



**EMERGENCE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE
THE GLOBAL SPREAD ENGLISH & ITS IMAGES OVER WORLD: A LINGUISTIC STUDY**

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Abstract

No country and no culture can claim sole ownership of the English language.

The Sociolinguistics of English is emergent due to demand in the world of communication. Though India is multilingual state still English is used by all community accepted wisdom of sociolinguistics perspectives. Focusing WE theory and pedagogy aspect, The Present study attempts to discuss the Sociolinguistics of English in India in the field of applied linguistics. The rising status and the rapid spread of English over the past four hundred years has led to the emergence of transplanted varieties of English in variegated socio-cultural and linguistic contexts, Indian English is one such variety. English spoken in India is deeply linked with the society, culture and the people. The function of English in India is different from that it performs in the native context. The defining factors such as the cultural plurality and presence of different languages have given India a distinct place in the multilingual context. The growth of English in India can be directly correlated with the growth of imperial rule in India. English language has been and continues to be a dividing force in the society.

In this paper, the position and significance of sociolinguistics in foreign language is examined along three dimensions: attitudes towards learning a foreign language, inclusion of culture in foreign language and the contribution of language planning. This study highlights the English uses, determines one's place and identity in the world. Many different regional varieties of English or 'Englishes' exist around the globe and are slowly but steadily gaining recognition.





Finally, English happens to be the most widely used language around the world. The status of English as an international language is also examined.

Key words: Spread, Globalization, Varieties, Indian English, Indenisation, Strategic planning, Complexity, EFL context

1. INTRODUCTION

The Use of Englishness is around the World i.e- English in the World & the World in English:

Every language has its history, real or imagined – or, perhaps, real and imagined. English was not precisely “born” in England. It was transported there from another place, or more exactly, it travelled there together with the Anglo-Saxon migrants to the island. That is why we call it a Germanic language. And there is another consideration. Those Anglo-Saxons who first made the trip across the English Channel would be utterly at a loss to understand the English of the fourteenth century, that of Chaucer’s day. For in the intervening centuries, the language was irrevocably altered by the Norman Conquest in 1066, which Latinized the Germanic language of the Angles and Saxons

English happens to be the most widely used language around the world. The spread of English over the past four hundred years has led to the emergence of transplanted varieties of English in variegated socio-cultural and linguistic contexts. Many different regional varieties of English or ‘Englishes’ existing around the globe are slowly but steadily gaining recognition and Indian English is one of them. It has been repeatedly attempted to abolish the former colonial language but English continues to be one of the most acceptable language in India.

English anywhere outside the mother tongue context is an alien language, perhaps even an imposed language. From this standpoint, English has a fixed identity, both political and linguistic. It represents something peculiarly English, or perhaps Anglo-American, but at all events certainly Western. English has become a world language because – and to the extent that – Anglo-American, Western culture has become hegemonic in the world. My voice on-





The paradox of English in the world today

I am an Indian, very brown, born in
Odisha, I speak three languages, write in
Two dream in one. Don't write in English, they said,
English is not your mother-tongue. Why not leave
Me alone, critics, friends, visiting cousins,
Every one of you? Why not let me speak in
Any language I like? The language I speak
Becomes mine, its distortions, its queerness's,
All mine, mine alone. It is half English, half
Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest,
It is as human as I am human, don't
You see? It voices my joys, my longings, my
Hopes and it is useful to me . . .

(Dr.B.Patra)

To others English, although not their mother tongue, is nevertheless their language, an expression of their own unique identity. It is theirs because they have made it so – through their lived experiences in the language that have gained expression in the way they use English. In this view, English has become a world language to the extent that it has been stripped of any simplistic association with Anglo-American and Western culture. World English has emerged because its users have changed the language as they have spread it.

English is also hugely important as an international language and plays an important part even in countries where the UK has historically had little influence. It is learnt as the principal foreign language in most schools in Western Europe. It is also an essential part of the curriculum in far-flung places like Japan and South Korea, and is increasingly seen as desirable by millions of speakers in China. Prior to WWII, most teaching of English as a foreign language used British English as its model, and textbooks and other educational resources were produced here in the UK for use overseas. This reflected the UK's cultural dominance and its perceived 'ownership' of the English Language. Since 1945, however, the increasing economic power of the USA and its unrivalled influence in popular culture has meant that American English has become the reference point for learners of English in places like Japan and even to a certain extent in some European countries. British English remains the model in most Commonwealth countries where English is learnt as a second language. However, as the history of English has shown, this situation may not last indefinitely. The increasing commercial and economic power of countries like India,





for instance, might mean that Indian English will one day begin to have an impact beyond its own borders.

