

16 Contact Linguistics and World Englishes

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1 Introduction

The world Englishes paradigm is most closely associated with the foundational work of Braj Kachru in establishing the field of nativized second-language varieties as a legitimate area of academic study. At the same time, Kachru has taken a proactive applied linguistic stand in fighting for the recognition of these varieties as legitimate in their contexts of use. For Kachru, English in countries such as India or Nigeria has developed its own norms which make it appropriate to its cultural and educational contexts. As a tool of communication within these countries, English has to play a complementary role to that of the local languages in a finely balanced linguistic ecology. The strengths of the Kachruvian approach can be seen in its applicability beyond the realms of the former British empire. It has furnished us with models, schemata, and debates that would appear to apply as well, to varying degrees, to French in Africa, Spanish in the New World, and the rise and fall of Russian in the former Soviet republics.

The successes of the paradigm are clear: world Englishes study is an essential part of the branches of linguistics/sociolinguistics that are characterized by labels like "language spread" and "contact linguistics." In addition, the argument for the legitimation of the varieties and for recognition of their cultural value has made its mark in applied linguistics. The perspective I wish to highlight is that of contact linguistics, with variationist leanings, and a dose of social history. This chapter argues for a greater degree of rapprochement between the fields of world Englishes (or New Englishes) and Contact Linguistics, building on the work of, *inter alia*, Kachru (1982, 1983), Ho and Platt (1993), and Mufwene (2001). At the same time, it pays attention to certain aspects within the variationist enterprise in sociolinguistics (Labov, 1972 and subsequently).

Four aspects of world Englishes studies await fuller attention:

- 1 the foundation of New Englishes vis-à-vis the input;
- 2 establishing a truly comparative data base for linguistic analysis;

- 3 refining our tools for describing and accounting for variation;
- 4 describing language shift where it is taking place.

I shall provide brief motivations for (2) to (4), leaving fuller exploration to future research, before focusing in detail on phase (1). Regarding (2), "establishing a truly comparative data base," the foundations have been clearly laid by a number of descriptions of individual varieties in the three journals in the field (*World Englishes*, *English World-Wide*, and *English Today*) and in pioneering dissertations at the University of Illinois (Urbana, Illinois, USA) and elsewhere. These have helped track down recurring similarities as well as idiosyncratic forms in world Englishes, and certain processes such as lectal shifting (the retention of earlier developmental forms for use along stylistic lines, in informal speech or interactions with basilectal speakers). The fact of lectal shifting (see, e.g., Chew, 1995; Platt, 1975) makes it imperative to gather data within similar situations, so that a speaker's baseline can be ascertained and any ensuing stylistic shifts up or down can be tracked. Other sociolinguistic aspects pertaining to "register" are also methodologically important. Comparative work should ideally not mix spoken and written data. Unfortunately, individual case studies do not always adhere to this desideratum. In some cases, analysts are correct in suggesting that certain features from written sources (newspaper articles, students' essays, conversations in a novel) are regular features of the variety concerned. However, writing often has its own conventions, some of which have little connection with features of speech. Newspaper headlines, for example, have their own conventions, such as the deletion of articles, use of present tense or passive without *be*, none of which draws on speech norms. No one says to a friend: *I've got some hot news to tell you – Man bites dog in Illinois*. We rarely have information on the editing process accompanying the written efforts cited in some world Englishes studies. The work of creative writers, particularly, needs to be cited with care, as they are concerned with creating a general effect via language, rather than using constructions with sociolinguistic veracity. Even the best-intentioned authors may be susceptible to linguistic stereotyping or might not be as knowledgeable about linguistic norms as they and others believe.

In other instances, even though a piece of creative writing may be written in English, its syntax and discourse patterns may be intended to reflect not the local variety of English, but the first language of the community concerned. Famous examples are Raja Rao's novel *Kanthapura* (1938), and Gabriel Okara's *The Voice* (1970), reflecting, via very creative English, the idioms of Kannada and Ijaw, respectively. But these efforts tell us very little about the spoken English of those communities.

This is not to suggest that written data is unimportant: for earlier periods concerning the genesis of world Englishes, written data may be all that analysts have to go on, and can provide valuable snippets of information for the linguist. Thus, non-literary written sources like ships' logs, court records, missionary diaries, boarding school documents, and the like can be as

valuable to the linguist as to the historian. And, obviously, for educational and literacy studies of New Englishes, student writing and revisions are the core material of analysis.

