

SOUTH-EAST ASIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC

The territories in and to the west of the South Pacific display an interesting mixture of British and American English. British influence began through the voyages of English sailors at the end of the 18th century, notably the journeys of Captain Cook in the 1770s. The London Missionary Society sent its workers to the islands of the South Pacific 50 years later. In south-east Asia, the development of a British colonial empire grew from the work of Stamford Raffles, an administrator in the British East India company, who established centres in Penang and Java, and in 1819 founded Singapore. Hong Kong island was ceded to Britain in 1842 by the Treaty of Nanking, at the end of the first Opium War, and Kowloon was added to it in 1860; the New Territories, which form the largest part of the colony, were leased from China in 1898 for 99 years. Towards the end of the 19th century, several territories in the region became British

protectorates, the administration of some being later taken over by Australia and New Zealand.

The main American presence emerged after the Spanish-American War of 1898, from which the USA received the island of Guam (and Puerto Rico in the Caribbean, p. 96) and sovereignty over the Philippines. Hawaii was annexed at that time also, after a period of increasing US influence. In the 1940s, the US invasion of Japanese-held Pacific islands was followed after World War 2 by several areas being made the responsibility of the USA as United Nations Trust Territories (p. 105). The Philippines became independent in 1946, but the influence of American English remains strong. And as this country has by far the largest population of the English-speaking states in the region, it makes a significant contribution to the world total for users of English as a second language (p. 109).

DIFFERENT PATHS

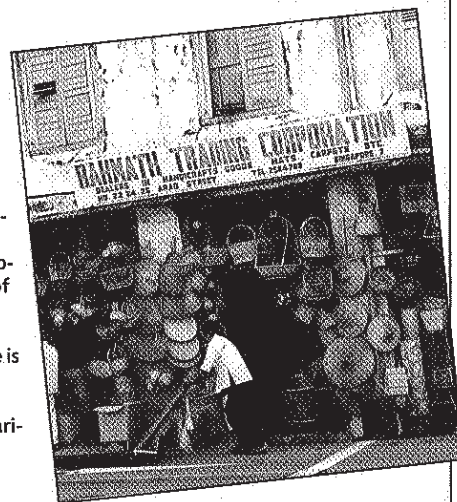
English inevitably and rapidly became the language of power in the British territories of SE Asia. The East India Company settlement at Penang (1786) was followed by one at Singapore (1819) and another at Malacca (1824). Within a few months, the population of Singapore had grown to over 5,000, and by the time the Federated Malay States were brought together as a Crown Colony (1867), English had come to be established throughout the region as the medium of law and administration, and was being increasingly used in other contexts. A famous example is the English-language daily newspaper, *The Straits Times*, which began publication in 1845.

The introduction of a British educational system exposed learners to a standard British English model very early on. English-medium schools began in Penang in 1816, with senior teaching staff routinely brought in from Britain. Although at the outset these schools were attended by only a tiny percentage of the population, numbers increased during the 19th century as waves of Chinese and Indian immigrants entered the area. English rapidly became the language of professional advancement and the chief literary language. Soon after the turn of the century, higher education through the medium of English was also introduced. The language thus became a prestige lingua franca among those who had received an English education and who had thereby entered professional society.

In such a multilingual area, it is not surprising to find the British English model being influenced by local factors, leading to the emergence of regionally distinctive varieties. The Chinese background of many students was probably one such factor, influencing the way English was routinely used in schools. Another was the presence of many teachers of English from India, using a spoken variety that was already diverging from the British standard (p. 101). However, despite the common colonial history of the region, a single variety of 'South-east Asian English' has not emerged. The political histories of Singapore and Malaysia, especially since independence, have been too divergent for this to happen; and the sociolinguistic situation in Hong Kong is unique (p. 105).

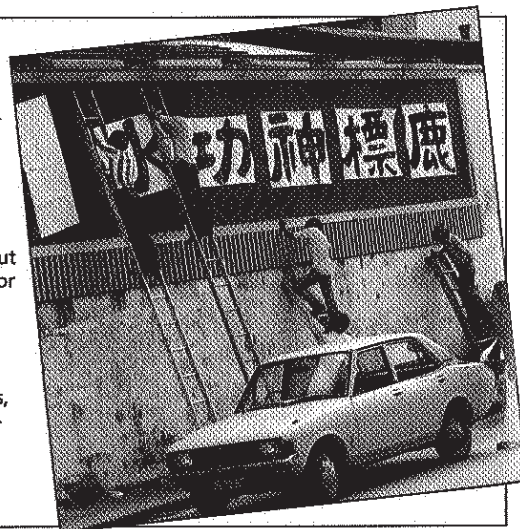
SINGAPORE

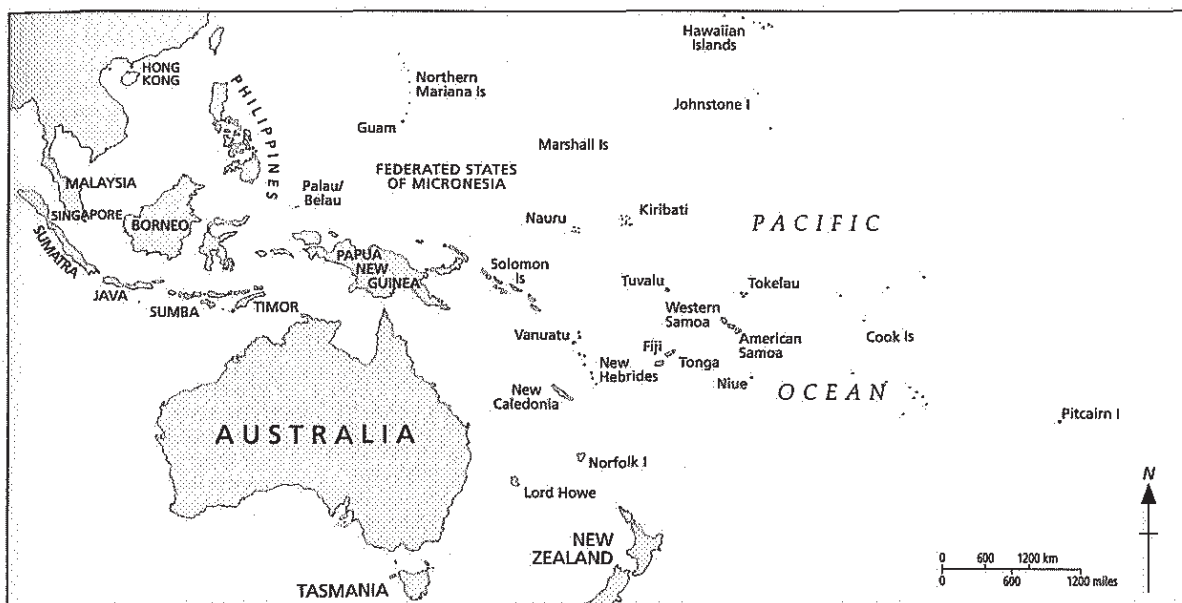
In the 1950s a bilingual educational system was introduced in Singapore, with English used as a unifying and utilitarian medium alongside Chinese, Malay, or Tamil. However, English remained the language of government and the legal system, and retained its importance in education and the media. Its use has also been steadily increasing among the general population. In a 1975 survey, only 27 per cent of people over age 40 claimed to understand English, whereas among 15–20-year-olds, the proportion was over 87 per cent. There is also evidence of quite widespread use in family settings. In such an environment, therefore, it is not surprising that a local variety ('Singaporean English') should have begun to emerge (p. 363).



MALAYSIA

The situation is very different in Malaysia where, following independence (1957), Bahasa Malaysia was adopted as the national language, and the role of English accordingly became more restricted. Malay-medium education was introduced, with English an obligatory subject but increasingly being seen as of value for international rather than intra-national purposes – more a foreign language than a second language. The traditional prestige attached to English still exists, for many speakers, but the general sociolinguistic situation is not one which motivates the continuing emergence of a permanent variety of 'Malaysian English'.





