

Different roles of English:

- English as an international language (EIL):

Crystal (1997): when a language 'develops a special role recognised in every country'

- a) when many people speak it as a mother tongue / native language
- b) given an official status, usually for economic progress (law, government, media, education)
- c) given priority as a foreign language: taught in schools as 2nd language, need to learn even in adulthood (English as a foreign language (EFL) speakers)

- English as a lingua franca (ELF): used as a means of communication amongst each other, not only for speaking to native English speakers
 - Language shift

Bilingualism and multilingualism, regarded as aberrations by English mother tongue speakers in the UK and US (at least in the past), are the norm for the rest of the world. Instead, speakers of dominant languages (especially English) have been long reluctant to acquire other languages, expecting others to make the effort to learn their mother tongue; they also often view code-switching as linguistic incompetence.

- (Sweeny and Zhu Hua, 2010) Monolingual L1 English speakers are among the least skilled users of English as an international lingua franca, compared to bilingual or L2 speakers who are more able to exercise accommodation skills (adjusting their language to facilitate communication), yet they are the most biased against other varieties of the English language different from their standard.

Other reasons why English has spread:

- Linguistic hegemony: when dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as the norm. Hegemony is ensured when they can convince those who fail to meet those standards to view their failure as being the result of the inadequacy of their own language.

English Only movement (American English, or as the members like to call it Official English): started from a substantial influx of southern Europeans into America, who were usually non-native speakers, when multilingualism was tolerated. With the context that immigrants were racially inferior to the northern Europeans who initially colonised the country, the US government began reversing the policy that allowed immigrants to use their native languages as the language of instruction in education. By the early 1920s, $\frac{3}{4}$ of the US states insisted on English-only education – a policy that was often enforced inhumanely. Native Indian children were kidnapped from their reservations and forced into boarding schools to learn English. While tolerance for multilingualism increased and a new Bilingual Education Act was established, the following increases in immigrants from developing countries in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, caused strong xenophobia that led to establishment of the English-Only movement.

- In California, measures were more extreme where in 1998 the English Language Education for Children in Public Schools Initiative was established. Children for whom English is not their L1 were put into immersion programmes for a year before being transferred to mainstream education. The underlying aim of the program was to subtract a language from the children repertoire (their native language) and replace it with English by forcing them into an English-only environment without any special language assistance; despite evidence that bilingual education was far more effective than immersion education, the policy was defended fiercely
- Linguistics imperialism: the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages; starting from when Britain colonised many parts of the world and became the language of power and prestige (also known as the “imperial tongue”)
 - Britain enforced the use of English in their colonies, in institutions and as a language of instruction in schools, which made it a compulsory language to learn

In Kenya because of colonisation, English was known as the colonial language, and all indigenous or local African languages became known as vernaculars, demoting the status of the local languages and enforcing the prestige of the dominant language English.

- Globalisation: increased interconnectivity has allowed for increase in the flows of people across countries, and increase in the spread of English media
 - Britain in the past was considered a global superpower in terms of economic, military, political and cultural power; Both of which have an overwhelming English-speaking majority

(Adamo, 2005) argued that “the ‘imposition’ of English language on the world, Africa, and in particular Nigeria (through the media, information technology, and other means of propaganda, and under the guise of globalisation) is a form of linguistics terrorism”

- (Wee, 2003) ‘The role of English as a global language is always discussed hand in hand with its economic capital and status as a language of science, commerce and technology, clearly indicating that the need to use English is motivated and associated with a global perspective – English is clearly seen as an instrument and means of global participation in financial and economic markets.’
 - Linguistic capital: varieties in the market are assigned different market values, mostly based on the connotation of the linguistic variety

- English has a high linguistic value in most micro-markets because of its potential to earn high profit from its acquisition compared to other languages
 - English is now the language of trade and a global lingua franca, not using it risks ostracisation from the benefits of the global economy
 - For future career development, focus on the English language is emphasised which implies that other languages are not worth learning because they do not give the same benefits

