorporating the results of field work lately conducted.

The term ELF (Jenkins 2000, 2015) has been chosen for the name of this teaching method (hence CELFIL) in consideration of the emphasis on interactional dynamism in ELF studies. However, the basic paradigm for the present study is highly eclectic, integrating the concept of ELF with those of WE (world Englishes) (B. Kachru 1985, 1986; Gargesh 2006, 2019) and EIL (Smith 1976; Hino 2018a; Low 2015; D’Angelo 2014). In the following discussions, partly in order to bypass the paradigmatic conflict that often arises especially between ELF and WE, we will primarily employ the term EIL as the most neutral of the three in referring to the conceptual background of CELFIL.

## 19.2 Development of Pedagogy

This section briefly explains how this project attempts to develop teaching methodologies for CELFIL.

### 19.2.1 *Methods*

The goal of the project is to devise designs and procedures for CELFIL by gaining clues for effective pedagogy through various methods. They include reflective practice in EMI classes taught by the authors, observations and videotaping of varieties of EMI courses, along with questionnaires and interviews with students and instructors. Importantly, this project is not “research” in a narrow sense of the term which would offer data-based evidence on a certain thesis, but is part of an effort to allow practical pedagogy to emerge through an accumulation of classroom experiences, though also informed by sound theories.

One of the theoretical underpinnings for this approach to the development of classroom pedagogy is a series of high-profile studies on reflective practice in language teaching by Jack C. Richards (e.g. Richards and Lockhart 1994; Freeman and Richards 1996; Richards and Farrell 2005), which may be remotely rooted in Richards and Hino (1983) involving the first author of the present chapter. In this school of thought, methodologies of teaching are developed not by experimental research but by the cycle of practice and reflection. Although reflective practice in such a context is originally aimed at teacher development or professional development, it also produces new pedagogy in the process, as intended in this project.

Another academic basis for the present project is provided by a Japanese school of language education research known as *jugyogaku* or classology. The JACET Classology Research Committee (2007), a representative example of *jugyogaku*, collects reports on classroom practice by 107 instructors of undergraduate EFL (English as a Foreign Language) in Japan, followed by an analysis of those cases, from which various workable methodologies inductively emerge.

While inevitable subjectivity may be viewed as a weakness of this approach, the present project is targeted at educational practicality rather than scientific objectivity. Essentially, the primary purpose of this chapter is not to empirically substantiate a certain argument but to experientially suggest an actual pedagogy.

### 19.2.2 Classroom Cases

Table 19.1 shows the profiles of 12 EMI classes in higher education observed and analyzed in this project, including #8 taught by the first author as well as #1 and #2 taught by the second author. Most of them take place at Japanese universities, encompassing national, public, and private institutions. #12 class is held outside of Japan, at a national university in Taiwan, but is still embedded in a sociolinguistic situation similar to Japan, as a part of the Expanding Circle in East Asia.

This is a practical scheme to gather useful clues for classroom practice. Therefore, unlike with empirical research where criteria for sample selection becomes an issue, we basically observe any EMI class as long as we are allowed to. In this regard, the classrooms in Table 19.1 are not meant to be research data but practical examples, or sources of inspiration for further creative practice.

As can be seen from the table, the great majority of the international students come from either the Outer Circle or the Expanding Circle rather than the Inner Circle,<sup>1</sup> most of whom are “non-native” speakers of English in the traditional sense of the term. These student demographics reflect the sociolinguistic reality of global Englishes today, where interactions so often occur between non-native speakers.

Under the heading “CLIL,” we asked the instructors whether they intended their classes to help students not only to learn the content but also to improve proficiency in English. As the table indicates, both attitudes are represented regardless of the fields of discipline. However, the present project assumes that even those EMI classes without CLIL intentions could still provide useful clues for CELFIL.

Our initial motive for developing CELFIL was to take advantage of the authentic EIL environment in EMI classes arising from the mixing of local and international

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<sup>1</sup>The Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle are technical terms in WE studies (B. Kachru 1985), referring respectively to countries (or areas) where the majority are native speakers of English (e.g. U.K., U.S., and Australia), former colonies of the U.K. or the U.S. where English functions as an official language (e.g. India, Singapore, and Nigeria), and all the others for which English is a foreign or an international language (e.g. Japan, Turkey, and Brazil).

**Table 19.1** EMI classes observed or taught in this project<sup>a</sup>

	Teacher	Students	Content	Level	CLIL	Venue
#1	Local	Local	Education	Undergrad	Intended	Japan
#2	Local	International (expanding circle) and local	Education	Undergrad	Intended	Japan
#3	Local	International (expanding circle) and local	Japanese art history	Undergrad	Not intended	Japan
#4	Local	International (outer and expanding circle) and local	Socio-linguistics	Undergrad	Not intended	Japan
#5	Local	International (outer and expanding circle) and local	Business	Undergrad	Intended	Japan
#6	Local	International (outer and expanding circle) and local	Project management	Graduate (Master)	Not intended	Japan
#7	Local	International (outer and expanding circle) and local	Ocean engineering	Graduate (Master)	Intended	Japan
#8	Local (with an inner circle TA)	International (outer and expanding circle) and local	Applied linguistics	Graduate (Master)	Intended	Japan
#9	International (expanding circle)	Mostly local, with a few international (expanding circle)	Algebra	Undergrad	Not intended	Japan
#10	International (outer circle)	Local	Asian studies	Undergrad	Intended	Japan
#11	International (inner circle)	International (inner, outer, and expanding circle) and local	Japanese literature	Undergrad	Not intended	Japan
#12	Local	Mostly local, with a few international (expanding circle)	English literature	Undergrad	Not intended	Taiwan

<sup>a</sup>This table has been expanded, revised, and reorganized from the one in Hino (2019, p. 221)

students. However, EMI classes consisting only of domestic students, as with #1 and #10, are also quite common, and thus deserve investigation as well.

### 19.3 CELFIL: Approach, Design, and Procedure

This section discusses what may be recommended for CELFIL as pedagogy for helping students in university EMI classes to learn to communicate in EIL, based on insights gained in the current project thus far, where classrooms in Table 19.1 are cited as examples. Unlike research papers which would first present data analysis,

this practice-oriented chapter does not attempt to describe the process of drawing pedagogical implications from those classroom samples, partly because the task of analyzing the process of identifying “knowledge in action” (e.g. Golombek 1998) is beyond its realm.

To present CELFIL as a teaching method, an analytical framework developed by Richards and Rodgers (1982), “approach, design, and procedure,” is adopted for the present chapter. The three layers respectively represent “assumptions, beliefs, or theories about the nature of language and language learning,” “the relationship of theories of language and learning to both the form and function of instructional materials and activities,” and “classroom techniques and practices” (p. 154). In accordance with the further elaboration of the concepts by Richards and Rodgers (1986, 2001, 2014), “design” is broken down into objectives, syllabus, types of learning and teaching activities, learner roles, teacher roles, and the role of instructional materials.

“Approach, method, and technique,” a classic paradigm proposed by Anthony (1963) and adapted with some modifications in Hino (2019), is theoretically clearer when focusing on teaching methods in a narrower sense of the term, that is, “how to teach.” However, the all-inclusive structure by Richards and Rodgers, covering many relevant aspects such as teaching materials, allows for a fuller treatment of pedagogical practice.

It should be reminded, before proceeding to the following discussions, that CELFIL is a method mainly for university classes, including those at the graduate level. In other words, it is assumed that students for CELFIL already have basic knowledge of English. Although quite a lot of the students could be “false beginners” who lack actual experience in communicating in English, they are not beginners as learners of English. The below descriptions of approach, design, and procedure are founded on such a premise.

### ***19.3.1 Approach***

“Approach,” as the most abstract stage of teaching methodology, identifies the fundamental philosophy of CELFIL, based on the integration of the notions of ELF, EIL, and WE together with other relevant theories.

#### **19.3.1.1 Theory of Language**

CELFIL subscribes to the position that language can go beyond its original lingua-cultural frame of reference to represent the speaker’s own values. In this view, non-native speakers are not bound to native speaker norms. English for international communication comprises varieties of English (Smith 1976), surfacing as variations of English collaboratively constructed in-situ by the interactants (Widdowson 2015). Communication is achieved by way of accommodation (Jenkins 2000, 2007)

as well as through negotiation of meaning (Berns 2008; Hilgendorf 2015; Seidlhofer 2009).

### **19.3.1.2 Theory of Learning**

In CELFIL, the intercultural nature of EIL communication (Smith 1987; Y. Kachru and Smith 2008; Seidlhofer 2011; Baker 2015) is regarded as a crucial component in the learning of EIL. Students learn to communicate in EIL, including communication strategies which entail accommodation and the negotiation of meaning, by participating in the community of EIL users with appropriate support or scaffolding. Language learning efficiently takes place, both in cognitive and affective domains, when the student deals with meaningful content in the target language. Appropriate methods of learning also depend upon a number of factors, such as local educational values (Hino 1992; Kern 2000; McKay 2002; Matsuda 2012) and pedagogical traditions specific to each disciplinary area.

## **19.3.2 Design**

While “approach” is essentially abstract, the method is made more concrete and substantial at the level of “design.”

### **19.3.2.1 Objectives**

CELFIL is aimed at helping students in EMI classes to acquire communicative abilities in EIL while they learn the content subject at the same time. Though specific EIL abilities covered in CELFIL vary according to individual class situations, they may encompass spoken and written language, with receptive (i.e. listening and reading), productive (i.e. speaking and writing), and interactive aspects. Likewise, they may include grammatical, phonological, lexical, sociolinguistic, pragmatic, discursive, non-verbal, and intercultural skills in EIL.

While CELFIL, as classroom pedagogy for EMI in higher education, deals with English for academic purposes, it is assumed that many of the EIL skills learnt in CELFIL, such as communication strategies, are also transferrable for use in more general contexts.

### **19.3.2.2 Syllabus**

The syllabus for CELFIL, or the organization of the course content, basically follows the format of each discipline as a content class. However, some additional elements may be added to facilitate the learning of English. For example, both #5

(business) and #7 (ocean engineering) classes dedicate the first ten minutes or so to the learning of English vocabulary, concentrating on lexical items needed in respective fields.