HONG KONG

English has always had a limited use in the territory, associated with government or military administration, law, business, and the media. Chinese (Cantonese) is the mother-tongue of over 98 per cent of the population. However, in recent years there has been a major increase in educational provision, with 1992 estimates suggesting that over a quarter of the population now have some competence in English. English and Chinese have joint official status, but Chinese predominates in most speech situations, often with a great deal of code-mixing (p. 115). There is considerable uncertainty surrounding the future role of English, after the 1997 transfer of power.

ENGLISH IN SE ASIA AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC

Country	First English speakers	First formal status	Present status
American Samoa	British missionaries, 1830	US treaty, 1878	Territory of USA
Belau (or Palau)	US invasion, 1944 (Japanese mandate, 1920)	Part of US Trust Territory of the Pacific Is, 1947	Republic, 1981
Cook Is	Capt. Cook, 1770s	British protectorate, 1888	New Zealand dependency, 1901
Fiji	Capt. Cook, 1774	British colony, 1874	Independence, 1970
Guam	Sporadic	Ceded by Spain to USA after Spanish-American War, 1898	Territory of USA
Hawaii	Capt. Cook, 1778 (named Sandwich Is) US missionaries, 1820	Under US protection, 1851; annexed by USA, 1898	Admitted as 50th US State, 1959
Hong Kong	Sporadic	Ceded by China to Britain, 1842	British colony (until 1997)
Kiribati	British sailors, 1765	British protectorate (as part of Gilbert & Ellice Is), 1892	Independence, 1979
Malaysia	Penang settlement, 1786	British colony of the Straits Settlements, 1826	Independence, 1957
Marshall Is	US invasion, 1944 (Japanese mandate, 1920)	Part of US Trust Territory of the Pacific Is, 1947	Independence, 1990
Micronesia, Federated States of	US invasion, 1944 (Japanese mandate, 1920)	Part of US Trust Territory of the Pacific Is, 1947	Independence, 1990
Nauru	British sailors, 1798	Australian mandate, 1919 (German administration, 1888)	Independence, 1968
Niue	Capt. Cook, 1774 British missionaries, 1830	British protectorate, 1900	New Zealand dependency, 1901
Norfolk I	Capt. Cook, 1774	British penal settlement (via Australia), 1788	Territory of Australia, 1913
Northern Mariana Is	Sporadic	US mandate, 1947	Independence, 1990
Papua New Guinea	British sailors, 1793	British protectorate, 1884; Australian mandate, 1920	Independence, 1975
Philippines	Sporadic	Ceded to USA after Spanish-American War, 1898	Independence, 1946
Pitcairn I	British sailors, 1767; occupied by <i>Bounty</i> mutineers, 1790	Jurisdiction of British High Commissioner, 1898	British colony (part of Fiji, 1952-70)
Singapore	British settlement, 1819	One of the Straits Settlements, 1826	Independence, 1965
Solomon Is	Sporadic	British protectorate, 1893-9	Independence, 1978
Tokelau	British sailors, 1760s	British protectorate, 1889	New Zealand territory, 1925
Tonga	Capt. Cook, 1773 (named Friendly Is)	British protectorate, 1899	Independence, 1970
Tuvalu	British missionaries, 1860s	British protectorate (as part of Gilbert & Ellice Is), 1892	Independence, 1978
Vanuatu	Capt. Cook, 1774	Anglo-French administration as New Hebrides, 1906	Independence, 1980
Western Samoa	British missionaries, 1830s	New Zealand mandate, 1919	Independence, 1962

THE PHILIPPINES

- At the Ateneo alumni homecoming, I saw so many old faces and new teeth.
- There is a restaurant in Ongpin that specializes in noodles with American flavor. It is called Miami Vice.
- The Land Transportation Commission (LTC) wages war on smoke belchers. Riding in a smoking car is hazardous to your health. Smoking in a car is even more dangerous.

These extracts from a humorous column in *The Manila Chronicle* (15 January 1987) plainly show the effect of nearly a century of US cultural and linguistic influence in the Philippines. Apart from local Filipino allusions, British English readers would notice *alumni* and *car*, as well as the spelling of *flavor*. (After A. B. Gonzalez, 1991.)

A WORLD LANGUAGE

The movement of English around the world began with the pioneering voyages to the Americas, Asia, and the Antipodes (pp. 92–101), continued with the 19th-century colonial developments in Africa and the South Pacific (pp. 102–5), and took a significant further step when it was adopted in the 20th century as an official or semi-official language by many newly-independent states (p. 110). English is now the dominant or official language in over 60 countries (see the table on p. 109), and is represented in every continent and in the three major oceans – Atlantic (e.g. St Helena), Indian (e.g. Seychelles), and Pacific (e.g. Hawaii). It is this spread of representation which makes the application of the term 'world language' a reality.

The present-day world status of English is primarily the result of two factors: the expansion of British colonial power, which peaked towards the end of the 19th century, and the emergence of the United States as the leading economic power of the 20th century. It is the latter factor which continues to explain the position of the English language today (much to the discomfiture of some in Britain who find the loss of historical linguistic preeminence unpalatable). The USA contains nearly four times as many English mother-tongue (EMT) speakers as the next most important EMT nation (the UK), and these two countries comprise 70 per cent of all EMT speakers in the world (excluding creole varieties: see the table on p. 109). Such dominance, with its political and economic underpinnings, gives the Americans a controlling interest in the way the language is likely to develop.

With over 60 political and cultural histories to consider, it is difficult to find safe generalizations about the range of social functions with which English has come to be identified. General statements about the structure of the language are somewhat easier to make (§20). The problem is not so much in relation to those countries where English is a first language, and where by definition it is available for all communicative situations, but for those where it has status as a second or foreign language, and where its role is often defined by a conscious process of language planning, and not by the natural course of linguistic evolution. Sociolinguistic generalization is especially a problem in those countries where English is used simultaneously as a first and a second language (e.g. Canada), or where a history of language contact has produced a legacy of language conflict (e.g. India).

WHY ENGLISH?

If English is not your mother-tongue, why should you want to learn it, or give it special status in your country? There are seven kinds of answer given to this question.

Historical reasons

Because of the legacy of British or American imperialism, the country's main institutions may carry out their proceedings in English. These include the governing body (e.g. parliament), government agencies, the civil service (at least at senior levels), the law courts, national religious bodies, the schools, and higher educational institutions, along with their related publications (textbooks, proceedings, records, etc.).

Internal political reasons

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

External economic reasons

The USA's dominant economic position acts as a magnet for international business and trade, and organizations wishing to develop international mar-

kets are thus under considerable pressure to work with English. The tourist and advertising industries are particularly English-dependent, but any multinational business will wish to establish offices in the major English-speaking countries.

Practical reasons

English is the language of international air traffic control, and is currently developing its role in international maritime, policing, and emergency services (p. 390). It is the chief language of international business and academic conferences, and the leading language of international tourism.

Intellectual reasons

Most of the scientific, technological, and academic information in the world is expressed in English, and over 80 per cent of all the information stored in electronic retrieval systems is in English. Closely related to this is the concern to have access to the philosophical, cultural, religious, and literary history of Western Europe, either directly or through the medium of an English translation. In most parts of the world, the only way most people have access to such authors as Goethe or Dante is through English. Latin performed a similar role in Western Europe for over a thousand years.

Entertainment reasons

English is the main language of popular music, and permeates popular cul-

ture and its associated advertising. It is also the main language of satellite broadcasting, home computers, and video games, as well as of such international illegal activities as pornography and drugs.