Models to describe the spread of English:

- Three concentric circles of English (Kachru, 1992)
 - Attempt to divide Englishes by the contexts of their development (how the language was acquired, and how it's currently used)
 - a) Inner circle: traditional bases of English, used as a native language (USA, UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand)
 - The first diaspora to other ENL countries
 - b) Outer circle: earlier phases in the spread of English (colonised), become institutionalised and is a second language
 - The second diaspora to the ESL countries, colonisation of Asia and Africa resulting in second language varieties
 - c) Expanding circle: English is used as the main foreign language
 - Weaknesses:
 - Based on geography and history rather than the way speakers currently identify and use English (some ESL speakers now grow up as ENL speakers)
 - Does not take into account linguistic diversity, even in the inner circle
 - Difficult to classify English as L1/L2/L3 and many world English speakers use different languages for different purposes
- Functions of English in Asia (Bolton and Kachru, 2006)
 - Historical: language policies in the specific country and the place of English in such contexts
 - Functional: use of English in various domains (education, trade, etc.)
 - Formal: productive processes that mark the nativisation of English (e.g. language shift to English such that it is used in formal and informal settings across many domains)
 - Sociocultural: the Asian country adopts and modifies the culture that is part of the English language
 - Creative: the use of nativised English in literary genres, professional genres, news media
- 'Map-and-branch' model (Strevens, 1980)
 - Spread of English originated from British and American English; both seen as the highest in the hierarchy and of equal standing
 - Clearly differentiates that British English mainly has 'daughters' in Africa, the Caribbean, South Asia and Australasia; American English in Caribbean and Asia

- Circle of world English (McArthur, 1987)
 - 'world standard English' at the centre
 - Move out towards standardised regional varieties (American, British, Canadian, East Asian, South Asian...)
 - Followed by sub-regional varieties (Singapore, Indian, South African varieties...)
 - Followed by non-standard varieties (Jamaican, Aboriginal...)
 - Pidgin and creoles outside the circle (Tok Pisin, Hawaiian Creole...)

Pidgin Englishes: rudimentary languages that have no native speakers but may subsequently gain in complexity; often borne out of necessity

- English is the source of much of their vocabulary
 Hawaiian Pidgin Bible, the beginning of the Lord's prayer
 "God, you oua Faddah.
 You stay inside da sky.
 We like all da peopo know fo shua
 How good an spesho you stay,
 An show you plenny respeck."
- "Our Father in heaven,
 Hallowed be your name."
 - Non-standard spelling and structure
 - Little to no codification yet, spelling seems heavily based on pronunciation
 - Literal interpretations using everyday lexis could have made it more easy to understand for EFL speakers ("sky" as "heaven", "hallowed" honour and glorify as "respect")

Creole: expanded pidgins, that have expanded to regular vernaculars especially in urban settings; structurally, they are as complex as creoles

Vernacular (dialect):

(Li, 2020) Indigenous, native or local, spoken either by a rural or urban speech community, or by a lower social class; it is informal, or casual, or the least standardised; contrastively used with standard language; uncoded, but when there is a news it is codified through the use of a dominant language, i.e., usually the standard language; usually acquired as a first variety in the home; featured by colloquialisms, vulgarisms, substandard forms and slang

- Usually interpreted geographically, it is a variety of a language that signals where a person comes from

Effects of the spread of English as a world language:

- 1) Enrichment or dilution of standards: may be perceived changes
 - a) Borrowing: involving the adaptation of a word into the phonetic and grammatical system of another language, often resulting from language contact
 - 'Hygge', a Danish or Norwegian word which essentially means creating a warm atmosphere and enjoying life with good people
- 2) Language shift
(Fishman, 1964) The replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialisation in a community
 - Why? (Prestige, role of English as a working language, etc.)
Language loss: a gradual progression from language shift (can be in the language shift stage for a long time)
 - Decline in proficiency of the native language
 - In the past, learning a language is usually only for necessity and not for leisure as it is today
 - In the urban environment where everything is centralised, a stable common language can be adopted and developed
 - 2 stages: personal/familial level (as often seen in immigrant communities often due to urbanisation), or the loss of an entire language (usually more for spoken-only languages)
- 3) Language death: progression from language loss where there are no more native speakers of the language
(Jenkins, 2010) English termed as a 'killer language'