The course content may also specifically involve the training of EIL skills. For instance, activities such as small group discussions can be an integral part of the syllabus itself, particularly when the class consists of international diversity as in many cases in Table 19.1, enabling the students to learn EIL skills through authentic ELF interaction.

### 19.3.2.3 Types of Learning and Teaching Activities

Varieties of learning and teaching activities may be used for CELFIL. They include commonly practiced ones such as lectures, students' presentations, small group discussions, and group projects.

Suitable activities should be selected by taking various factors into account. Among those variables, in addition to tangible environmental factors such as class size, is pedagogical convention in each academic field. For instance, lectures have been traditionally preferred in mathematical sciences, as exemplified by #9 (algebra) class, along with #7 (ocean engineering) class with its focus on mathematical physics, both of which employing lectures as a basic method. Such a practice appears to fit into the context of teaching mathematical science in terms of shared assumptions among participants. It would indeed be counter-productive to neglect traditional values embedded in each discipline.

Another parameter to be considered is indigenous educational tradition. The abovementioned focus on vocabulary learning in #5 (business) and #7 (ocean engineering) classes, taught by senior Japanese professors, is one example for this aspect. Not only do these cases highlight the importance of lexical items in academic disciplines as evident in ESP (English for Specific Purposes) education, but also they reflect the traditional Japanese emphasis on individual words. This convention is deeply rooted in Japanese linguaculture, with over a thousand years of translating Chinese word-by-word into Japanese (Hino 1988).

In short, a certain degree of cultural compatibility with local values is a vital factor for the success of any pedagogy (Hino 1992; Kern 2000; McKay 2002). On the other hand, what remains an issue is that managing the classroom in accordance with indigenous culture may sometimes lead to a disservice to international students who do not share such values. In this regard, in many EMI classes where international students are involved, pedagogy itself is also required to be intercultural, based on the needs analysis of the students.

A timely use of the local language in CELFIL may be considered along the same line of thinking. Recent ELF studies have established that it should be viewed as natural and legitimate to make some use of linguistic resources other than English in ELF interaction (Cogo 2012; Jenkins 2015). Such an attitude is smoothly compatible with the Japanese pedagogical tradition mentioned above, with its belief in the use of Japanese. For example, in the teaching of English vocabulary in #7 (ocean



engineering) class, an extensive use of Chinese characters is made in discussing the meaning of key words. It is a classroom practice in agreement with the traditional educational values of Japan. Again, however, the impact of such practice on international students will continue to be an issue to be investigated from the viewpoint of intercultural pedagogy. Just as negotiation is an integral component of EIL communication, flexible adjustment in coordination with students would be an important element for the implementation of intercultural pedagogy.

Even with due respect to indigenous educational traditions that may honor teacher-centered instruction, efforts still need to be made, where possible, to create opportunities to engage students in authentic EIL communication. For example, in #7 (ocean engineering) class, both international and Japanese students are encouraged to participate in seminars held outside the class at the department, which provide them with opportunities for giving presentations and having discussions in English. As for classroom activities, a technique that has grown out of CELFIL practice in #8 (applied linguistics) class, known as OSGD (Observed Small Group Discussion) and pronounced like “Osgood,” will be described later in Sect. 19.3.3.

#### 19.3.2.4 Learner Roles

In CELFIL classes especially with students from a variety of linguacultural backgrounds, as is the case with many courses in the present project, students are not only the recipients but often the providers of learning opportunities as well. Through activities such as group discussions, students with higher EIL skills can help their peers to experience how communication in EIL may be achieved (cf. Lave and Wenger 1991). For instance, in a small group discussion in #8 class, an Iranian student experienced in EIL interaction was observed to perform a clarification request in an efficient manner unfamiliar to many Japanese students, helping the latter to see for themselves an example of successful negotiation of meaning in EIL (Hino 2017b). The learning is also mutual, as the more competent peers can in turn learn how to communicate with those less experienced in EIL while at the same time deepening their self-reflection on effective communication strategies.

#### 19.3.2.5 Teacher Roles

As the CELFIL class is expected to function as a community of practice in EIL, students’ “active learning” is encouraged. In such contexts, the teacher is required to fulfil the role of a facilitator.

Another important job for the teacher is to serve as a model for the students (Hino 2017a). For example, a Japanese student in #1 (education) class, taught by the second author, a Japanese speaker of English, commented in an oral interview conducted by the first author, “I take her as a model for how a Japanese person should speak English. It is a useful learning experience for me to listen to her English” (Interview in Japanese) (Hino 2017b, p. 126). The instructor for #10 (Asian studies)

class, from Singapore, also demonstrates a living example of an intellectual speaker of a non-Anglophone variety of English. Listening to their English is empowering for the students, just as the writings of postcolonial literatures empower the readers across the world with the potential of non-native Englishes for expressing non-Anglophone values.

In light of motivation theories, this is where the concept of “Ideal L2 Self” may be applied. As Dörnyei (2009) has discussed, “presenting powerful roles models” (p. 33) leads the learner to a vision of the Ideal L2 Self. Non-native English speaking instructors in EMI as EIL users can be role models embodying the Ideal L2 Self for their students. It should be also encouraging for non-native English speaking professors in EMI, some of whom have inferiority complex toward native speakers, to realize the chance of such positive roles that they may fulfil.

What backgrounds are required of instructors in CELFIL classes is another major issue. Classes #1, #2, #8, and #10 are taught by those who specialize both in ELT (English Language Teaching) and in EIL, but they surely are a minority among the whole EMI faculty. Other than those exceptional cases, the success of CELFIL is certain to rely on collaboration between content teachers and ELT experts, although considerable difficulty in such an undertaking already seems evident from the experiences of teachers involved in courses in ESP as well as those engaged in CLIL.

Lastly in this section, an issue is how teachers should help their students to produce correct linguistic forms, including grammatical aspects. As Izumi (2011) suggests, an approach known as “focus on form” (Long 1991), where such help is provided without hindering communication, is often more useful for CLIL than outright teaching of grammar with a “focus on forms” which could disrupt content instruction. Though dependent on individual circumstances, this is a perspective also applicable to CELFIL. “Recast,” for example, may be effectively employed for teachers in interacting with their students in CELFIL classes, rephrasing or restructuring the students’ incorrect or inappropriate utterances without preventing the flow of discourse.

### 19.3.2.6 Role of Instructional Materials

Ryoji Noyori, Japanese Nobel laureate in chemistry, once lamented that writing papers constantly in an Anglophone manner could result in losing original Japanese thinking (Noyori 2004). In CELFIL for any field of discipline, instructional materials are to be selected or developed in compliance with the philosophy of EIL which honors diversity.

Nowadays, numerous articles and books across academic disciplines are written in English by non-native speakers of English. Partly because international publishers today do not necessarily insist on the need for proofreading by native speakers any more, there are now a sizable number of articles and books which do not always conform to the conventional norms of Anglo-American academic writings. In

selecting instructional materials for CELFIL, those non-native writings should be positively considered as a representation of diversity of values.

Also for students, English written by non-native English speaking scholars can be more accessible and relatable than that of native speakers. A former student in the first author's #8 (applied linguistics) class, presently a university associate professor in Japan, expressed that he regarded the first author's articles as one of his primary models of academic writing in English. According to this young Japanese scholar, he felt much more familiar and comfortable with the writings in Japanese English than with those by native English speaking researchers, and therefore found them easier to learn from. Such a feeling is akin to the perception of the student in the second author's #1 (education) class, mentioned in 19.3.2.5, toward her oral English. The main text for #7 (ocean engineering) class is also the one written in English (and uploaded on the Internet) by the Japanese professor himself who is an internationally recognized scholar, which can serve as a model of academic writing by a Japanese or a non-native English-speaking scientist.

### 19.3.3 Procedure

Finally, at the level of "procedure," CELFIL as a method for content classes may take various different forms. The aforementioned technique devised through reflective practice in #8 (applied linguistics) class, now known as OSGD (Observed Small Group Discussion), is discussed in this section as an example.

Considering the significance of peer interaction in CELFIL classes, it is natural for the instructor to lead the students to small group discussions. However, an inherent problem with small group discussions is that it is difficult for the teacher to adequately monitor the students' interactions. By going around more than a few groups, the teacher is only able to have a sporadic look at each group. As a result, small group discussions often end up with "sink-or-swim" situations without sufficient feedback from the instructor, merely letting the students "learn by doing."

As a solution to this problem, though not a panacea, it is recommendable to practice OSGD once in a while in addition to regular small group discussions. In OSGD, the teacher organizes just one small group, and has all other students surround the group to watch their discussion.

The procedure for OSGD is as follows (Hino 2019), though it can be modified in accordance with specific class environments:

1. The instructor arranges one small group (preferably consisting of international diversity), and directs other students to encircle the discussion group for observation.
2. The discussion lasts for 10–15 min.
3. Observers pay attention not only to the content of the discussion but also to the use of communication strategies.

4. After the discussion/observation session, the instructor leads a whole-class discussion, in which the discussants and the observers together reflect on the content of the discussion as well as the use of communication strategies. The instructor provides feedback in the whole-class discussion.

As noted in the first step above, it is desirable, if possible, for the discussion group to comprise students of different linguacultural backgrounds. Such an authentic ELF situation not only enables the students to practice real-life ELF skills, but is also expected to enhance the students' motivation for speaking English. Even when the majority of students are local, the participation of just one international student will make a significant difference. For example, in small group discussions both in #4 (sociolinguistics) class and #12 (English literature) class, though regular ones rather than OSGD, groups exclusively with local students were observed to have discussions in the local language, Japanese for the former and Chinese for the latter, while groups with at least one international student were seen to interact in English.

As to the second step in the above procedure, conversational strategies observed and taken up in the whole-class discussion in #8 class include clarification, confirmation, codeswitching (or translanguaging), backchannels, and non-verbal cues. The students are encouraged to apply those skills, when appropriate, to their next small group discussion in class. OSGD may be viewed as another attempt to exploit the potential of "reflection," which is one of the keywords in learning theories today.