For contemporary studies, though, spoken data is a *sine qua non*, which should ideally be gathered along uniform lines. I suggest that principles well established in variationist sociolinguistics be followed, with modifications as warranted. That is, fieldwork should be undertaken with a reliable judgment sample of the community concerned, culminating in informal tape-recorded interviews. These should stress topics that elicit extended conversation, typically topics centered around local practices and experiences, including possibly Labov's well-known "danger-of-death" module (1972: 92–5). Topics could be of a controversial but not taboo nature. The advantage of the "Labovian" methodology is that it provides comparable data gathered under roughly the same conditions. Some studies of world Englishes have successfully utilized this methodology, at least at the level of data-gathering (Ho and Platt, 1993; Mesthrie, 1992; Sharma, 2002). There is, however, an important caveat, since the aim of urban dialectology is to study the vernacular, i.e. the least formal L1 variety that speakers of a dialect use. The obvious question is whether the same techniques should apply to world Englishes which are not L1s and which are seldom appropriate in the most informal local context. A related question is whether speakers should only use English in a world Englishes interview. It might be sociolinguistically artificial to expect English to be the only language used if the interviewer and interviewee share the same background. Bilingual behavior including mixing and switching should be encouraged where natural and expected. On the other hand, an interviewer who is an outsider may well elicit only English conversation. Overall, there seems to be no reason why the approach by "variationist" interviewers would be inappropriate for world Englishes research, except, perhaps, for "learner" varieties in the Outer Circle. It may well turn out that discussions around school, education, and more "serious topics" like local politics will be more prominent in world Englishes contexts than in urban dialectology.

The data provided in many accounts of world Englishes do not always meet the ideal requirements we would like for formal sociolinguistics. Where a local feature occurs, it is not always clear from the descriptions how frequent it is, which subgroups use it, and what its relations to more standard or colloquial "L1" constructions are. An example of syntactic analysis that I believe lends itself to comparative work is that of Ho and Platt (1993: 30–73) on the Singapore English copula. The work is explicit about its data base (interviews with 150 speakers of Chinese background, of which 100 were selected for study on the grounds of clarity of recording and amount of speech). Several constructions were then isolated for study along descriptive and developmental lines – the copula will serve as an example. Both presence and absence of the copula were charted out in a variety of linguistic contexts per speaker. A Guttman (or implicational) scale was used to show a reliable patterning of data according to the linguistic contexts (_ Adj; _ V + -ing; _ Nom; _ Loc, etc.) and the

social variables (chiefly educational level). A VARBRUL analysis was performed to ascertain which factors favored deletion above others and which educational groups did so. The implicational scale gives a clear picture of a *panchronic* developmental path. I adapt Saussure's (1966: 95) term here to refer to the way that synchronic variation can be used to make deductions (despite Saussure's disavowal) about diachronic development, in this case the pathways of L2 development. Under certain societal conditions, the (synchronic) pattern outlined by Ho and Platt might prove stable, with fossilization at one end of the continuum. Similar data from other world Englishes (and indeed from a non-Chinese group within Singapore) will verify whether the pathways of copula insertion are the same, whether substrate influence plays a role, or whether variation is random in different world Englishes. The implicational scale model and VARBRUL analysis might also be used to demonstrate (or test) whether there are qualitative differences between Inner- and Outer-Circle varieties in respect of copula variation or other syntactic constructions.

The desideratum of 150 speakers with 100 of them providing extensive, clear data is not likely to be met in EFL settings. But that may change in the globalizing world. Furthermore, since adequate resources may not always be available to support large-scale study in many universities outside the Inner Circle, smaller-scale studies adhering to the same principles could be undertaken, eventually leading to the desideratum of an in-depth, comparable data base. This call does not ignore the existence of corpora, such as ICE (International Corpus of English). Corpora give the researcher the benefit of a wide range of texts (spoken and written) over long periods of time, and can profitably be used to answer specific issues raised in modern dialect description. But for comparative work leading to insights like those provided by an implicational scale, a controlled data base is preferable. A major problem with corpora is that information about speakers is not always forthcoming; nor are details of style, context, etc.