Extinction of Cornish (an ancient Celtic language of Cornwall) due to a displacement by the English language in the 18th and 19th century: In 1549, The Book of Common Prayer written in old modern English was mandated for all religious services across the country, including Cornwall. Historically, the Cornish were associated with catholicism and catholicism was their way of life, but to many of them The Book of Common Prayer was unintelligible. This led to the Prayer Book Protest, which was violently suppressed so it was futile; The start of the loss of the Cornish language. The state of England gradually became more centralised where old modern English became a lingua franca, there was a significantly lesser need and benefit of learning Cornish.

- How does language loss reflect culture loss?

Te Reo Maori, the indigenous language of New Zealand, is one of the most well-known endangered languages. Its language reflects many cultural perspectives that are distinctively Maori. One of which is the concept of Mauri, a respect for all living creatures. It is the belief that a life force which unites all creatures and enables them to flourish and also to accept that humans should not dominate the natural environment but live in harmony with it. The Maori, traditionally hunter-gatherers with the skill of hunting still

being passed down to Maori children today, are taught to only hunt and gather what they need in order not to cause imbalance in the natural environment that would cause something else to suffer. This cultural belief and value of respecting the natural environment is reflected in their social practices of praying over a hunted animal, a common practice called Karakia, a Maori prayer for food to acknowledge the sacrifices of the animals for their nourishment. Commonly fixed expressions featured in these prayers thanking gifts of food from the sea and sacred lands are reflections of these values. Another example reflecting Maori culture in Te Reo Maori is the Maori war cry (now a form of performance art called Haka), uniquely different in each tribe. Ka Mate, the haka often performed by the All Blacks, the New Zealand national rugby team, begins with “Ke mate, ke mate, ka ora ka ora” which translates to “I live, I live, I die, I die”. Can be interpreted as language of war, concept of battle to the death who lives wins, who loses dies. The Maori were tribal warriors and the haka that was passed down reflects their cultural values to thrive in the face of adversity, an embodiment of the warrior-spirit in Maori culture.

- 4) Language maintenance: to slow or reverse language loss (usually by government efforts) in the face of a regionally or socially more powerful language
 - Factors that threaten language maintenance: economic changes, status, demography (people moving away), institutional support, urbanisation
- 5) Language revitalisation: reverse language shift / loss, to slow it or to revive an extinct language
 - Singapore’s bilingual policy
 - Manx, Cornish, Hebrew, Te Reo Maori

Papua New Guinea has speakers of over 800 indigenous languages but the use of these languages are decreasing rapidly. This is due to globalisation, urbanisation and the resultant spread of the English language. English became a utilitarian language, the working language of commerce, education and law in modern day society so there was more pressure to put priority on learning the language for future career development and international communication. Coupled with the spread and rising popularity of English media globally, English became a language of prestige and power, and younger speakers viewed English as a more useful language to learn compared to their indigenous languages leading to a wave of language shift and gradual language loss.

- Recognising the gradual loss of their indigenous languages, efforts have been made to preserve some of their languages. The government implemented policies to develop educational programs for children to gain literacy in Tok Ples, a term referring to the chosen indigenous language of each community and also the English-based lingua franca Tok Pisin. (Initially, there was a policy that mandated English-only community schools.) This was implemented with the hopes that children could then transfer their literary skills to the other official languages such as Hiri Motu and English as they age through the education system. By 1991,

Papua New Guinea had Tok Ples pre-schools operating in at least 91 languages and opportunities for adults to learn the indigenous languages have also been made available.