Below is an example from a small group discussion in OSGD in #8 class taught by the first author (May, 2017). This group consists of two students from mainland China (C1 and C2) and two from Japan (J1 and J2). The discussion topic here is whether original models of English, such as models of Japanese English and Chinese English, are necessary for the learning of EIL (This is a graduate class in applied linguistics with a focus on the theme of EIL education). C1 appears to be trying to claim that such models would not be very useful in view of the dynamic nature of EIL, but she is not clear enough in presenting her point:

C1: It's just changing things. Changing is to suit us. So, I don't think we need a very special model to express us, because we are changing things.

J1: So, we should accept the variety of the changing?

C1: Yeah.

J2: You talked about changing.

C1: Yeah.

J2: And is that change different from, ah, like making our own new expressions?

In this example, J1 and J2 are trying to understand the remark by C1, employing confirmation check and clarification request, respectively. All the participants here are making efforts to construct meaning collaboratively and interactively with the use of communication strategies. In OSGD, observers see with their own eyes how such negotiation of meaning is attempted by their peers in an authentic EIL environment.

Below is another example, this time involving translanguaging. In trying to answer a question from C1, C2 is making a clarification request to C1:

C2: Sorry... More specifically about it?

C1: Ah...?

C2: *Gutaiteki ni douiukotoka?*

C1: Ah...

C2: Can you speak your question?

“Gutaiteki ni douiukotoka?”, spoken in Japanese, means “Could you be more specific about it?” In the subsequent whole-class discussion, a student pointed out the fact that C2 switched to Japanese rather than to Chinese here even though he was talking to a fellow Chinese student. Then, C2 explained to the class that he had wanted to make himself understood by everyone present, adding that he had thought that it would be “offensive” (In C2’s own words) to Japanese participants if he had spoken in Chinese in that situation. As a background, all students in this class are proficient in Japanese, while most Japanese students do not understand spoken Chinese.

Indeed, as Cogo (2012) revealed, translanguaging can be used both for exclusion and inclusion. C2 proved himself to be a friendly communicator by employing translanguaging with inclusive orientation. The OSGD in this session helped students to learn such a significant aspect of translanguaging in authentic contexts.

## 19.4 Conclusion

The present chapter has attempted to summarize an “approach, design, and procedure” for CELFIL, the concurrent learning of content and ELF, aimed at helping students in university EMI classes to learn linguistic as well as sociolinguistic skills in EIL, or de-Anglo-Americanized English for international communication. Efforts will go on to refine CELFIL to be more concrete and better organized, so that it may serve as a useful pedagogy for university educators who wish to prepare their students for the rapidly globalizing world. Last but not least, this chapter also exemplifies the fact that studies in varieties of English, led by Ravinder Gargesh and others, contribute not only to the academic discipline of linguistics but also to the development of practical language pedagogy.

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# Chapter 20

## Reflections on Teaching and Learning of English as a Second Language in India



Panchanan Mohanty

### 20.1 Introduction

Besides being a thick friend, Professor Ravinder Gargesh is one of the few scholars who have taught and published in a wide range of areas in Linguistics, such as Stylistics, Phonology, Sociolinguistics, Teaching English as a Second Language, Indian English, Translation Studies, and Lexicography, etc. In this paper, I will try to focus on certain aspects of teaching and learning of English in the Indian subcontinent that are close to his heart.

### 20.2 Phonetics and Phonology in Language Teaching/Learning

An informal survey of the articles published in different journals of Linguistics and dissertations submitted to various Indian universities for Ph. D. and M. Phil. degrees shows that most of these are in the areas of grammar and semantics. It means phonetics and phonology are not areas of priority in linguistic studies at the global level. A possible reason could be that these subjects are difficult to master because we get used to speaking our mother tongues in a particular way. When we start learning a second or a foreign language the most difficult task is to unlearn the mother tongue speech-habits and incorporate the new language habits. I should cite a related study that states: “The relatively high dissatisfaction voiced by lecturers and students alike, is mirrored in the success rate: while 90% of 2nd year students passed the English language class, only 70% successfully completed the pronunciation class.” (Smit and Dalton 2000, p. 230). Then, the second or foreign language teachers are

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normally not mother tongue speakers of those languages. Their mother tongues cast a deep influence on the second or foreign languages they teach, especially on the way of speaking. Therefore, it becomes extremely hard for learners to acquire the phonetics and phonology of the target languages. This could be a major reason that creates serious problems in learning to speak a second or foreign language.

The other point to be mentioned is that no language has a monolithic grammatical structure. Variations are a reality at every level of a language and the same is true of English. Though the British variety of English is said to be widely used in India, there are a number of dialects spoken in England itself. For example, "... millions of Londoners and others ... say [mIok] for milk, [bʌob] for *bulb*, [bɒto ~ bɒʔo] for *bottle*, etc.,..." (Jones 2003, pp. 105–6). Every dialect has a life and it is a language on its own. Of course, it may not be a prestigious variety and that is why we talk about standard and non-standard Englishes.

### 20.2.1 *Should RP Be the Goal?*

In any discussion on spoken English in the Indian context, invariably there is a reference to Received Pronunciation (RP). Though Indian scholars refer to RP every now and then, nobody speaks it in India. Therefore, this variety is not at all important for the Indian learners of English. Here I should mention a few important viewpoints about RP. According to Jenkins (2000, p. 17), "RP is not even widely used among L1 speakers and is therefore unlikely to be appropriate as the basis for L2 pedagogy." Then, Coggle's (1993) survey in which a group of British students were asked to mention the adjectives that came to their minds while listening to somebody speaking conservative RP is quite revealing. Their responses were: "formal, pompous, cold, over-precise and stiff". It means even most of the native speakers do not speak RP in England and nor do they have a positive attitude towards it. If we look at the variety of English used by the newsreaders and announcers on BBC, we find a lot of variations. So, it is not surprising that RP is not used in India. Considering all these, scholars have started talking about 'International English' which is neither British nor American. Quirk (1985, pp. 2–3) has stated: "Recent emphasis on multiple and various standards (insofar as the word 'standard' is ventured): different standards for different occasions for different people- and each as 'correct' as any other." This important statement emphasizes that RP need not be the target in a second or foreign language learning situation. Widdowson (1994, p. 385) has also expressed a similar view: "The very fact that English is an international language means that no nation can have custody over it. To grant such a custody of the language, is unnecessarily to arrest its development and so undermine its international status." So, there is no reason to worry about RP any more. In this globalized world, most of the times we do not interact with the English speakers from England, the U.S.A. or Australia, etc. We are more likely to come across English speakers from Japan, China, Korea and the European and African countries. That is why, it is preferable to talk about 'International English' (originally proposed by Gimson (1978)).

It has been popularized as a neutral variety by Crystal (2003) and others in a number of publications in the last two decades. Its spread has been so wide that one fourth of the world's population is believed to possess some knowledge of English. At present English is the mother tongue of about four million people and a similar number of speakers use it as a second language whereas it is a foreign language for almost six million people.

### 20.3 International English as a Neutral Variety

International English lacks a number of features found in the native varieties of English and, therefore, it is a different variety. Considering its unprecedented spread and the ways in which it has been appropriated all over the world, Crystal (2003, p. 191) speculates: "In 500 years' time, will it be the case that everyone will automatically be introduced to English as soon as they are born (or, by then, very likely, as soon as they are conceived)? If this is part of a rich multilingual experience for our future newborns, this can only be a good thing. If it is by then the only language left to be learned, it will have been the greatest intellectual disaster that the planet has ever known. [...] It may be that English, in some shape or form, will find itself in the service of the world community forever." It is highly debatable to forecast that English will be there forever. However, his prediction about the 'greatest intellectual disaster' is extremely important. Again, it is also true that English has been a 'service language' in India for very long and, in this process, it has acquired names like Butler English, Pidgin English, Boxwallah English, Cheechee English and Baboo English (Hoshali 1997, p. 1). It is worth mentioning that these varieties have been looked down upon by the native speakers of English as bizarre and funny. In fact, at the ground level, English remains a pidgin in the public sphere in India even today (Mohanty forthcoming). This situation is not likely to change as India's economic condition is steadily progressing from strength to strength. There is little doubt that along with the economic growth the domains of major Indian languages will also expand and their use will consolidate simultaneously.

Coming back to teaching and learning of English in India, mother tongue interference is definitely the most significant in the areas of phonetics and phonology. It is because there may not be any significant difference between the grammars in the written Englishes of an Indian on the one hand and another person from Australia, New Zealand, England, or the U.S.A. on the other hand. But if we compare an Indian's speech with that of a native speaker, we notice a wide gap. This is an area of concern, and we have to concentrate on it. Speakers of various Indian languages speak English in different ways. The Odias speak *Englis*, Bengalis articulate *bhowels* (vowels). Telugus *audhor* (author) books, Kannadigas listen to *ocal* (vocal) music. Words like *wine* and *vine* are the same for the Hindi speakers, and Punjabis do not distinguish between *pleasure* and *player*. It is claimed that the number of ESL speakers in India is comparable to the number of native English speakers. Therefore, it is necessary to promote a variety called the Standard Indian English.

There are scholars who hold the view that there is nothing called Indian English. What we have are Hinglish (Hindi English), Tinglish (Tamil English), Binglish (Bengali English), etc. Sridhar (to be published in 2020) has used the term ‘Minglish/Minglishes’ with reference to these varieties because of their mixed or mingled nature. Though such a statement is partially true, Indian English has become a recognized brand today, and Kachru (1985) deserves full credit for it. There are quite a number of publications on various aspects of Indian English in the past three to four decades. Unless there is an agreement to develop a variety called Standard Indian English, we cannot think of International English.

### ***20.3.1 Spelling Pronunciation***

Due to the differences between the phonological systems, the vowels and consonants of native English are very difficult for Indians to learn. It is because most of the Indian languages have less number of vowels, a few or no diphthongs, no fricatives except one or two sibilants and unlike in native Englishes, stress has no significant role in Indian languages. Most English teachers in India are not really aware of these issues and as a result are not equipped to handle them. That is why, most Indian English learners go for ‘spelling pronunciation’. No Indian English speaker aspirates /p, t, c, k/ when these sounds occur in the beginning of a word. They usually ‘climB’ the trees. People in South India construct ‘briDges’. Gujarati speakers invite people saying: “Please come. Snakes (snacks) are in the hole (hall).” These are the ground realities.