Turning to point (4), it appears that language shift is on the increase worldwide: we are all aware of the alarming statistics on language endangerment. At the moment, some world Englishes that I term "language-shift varieties" are uncommon – South African Indian English (henceforth SAIE), Irish and other Celtic Englishes; possibly Singapore English; Native American (Indian) varieties; Aboriginal Australian varieties; and perhaps Yiddish English in parts of the US (see Mesthrie, 1992: 2–3 for references). There are reports of elites in some Outer-Circle communities shifting to English as sole home language. To some extent this is happening in South Africa; and de Klerk's (2000) research in the eastern Cape shows that it is not just the elites who are voluntarily shifting to English. Is it the case that language shift throws up more variation than does balanced bilingualism? Certainly the greatest variation in world Englishes seems to be reported in Singapore English, Irish English, SAIE, and some varieties of American Indian English. And SAIE certainly shows immensely more variation than its antecedent L2 variety in India. Is it the case that adults involved in the early stages of language shift are the ones who are responsible for the greatest number of innovations, and that children involved

in the late stages of language shift (and/or the first post-shift generation) are the ones who act as selectors and stabilizers from this pool of variants? We must leave this topic for future research.

2 Early Contact History

The field of creolistics (or pidgin and creole linguistics) has shown how detailed archival research can illuminate earlier forms of contact languages and offer a firmer foundation against which to test characterizations of creoles and theories of creolization (e.g., Baker, 1995). In particular, the relative contributions of the superstrate, substrate, and universals of one sort or another is an area of intense research and debate in creolistics. Much of the research in world Englishes has been on the transfer from substrates to New Englishes, one of their important characteristics. Yet transfer is not unconstrained. Here, Mufwene's (2001: 18) notion of a "pool of variants" and of subsequent selection from it are useful: "While interacting with each other, speakers contribute features to a *pool* from which they make their selections that can affect the evolutionary trajectory of a language." I suggest that in a contact situation there is a difference between transfer at the early "adding to pool of variants" stage, which is relatively unconstrained, as against the selection stage, which is constrained by principles such as Andersen's (1983) "transfer to somewhere." Andersen proposed that a feature is transferred from L1 to L2 if and only if there is the capacity for such a misgeneralization in the target language itself. At the same time, we have seen that there appear to be universal strategies of simplification and complexification in contact varieties (but this is not the concern of this paper).

As a main focus, I turn to the issue of "input" in world Englishes: the "shape" of the superstrate should not be taken for granted. Many New Englishes are compared to Standard British or US English for reasons of convenience, as we have all done in our research. But such use of modern Standard British English (or sometimes US English) as a sort of metalanguage should not be taken to imply that this is the relevant superstrate for New English study. For historical veracity, we need to keep in mind (1) that standard English of the period of exploration, trade, and colonization was slightly different from English in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries; and (2) that such standard English was not the only input in the formation of New Englishes.

The superstrate was also shaped by sailors, soldiers, adventurers, hunters, divers, tradespeople, indentured workers, plantation owners, overseers, settlers, and schoolteachers. This was, to say the least, a rather varied input, which cautions that the notion of a target language (TL) is an idealization; more often, and certainly outside the classroom, the TL was a varied and "moving" target. It is safe to assume that very few of these introducers of English held MA certificates in TESOL.

A discussion of point (1) above – that standard English of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries differed from modern Standard British English –

is clearly too great a task to do justice to in this chapter. Instead, by way of exemplification, a few of the main features that were once standard are listed here:

1 unstressed *do*:

- (1) ... Thee 11. day of Iune, the King did anoint the Generall with rich ointment, and called him his son. (Governors and Assistants of the East India Merchants, 1603)

2 the use of *for to* with infinitives:

- (2) A Billet is a piece of Cleft Wood for to Burn (R. Holme, 1688, cited in the *OED*)

3 the dative of advantage:

- (3) *I got me a servant at Harwich* (Defoe, 1724, cited in Visser, 1963: 630)

4 use of *you was* for singular and *you were* for plural (in the eighteenth century at least).

Some of these may have stabilized in one or another variety of world Englishes, as I suggest in sections 4 and 5. I now turn to less standard superstratal input in the periods of exploration and colonization.