Some wrong reasons

It is sometimes thought that English has achieved its worldwide status because of its intrinsic linguistic features. People have claimed that it is inherently a more logical or more beautiful language than others, easier to pronounce, simpler in grammatical structure, or larger in vocabulary. This kind of reasoning is the consequence of unthinking chauvinism or naive linguistic thinking: there are no objective standards of logic or beauty to compare different languages, and questions of phonetic, grammatical, or lexical complexity are never capable of simple answers. For example, English may not have many inflectional endings (which is what most people are thinking of when they talk about English as grammatically 'simple', p. 190), but it has a highly complex syntax; and the number of endings has no bearing on whether a language becomes used worldwide (as can be seen from the former success of Latin). Languages rise and fall in world esteem for many kinds of reasons – political, economic, social, religious, literary – but linguistic reasons do not rank highly among them.

AN OLD STORY

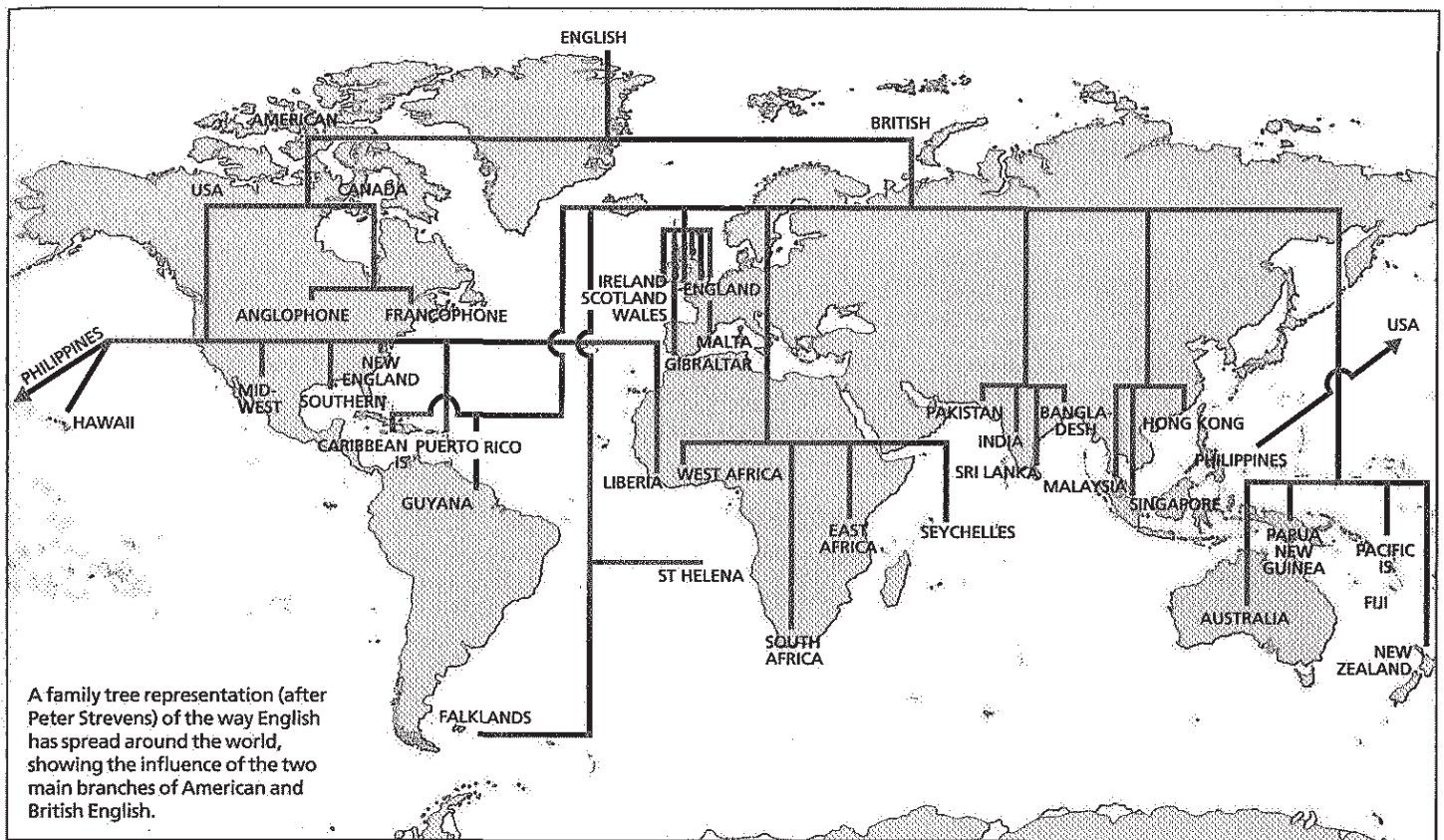
Some of the reasons that people give for learning English are by no means new, as the following quotation illustrates:

I have undertaken to write a grammar of this language [English] because there is clearly a great demand for it from foreigners, who want to be able to understand the various important works which are

written in our tongue. For instance there are many people, particularly foreign theologians, whose great ambition is to study Practical Theology, as it is normally taught in our tradition... But it is not only theological works; all kinds of literature are widely available in English editions, and, without boasting, it can be said that there is scarcely any worthwhile body of knowledge which has not

been recorded today, adequately at least, in the English language.

This is an extract translated from the Latin preface to John Wallis's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (Grammar of the English Language), published in 1765 (p. 78). Little has changed – apart from the choice of theology as the lead example.



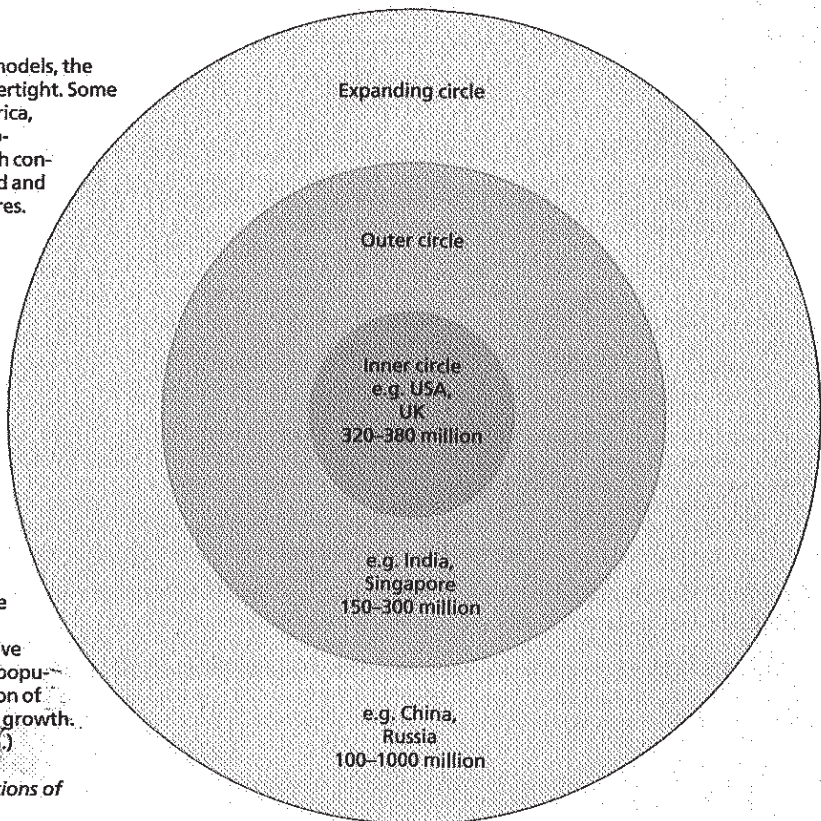
THE THREE CIRCLES

The spread of English around the world has been visualized as three concentric circles, representing different ways in which the language has been acquired and is currently used.

- The *inner circle* refers to the traditional bases of English, where it is the primary language: it includes the USA, UK, Ireland, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.
- The *outer or extended circle* involves the earlier phases of the spread of English in non-native settings, where the language has become part of a country's chief institutions, and plays an important 'second language' role in a multilingual setting: it includes Singapore, India, Malawi, and over 50 other territories (p. 109).
- The *expanding circle* involves those nations which recognize the importance of English as an international language, though they do not have a history of colonization by members of the inner circle, nor have they given English any special status in their language policy. It includes China, Japan, Israel, Greece, Poland, and (as the name of this circle suggests) a steadily increasing number of other states. In these areas, English is taught as a foreign language.