When we converse with others in English, it is necessary to make distinction between ‘west’ and ‘waste’, ‘save’ and ‘shave’, ‘snakes’ and ‘snacks’, ‘hole’ and ‘hall’, etc. For this reason, we have to identify such language specific peculiarities and do away with them in order to build a platform for the Standard Indian English. Let us take another example. If we count the English words which possess the sound [ʒ], we may not find more than a handful of them. The question here is why English has retained this infrequently used sound for centuries. This is an important question. Since English makes a distinction between /p/ and /b/, /f/ and /v/, /t/ and /d/, /θ/ and /ð/, /s/ and /z/, /k/ and /g/, etc., it also needs to make a distinction between /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ in order to keep the phonological system intact.

## **20.4 ‘What’ and ‘How’ of Teaching English**

It is common place that if we know some 2000 English words, we should be in a position to communicate effectively with others. Now the question is: why not we make our students practice how to pronounce these 2000 words? The problem is that students are human beings, not machines; and learning is not just memorization or simple storage. Students must be in a position to formulate the rules on their own

and use them while speaking English. It should be mentioned here that Second Language Acquisition is to a large extent like First Language Acquisition. If we observe children acquiring English as the first language, it is normal for them to say “I *ated* rice”, not “I ate rice”. First, they say “I *eated* rice”, then “I *ated* rice”, and finally, it becomes “I ate rice”. Parents hardly correct a child when he or she acquires the mother tongue. No English-speaking adult corrects his/her child when the latter says “I *eated/ated* rice.” The child himself or herself comes across additional data with reference to how others speak the language and acquires the correct structure. A similar thing is necessary for us when we are teaching English as a second language. We all know that there are four major language skills that are arranged in this order: listening, speaking, reading and writing. But when it comes to teaching English, teachers usually start with the alphabet in the very first class. That means when a child has not acquired any English, we start teaching the English alphabet to him or her. What we are doing is that we are teaching English as it is done in England or in the U.S.A. because the children’s mother tongue there is English. By the time they go to school, they are almost normal speakers of the English language. But when we teach English in India, we mostly start with the alphabet even though the learners have almost no exposure to English.

## 20.5 English Spellings and Pronunciation

Now let us briefly talk about the relationship between English spellings and pronunciation. I will discuss only two examples. The English letter ‘c’ is pronounced in two ways: [k] and [s] and it is highly rule-governed. A similar rule can be formulated for the letter ‘g’ which is realized asand [dʒ] in different environments, though it is not as straightforward as the rule for ‘c’. Let us take another example. The sequence ‘th’ is pronounced [θ] in some cases and [ð] in some others. We can formulate rules which work in most cases. If we consider the pronunciation [ð], it happens mostly in the function words. For example, let us consider the pronouns like *they, them, their, this, that*; some basic adverbs like *then, thus*, and the definite article *the* as evidence. But it is usually articulated [θ] in the content words, e.g. *think, thought, thin, thing*, etc. If we can involve the students by giving them a lot of data and encourage them to discover the rule regarding the occurrences of [θ] and [ð] it will be of great advantage to them. Needless to say, that this kind of discovery will encourage them to discover more and learn much more.

Another issue I would like to mention is intervocalic voicing of certain fricatives. Let us take the word ‘bath’ that ends in [θ]. When we add a vowel to it, it becomes ‘bathe’ that ends in [ð]. It implies that the distinction between [θ] and [ð] was not significant in an earlier stage of the English language. Old English had only /θ/, and [ð] was its allophone that occurred intervocalically. The same was true of /f/ also. For example, /f/ of ‘thief’ becomes [v] when it occurs inter-vocalically, e.g. ‘thieves’. What I am trying to emphasize is that the rule in English those days was that whenever a voiceless fricative occurred intervocalically, it was pronounced as a voiced

one. Later /θ/ and /ð/ became separate phonemes due to various reasons including internal phonological changes as well as borrowings from French. As a result, in Modern English we have words like ‘fan’ and ‘van’ where /f/ and /v/ contrast with each other. Even today ‘von’ in German is written with ‘v’ but pronounced /f/.

Then, the sequence ‘ch’ has three articulations in English: [tʃ], [ʃ] and [k]. A careful analysis of English reveals that *cherry*, *cheese*, *church*, *cheap*, etc. are original English words and ‘ch’ is pronounced [tʃ] in all these. Therefore, it can be said that ‘ch’ was pronounced [tʃ] in the original English words whereas in the French borrowings, especially after the Middle English period, it became /ʃ/, e.g. *champagne*, *chef*, *sachet*. The third one, i.e. [k] occurs primarily in the initial position of a word, and most of these words are borrowed from either Latin or Greek. For example, *chaos*, *character*, *chemistry*, *chord*, etc. If we analyse English from these points of view, we will find that English spelling is rule-governed to a great extent.

Let us consider another issue. The ‘ie’ and ‘ei’ sequences in English are quite problematic for students who often confuse whether it is *receive* or *recieve*. If the learners are clearly told that after the letter ‘c’ only the ‘ei’ sequence is used, e.g. *perceive*, *deceive*, etc. and in all other cases, it has to be ‘ie’, e.g. *believe*, *relieve*, *achieve*, etc. they will certainly not commit mistakes. If we approach the subject of English spellings like this, we can discover a lot of rules.

## 20.6 The Stressful ‘Stress’

Stress is another difficult problem for Indian students because English is a stress-timed language whereas Indian languages are syllable-timed. Even the English linguists themselves are not unanimous about the stress rules of their language. According to Roach (2002, p. 97), “Many writers have said that English word stress is so difficult to predict, it is best to treat stress placement as a property of the individual word to be learned when the word itself is learned. Certainly, anyone who tries to analyse English stress placement has to recognise that it is a highly complex matter.” So, we need to be realistic in this regard and share the simplest stress rules with the learners.

The most frequently occurring English stress rule is that if it is a disyllabic noun, the first syllable is stressed, e.g. *‘present*. If it is a disyllabic verb, then the second syllable is stressed, e.g. *pre’sent*. But these rules have many exceptions. For example, whether *collapse* is used as a noun or a verb, the second syllable is always stressed. The question is: why is it so? When we are going to teach stress, we must train students in a way that will help them to formulate the related rules and decide where the stress should occur in the concerned word. No claim should be made that they would always determine the stress placement correctly, but there is little doubt that they would succeed in most of the cases. Let us take two verbs, i.e. *exist* and *exit*. In *exist*, the second syllable is stressed. It is because the second syllable is heavy as ‘st’ is a cluster. Since it is heavy, it has to bear the stress. On the other hand,



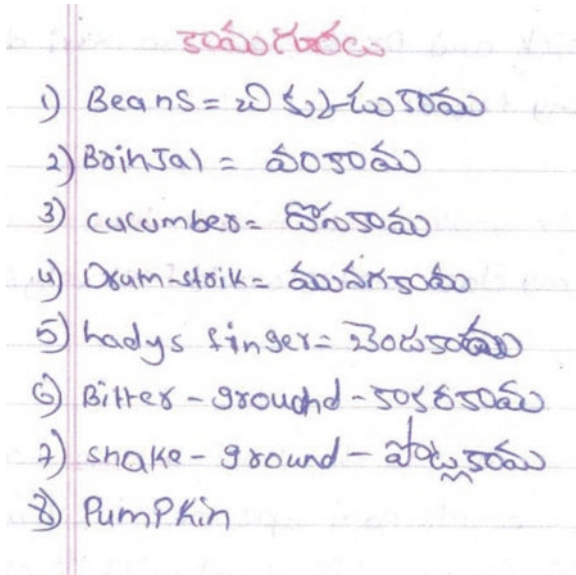
in *exit* the second syllable is light. Hence, the stress falls on the first syllable. The same is the case with *collapse* as there is a cluster at the end of the word. That is why, the second syllable is stressed even if it is used as a noun. We cannot pronounce ‘*collapse*’ it has to be *coll’apse*. We can explain all these and convince the students that things are rule-governed even in a language like English. Our effort should be to give exercises to students in such a form that they themselves can come up with the rules. If this is achieved, teaching will be considered highly successful. I have experimented this ‘bottom-up’ approach in my classes and found it to be quite effective and useful.

## 20.7 Some Aspects of Grammar

Coming back to spoken English, we find that it mostly deals with phonetics and phonology, and almost no grammar. This is undoubtedly not a commendable approach. Let us take two examples. The relative pronouns *which* and *that* are considered synonymous. But if we look at their usage, *which* is usually found in formal discourses or registers whereas *that* is found in the informal or less formal discourses. In the academic prose and news, *which* is used frequently whereas *that* is found normally in conversation, plays and fiction (Biber et al. 1989). It means when one is speaking to somebody informally, *that* is preferred to *which* as a relative pronoun.

Another point to be highlighted is the quality of English grammars that learners are using in India. In the celebrated Wren and Martin’s (2011, p. 14) *High School English Grammar and Composition*, the accusative case is defined as follows: “A noun which comes after a preposition is also said to be in the Accusative Case as, ‘The book is on the *desk*’. The noun *desk* is in the Accusative Case, governed by the preposition *in*.” This cannot be an example of the accusative case. It is time the use of such grammars for teaching English was reviewed seriously.

Finally, the Grammar-Translation Method is still quite popular in most government schools in India. Most teachers translate the sentences after reading those out to students and give the meanings of difficult words in the local languages which are not always appropriate. The following note of a Class V student in the city of Hyderabad will drive home the point:



The topic here is vegetables. But the student has translated 'vegetables' as [kaay-aguuralu] in Telugu which literally means 'vegetable' ([kaaya]) and 'kitchen herbs' ([guuralu]). Telugu actually has [kuuralu] and its initial [k] becomes [g] in the intervocalic environment. Further, we can easily see here that the spelling of many words is written wrongly and the meaning of pumpkin is not written at all. The teachers' argument in support of the Grammar-Translation Method is that it is more effective in teaching English to students who have a poor knowledge of this language. Again, students are found writing the pronunciation of such words in the local languages. As a result, it can be said that the local languages are being taught in the English classes rather than the English language. Thus, a strong mother tongue influence is noticed when they speak English. This is one of the reasons for which some scholars hold the view that there is nothing like Indian English. What we find in India is Bengali-English, Hindi-English, Punjabi-English, and Tamil-English, etc. Though there is a difference of opinion among scholars regarding the idea of Indian English, I agree with Gargesh (2004, p. 992) that Indian English is a 'cover term' for the variety of Englishes in use in India.