3 Sailors

Bailey and Maynor (1988) carried out a survey of "Ship English," as recorded in the logs of the British Navy between 1631 and 1730, with a view to ascertaining which features of New World Creoles may be attributable to this sociolect. As many of the sailors, including many captains and masters, were not well educated, their written norms do not disguise their speech norms to a very great extent. A fair picture of this sociolect thus emerges. Ship English may not have been an entirely autonomous, monolithic, or stable variety: it must have drawn on non-standard English, regional dialects, and slang. Bailey and Maynor demonstrate how Ship English differed from the standard English of the times in respect of present-tense marking; forms of the verb *be*; past tenses of weak verbs and strong verbs; *a*-prefixing with participles; and so forth. The present tense for verbs used *Ø*, *-s* and *-th*, but the distribution of these was different from that in the contemporary standard. Bailey and Maynor (1988: 199) found that third-person singular forms are sometimes unmarked:

- (4) the Comondore [sic] who arrived here this Day and seem to be very well pleased.

More common is the occurrence of *-s* on other than third-person singular verbs:

- (5) ... gross corall Racks [sic] which makes you ride with a short scope.

Such examples give pause for thought even for New English studies, as absence of *-s* is a frequently remarked-upon characteristic of some varieties. Cape Flats English (spoken by people formerly classified "coloured" in and around Cape Town) has a rule that allows *-Ø* for third-person singular verbs and *-s* for third-person plural. Was the inherent variability in the input a contributing factor? Clearly the shape of the superstrate needs to be studied carefully for specific New English varieties. Amongst Bailey and Maynor's examples is an intriguing use of *use to* in a combination with present tense *do* that is reminiscent of a construction in Singapore English:

- (6) in this bay vessels do use to stop for want of a wind.

The use of the present tense (habitual, according to Bailey and Maynor, 1988: 206) *do use* in (6) here implies 'they used to stop and still do'. In Singapore and Malaysia the form *use(d) to* also signifies past habitual tense extending into the present (i.e., non-completive):

- (7) My mother, she use to go to Pulau Tikus market [implying 'she still does so']. (Platt, Weber, and Ho, 1984: 71)

While I do not advocate that all such constructions are necessarily superstratal, I am suggesting caution for a less substratophile interpretation of New English variability.

4 Settlers and Traders

One researcher who does take a conservative view of the New Englishes is Jim Davy (2000). Davy argues that in New English studies it has become common to deduce, falsely, that deviation from modern Standard English is *prima facie* evidence of linguistic and/or "normic newness." In the field of lexis, he shows from careful use of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) that features thought to be unique to parts of Africa have a long history in the UK. Alleged West Africanisms like *how now?*, *not so?*, *trinket* (for 'a precious thing, a jewel'), and *to move with a group* are recorded in the *OED* with British sources, from, respectively, c.1838–78, 1606–1978, 1533–1774, and 1697. Another apparent innovation in West African English, including Pidgin, is *beef* for 'cattle, head of cattle'. According to the *OED*, however, this usage was a part of British English up until the nineteenth century (sg. *beef*, pl. *beeves*, for 'any animal of the ox-kind').

Davy conjectures that some syntactic constructions reported as distinctively New English such as single comparatives (e.g., *than* for 'more than' as in *He values his car than his wife*) and use of *be + ing* with statives (*I am having a cold*)

may turn out to have L1 trajectories, too. To this I would add the form widespread in sub-Saharan Africa *can be able*, which was once used by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors, including Thomas More, Shakespeare, Congreve, and Dryden (see Visser, 1969: 1738):

- (8) ... nor al the good words in the world ... can be able to profyte the man.
(Sir Thomas More, 1534)

In order to establish such superstratal continuity convincingly, features must be shown to emanate from the right speakers at the right time. In this vein, Mesthrie and West (1995) undertook a survey of settler English of South Africa of the 1820s, focusing on unpublished archival letters written by new settlers to the governors. As was common, people leaving Britain for the colonies were largely of working-class origins. Their handwriting itself sometimes gives a clear indication of their unfamiliarity with the practice of writing; but since problems in the new colony were pressing, they felt the urgency of committing their thoughts in writing to the governor. One such less-than-fully-literate settler (Jeremiah Goldswain, a sawyer from Buckinghamshire) outdid everyone in keeping a detailed diary, which was eventually published in two volumes (Long, 1946/49). The archival materials give a fascinating view of language variation, including the existence of many features which did not survive the process of koineization in South Africa. But several did, including a few that have been mistakenly imputed to subsequent Afrikaans influence, e.g. the adjective with infinitive as in (9):

- (9) The leaves ... quite capable to withstand even the severest frost.

Mesthrie and West found an unexpectedly large amount of variation in settler speech in South Africa, in which a number of forms usually associated with L2 English were present.