As with all linguistic models, the distinctions are not watertight. Some countries (e.g. South Africa, Malaysia) display a socio-linguistic situation which contains a mixture of second and foreign language features. Some (e.g. Tanzania, Kenya) have changed their language policy since independence, no longer according English official status. Some (e.g. Papua New Guinea, Nigeria) use varieties of English whose status as a first or foreign language is not always clear (p. 108). The value of the model is the attention it draws to the different historical and social issues raised by the notion of world English, and (when comprehensive lists are drawn up, with population totals) its indication of trends in the language's growth. (After B. B. Kachru, 1985.)

Figures refer to populations of English speakers



HOW MANY MILLIONS?

The table on p. 109 shows 75 territories in which English has held or continues to hold a special place. In two instances, it groups territories which have a population of less than 10,000: 'UK islands' (Guernsey, Jersey, Man) and 'Other dependencies', the latter including the territories administered by Australia (Norfolk I, Christmas I, Cocos Is), New Zealand (Niue, Tokelau), and the UK (Anguilla, Falkland Is, Pitcairn I, Turks & Caicos Is). No account has been taken in the table of those who have learned English as a foreign language in countries where it has no special place (e.g. China, Germany).

To have a 'special place' can mean various things. Sometimes English is an official or joint official language of a state, its status being defined by law, as in the case of India, Ireland, or Canada. Sometimes it may be the sole or dominant language for historical reasons, as in the case of the USA or the UK (in neither country is it defined legally as an official national language: see p. 107). In a few cases, such as Kenya and Tanzania, English has lost the formal status it once had, though it still plays an important role in the community. In many cases, its standing is less certain, coexisting with other local languages in a relationship which shifts with time and social function. But in all cases, the

population is living in an environment in which the English language is routinely in evidence, publicly accessible in varying degrees, and part of the nation's recent or present identity.

Tables of this kind contain all kinds of hidden assumptions, and have to be carefully interpreted.

- Column 2 gives the 1990 population estimate of each country – in other words, the total number of people who are in theory routinely exposed to English. The grand total, rounded down, is 1,828 million – equivalent, in 1995 (assuming a world population rate of increase of 1.7 per cent per annum) to 1,989 million, which is a third of the world's population.

- Column 3 gives a percentage estimate of those who have learned English as a first language (L1). This is translated into totals in Column 4, which shows a grand total of some 377 million. This result needs some interpretation. It could be increased if we were able to include L1 figures for every country; however, in many places (shown by a question mark) it simply is not known how many L1 speakers there are. On the other hand, the grand total could be decreased if we were to exclude all the cases where countries use a creole or creolized pidgin (p. 346); these cases, marked with (c), amount to some 57 million. If we do exclude

them, we end up with an L1 total of around 320 million (which is commonly cited).

- Column 5 gives a percentage estimate of those who have learned English as a second language (L2). In some cases (e.g. India) this figure is the result of careful thought by linguists who have studied the sociolinguistic situation. In most cases, however, no such evaluation has taken place, and all that is available is an estimate based on relevant social considerations. The present table has taken as a guideline the percentage of people who have completed secondary education or higher, and who are thus likely to have English at a reasonable standard. (This percentage excludes any L1 speakers listed in Column 3.) All these percentages, and their related totals in Column 6, are preceded by a question mark, to show their uncertain status.

- The grand total of L2 speakers, on this basis, is around 98 million – a much lower figure than that commonly cited in accounts of world English, where 300 or 350 million are common estimates. However, we can, if we wish, reach this larger total in several ways. To begin with, in most countries where English is used chiefly as an L1, no estimate is available for those who might use it as an L2 (shown by the question marks without any accompanying figures in Columns 5 and 6). We might dare to

assume, in some of these figure-less countries, that a considerable proportion of the remaining population could be counted as L2 speakers: in the case of Canada or the USA, for example, this assumption would probably be correct; by contrast, in the case of Guyana or Papua New Guinea it would be very doubtful.

The total 'residue' of potential L2 speakers in the figure-less countries of Column 6 (their total population minus their L1 population) is 90,962,800. If we include half of these as possible L2 speakers, we reach a grand total of over 140 million. (The role of Nigeria is critical, in this respect.) Whether this total goes substantially higher depends on how we rate the 'residue' of those countries where an L2 estimate is already given in Columns 5 and 6. In six countries, even a small increase in the percentages given would make a big difference: India, Pakistan, Ghana, Malaysia, Philippines, and Tanzania. These six had a combined total of over 1,000 million people in 1990. If we allow only 15 per cent of these to have some command of English, we immediately approach 300 million. The more limited a command of English we allow to be acceptable, the more this figure can be inflated. Whether we wish to inflate the figures, of course, depends on factors which go well beyond the linguistic.

A SHORT GLOSSARY OF EL TERMS

The world of World English (WE), and especially of English Language Teaching (ELT) is full of acronyms (p. 120).

EAP (*English for Academic Purposes*) >> **ESP**

EFL (*English as a Foreign Language*) English seen in the context of countries where it is not the mother tongue and has no special status, such as Japan, France, Egypt, and Brazil. Well over half the countries of the world fall into this category (the 'expanding circle', p. 107).

EGP (*English for General Purposes*) >> **ESP**

EIL (*English as an International Language*) The use of English for purposes of international communication. The notion is especially relevant among professional people who do not have the language as a mother tongue (e.g. the business, scientific, political, and academic communities).

ENL (*English as a Native Language*) >> **L1**

EOP (*English for Occupational Purposes*) A course whose content is determined by the specific needs of learners practising a particular occupation (e.g. working with instructional manuals).

ESL (*English as a Second Language*) English in countries where it holds special status as a medium of communication (the 'outer circle', p. 107). The term has also been applied to the English of immigrants and other foreigners who live within a country where English is the first language.

ESP (*English for Special Purposes*) A course whose content is determined by the professional needs of the learner. It contrasts with *English for General Purposes*, where the aim is to establish a general level of proficiency. Several areas have been recognized, such as *English for Academic Purposes* and *English for Science and Technology*.

EST (*English for Science and Technology*) >> **ESP**

L1 (*first language*) The language first acquired by a child (also called a *mother tongue* or *native language*) or preferred in a multilingual situation. The latter context may not be identical to the former: for example, the children of many European emigrants to the USA have come to use English as a first language in the latter sense, though it is not their mother tongue.

L2 (*second language*) A language which is not a person's mother tongue, but which is used in order to meet a communicative need. A country may choose to designate a language as an official second language for its population, or give it some other kind of special status (as shown in the table opposite).

L3 (*third language*) An additional language used to meet a special communicative need. This notion is not as widespread as L1 and L2.

LSP (*Language for Special/Specific Purposes*) A language course designed to meet a predictable and specific range of commu-

nicative needs, such as scientists, doctors, lawyers, or air traffic controllers.

MT (*mother tongue*) >> **L1**

NL (*native language*) >> **L1**

NNL (*non-native language*) A language which people use other than their mother tongue.

NNV (*non-native variety*) A variety of English which has developed in a country or region where it is not used as a mother tongue, such as Indian English.

TEFL (*Teaching English as a Foreign Language*) >> **EFL**

TEIL (*Teaching English as an International Language*) >> **EIL**

TESL (*Teaching of English as a Second Language*) >> **ESL**

TESOL (*Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages*) The teaching of English to anyone who does not have it as a mother tongue. The notion developed in the USA, but TESOL operations are now found in many countries. There is no distinction between *second* and *foreign*, as is generally found in British language-teaching contexts.