In most schools there are some intelligent and interested students who ask questions that are very hard to answer on the part of teachers if they do not have a theoretical base regarding the structures and functions of the English language. It will be very difficult to answer the questions satisfactorily. I will cite one example. Once a student asked me: "Is it 'walking distance' or 'walkable distance'?" He said that he used 'walkable distance'; but another person told him that 'walking distance' was correct. Instead of giving a straight answer, I followed an indirect path. I asked the student: "Is it 'walking stick' or 'walkable stick'?" He answered 'walking stick'. Then I said: "Is it 'sinking ship' or 'sinkable ship'?" He said: "Sinking ship". It means whenever we have such structures that have 'running', 'walking', 'sinking',

etc. the noun is the subject, i.e. the ship which sinks, the stick which walks (with the person). But it is the reverse in the case of 'walkable'. The noun 'distance' is the object in 'walkable distance'. I was delighted to see a broad smile of satisfaction on the student's face because he felt proud that he could discover the rule.

## 20.8 Concluding Remarks

These are some of the important and problematic issues students and teachers of English encounter in almost all government-run schools in the remote villages in India. I have gone through these hurdles myself. But as I was strong in my mother tongue Odia and there was no interference from any other language while acquiring it for the first 5 to 6 years, learning English was facilitated by it. Thus, it supports Cummins' (1981) Common Underlying Proficiency model of bilingualism in which he emphasizes the role played by the mother tongue in acquiring a second language. He has also proposed a related hypothesis called Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis. Further, the process of my learning English also provides evidence in favour of the Threshold Hypothesis proposed by Cummins (1979) and Toukoma and Skutnabb-Kangas (1977). I could learn English well because my Odia was strong and this knowledge of Odia played a facilitating role when I got exposure to English. Nowadays a large number of parents are found to be teaching English when their children are hardly two or two and half years old. As a result, there is interference in the acquisition of these children's mother tongue. These parents do not realize that this early exposure to English, when the child is in the process of acquiring the mother tongue, may create hindrance not only in learning the language, but also in cognitive development. As most teachers are not really trained to teach English the way it should be taught, students usually rote memorize the rules of grammar and try to use them in writing and speaking this language.

It is well known that learning a language is not complete without learning its culture. In fact, Kirkpatrick (2012, p. 38) has proposed an approach which he calls the 'lingua franca approach' for this purpose. Along with that he has also discussed the 'lingua franca curriculum' that deals with cultures of the region where it is going to be implemented. His aim is to help the learners to develop 'intercultural competence' and 'critical cultural awareness'. We can name it the 'cultural turn' in language learning.

Indian culture is an amalgamation of a number of traits because this country has been home to different linguistic groups for millennia. Therefore, the Indian English texts should ideally be based on the cultural plurality prevalent in India. If this kind of curriculum and approach are adopted, it will not take very long to create a large numbers of compound bilinguals in the Indian subcontinent.

To sum up, in order to improve the quality of teaching and learning of English in India, there has to be acquisition planning in place. Again, instead of following the Grammar-Translation Method to a large extent, teaching and learning of English should begin with the listening and speaking skills keeping the multilingual class in

mind. The exposure to English can be gradually increased with each progressing phase. In this way, acquisition of English will be gradual as well as effective while the Indian languages that are the learners' mother tongues can maintain their significance.

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# Chapter 21

## Functionality of English in Language Education Policies and Practices in Nepal



Prem Phyak and Bal Krishna Sharma 

### 21.1 Introduction

The English language is considered by many as the de facto lingua franca across domains such as education, technology and the mass media around the globe. Its functionality as a global language has multiple forms, aspirations, and natures in diverse geo-political and sociocultural contexts. In South Asia, for example, English ‘performs prestigious functions’ (Gargesh 2006, p. 92); it is ‘viewed as a language of power and as a means of economic uplift and upward social mobility’ (Gargesh 2006, p. 90). In the region, English language competence is perceived as an index of high social status, transnational mobility, and a better career opportunity. Its use in education and other domains is unquestionably accepted, and the nation-states provide significant space to it in education policies. As Gargesh (2006) claims, English in South Asia receives strong societal and institutional support as it is ‘believed that one cannot become a doctor, engineer, lawyer, scientist, pilot, or bureaucrat without proven proficiency in English’ (p. 108). This assumption has contributed to lower the starting Grade (year level) of teaching English in low-income countries (Coleman 2010; Hamid and Erling 2016). The English language teaching policies, in low-income countries, are guided by a belief that teaching English in the early grades contributes to improving English language proficiency (Dearden 2014). All these ideologies and beliefs about English, of course, are not accurate and they need a critical attention.

In Nepal, the space of English in education has been expanded, both as a subject and a medium. It is taught as a ‘compulsory’ subject from Grade 1. The Ministry of

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Education, Science and Technology (MoEST), in its national curriculum, justifies the importance of teaching English from the early grades by focusing on its value within the context of globalization. Curriculum Development Center (2019), in its curriculum for Basic Level of Education (Grade 1–8), states that

The English language is a global lingua franca and is an appropriate international language for Nepal to be connected with global community. It is not only the language of international communication but also a language of higher education, mass media, information and communication technology (ICT), business, tourism, science and medicine (p. 17).

The national curriculum further highlights that it is important to start teaching English from the first Grade to help students become competent in English and enable them to compete with other students internationally. In addition to the early-English policy, there is an increasing trend to use English as a medium of instruction (EMI) from pre-primary level. MoEST states that the medium of instruction for school education should be Nepali or English or both. It further mentions that mother tongues should be the medium of instruction at the basic level of education. However, the use of mother tongues as the medium of instruction has not received encouraging responses from schools. Rather than using mother tongue as medium, public schools are now emulating private schools' EMI policy. Studies have shown that public schools are adopting EMI policy to 'compete' with private schools and for 'quality of education' (Khatri 2015; Sah and Li 2018). While EMI policy is widely accepted as neutral, what is missing in the existing scholarship is the analysis of its functionality and ideological implications in the Nepal's broader sociopolitical context.

In this chapter, we discuss the functionality of English in Nepal's school education. We take neoliberalism as a major ideology shaping this functionality in the country's language education policies and practices, with a focus on EMI policy. The data are drawn from our ongoing ethnographic work collected from various sources such as curriculum documents, media reports, and interviews with parents, teachers and the representatives from local government (municipalities). The interviews were conducted in Nepali and translated into English by the authors.

## 21.2 Neoliberalism and English Language Education Ideology

Critical language education policy scholars argue that the expansion of English as a global language is not a neutral phenomenon; rather it is deeply political and ideological (Phillipson 2008; Tollefson 2013). Holborow (2015) and Piller and Cho (2013) consider English language spread as a part of global neoliberal ideology. Neoliberalism as an ideology 'legitimizes individual competition and questions collective structures; it is a political project of institutional transformation, against any attempt to institute 'collectivism'' (Amable 2010, p. 7). In other words, neoliberalism as an ideology legitimizes and promotes assumptions, mechanisms, and

phenomena that firmly support individual interests and profit-making agendas that are against collective efforts and public social welfare. As Piller and Cho (2013) claim, English language dominance in education, around the globe, should be considered as part of the global neoliberal ideology which supports the competitive structure in education which reproduces cultural and economic capital of English.

Neoliberalism should be understood from three major assumptions. First, neoliberalism is guided by the assumption that individual prosperity and welfare can be promoted through the privatization of services (Ricento 2015). Neoliberal ideology supports the idea that nation-states can provide better services to their citizens by privatizing state apparatuses. Second, neoliberalism promotes a free-market economy which keeps 'choice' at the center of policy formulation. For Holborow (2015), a free-market ideology does not consider social relations as an important aspect of social development; rather it treats individuals as 'objects' and 'mere cogs'. Neoliberalism supports the economic rationale for indexing the value of language in broader sociopolitical contexts. Considering language as a commodity (Litzenberg 2020; Heller 2010), the neoliberal ideology legitimizes the power of languages that have greater economic capital in the free market (Bourdieu 1991).

Another important aspect of neoliberalism is the notion of competition. Amable (2010) claims that neoliberalism holds the assumption that 'society must be organized on the basis of individual competition' and supports 'the form of a moral duty to commodify labor power and respect the market competition outcomes as just' (p. 5). Considering competition as a 'supreme principle', Amable (2010, pp. 5–6) further argues that in a neoliberal regime 'the only public intervention conceivable is one which would preserve the laws of competition'. From a neoliberal perspective, 'the role of schools is to prepare students as enterprising workers and citizens with the prerequisite skills, knowledge and values to survive in a volatile and competitive global labour market' (Down 2009, p. 52).

From a neoliberal standpoint, language education policies are shaped by the ideologies of English as a 'global economic capital', a resource for 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter and Rhoades 2004), and a key tool for the 'corporatization of universities' (Piller and Cho 2013). Shin and Park (2016) claim that English language ideology has immensely contributed to the profit-making agenda of global neoliberal market of education. As neoliberal ideologies have become hegemonic, discussions on language education policies and practices focus on the discourse of competition, free markets, and individual choice. Consequently, the use of English in education, particularly in low-income countries, becomes a new public desire to the extent that larger public dream to educate their children in English medium schools (Coleman 2010). This dream is deeply embedded on the ongoing global neoliberal ideology in discourse of educational policy reform. As broader language policy discourses are shaped by neoliberal ideologies, nation-states do not only lower the starting Grade of teaching English but also promote its use as a medium of instruction.