1 *Omissions*. These included the following: determiners in certain contexts (10–13); prepositions after certain verbs (14–17); possessive 's (18–20); and -s on third-person singular verbs (21–2):

- (10) in order to procure [Ø] living for my wife and family.
(11) most probably [Ø] great part of those potatoes are by this time unfit for use.
(12) this was [Ø] matter of fact.
(13) could I be permitted here to receive the third of my deposit which [Ø] government proposed to be repaid me on landing.
(14) He promised him leave to go to Cape Town to complain [Ø] me [Ø] his Excellency.

- (15) relative to our colonial passes which were sent from your office [Ø] Cape Town to Grahamstown. [in]
(16) and that the finding [Ø] personal security may not be required. [of]
(17) But on attending at the office this morning I learn with much regret [Ø] your indisposition. [of]
(18) at the Government expence ...
(19) on hearing of your Lordship design to visit the frontier ...
(20) which has totally exhausted your Memorialist finances.
(21) your Memorialist humbly hope your Excelency will be so kind ...
(22) the total impossibility of procuring flour or bread ... induce your Memorialists ...

2 *Non-standard morphosyntactic forms*. Those that recur (variably) in the settler corpus are:

- (a) double negation;
(b) variation in the use of complementizers, especially zero after verbs like *request*, *expect*, *state*, *conceive*, which require an overt complementizer in the standard today;
(c) use of *is* and *was* with plural subjects; singular form *you was*;
(d) *have* with third-person singular subjects and *has* with third-person plural subjects;
(e) use of -s endings with verbs following a plural subject;
(f) plural endings for non-count nouns like *progresses*, *evidences*, *sufferings*, *hopes*.

For further examples, see Mesthrie and West (1995: 127–9).

3 *The dative of advantage*. Amongst syntactic constructions that were once standard is the dative of advantage. This construction survives in Cape Flats English, where it is frequently misdiagnosed by purists as an incorrect use of the reflexive:

- (23) I'm gonna buy me a car.

This construction (also known as the ethical dative in Middle English studies) implies that the action expressed by the verb accrues some advantage to the subject (which was historically in the dative case). Although many of the sentences appear to admit a reinforcing reflexive nuance, this is not always the case, as (24) suggests in another context (L1 Appalachian English):

- (24) I'm gonna write me a letter to my cousin Tom. (Christian, 1991: 16)

Here the writing of the letter accrues some advantage (like personal satisfaction) to the subject: the reflexive interpretation **I'm gonna write myself a letter to my cousin Tom* is inadmissible. Though the dative of advantage is stigmatized today, it was once standard. It was brought to South Africa by a large number of settlers (Mesthrie and West, 1995), who frequently wrote lines like the one in (25) in their reports to the Governor in Cape Town:

- (25) ... your memorialist then built him a house on a spot of Ground.
(Mesthrie and West, 1995: 124)

Interestingly, this construction was soon lost in settler speech as people rose in the social world in South Africa, especially after the capital accumulation consequent on the precious metals boom of the 1860s onwards. But before it did so, it stabilized in one L2 variety of the country. A challenge to world Englishes studies is to ascertain why certain superstratal features stabilized in some territories but not others. Is there a reversal of Andersen's 'transfer to somewhere' principle? In reversing this principle to account for retentions like that of the dative of advantage, one might conjecture whether a superstratal feature being jettisoned in the standard will survive better if there is some reinforcement in a prominent substrate language.

In factoring regional dialects into the superstrate, especial attention ought to be paid to varieties like Scots and Irish English. The Scots were influential as schoolteachers in many colonies, whilst the Irish often occupied a lower status as indentured laborers working side-by-side with locals or imported slaves, especially (but not exclusively) in New World contexts – see Rickford (1986: 251). The diffusion of features like *youse* (plural of 'you') in Cape Flats and other Englishes (in the US and Australia) occurred from Irish English. Scottish English is a possible source for items like *to fright for* ('to be afraid of') and *mines* ('mine') in SAIE.