Country	Pop (1990)	% L1	Total L1	% L2	Total L2	Country	Pop (1990)	% L1	Total L1	% L2	Total L2
American Samoa	39,700	?	?	99	39,300	Nauru	9,000	?	600	?	?
Antigua & Barbuda	80,600	95 (c)	76,600	?	?	Nepal	18,910,000	?	?	725	7 4,727,000
Australia	17,073,000	90	15,366,000	9.5	1,622,000	New Zealand	3,389,000	93	3,152,000	?	?
Bahamas	253,000	90	228,000	?	?	Nigeria	88,500,000	50 (c)	44,250,000	?	?
Bangladesh	107,992,000	?	?	25	25,400,000	N Marianas	45,000	90 (c)	40,500	?	?
Barbados	257,000	100 (c)	257,000	—	—	Pakistan	122,600,000	?	?	2	2,450,000
Belize	189,000	65 (c)	123,000	?	?	Palau	14,300	?	?	98	14,000
Bermuda	59,300	95	56,300	?	?	Papua New Guinea	3,671,000	66 (c)	2,423,000	?	?
Bhutan	1,442,000	?	?	25	272,000	Philippines	61,480,000	?	?	50	30,740,000
Botswana	1,295,000	?	?	22	226,000	Puerto Rico	2,336,000	?	?	45	1,500,000
British Virgin Is	12,200	95 (c)	11,600	?	?	St Kitts	44,100	100	44,100	—	—
Brunei	259,000	4	10,400	236	793,200	St Lucia	151,000	18	27,000	?	?
Cameroon	11,900,000	?	?	50 (c)	5,950,000	St Vincent & Grenadines	115,000	100 (c)	115,000	—	—
Canada	26,620,000	60	15,972,000	?	?	Seychelles	68,700	3	2,000	?	?
Cayman Is	26,000	100	26,000	—	—	Sierra Leone	4,151,000	295 (c)	2,943,000	?	?
Cook Is	19,300	?	?	713	22,500	Singapore	2,718,000	?	?	40	1,087,000
Dominica	82,200	4	3,300	79	77,400	Solomon Is	319,000	?	?	35 (c)	111,600
Fiji	740,000	?	?	78	759,200	South Africa	30,797,000	10	3,080,000	15	4,620,000
Gambia	860,000	?	?	73	725,800	Sri Lanka	17,103,000	?	?	74	7684,000
Ghana	15,020,000	?	?	7	1,000,000	Suriname	411,000	?	?	80	328,800
Gibraltar	30,800	35	10,800	?	?	Swaziland	770,000	?	?	74	30,800
Grenada	101,000	100 (c)	101,000	—	—	Tanzania	24,403,000	?	?	15	3,660,000
Guam	132,000	21	28,000	?	?	Tonga	96,300	?	?	1	1,000
Guyana	756,000	75 (c)	567,000	?	?	Trinidad & Tobago	1,233,000	50 (c)	616,500	?	?
Hong Kong	5,841,000	2	117,000	25	1,460,000	Tuvalu	9,100	?	?	6	550
India	844,000,000	?	?	4	33,760,000	Uganda	16,928,000	?	?	73	7507,800
Ireland	3,509,000	95	3,334,000	?	?	United Kingdom	57,384,000	98	56,236,000	?	?
Jamaica	2,391,000	97 (c)	2,319,000	?	?	UK Islands	201,500	100	201,500	—	—
Kenya	24,872,000	?	?	79	22,238,000	United States	251,394,000	88	221,227,000	?	?
Kiribati	71,100	?	?	241	29,200	US Virgin Is	107,000	80 (c)	86,000	?	?
Lesotho	1,760,000	?	?	223	7404,800	Vanuatu	147,000	?	?	88	129,000
Liberia	2,595,000	96 (c)	2,491,000	?	?	Western Samoa	186,000	?	?	257	7106,000
Malawi	8,830,000	?	?	5	441,500	Zambia	8,456,000	?	?	211	7930,000
Malaysia	17,886,000	2	358,000	30	5,366,000	Zimbabwe	9,370,000	?	?	232	72,998,000
Malta	353,000	20	70,600	?	?	Other dependencies	33,000	60	19,800	40	13,200
Marshall Is	45,600	?	?	250	722,800						
Mauritius	1,080,000	?	?	211	119,000						
Micronesia	108,000	?	?	218	719,000						
Montserrat	12,000	100 (c)	12,000	—	—						
Namibia	1,300,000	10	130,000	?	?						
						Totals	1,828,442,800		377,152,600		97,841,450
							(1,828,000,000)		(377,000,000)		(98,000,000)

STANDARD ENGLISH

It is difficult to know what to expect, when a language develops a worldwide presence to the extent that English has (p. 108). There are no precedents for such a geographical spread or for so many speakers. Moreover, the speed at which it has all happened is unprecedented: although the history of world English can be traced back 400 years (p. 92), the current growth spurt in the language has a history of less than 40 years. There has never been such an increase in independent states (UN membership has more than doubled since 1960) nor such a growth in world population (from 2.5 thousand million in 1950 to 5.4 thousand million in 1992). How will English fare (how would *any* language fare?), faced with such responsibilities and having to respond to such pressures?

The two chief issues – internationalism and identity – raise an immediate problem, because they conflict. In the former case, a nation looks out from itself at the world as a whole, and tries to define its needs in relation to that world. In the latter case, a nation looks within itself at the structure of its society and the psychology of its people, and tries to define its needs in relation to its sense of national identity. Corresponding linguistic issues automatically arise.

- Internationalism implies intelligibility. If the reason for any nation wishing to promote English is to give it access to what the broader English-speaking world has to offer, then it is crucial for its people to be able to understand the English of that world, and to be understood in their turn. In short, internationalism demands an agreed standard – in grammar, vocabulary, spelling, pronunciation, and conventions of use.
- Identity implies individuality. If a nation wishes to preserve its uniqueness or to establish its presence, and to avoid being an anonymous ingredient in a cultural melting-pot, then it must search for ways of expressing its difference from the rest of the world. Flags, uniforms, and other such symbols will have their place, but nothing will be so naturally and universally present as a national language – or, if there is none, a national variety of an international language. In short, in the context of English, identity demands linguistic distinctiveness – in grammar, vocabulary, spelling, pronunciation, or conventions of language use.

The future of the English language (p. 112) depends on how the tension between these two principles will be resolved.

WHAT IS STANDARD ENGLISH?

Since the 1980s, the notion of 'standard' has come to the fore in public debate about the English language. At national level, in several countries (but especially in the UK), the concern has focused on the devising of an acceptable national curriculum for English in primary and secondary education. At international level, the focus has been on the question of which national standards to use in teaching English as a foreign language. In both contexts, however, before sensible decisions can be made about how to introduce Standard English or teach it, there is a need for clear understanding about what it actually is. The cautious opening of the entry on Standard English (SE) in *The Oxford Companion to the English Language* (1992), written by the editor Tom McArthur, suggests that we may be entering a minefield:

a widely used term that resists easy definition but is used as if most educated people nonetheless know precisely what it refers to...

Disentangling the issues is best done first at national level, where the issues have been around a long time, and are reasonably well understood. (For the early history of Standard English, see p. 54.)

Towards a definition
From the dozens of definitions available in the litera-

ture on English, we may extract five essential characteristics.

- SE is a *variety* of English – a distinctive combination of linguistic features with a particular role to play. Some people call it a 'dialect' of English – and so it is, but of a rather special kind, for it has no local base (p. 298). There is nothing in the grammar and vocabulary of a piece of SE to tell us which part of a country it comes from.
- The linguistic features of SE are chiefly matters of grammar, vocabulary, and orthography (spelling and punctuation). It is important to note that SE is not a matter of pronunciation: SE is spoken in a wide variety of accents (including, of course, any prestige accent a country may have, such as British RP, p. 365).
- SE is the variety of English which carries most prestige within a country. 'Prestige' is a social concept, whereby some people have high standing in the eyes of others, whether this derives from social class, material success, political strength, popular acclaim, or educational background. The English that these people choose to use will, by this very fact, become the standard within their community. In the words of one US linguist, SE is 'the English used by the powerful' (James Sledd).
- The prestige attached to SE is recognized by adult members of the community, and this motivates them to

recommend SE as a desirable educational target. It is the variety which is used as the norm of communication by the community's leading institutions, such as its government, law courts, and media. It is therefore the variety which is likely to be the most widely disseminated among the public. It will, accordingly, be widely understood – though not to the same extent by everyone, and with varying comprehension of some of its features (thus motivating the demands of the 'plain English' campaigns, p. 176). It may or may not be liked.