Barnawi (2018), among others, claims that the desire to promote English as a medium of instruction policy is 'derived from the assumption that global market advantages coupled with stronger education systems can be obtained through the



successful mastery of English language within nation-states' (p. 17). Her analysis indicates that EMI policies are shaped by the assumption that students develop better English language proficiency when they are taught all content subjects in English (see also Dearden 2014). Although this assumption has been hegemonic, studies have consistently shown that EMI does not necessarily contribute to English language proficiency (Dearden 2014). While pointing out the lack of linkage between English language proficiency and medium of instruction, Simpson (2017) asserts that 'early introduction of EMI is [...] viewed as impairing learning in the formative years and limiting educational attainment' (p. 3). Simpson (2017) further claims:

if young students in low- or middle-income countries are taught in their own or a familiar language, rather than English, they are more likely to understand what they are learning and be more successful academically (including in L2 as a subject) with benefits to education, the economy and society. (p. 3)

Studies in second language learning continually show that teaching children, in the early years, in a language they do not understand and are not competent enough to communicate their ideas, is detrimental to both linguistic and academic proficiency (Cummins 2006). However, in Nepal, English is increasingly used both as a subject and a medium of instruction from the early grades. In the sections that follow, we discuss how two major aspects of neoliberal ideologies—privatization and competition—have contributed to expand the functionality of English in Nepal.

### 21.3 Private Schools and English Language Education

After the political shift marked by the restoration of multiparty democracy in 1990, neoliberalism has become a driving force in reshaping the country's economic, social, and educational policies and practices (Sharma and Phyak 2017). The neoliberalization of education started with the privatization of education, drawing on the logic that 'human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade' (Harvey 2005, p. 2). English became the key marker of creating distinctions between two types of schools: government-funded public schools and private 'boarding' schools that ran from students' tuitions and fees. In the initial years, many teachers were hired from the English speaking states of India such as Darjeeling and Kalimpong, nurturing a hope in Nepali parents that their children would be able to speak like their teachers in the future. Today, the number of private schools has risen at an alarming rate. Bhatta and Pherali (2017) cite the MoEST data that 15.8% of total enrollments at the basic level (Grades 1–8) are in private schools, 19.3% in secondary (Grades 9–10), and 29% at higher secondary level (Grades 11–12). They further mention that in urban areas in particular, the number of students in private schools is significant, with nearly 70% of all school-age children attending these schools. This

growth rate is alarming since the student population in English-medium private schools may soon outnumber those in public schools.

Private schools in Nepal are not a homogenous category today. Depending on their socio-economic status, parents are gravely concerned about making education accessible to their children for an ‘unknowable modern future’ (Liechty 2003), by providing a learning environment that is starkly different from the one they grew up in. In spite of their concerns, the projected dream of English-speaking children takes over all concerns of the middle-class parents. As a result, there is a mushrooming of many chain schools in various parts of the country under an ‘umbrella system’. The selling point for these schools is extensive exposure to English, with the sheer amount of work that students should accomplish in English at school and home. In addition, many students attend private ‘tuition’ classes that help them complete their school homework and prepare them for exams. The following interview response from a father who made his daughter switch from a public to a private school confirms this:

See the amount of homework they do. They keep busy at home too. Teachers regularly check her homework. They’ve so many books in English to read. When they read more books and do more homework, you can see they learn more English. In government schools, you cannot see such things. Moreover, if teachers are absent in school, other teachers take the classes. Teachers are caring. I am happy that my daughter is getting so much English through all these activities. (Interview, March, 2015)

In the second category, there has been a proliferation of less expensive ‘budget’ private schools (Caddell 2006) that aim to target lower-middle class, working class, and peasant communities. These schools are in the outskirts of cities and in rural areas. Although these schools differ from elite schools in terms of the claimed sophistication and quality of curricular and extracurricular activities, the underlying selling logic is the same: quality education in English. The following response from Shova, a housemaid in Kathmandu who earned about 8000 Nepali rupees (about \$80 USD) for a month, is representative of the aspirations of many working-class parents who want to send their children to inexpensive private schools:

He [my son] is six now. I have found a school that charges only 1200 rupees a month. He will start the school from next month. Most people don’t want to send their kids to government [public] schools these days. And I cannot send him to expensive private schools. I can survive with one-meal a day but I want him to learn English like other children in the future. (Interview, April, 2015)

Shova displayed a great deal of ignorance when asked what kind of future her son will have with EMI schooling, but she seemed happy that she was following a suit of several other working-class parents, like herself. She seemed almost certain that she was not conforming to a middle-class identity by just sending her son to a private school and was also aware that the economic factor was the major determinant for her position in society. However, she was ready to sacrifice many of her interests to prepare her son for an uncertain but an imagined future projected by the neoliberal educational market.

There is also a third category of private schools that shows the application of global trends of education at the local level, implementing international curricula, examinations through affiliations and partnerships (Bhatta and Pherali 2017). These educational programs are approved by the General Certificate of Education-Advanced level (*GCE-A*), India's Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE), international baccalaureate (IB) and several degree programs at the tertiary level. Kishor, who had an MA in economics from Norway, tried to justify why he was sending his son to an IB school in Kathmandu:

Now, I am not worried about my son's future. There are only two IB schools in Nepal, and if my son can graduate from this school, his future doors will open. With international education in English, he can go to America or any other English-speaking countries. The teaching and learning environment in school is comparable to the schools in the West. There is less homework, but more focus on creativity and independent thinking. They have opportunities for international sports and English music. (Interview, February, 2015).

Kishor had a financial investment in another private college in Kathmandu and was Principal of the college for some years. He was a representative member of a *hune-khane* (those who have and can eat well) family; that means he belonged to the privileged social class with a sound economic and educational background. He had a socio-economically good position so that he did not have to worry about his basic needs such as shelter, food, and health, but enjoyed other services and facilities to live a privileged life. IB schools attract parents like Kishor through their promotional materials. The IB schools' online homepage follows a neoliberal trajectory of self-development by claiming that the school programs can lead students to 'some of the highest-ranking universities around the world', and students develop intercultural awareness 'through the development of a second language<sup>1</sup>', which unquestionably is English. Overall, the discursive construction of English-medium private education in highly elite institutions not only works to create an instrumental and economic cause of education in English for building the cultural capital, but serves as a symbolic capital accomplished in the form of prestige and social distinction in families, peers and communities.

Following the logic of neoliberal subject formation, private schools in Nepal emphasize the distinction of student identities. English has been portrayed as a key resource in constructing new subjectivities, enacted in promotional materials, classrooms, textbooks, exams, peer socialization, and in various forms of public communication related to school matters. But the English language alone is not sufficient. It is strategically combined with other resources. Students in private schools attend assemblies directed in English, wear school-prescribed uniforms, ties, belts, shoes and so on, and usually carry their 'tiffins' (afternoon snacks) prepared by their mothers. All these identity toolkits are lumped together as necessary aspects of 'discipline' socialization in students. These practices work alongside English to construct a student's identity of representative boarding schools. Unfortunately, however, these private schools do not demonstrate any departure

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.ibo.org/benefits/benefits-for-students/>

from the traditional teaching and assessment practice that utilizes rote-learning and rigorous exam preparation. Good exam results that often are based on numeric measurement of student achievement are used as legitimizing tools of effectiveness of English-medium instruction and are presented as valued arguments for their excellence over public schools. This justification is questionable because the student outcomes do not take into account the rich array of social privileges and financial resources that students have while growing up within their families (Thapa 2015).

De Costa, Park and Wee (2018) note that the formation of an entrepreneurial self is a key dimension of the neoliberal subject formation and the market has an important role to craft this identity. Highlighting the supposedly instrumental value of English in accessing global academic opportunities and the job market in the future, private schools are projecting English-medium instruction as a resource in maximizing young people's comparative advantages and potential to access new opportunities globally (Bhatta 2014). The low-fee private schools are also shrewdly constructing the discourse which asserts that neoliberalism offers opportunities to the poor as well (Bhatta and Pherali 2017). In this regard, Caddell (2006) rightly notes that even the 'budget' private schools in rural areas are selling a false dream of English-drive lucrative opportunities that students will enjoy after graduation by joining prestigious professions as doctors and engineers in the future. Moreover, the increasing trend of Nepali students going for study abroad in native English-speaking countries such as Australia, the United States, and the United Kingdom, among others, has further aided private schools in recruiting more students and legitimizing high tuition fees. Suntali, the mother of a student attending a private school in Kathmandu, mentioned to us:

If you do not go to a private school, there is little chance that you learn English well. My son can do anything after he completes his education from his school. We want him to be a medical doctor. We want to have one doctor from our family. But he wants to go to Australia after his plus-two [Grade 12]. His elder sister and her husband are in Sydney, and they want the brother to join them. (Interview, March, 2015).

Suntali's perspective shows that the discursive claims of entrepreneurial and instrumental opportunities in the future have been used as effective tools by schools to shape parents' and their children's future educational dreams. The dream-shaping neoliberal market is local but the imaginations are global.

The focus of education in Nepali private schools is less on public good, community development, and social growth, but more on how an individual can inculcate neoliberal dispositions via educational practices. Currently, a large section of the society, including parents, political leaders, educationists, and academic researchers, are concerned that the traditional dichotomy between 'literate' and 'illiterate' or 'educated' and 'non-educated' has embarked on a new discourse that needs more serious attention, that is not only the two different populations as a result of schooling in private and public institutions, but a new hierarchical array of educational institutions. These divisions do not only reproduce the existing socio-economic classes but also make these hierarchies more salient and stratified than ever before. Now the classification is not limited to the dichotomy of public vs. private

education, but the different categories of private schools and the type of English language capital that each category of school promises to offer. While the private schools in the upper level of the spectrum claim to offer more sophisticated English skills that come together with other resources such as English music, modern communication technology, the Internet, and the opportunities to take part in sports, the schools at the bottom are characterized by poor infrastructure, unmanageably large number of classes, not-well-trained and underpaid teachers, and little opportunity for extra-curricular activities for students.