6) Linguistic ownership

(Widdowson, 1993) includes exerting control over who may speak it, where it is spoken, and whether or not it is written

7) Mutual intelligibility (even between speakers of English, when they speak non-standard varieties)

- Alternatively, 'unintelligibility from (whose) perspective'

"The Black English Gap" In 2017, Warren Demesme who was accused for sexual assault was ignored when he asked for a lawyer when he said: "Why don; you just get me a lawyer, dog?" because it was argued that he asked for a "lawyer dog" and not an actual lawyer; Claiming that his request was ambiguous and equivocal. "Dog" is a vocative commonly seen to be used in African-American Vernacular English. It became a subject of contention when people argued that logically, it would have been an issue on transcript but since there was no such thing as a "lawyer dog" authorities should have been able to interpret Warren's request as a legitimate request for counsel. In the journal article, Testifying While Black (Jones et al., 2019) researchers tested Philadelphia stenographers who work in courthouses in Philadelphia to transcribe sentences in AAVE. Errors were found in the transcript of two out of five sentences and they could only accurately paraphrase one in three sentences. This case of unintelligibility from the perspective of the judicial court has far reaching consequences in the lives of defendants who could then be wrongly accused and sentenced to imprisonment.

8) Linguistic discrimination: unfair treatment of an individual solely based on their use of English (Accentism is a subset of this)

- Prestige differences between different varieties

Demand for native English speakers for teaching roles is high especially in ESL countries, NFL speakers are preferred even over trained, professional English teachers who have been trained in language pedagogy. In China, many teaching job advertisements clearly state that being a speaker from a NFL country is a requirement; often the only requirement. Paradoxically, a non-native teacher would have been through the process of learning English as a foreign language, an experience that is only shared between non-native speakers and their students but it is often what classifies them as inferior to teachers from NFL countries.

9) Homogenisation of culture or linguistic diversity

- Results in culture loss; But cultural homogenisation is mitigated when the English language undergoes nativisation or localisation

- Linguistic hegemony: when dominant groups create a consensus by convincing others to accept their language norms and usage as the norm. Hegemony is ensured when they can convince those who fail to meet those standards to view their failure as being the result of the inadequacy of their own language.

Extra example: the Ainu language is the language of the indigenous Ainu people of Northern Japan, the language was designated by UNESCO as “critically endangered”. The Ainu language has split into multiple regional dialects and there is no written form which makes it challenging to pass down. The national Ainu museum in Hokkaido was set up to encourage ethnic harmony, Japan aims to revive the language by educating people about Ainu culture and teaching the Ainu language, by codifying the language using Standard Japanese letters that match Ainu phonetics – new words are also created for things that did not exist in past including elevator and fire extinguisher that are translated with loan words.

- Political reasons for the language loss: Ainu practices were banned in the 1800s, in the favour of a Japan with one language, one culture and one history. The speech community and social practices involving the use of the Ainu language greatly reduced. There was also a forced history of assimilation into mainstream Japanese culture, where there was discrimination and prejudice against the Ainu people for being lesser educated and deviant. Aims to revitalise the language and create ethnic harmony was only recently proposed, with Ainu officially being classified as indigenous in 2008.
- Social practices (linguistic performance): fixed expressions for certain routines such as chanting a spell when drawing water at night (“Water, wake up, wake up, open your eyes.”) showing their cultural values of respecting the elements of the earth and treating it with respect as a living entity

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New Zealand, the 1867 Native Schools Act whose aim was to assimilate the Maori, the indigenous people of New Zealand into mainstream society by establishing a system of village primary schools which Maori were made compulsory to attend. From the onset, the priority of the schools was teaching English, the plan was to phase out native schools once English had taken hold in the community. Initially, the Maori language, Te Reo Maori, was allowed to facilitate English instruction but over time official attitudes hardened against the use of Te Reo Maori. It became a common occurrence for Maori children to be punished for speaking their mother tongue. Wishing their children not to suffer the same fate and for them to be successful in the urbanising world, parents discouraged their children from using Te Reo Maori leading to gradual language shift and language loss.