- Although SE is widely understood, it is not widely produced. Only a minority of people within a country (e.g. radio newscasters) actually use it when they talk. Most people speak a variety of regional English, or an admixture of standard and regional Englishes, and reserve such labels as 'BBC English' or 'the Queen's English' for what they perceive to be a 'pure' SE. Similarly, when they write – itself a minority activity – the consistent use of SE is required only in certain tasks (such as a letter to a newspaper, but not necessarily to a close friend). More than anywhere else, SE is to be found in print.

On this basis, we may define the Standard English of an English-speaking country as a minority variety (identified chiefly by its vocabulary, grammar, and orthography) which carries most prestige and is most widely understood.

ENGLISH WHAT IS WROTE

18 APRIL 1993

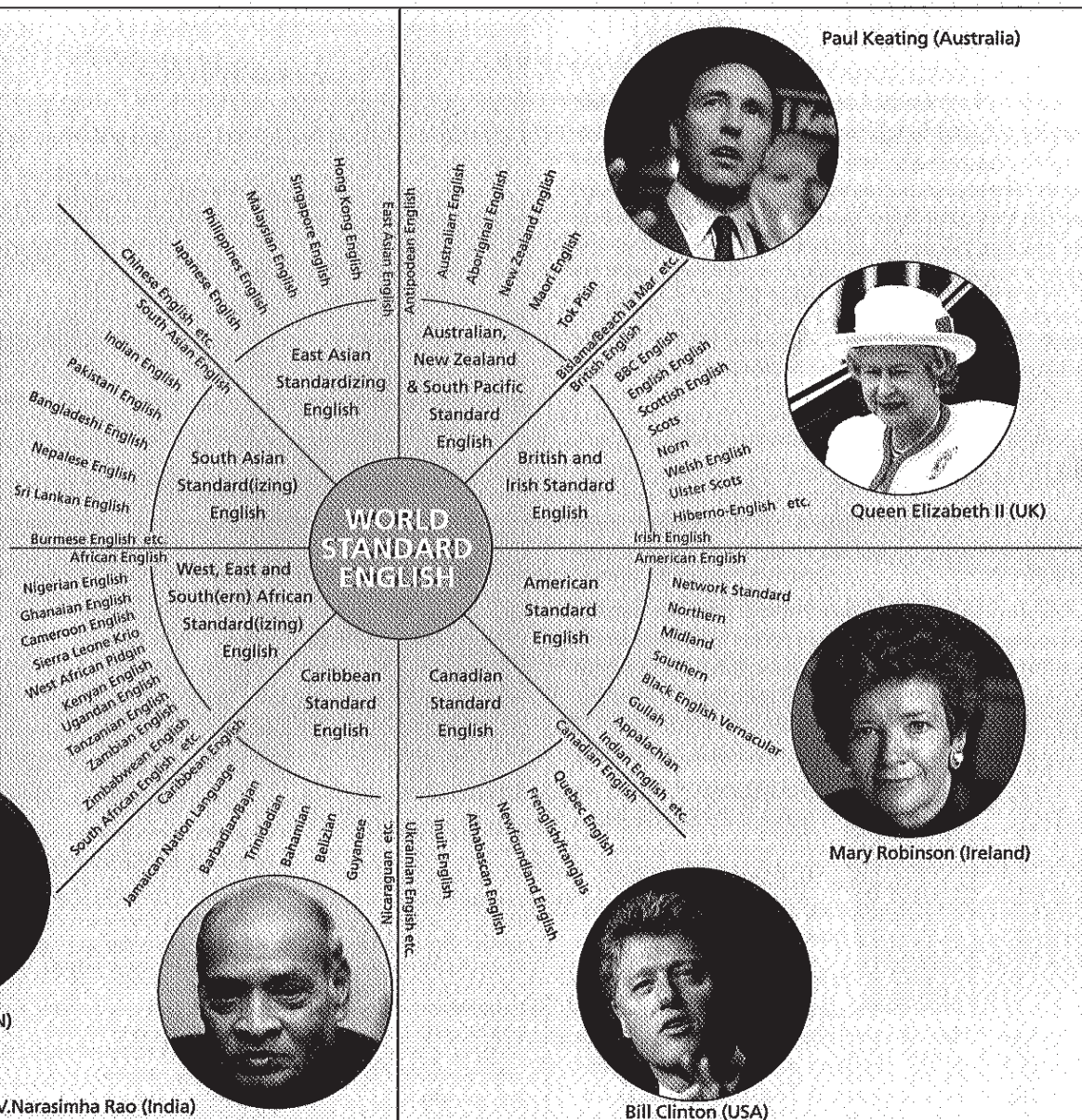
More than just talking proper

Randolph Quirk argues Standard English is about words and meanings, not accents

Whenever there is a public debate about English in schools, newspapers resort to 'clever' headlines in which they use nonstandard forms. This example, from *The Independent*, was one of many which appeared in Britain during the 1992–3 debate on the National Curriculum for state primary and secondary schools. Of course, it stands out only because the rest of the paper is in Standard English.

THE CIRCLE OF WORLD ENGLISH

One way of representing the unity and diversity of the English-speaking world (from T. McArthur, 1987). At the centre is placed the notion of World English, conceived as a 'common core'. Around it are placed the various regional or national standards, either established or becoming established ('standardizing'). On the outside are examples of the wide range of popular Englishes which exist. Each boundary line could provoke an argument, as the author acknowledges, but the overall perspective is illuminating. A small selection of heads of state or government symbolizes the way Standard English is used worldwide in public roles.



WORLD STANDARD ENGLISH?

If we read the newspapers or listen to the newscasters around the English-speaking world, we will quickly develop the impression that there is a World Standard English (WSE), acting as a strongly unifying force among the vast range of variation which exists. There is a great deal of evidence to support this impression, and models such as the 'World English circle' above formally represent it. However, it is misleading in several respects. A totally uniform,

regionally neutral, and unarguably prestigious variety does not yet exist worldwide.

- Each country where English is a first language is aware of its linguistic identity, and is anxious to preserve it from the influence of others. New Zealanders do not want to be Australians; Canadians do not want to be 'Americans'; and *Americanism* is perceived as a danger signal by usage guardians everywhere (except in the USA) (p. 310).
- All other countries can be grouped into those which follow American English, those which follow British

English, and those (e.g. Canada) where there is a mixture of influences (p. 107). One of the most noticeable features of this divided usage is spelling. In certain domains, such as computing and medicine, US spellings are becoming increasingly widespread (*program, disk, pediatrics*), but we are a long way from uniformity (p. 305).

- A great deal of lexical distinctiveness can be observed in the specialized terms of local politics, business, culture, and natural history, and in the 'domestic' columns of national newspapers (such as

Want Ads); this is illustrated in detail in §20. There is also a certain amount of grammatical distinctiveness, especially between US and UK English.

- The notion of a 'standard pronunciation' is useful in the international setting of English as a second or foreign language (p. 108), but here too there is more than one teaching model – chiefly, British Received Pronunciation and US General American (p.307).
- The question of prestige is not easy to determine, at an international level, because of the different national his-

tories which coexist. Would it be more prestigious for a report from an international body to appear in British or American spelling? Should it refer to *cars* or *automobiles*? What image do its authors wish to convey? Decisions about such matters are made in innumerable contexts every day. It will take time before the world sees a consensus, and only time will tell whether this consensus will display the domination of a present-day variety of English or the development of a new, composite variety (p. 113).

THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH

There is no linguistic subject more prone to emotional rhetoric or wild exaggeration than the future of the English language. Heights of optimism compete with depths of pessimism. Among the optimists we may cite the German philologist Jakob Grimm, who addressed the point in a lecture published in 1852:

Of all modern languages, not one has acquired such great strength and vigour as the English...[it] may be called justly a LANGUAGE OF THE WORLD: and seems, like the English nation, to be destined to reign in future with still more extensive sway over all parts of the globe.

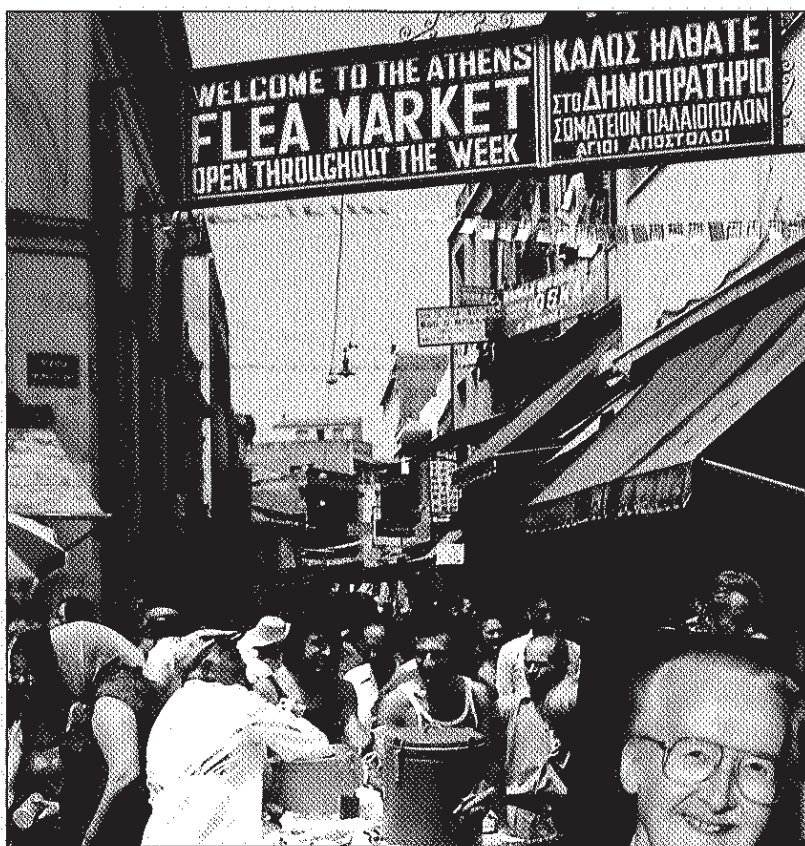
In the late Victorian period, estimates of the numbers of mother-tongue English speakers living a century thereafter (i.e. today) often reached astronomical heights. One writer, in an issue of *The Phonetic Journal* (13 September 1873) calculated (with hopeful precision) that by the year 2000 this total would be 1,837,286,153 – an estimate which, with the benefit of hindsight, can be seen to be in error by a factor of six (p.109). Such totals were commonplace in the heady atmosphere which accompanied the climax of British and American colonial expansion.

By contrast, there were the pessimists, predicting that within a century the English language would be in fragments. Here we may cite the British philologist Henry Sweet, who wrote in 1877:

by that time [a century hence] England, America, and Australia will be speaking mutually unintelligible languages, owing to their independent changes of pronunciation.

The same point had been made nearly a century before by Noah Webster, in his *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789). Webster thought that such a development would be 'necessary and unavoidable', and would result in 'a language in North America, as different from the future language of England, as the modern Dutch, Danish and Swedish are from the German, or from one another'. From Webster's pro-American point of view, of course (p. 81), this would not have been such a bad thing.

Neither Grimm nor Sweet proved to be accurate prophets. English has indeed become a world language, but it is by no means everywhere and it is by no means always welcome. And English has indeed developed many spoken varieties, but these are by no means mutually unintelligible. Perhaps the only safe generalization to be made is that predictions about the future of English have a habit of being wrong.



WAS HE RIGHT?

In a paper written in 1970 for a conference in Luxembourg organized by the London-based Institute of Linguists, Randolph Quirk, then Quain Professor of English at University College London, engaged in a speculation about the future. His paper was called 'English in twenty years'.

I must base my speculation about [the future role of English] upon assumptions outside linguistics, and my assumptions are these: that Britain will become more and more closely involved with continental Europe, economically, intellectually and politically; and that English will retain in the next 20 years the degree of prestige it has enjoyed in continental Europe in the past 20 years. Whether this prestige rests upon the achievements of Carnaby Street or Cape Kennedy, on the fame of jump jets or junkies, on Canadian nickel or Australian fruit, on hap-

penings at MIT or LSE, is beside the point. On these assumptions I would confidently predict that English will retain its prominent place in Europe, though without these assumptions, I should not be nearly as confident. One could in fact go further and predict that English will actually increase its currency, above all for purposes of trade, but also in scientific communication and in the everyday matters of popular culture – for example, through Eurovision. And all this even in the European countries whose mother tongue is so important a language as German or French. Already *Le Monde* produces a weekly edition in English, and much of German industry regards English as the main language of export promotion: with Britain's increasing involvement in Europe between now and 1990, English can scarcely be expected to become less relevant in France and Germany. In the rather smaller language communities of

Europe, of course, the place of English is likely to affect the daily lives of the people still more closely, and cases like the day-to-day factory use of English by the Swedish ball-bearing firm SKF are likely to multiply. Already the medium for more than half the world's scientific writing and popular entertainment by radio, TV and film alike, English has a momentum which only a cultural cataclysm plus an abyss of much more than 20 years in width could seriously hamper. Given something more like a cultural boost, we may expect present uses of English to expand so that by 1990 everyone in Europe may be using, or be exposed to, English for some part of every day.

If all this seems very easy, let the reader now write a corresponding paragraph predicting the role of English in 2020.



ONE LANGUAGE OR MANY?

There are two competing pressures currently influencing the development of English (p. 110): one acts to maintain international intelligibility, promoting a uniform World Standard English; the other acts to preserve national identity, promoting a diverse set of Regional Standard Englishes.

The drive for intelligibility

The pressure for international intelligibility is very strong, and may by now be unstoppable. International travel, satellite broadcasting, world press and television, world stock markets, multinational corporations, intergovernmental agencies, and many other institutions have guaranteed a situation of daily contact for hundreds of millions of English speakers who together represent every major variety. Historical loyalties (e.g. to Britain) have been largely replaced by pragmatic, utilitarian reasoning. If using British English can sell goods and services, then let British English be used. If it needs American English, then so be it. And let either or others be employed as occasion demands.

It is not surprising, in such a climate, to find a core of English grammar, vocabulary, and orthography already in widespread use, at least in print (p. 110). There is, however, still some way to go before the world arrives at a level of uniform usage which will guarantee international intelligibility at levels comparable to those found intranationally. Breakdowns in communication due to differences in idiom, vocabulary, or grammar are common enough, even between British and American English (p. 306), and differences in regional accent can be devastating.

The drive for identity

The pressure to foster national identity is also very strong, and the signs are that divergence is increasing. The 1990s has seen no reduction in the number of conflicts which involve regions trying to establish their independence, and one consequence of successful nationalism is the early adoption of speech forms marking a linguistic distance between the new nation and its colonial antecedents. Two local factors readily foster this distancing.

It is inevitable, first of all, that when English is in close contact with other languages it will adopt some of the characteristics of those languages, especially their vocabulary and prosody. The latter, in particular, can be a major source of local variety identity, as is heard in the distinctive stress-timed rhythm of Indian or Caribbean English, or the rising intonations of Australian and New Zealand English (p. 249).