Whereas the English language itself is to be blamed less for perpetuating and creating the social division in Nepali society, the way it is (mis)used by neoliberally-guided private schools has created several ‘myths’, jeopardizing the very goal of education as a social service. While the neoliberal dimension leaves the state’s key social services to the market, the idea of neoliberal governmentality (Harvey 2005) suggests that education as a service sector should be carefully monitored by the state by designing appropriate educational policies and mechanisms. It is unfortunate in the case of Nepal that a large part of education is left to the market. If appropriate policies are not reinforced, the private sector will mainly be driving the country’s educational policies and practices, serving the needs of only the middle- and upper-class families and massively exploiting the poor, under the mask of English medium ‘quality’ education. The economic and cultural capital imagined in English-medium private schools is a key tool that helps the dominant groups to retain their ideological supremacy, supporting neoliberalism, over the rich multicultural and multilingual heritage of the country (Phyak 2016a). This practice eventually endorses the elite form of bilingualism and multilingualism as the norm in Nepali society: English in schools (and additionally Chinese in some schools in Kathmandu; see Sharma 2018 for more details) and Nepali in communities. We concur with Bhatta and Pherali (2017) that the improvement in the quality of education should go beyond the English-medium instruction and national exam results while emphasizing ‘the development of critically aware, creative young people who are able to shape the development trajectories of Nepal’ (p. 51).

## 21.4 Public Schools and English Medium Instruction

As private schools continue to promote English medium as a major aspect of ‘quality education’, parents have developed a strong assumption that private schools will help their children develop a better English language proficiency. More strikingly, there is a widely held belief, in the public sphere, that private schools provide quality education because their medium of instruction is English. So, parents prefer to send their children to private schools (Baral 2015; Bhatta 2014). Consequently, the number of students in public schools is decreasing. In this context, public schools feel increased ‘ideological pressure’ to introduce EMI policy to compete with private schools (Phyak 2016a). One head teacher from a rural school in eastern Nepal argues that they have introduced EMI policy because ‘private schools in the village

have attracted students because of their English medium policy'. He further states that

We introduced this policy last year. Most schools in this region have implemented this policy. We feel pressure to compete with private schools. Four new private schools have been established in this village alone. They teach in English. They have smart uniform policy for students. People like it. It looks modern. So, parents have started sending their kids to private schools. The student number is decreasing in public schools. Public schools will be shut down if we don't have enough students. So, we have implemented a new policy to show the parents that we can also teach in English. We want to attract more students in our school. (Interview, December, 2019)

As this teacher says, 'neoliberalization of education' (Gulson and Pedroni 2015) has put an increased pressure on public schools to compete with private schools. Since EMI policy is a major selling point for private schools, public schools want to implement the same policy to reverse the decreasing trend of students leaving public schools (Phyak 2016b). The number of public schools adopting EMI policy is increasing after the implementation of the federal structure of the governance in 2015. According to the new policy, local government, municipalities and rural municipalities, are given responsibilities to develop and implement policies to promote quality of public schools. Strikingly, local government throughout the country are reproducing the neoliberal ideology and focusing on introducing EMI policy in public schools. In this regard, a mayor (and also a parent) from one of the municipalities in Province 2 (the provincial government has not yet decided the name of this province) argues that "without introducing English medium, public schools do not survive. If we don't have students, then schools are closed. So, we are forced to introduce English medium policy in our municipalities." He further states:

There is a strong mentality that public schools are not as good as private schools. General public don't trust public schools. They think that public schools don't provide quality education. Parents see English medium as quality education. If there is no English medium, parents think that public schools are not good and teachers are not competent. So, we've introduced English medium policy to prove that public schools aren't less qualitative than private schools. (Interview, December, 2019)

The officials who are responsible to develop educational policies are not aware of language issues in education. The heads of municipalities and rural municipalities who develop policies lack critical awareness of how using children's second and/or foreign language as a medium of instruction is detrimental to effective learning. Rather than focusing on the implementation of mother tongue-based multilingualism education (MTB-MLE) that the federal government has emphasized, local governments are imitating what private schools have been doing. The MTB-MLE policy states that children should be taught in their mother tongues up to Grade 3. This policy also focuses on teaching different mother tongues as subjects. Since private schools do not provide any space for mother tongues, a dominant assumption that considers the use of mother tongue as a symbol of learning deficit has been constructed and circulated in the public sphere. For example, a parent (Kamal) from an indigenous community in eastern Nepal shares his assumption as follows:

I'm sending my children to a public school because they now teach in English. For two years, I sent them to a private school. I want them to learn and speak English so that they get good jobs in the future. English proficiency helps my children to go abroad as well. Most students who are studying abroad need English language skills and knowledge. I think that my children become competitive with English language proficiency. (Interview, November, 2019)

Public schools are introducing EMI policy to increase student enrollment. As seen in the above excerpt, parents are sending their children to public schools because of the EMI policy. Parents believe that this policy helps their children develop English language proficiency which is believed to be necessary for finding skilled jobs and study abroad opportunities. Parents are now asking public schools to introduce the EMI policy because they think that it will help their children become as 'competitive' as the students from private schools. Another parent (Hem), for example, asserts that 'private schools teach in English. Their students can speak English. They score high number in national exams. So, it's important to teach students in English'. For parents, speaking English is a symbol of quality education and a marker of being competitive learners. If the EMI policy is not introduced, only the parents who are not able to pay fees (even for low-cost private schools) send their children to public schools. This situation has contributed to the creation of a stigmatized identity of public schools as the schools are only for the poor people (Phyak 2016b). As Kamal states, parents also 'don't feel good if their children don't speak English'. Like Kamal, Hem also thinks that English medium is 'linked to social class and prestige of parents as well'. For him, if public schools teach in English 'parents don't have to pay fees for English medium education in private schools. English medium in public schools has provided opportunities for all to learn in English'. He also points out that 'English medium provides children, from a poor family background, with an opportunity to learn English like their friends in private schools'. In the same way, Kamal argues that 'if children learn English, they will compete with all. They can find jobs within and outside Nepal'. These views indicate that EMI policy in public schools is shaped largely by the socio-economic capital of English as determined by the global neoliberal free market ideology (Phyak 2016b; Sah and Li 2018). Parents assume that the EMI policy helps their children become competitive to find jobs nationally and internationally. Such an imagined future eventually supports the reproduction of neoliberal ideologies of choice and competition.

Since the local government can choose the language of the medium of instruction, schools are now focusing on English rather than on Nepali and/or on other local languages. One head teacher, from eastern Nepal, for example, states that

Our municipality has decided to implement the EMI policy in all public schools to improve the quality of schools. The government has given us choices. Schools can teach in Nepali or in English. They can also teach in mother tongues in the early grades. But our municipality has chosen English medium. We [head teachers] also suggested them [municipal officials] that they choose English. The EMI policy helps to minimize the gap between private and public schools. If we have the same policy, parents don't have to send their children to private schools for English medium education. (Interview, November, 2019)



Such a choice-based argument to implement EMI policy superficially sounds neutral. However, the notion of choice is one major aspect of the neoliberal ideology (Price 2014). Although the teachers and parents consider EMI policy as a way to compete with private schools, their choice legitimizes and reproduces the global socio-economic power of English (Piller and Cho 2013). This assumption redefines the goal of education which constructs the identity of students as a neoliberal subject who should be able to compete in global neoliberal market (Sharma and Phyak 2017). However, such a policy, based on neoliberal assumptions, does not necessarily help students become competent in English and other academic subjects to compete with other students in a free market. Studies have consistently shown that students in English medium schools are not learning both English and academic contents effectively due to the lack of effective teaching in English medium (Baral 2015; Khati 2015; Phyak 2019).

First, teachers have a low English language competence to teach all subjects (such as mathematics, social studies, and science) in English. They are not hired on the basis of their English proficiency but on the ground of their pedagogical and content knowledge in specific subjects. As teachers' proficiency in English is not strong (and they don't necessary need English proficiency to teach subjects other than English), they are unable to provide explicit and comprehensible instructions in English (see Phyak 2019). Second, students are still learning English as a foreign language and they have not yet developed strong competence to understand and use English for both interactional and academic purposes. As they are taught in their weakest language (English), they are not able to invest their prior knowledge and participate meaningfully in teaching-learning activities (Cummins 2006). Consequently, students are not able to learn what they are expected to learn, and their learning foundation has become extremely weak (Phyak 2019). Yet, teachers and parents, as discussed above, consider the EMI policy as a 'demand of time' and take it as an appropriate policy for public schools. But the policy does not have a strong educational/academic rationale. As Seel, Yadava and Kandel (2015) claim, EMI hegemony is supported largely by the 'neoliberal commodification and globalization'. They argue that 'now people are only interested in the economic benefits of education, creating problems on the demand side for multilingual education' (p. 30). Although studies have significantly pointed out the importance of multilingual education for quality education (Cummins 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh 2012), EMI policy is unquestionably considered as a panacea to respond to multiple issues in public schools in Nepal. The socio-economic value of English which is created by the neoliberal market economy has played a critical role in the hegemonic implementation of the policy.

## 21.5 Conclusion

While analyzing the impacts of neoliberal ideology on the functionality of English in the context of education in Nepal, we echo Block et al.'s (2013, p. 6) critique that there is a 'shift from pedagogical to market values [that support] the abandonment of the social and cooperative ethic in favor of individualist and competitive business models'. The analysis of the functionality of English from parents', teachers' and other stakeholders' perspectives, in this chapter, provides insights into understanding the global spread of English as a socio-political process which is shaped by the free market economy. As Hamid (2016) claims, 'the economic rationale' has reproduced the power and economic value of English as a global language of a 'competitive' free market and the tool for 'quality education'. While critiquing how such a neoliberal rationale has been a global hegemonic ideology, Hamid (2016, p. 267) argues that 'privatization of English has taken over the domains traditionally belonging to the public sector'. As discussed in this chapter, the EMI policy in Nepal, and the ideologies related to this policy are deeply embedded in the history of the privatization of education in the country. Since the beginning of privatization in the late 1980s, private schools used EMI as a commodity for which parents have had to pay expensive tuition and fees. Since the government does not regulate private schools' language policy, the schools keep focusing on English medium policy while public schools have to use Nepali (and local mother tongues as well in some cases) as a medium of instruction to address the learning needs of children from different linguistic, cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds. This division of the school system has constructed a powerful assumption, if not a myth, among the public, that private schools provide 'quality education' and help students become 'competitive'. Moreover, the recent shift in the medium of instruction to English in public schools has presented more complex challenges.