5 Missionaries

Missionaries were a significant presence in most colonies and formed an important linguistic link as introducers of Western education and as early recorders of indigenous languages. As there have been few studies of their own varieties, the default assumption is that they were speakers or proponents of standard English. Mesthrie (1996) shows that, for at least one colony, this assumption is unwarranted for the period when English was first introduced. In the Cape Colony, South Africa, British rule was established first in 1795 and then again in 1806. Missionary and army activity preceded the arrival of a British civilian element by a good 20 years. The first missionaries from the London Missionary Society (LMS) were sent over in 1799 with the aim of converting the local people and introducing Christian and Western concepts

via education. What the missionaries lacked in numbers they made up in amount of contact with, influence over, and interest in the local populace ("Hottentots" in the western Cape, Xhosa in the eastern Cape). A survey of the unpublished letters and journals of the first generation of missionaries reveals a surprising number of them to be continental Europeans with little knowledge of English or working-class L1 English speakers with little familiarity with the conventions of literacy and standard English. As an example of the first group, (26) is the opening sentence in the journal of Revd Kayser (born in Saxony, 1800), addressed to his employers at the LMS:

- (26) I hope that you my universal letter, dated the 22nd of June, which our safe arrival in Capetown mentioned, with the extract of my diary, which I the 6th of August too Mr. Beck who embarked with the Ferrie for London delivered have, in safely have recieved. (October 12, 1827)

Clearly Kayser himself was an interlanguage English user who, at the time of his arrival, was so unsure of his English as to resort to a literal translation from his mother tongue (German) in his written English. Although his journals give an indication of improvement in English, he cannot really be said to have mastered it. Yet he started a school for Xhosa children and was its English teacher. (This, from the pupils' perspective, gives a new twist to the term "comprehensible input"!)¹ Kayser was only a slight exception; there were other Dutch and German missionaries laboring in the Cape at this time, whose English varied from mid-interlanguage to close to the TL. Surprisingly, some English missionaries also felt uncomfortable in writing English. Missionary work was not always dictated by other-worldly concerns alone. For some, it was a source of employment and an avenue for a better life overseas than as a craftsman with little education in England (Warren, 1967: 11–12). Revd Ayliff, for example, who originally came over as a settler, kept a diary which has been described by its editors, Hewson and van der Riet (1963: 9), as containing "errors in grammar, spelling and punctuation on almost every page, and the use of clichés..." Whilst this characterization describes his lack of literacy and literary skills, his diary reveals a great deal of variation between standard and non-standard forms of concord (*was* versus *were*), prepositions, relative pronouns and the like:

- (27) What have I done this last year what have I done doesn't amount to nothing. Can only speak a few words of Dutch instead of being a sufficient master to speak it with Freedom? (Ayliff, 1823, cited in Mesthrie, 1996: 150)

The average English missionary's skill in his native language was superior to that of Ayliff, yet he was not alone in being uncomfortable in the grammatical and discourse conventions of the standard form of the language. It is not yet known whether South Africa's mission field was exceptional in this regard, and if so, why that should be. Preliminary investigation of the repertoires of

missionaries elsewhere suggests that in India, whilst some English missionaries were of the working class, this was not widespread (Piggin, c.1984: 34). Of 550 missionaries based in India in the period 1789–1859, Piggin lists 114 as being of the working class (c.1984: 37); on the other hand, he mentions 88 as skilled artisans, mechanics, shop assistants, laborers, etc.:

The teachers who became missionaries in India then, were drawn from the better educated, professionally conscious, ranks of teachers. Only a few were like Joseph Fletcher who had yet to discover punctuation.

For West Africa, Moorhouse (1973: 324) draws an engaging picture of linguistic diversity in the superstrate, citing a letter from Bishop Towzer:

"There was Kelleway," he [= Bishop Towzer] wrote home to his sister, "teaching Devonshire of the broadest kind, Sivill the most undoubted Lincolnshire, and Adams indulging in low cockney slang where 'grub' stands habitually for 'food' and 'kid' for 'child.' The effect was that the boys who heard all this jargon were naturally puzzled and, with the exception of a few such sentences like 'O, my Eye' and the like made but a small advance in speaking English."

Such dialect phonology is sometimes claimed to have passed on to the emergent local dialects of English, though it is not clear that they could have been widespread or long-lasting within the "pool of variants." Similar suggestions of dialect input are given by Kirk-Greene (1971) concerning West Africa, and Alexander Kerr (1968), the first principal of Fort Hare College for Black people in South Africa:

There is... scope for research into how enduring is the effect of the regional accent of the English teacher on the West African student. Can the trained listener perceive traces of the long line of German and Swiss teachers of English in Ghana and Nigeria? For how long will so many of the Northern Nigerian secretarial grade speak with a Glaswegian intonation acquired from their sole instructor for eleven years? Now comes a new influence. This is the steady flow of American Peace Corps teachers to West African schools, over a thousand in the past few years. (Kirk-Greene, 1971: 129)