1. OBJECTIVES OF STUDY: EMERGENCE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The emergence of English into various varieties neither has polluted the language nor has lowered its status. The emergence of the new varieties of English has rather helped in gaining a predominant position in almost all the countries and become richer with the addition of new words and coinages. For more than half a century, immigrants from the Indian subcontinent and the West Indies have added variety and diversity to the rich patchwork of accents and dialects spoken in the UK. British colonisers originally exported the language to all four corners of the globe and migration in the 1950s brought altered forms of English back to these shores. Since that time, especially in urban areas, speakers of Asian and Caribbean descent have blended their mother tongue speech patterns with existing local dialects producing wonderful new varieties of English, such as London Jamaican or Bradford Asian English. Standard British English has also been enriched by an explosion of new terms, such as Balti (a dish invented in the West Midlands and defined by a word that would refer to a 'bucket' rather than food to most South Asians outside the UK) and Bhangra (traditional Punjabi music mixed with reggae and hip-hop). The recordings on this site of speakers from minority ethnic backgrounds include a range of speakers. You can hear speakers whose speech is heavily influenced by their racial background, alongside those whose speech reveals nothing of their family background and some who are ranged somewhere in between. There are also a set of audio clips that shed light on some of the more recognisable features of Asian English and Caribbean English.

2.1. Conceptions of World English

In the recent years it has become the formula of 'lingua franca', a symbol of globalization, diversification, progress, identity and change. It has now attained the position of a global language and is also referred to as 'Global English' (Crystal 1997, 2003). This revolution of English language gestates to be the most remarkable event in the late twentieth century (Crystal 2004). This was the time when English started spreading its wings to envelope the world. It was the time when many commentators pointed out at the possible risks of English being a global language (Crystal 2003). Smith (1976) provided an early account of World English under the term English as an International Language (EIL).⁵ Smith operationalized the term international language as a language other than one's mother tongue – that is, a second language – “which is used by people of different nations to communicate with one another” (p. 38). As such, he distinguished it from the more traditional auxiliary language, one used for internal communication in a multilingual





society. In these functional terms, English in the Philippines, for example, constitutes an auxiliary language, whereas English in Brazil represents an international language. In conceiving this definition by domain of use, Smith (1987) was concerned with raising practical questions, those pertaining to English usage among speaker from mother tongue and non-mother tongue contexts. Smith found through his (and others') long practice a sense of "ownership" of English on the part of its mother tongue speakers. They seemed to feel instinctively that since the language was theirs it fell to them to dictate the terms of use of English when its speakers met in the international realm, a *modus operandi* that Smith found to hinder international and intercultural communication. Smith (1987) delineated several essential characteristics of an international language:

(1) It implies no essential relationship between speaking the language and assimilating an associated culture. There is any necessity for second language speakers to internalize the cultural norms of behavior of the mother tongue speakers of a language to use it effectively.

(2) An international language becomes denationalized. It is not the property of its mother tongue speakers.

(3) Since English as an International Language plays a purely functional role, the goal of teaching it is to facilitate communication of learners' ideas and culture in an English medium.

2.2. Language Spread

Since any particular language develops in relatively localized conditions, a world language posits a process of language spread. Indeed, the study of World English has traditionally focused on this very question. For the most part, scholars have taken a political standpoint, framing their accounts in terms of such purported political structures as imperialism and concentrating their discussions on such constructs as language imposition, ideology, and language rights. The most familiar form of this type of treatment is the theory of English linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992), discussed above.

2.3. Language spread via second language acquisition

It is a central contention of this book that these models of language spread, however, are insufficient for the consideration of the development of World English because they abstract from the linguistic processes by which that spread takes place. In place of a concrete investigation of the language spread, a political terminology has been employed: imposition, dominance, subordination, hegemony. The metaphors chosen are not particularly apt from the linguistic standpoint. A language is not imposed in the manner of a curfew, military rule or a set of laws.





2.4. Why Global Language?

It is often argued that the modern “global village” needs a “global language”, and that a single lingua franca has never been more important. With the advent since 1945 of large international bodies such as the United Nations and its various offshoots - the UN now has over 50 different agencies and programs from the World Bank, World Health Organization and UNICEF to more obscure arms like the Universal Postal Union - as well as collective organizations such as the Commonwealth and the European Union, the pressure to establish a worldwide lingua franca has never been greater. As just one example of why a lingua franca is useful, consider that up to one-third of the administration costs of the European Community are taken up by translations into the various member languages.

English language witnessed enormous change even within its own boundaries. Starting with a language of small Germanic tribe until its Colonial expansion, English came into contact with many different languages belonging to different socio-cultural domains. Linguistic transpose to English was in bulk before its colonial expansion. The vocabulary of English changed with tremendous number of borrowings from Celt, Latin, French, and other languages with which it came into contact. It underwent various changes since it started its journey. We can view a brief account of the journey of English from the following figure.