Our analysis contributes to the 'critical turn' (Bolton 2005) in the study of World Englishes. This turn considers the global spread of English as part of Western cultural politics and economic ideology (Pennycook 2007). As discussed in this chapter, the hegemonic use of EMI in Nepal's education policies is assisting to legitimize the contemporary order of capitalism (Phillipson 2008) which constructs the hierarchy of languages in terms of their material values in the free market. Since English is promoted through technological tools, and businesses as the language of global political and economic power, its use in education is unquestionably accepted, in any form (subject and medium of instruction) in developing countries such as Nepal. Gargesh (2006, p. 108) claims that English language education policies in South Asian countries are developed 'to minimize social and economic disparities and inequality of power and to create a positive discrimination in favor of the weak by giving each person an opportunity to learn English'. However, our analysis, in this chapter, shows that the extension of English as a medium of instruction reproduces structural and cultural inequalities not only between English and local languages, but also between different English capitals across school types and the promised life opportunities.

As discussed in this chapter, EMI policy has contributed to a ‘creative destruction’ (Harvey 2006) of local multilingualism, indigenous languages, and knowledge systems in the guise of competition and quality education. The policy reproduces a strong monolingual ideology which derecognizes the value of local languages in education. Furthermore, as Piller and Cho (2013) claim, ‘in addition to the human cost of high levels of social suffering, the spread of English as medium must also be understood as a means of suppressing critical inquiry’ (p. 25). In the case of Nepal, since bi-/multilingual students are taught in English, they are not able to invest their full linguistic knowledge into learning process (Cummins 2006). In other words, students cannot participate in classroom interactions and discussions in English, as much as they can in the language in which they are fully competent.

In sum, our discussion implies that the expanding space of English in educational policies and practices of a developing country, like Nepal, should be understood as an integral part of a neoliberal hegemony globally. As Pennycook (2007) contends, neoliberalism naturalizes English as ‘inherently good’, ‘useful’, and necessary for a ‘full participation’ in the global society while reproducing the existing socioeconomic and political power relations, at local and global levels. Nepal’s EMI policy, as seen in the views of parents, teachers and other stakeholders, creates inequalities between English and local languages; the policy reproduces the power of English as a savior of public schools and as a means for producing competitive workforce for the global market. However, as Sayer (2015, p. 53) argues, the ‘discourse of the development of a country’s human capital in order to support global competitiveness and economic development’ indeed perpetuates the ideology and myth of wealth accumulation embraced by multinational companies and corporates in the global marketplace.

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# Chapter 22

## Afterword: Functional Variation and Context of Situation



Daniel R. Davis

Ravinder Gargesh has devoted his intellectual life to the analysis, study, and teaching of English and other languages in their sociolinguistic context. For decades he has pursued a nuanced understanding of how language is used and interpreted in varying contexts, and how language responds to that use by way of structural and sociolinguistic variation. It is therefore fitting that this festschrift is entitled, *Functional Variations in English: Theoretical Considerations and Practical Challenges*.

Linguists tend to think of variation in language as a function of historical processes on a macrosocial scale, and a function of sociolinguistic processes on a microsocal scale. At the historical, macrosocial scale, major movements of people result in the establishment of new communities of speakers of a language. At the sociolinguistic, microsocal scale, linguistic variation is introduced to or emerges within those communities, and progresses via the process of sociolinguistic selection, to result in variation in language between different communities. This model is logical, familiar to linguists, and has explanatory power.

The chapters of this volume remind us of an additional level of descriptive importance in the sociolinguistic account of language variation, that of function. *Function* can range in application from the almost purely systemic to more sociolinguistic in nature, that is, it can be function within a system, or sociolinguistic function, or something in between. It is the work or task or job performed by language within a specific context, the context of situation defined by Firth.

Proshina (Chap. 12, this volume) compares the functions identified in Kachru (1983, p. 78), *instrumental* (medium of learning); *regulative* (legal and administrative); *interpersonal* (everyday use, specifically as a link language and also as a symbolic and hierarchical code) and *imaginative/innovative*, later *creative* (literary use), with those identified in Gargesh (2006b), *auxiliary* (acquiring knowledge);

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*supplementary* (tourism); *complementary* (inter-ethnic or link language), and *equative* (parallel to first language of speakers), and finds broad similarities and overlap between the two characterizations. Proshina makes the point that Kachru's Three Circles model is consistent with these functional distinctions, in that the sociolinguistic distribution of English within a particular society can be characterized in terms of functions. Inner Circle societies show the widest possible range of functions for English; Outer Circle societies are characterized by use of English and an indigenous language in regulative functions, and demographically smaller use of English in the other functions mentioned; and Expanding Circle societies, in some respects functionally comparable to Outer Circle societies, nevertheless place greater reliance on English for international communication and are developing new functional applications for English, "the Expanding Circle varieties of English are vastly developing new additional functions that were hardly known two or three decades ago" (Proshina, Chap. 12, this volume). It is this fluidity of functions that bedevils their study. General systems or typologies of necessity abstract from the context of situation, depend of necessity on generalizing across context, and become part of a new context, that of academic linguistic inquiry. This suggests that functions by definition are only contingently determined within the context of situation, and that contexts of situation cannot be omitted from the discussion of function.

Contexts of situation can potentially differ in a universe of ways: Firth, writing in 1937 about the meaning of the expression *say when!* (stated when pouring a drink), defines context of situation as, "The people, the relevant furniture, bottles and glasses, the 'set', the specific behaviour of the companions, and the words are all component terms in what may be called the context of situation," (Firth 1964, p. 110). He earlier defines 'set' as referring to an individual's, "...set of instincts, urges, sentiments, interests, abilities, and the general patterns of his behaviour, and particularly to those which mark him out as a type, or as belonging to a social group whose members behave rather alike," (Firth 1964, pp. 89–90). This would appear to be setting a balance between the specificity of context and the generality of a social group, but Firth goes on to caution, "Human behavior is much more heterogeneous and disconnected than most of us would care to admit. We have, for instance, as many 'sub-sets' as there are special systems of behavior, special 'sets' of social attitudes linked up with specialized languages," (Firth 1964, p. 92). Language function underlies the context of situation, or one might say, the context of situation is imbued with language function, "The meaning of a great deal of speech behavior is just the combined personal and social forces it can mobilize and direct," (Firth 1964, p. 113). This is not to say that language is always functional or effective. Firth observes, "Quite often the human noises made are comparatively ineffectual," (Firth 1964, p. 111). Finally, the function served is not always salient or even apparent, "The promotion, establishment, and maintenance of communion of feeling is perhaps four-fifths of all talk, but it is not what we should call immediately practical, and quite often we do it just for fun," (Firth 1964, p. 112). Here Firth shows the influence of Malinowski's "phatic communion" (Sampson 1980, p. 224).

In his definition of *set*, Firth (quoted in the preceding paragraph) suggests that the context of situation includes the culture of the participants. This can be seen in



summary introduction to section one of this volume, which presents a series of topics that are for the most part cultural in nature, “pop culture, unpacking culturally embedded meaning, using culturally influenced multimodal resources for transference of meaning, using instinctive plurilingualism in an emergency situation, and rendering functionally successful translations without dropping the entrenched historical-cultural norms of the texts”. This is very much in keeping with the anthropological definition of culture as behavior, that is, habitually repeated activity. Function, that is, the immediate purpose of activity, thus relates closely to culture. Function occurs within a context, and part of that context is culture: The practices of, and meanings assigned to, particular behaviors. This is one important aspect of the approach adopted by Gargesh.

Two of the many excellent and thoughtful chapters in this volume can be taken as examples to illustrate the significance of Gargesh’s contribution, and the potential value that an understanding of functional variation and context of situation has for the study of Indian English and world Englishes more generally. Tista Bagchi (Chap. 3, this volume) examines the development of new meanings in English, as a result of the translation of poetry with polysemous lexical items from Indian languages into English. She grounds her discussion in Gargesh (2006b, p. 103), “it is in the area of lexicon that the divergence of S[outh] A[sian] E[nGLISH] is most noticeable – words acquire fresh meanings in local contexts”. For Bagchi, this creates an issue with respect to translation, “Given this fact, there is the additional source-language layer of lexical polysemy that a translator of any South Asian text into English has to negotiate,” (Bagchi, Chap. 3, this volume). Bagchi raises the question: Does this constitute an extension of regional English, or a change in the semantics of literary English? The diversity of contexts of the audience, or audiences, provides a clue toward an answer: For a local or regional audience, familiar with the languages and literary traditions of source text and semiotic capabilities of the local or regional variety of English, translation of polysemy constitutes an extension of the regional variety. For a literary English audience, farflung, participating in a variety of language communities and literary traditions, an influential translation can lead to change in the semantics of literary English.

Zhichang Xu makes use of Ravinder Gargesh’s (2006a) study of nativizing poetic medium in world Englishes, to examine functional variation in the poetry of Ha Jin. Gargesh (2006a) argues that Indian English has developed linguistically to serve the function of a poetic medium for all Indians, in contrast to the famous poetic traditions in regional languages, which continue to carry strong regional identities. Xu makes the case that Ha Jin makes similar cultural and linguistic adjustments in the act of composing, to create an English-language cultural semiotic that serves the context of situation of a transcultural migrant or expatriate.

The chapters in this book explore some of the many ways in which language variation is functional in its essence and in its application. There is good reason to suggest that the mutability of language is a manifestation of the mutability of context of situation, and that the linkage between language and context of situation is functional in its nature. It follows that sociolinguistics will always embody a struggle to compromise between the need to establish general principles of language as

a social phenomenon on the one hand, and the peculiar characteristics of the individual and immediate contexts of situation on the other. In his work Ravinder Gargesh has demonstrated different ways of making this compromise, and he has done so with an admirable sensitivity to language in context.

And what does the future hold, for the English language and the other languages with which it shares so many contexts of situation throughout the world? All that can be said is that linguistic change will on the one hand follow norms, themselves changeable within a community, and will on the other hand follow function. Function for its part will serve contexts of situation. And contexts of situation, inevitably, will change.

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