Even the English was variegated according to the school or missionary institution the students had attended. For one could easily distinguish those who had been educated in Presbyterian from those in Anglican or Methodist schools and also from those who had been trained in a French or German environment. The broad vowels and the trilled "r"s of the Scottish missionaries raised no difficulties for me, and when I overheard one of the students reciting "Friends, Rromans, Countrrymen, lend me your earrs" I was uncertain whether he was "taking me off" or was attempting to speak that brand of English most recently introduced! (Kerr, 1968: 51; cited by Magura, 1984: 56)

Schmied (1991: 11) is more cautious in suggesting that "both the missionaries in the West and the settlers in the South still looked upon England as their

model in matters pertaining to the language standard (although most of them did not speak Standard English themselves)." Despite the extreme variability, the missionaries' influence must have been considerable, as they were the ones who converted the locals to Christianity and introduced the use of English. In Mesthrie (1999) I argue that the survival of unstressed *do* in Cape Flats English is most likely to be due to the influence of the continental European missionaries, who used it not only in their preaching styles based on the King James Bible (as in (30)), but in their letters and journals, too:

(28) We did go to the beach yesterday. (contemporary Cape Flats English)

(29) But some did wait till I had finished. (Revd Kayser, 1833)

(30) And they did beat the gold into thin plates. (Exodus 39: 14; King James Bible)

Although unstressed *do* was once standard, it waned in the standard variety from the eighteenth century onwards. It does not occur in the settler corpus of the 1820s, though a more formal perlocutionary legal or affective *do* is used as part of the written style as in *I do declare in the most solemn manner that...* The semantics of unstressed *do* in the missionaries' correspondence, on the other hand (highlighting a salient or new VP activity), fits very well with present-day New English norms on the Cape Flats. A reinforcing effect may well be from Afrikaans substrate (McCormick, 1995; Mesthrie, 1999).

6 Soldiers

Among the earliest teachers and propagators of English in the colonies were soldiers. Shivachi (1999) discusses the significance of the King's African Rifles in disseminating a knowledge of English in East Africa in the early twentieth century. In an early attempt to provide education to Indians on some sugar estates in nineteenth-century Natal, discharged soldiers from the Indian army were recruited, since they had acquired some knowledge of an Indian language. This project was soon abandoned, for, as the Superintendent's report of 1880 put it, "their conduct was not such as to command the respect of those among whom their work lay" (Brain, 1983: 205). The role of soldiers as teachers and the status of colonial soldiers' English as a sociolect have still to be investigated. The Indian Army, composed largely of battalions drawing on Hindus, Sikhs, and Muslims from various regions, was involved in the initial conquests that led to the colonization of many South Asian territories such as Malaysia, Burma, etc. What was their role in spreading a local South Asian variety of British English? What was the role of the famous Gurkha battalions in establishing English in their own country (Nepal) and adjacent territories where they fought? And finally, although the officers spoke Standard English (RP at the highest levels), what was the English of the British rank and file like?

7 Teachers

Finally, in characterizing the superstrate via its intermediaries, the teachers (British as well as local) should not be forgotten. An important intermediary of the superstrate was Indian English itself. As one of the earliest colonies and the jewel in the imperial crown, India often supplied English teachers when new Asian colonies were established. This applies at least to Sri Lanka (Kachru, 1983a), Malaysia, and Singapore (Platt and Weber, 1980). Perhaps some New English features were diffused or at least reinforced in this way, notably the following: *by-heart* as a verb (31–2); *alphabets* as a term for 'letters of the alphabet'; *further studies* for 'higher education'; and *tuition(s)* for 'paid tuition outside school hours':

(31) He by-hearted his work.

(32) By-hearting should be avoided.

Again, we await more careful sociohistorical work in this area.

8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the historical input to individual varieties of world Englishes should not be ignored. This is not intended to diminish the importance of the classroom as the main provider of "input" and as the main site at which world Englishes were forged. There must have been some interplay between pupils' original interlanguages born in the classroom, the informal dialect used by L1 speakers, and the pidgin Englishes (or other "performance varieties") which appeared in many colonized territories. Uncovering information about these early stages and assessing their relative importance is one of the exciting challenges facing world Englishes studies.

NOTE

- 1 Kayser was assisted in his teaching by his wife, Christina Maria Boehre, and later by his daughter, Charlotte Margaret (born 1829).

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