Secondly, the fact that English is found all over the world means that it will be used to express an unparalleled range of fauna, flora, and cultural features.

Each English-speaking country will accordingly find itself with thousands of words to express its local character. Whether we view these words as part of a world standard or a regional standard will depend chiefly on the extent to which the world at large is interested in the notions they express. Thus, in South African English *apartheid* and *impala* have become part of World Standard English, whereas *dorp* ('small town or village') and *bredie* ('type of stew') have not. The words most resistant to world standardization will be those which already have equivalents in Standard British or American English, such as *outwith* (Scots, 'outside') or *godown* (Indian 'warehouse').

Compromise?

There may be a natural balance which the language will eventually achieve. A nationalistic climate may cause a variety to move in a particular direction away from its source standard, but may then be pulled back when moderates within the community find it increasingly difficult to understand what is being said. An example of this actually happening was reported in 1985 by Alan Maley, at the time the British Council Representative in South India:

Mrs Indira Gandhi was prompted to write to her Ministry of Education not so long ago to complain of falling standards of English in India, reportedly after attending an international meeting at which she had been unable to understand the contribution of the Indian delegate (speaking in English).

The features of Indian English which gave Mrs Gandhi a problem are well-recognized (p. 360). Whether her reaction was representative and influential remains to be seen.

WHICH WORLD STANDARD?

How could a more uniform World Standard English arise? There are three main possibilities.

- A current variety could gradually come to be adopted by the leading international institutions, and emerge as the world standard. American English already seems to have made considerable progress in this direction.
- The different varieties of English could gradually merge, to produce a new variety which is like none

of those that currently exist. An example is the kind of English commonly heard in the corridors of power of the European Community, and called 'Euro-English'.

- A fresh variety could be created, based on a set of assumptions about those aspects of English which are most useful for international purposes. An example is the proposal in the early 1980s to develop a 'nuclear' kind of English which would include only the most communicative features of grammar and vocabulary.

A TRIDIALECTAL FUTURE?

Wherever World Standard English eventually comes from, a new *bidialectism* (the ability to use two dialects of a language) is sure to emerge. And because many people are already bidialectal (knowing their national standard and a regional dialect), *tridialectism* is likely to be the norm.



We have lunch with friends. We use a variety of English influenced by the dialect of the region in which we live.



We go to a commercial fair in Birmingham, England. We talk to the sales representatives using British Standard English.



We are on holiday in Egypt, and meet up with people from other English-speaking countries. We talk together in World Standard English.

THREATENING ENGLISH

As English extends worldwide, its presence is widely viewed as beneficial. Aims such as international intelligibility and national identity (p.110) are positive-sounding and forward-looking. But there is another side to the coin, for English is not always welcome. Its presence may generate antagonism, especially when it is perceived to interfere with the character or use of local languages. Nationalistic movements may totally reject it – and not always peacefully.

Three forms of antagonism

- There is always mutual influence as languages come into contact with each other. English itself has a long history of borrowing from other languages (§§3–5), and is always ready to increase its lexicon through the acquisition of loan words (p.126). When other languages borrow heavily from English, however, the local reaction may be far less positive. People may complain about the excessive influence of English on their language, and their country may even try to legislate against it (as in France). Such activities may be passionately pursued, though any success is likely to be limited to restricted domains, such as official publications or committee dictionaries.
- Lexical invasion is feared because it is seen as the thin end of a wedge. Linguistic history contains several examples of English supplanting other languages – Cumbric, Cornish, Norn, Manx, most North American Indian languages, most Australian Aboriginal languages. Gaelic, Welsh, Maori, and Hawaiian struggle to retain their identity. A reaction can take place, as people become increasingly conscious of the rights of minorities, but the atmosphere is inevitably one of uncertainty and mistrust. Small countries feel particularly threatened, even if they do not have an English colonial history, as with Denmark and Iceland. On this topic, the language is emotive. 'Did English murder Irish?' asks one journal headline. 'Is English killing off other languages?' asks another.
- English may be rejected as an official language because of its associations with colonial history. This has happened several times in recent years. In Tanzania, English was jointly official with Swahili until 1967, when the latter became sole official language. In 1974, Kenya also replaced English by Swahili as the official language. In Malaysia the National Language Act of 1967 disestablished English as a joint official language, giving sole status to Malay. In India, the role of English in relation to Hindi and other regional languages is a continuing source of controversy (p.101).

VORSPRUNG DURCH ANGLISTIK

Several studies in the 1980s have shown a rapid rise in the frequency with which English loan words appear in foreign language publications. According to one analyst, Broder Carstensen, there was a fivefold

increase in the number of Anglicisms in German newspapers during the 1980s. Advertising copywriters especially have a liking for English technical vocabulary.

One researcher analysed the frequency of English loan words in German car advertising between 1987 and 1990,

using 569 brochures and model descriptions relating to the 30 most important makes of car on the German market. In 8,458 pages analysed, there were 7,190 nouns from English. The table shows the 75 Anglicisms occurring more than 20 times in the corpus. (After S. A. Vesterhus, 1991.)

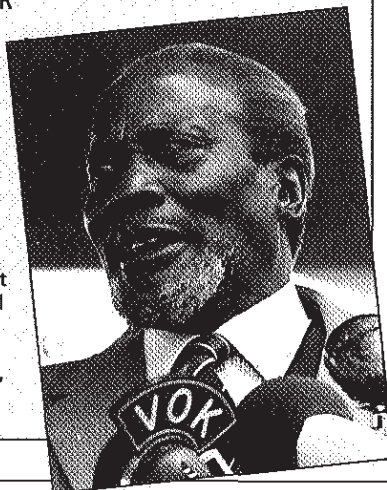
The five most frequent users of English loan words were all Japanese: Mitsubishi, Daihatsu, Nissan, Suzuki, and Honda.



Anglicisms	Refs	Anglicisms	Refs	Anglicisms	Refs	Anglicisms	Refs
Design	411	Motor-		Touch	62	T-bar-roof	29
Cockpit	387	management	114	Trend	62	Low end torque	28
Spoiler	297	Rush-hour	112	Memory	55	Boom	26
Styling	256	Leasing	109	Offroadster	54	Full cover	
Limit	233	City	107	Open air feeling	52	(wheel trim)	26
Star	218	Mix	103	Understanding	49	Make-up	
Display	205	Team	100	Recycling	46	(mirror)	26
Power	199	High-tech	99	Overdrive	43	Silent shaft	26
Know-how	191	Box	96	Spotlight	42	Torque-sensory	25
Output	188	Computer	93	Transfer	40	Award	24
Tuning	179	Stop and Go	89	Roadster	39	Dolby	24
Twin-Cam-		Kit	86	Sound	39	Allrounder	23
Motor	167	Bestseller	83	Autoreverse	38	Intercooler	23
Dummy	163	Look	80	Check	37	Keycode	23
Airbag	151	Top	80	Equalizer	35	Overboost	22
Check-Control	143	Kickdown	78	Crash	34	Pickup	21
Fading	134	Set	76	Drive	33	Coating	20
Hardtop	132	Show	73	Hi-Fi-Pack	31	Recorder	20
Handling	127	Highlight	70	Choke	30	Synthesizer	20
Color	123	Injection	67	Killer	30		

NO SURRENDER

The basis of any independent government is a national language, and we can no longer continue aping our former colonizers... Those who feel they cannot do without English can as well pack up and go. (President Jomo Kenyatta, Nairobi, 1974.)



SURRENDER

In January 1989, officials in Osaka, the largest city in the Kinki district of west-central Japan, announced that the word *Kinki* would no longer be used overseas because 'in English this word means odd, unusual, and some other things'. The alternative name for the region, *Kansai*, was to be used instead. As a result, the new *Kinki Research Complex* changed its name to the *Kansai Research Complex*. Other candidates for change: the English-language tourist magazine *Kinki* and the luggage logo *Kinki Nippon Tourist*.