With the emerging new varieties, English started developing its own kind of vocabulary, grammar, and distinct pronunciations. Initially English spoken by the native speaker was to be considered the standard language. The people who started learning and speaking English language as the second language because of colonialism and imperialism were considered as non Standard English speakers. English spoken in Britain and America regions were meant to be the standard form of English used as yardsticks for comparing other varieties of different regions. In a general term, English can be viewed into different types: first, varieties spoken primarily by the native speakers of English and second, varieties spoken by the second language learners of English. In the first case the speakers have immigrated to countries taking their language with them; in the other English has displaced other fully functional language or set of language to a great extent. Kachru (1982) observes that the legitimacy of non-native varieties of English like Indian English, Singapore English, Nigerian English and many others in South Asia and Africa needs to be considered in terms of the social, cultural and personal factors operating in the contexts in which these varieties are used.





2.5. Role of English in Indian Multilingualism

The position of English in India is not just empowering but also extremely involving. In India, 'English' serves as a language of wider communication among the people (Kachru 1986). It provides a linguistic tool for the administrative cohesiveness in India. English in India has been ideologically loaded from its earliest introduction; still the language continues to occupy a peculiar role (Dasgupta, et.al. 1995). There has been an increasing familiarity of English use in India (Sahgal 1991). Sahgal observes and discusses the evidences of an increase in peoples self-identification as speakers of Indian English rather than British English. English is displacing local languages and registers, as the international business, science and technology communities has started connecting itself (Swales 1997). Swales further assert that the media and the academia have been most affected by the spread of English. English is not just a language used in homes, business places and entertainment of several hundred million native speakers. It has now become a vital language of international cooperation at the union nation and the European Union (Mc Arthur 1998); for international communication and business (Hyrkstedt and Kalaja 1998), and for local commerce and media in such countries as India and Kenya (Kachru and Nelson 2001). Kachru (1986) mentions four basic areas in which English manifests itself: linguistic, literary, attitudinal and pedagogical. This is mainly concerned with the model and methods of teaching English which is often commercially motivated and rarely considers the local needs of the countries. Countries where English is a native language, English is used for various purposes in the society (Gorlach 1991). In countries, such as India, where English has a place as a second language/ a foreign language, its use is restricted to the domains of administration, law, part of education, and the media , some forms of literature; other uses of language in different situations is being reserved to the mother tongue.

3. STATEMENT OF PROBLEMS: CRITICAL ISSUES AND TOPICS

When we now bring these issues to the study of English as a globalizing language, their dislodging effects become quite obvious. It is by now an uncontroversial assertion that the study of English as a world language has long been driven by what many see as the legacy of colonialism and imperialism projected onto a Eurocentric ideal-type of a monolingual and mono-cultural subject (e.g. Phillipson 1992; Canagarajah 1999, Makoni & Pennycook 2007). The era of globalization, then, is presented as an extension of this form of imperialism, now operating by means of the widespread commoditisation of English across the globe (Block 2012; also Kelly-Holmes 2006, Blommaert 2009). The 'three circles' of English in the world scholars have increasingly seen English as a non-unified object, spread unevenly across the globe and appearing in a wide variety of 'Englishes' A massive literature has emerged documenting the different varieties and different patterns of development and circulation of English(es) in the





Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles of Kachru's model, pointing to the distinctive features of English in L1, ESL and EFL context and emphasizing the specific characteristics of processes in specific areas in the world (see Bhatt 2001, Jenkins 2003). From this point onwards, and in spite of a multitude of rearguard fights, the paradigm of English in the world has become pluri-centric (Bhatt 2001: 528) and non-native varieties of English have acquired both practical and scholarly respectability.

This point – the relative autonomy of non-native varieties – became central to another branch of scholarship, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF, see Seidlhofer 2005). In ELF, the perspective is that „English is being shaped at least as much by its non-native speakers as by its native speakers“ (Seidlhofer 2005: 339), and a systematic study of ELF should show the specific features and thresholds of English when used in non-native versus non-native exchanges, now no longer measured by the yardstick of the mythical native-speaker. ELF can thus be seen as a gesture towards the definitive „decolonization“ of English. Two features need to be identified with respect to the World Englishes and ELF paradigm. One: there is a strong tendency to still see varieties of English as self-contained systems – a smaller „language“, so to speak – with finite sets of features characterizing each such variety (hence the emergence of „Cameroonian English“, „Indian English“, as well as „Lingua Franca English“, see Brutt-Griffler 2002). This tendency very much characterized the early literature on these topics and still re-emerges time and again. The second feature is the very strong focus on English language teaching permeating the scholarship on non-native varieties. The finality of identifying separate varieties of English is to improve its teaching practices around the world.

There is another problem with this familiar, common sense, interpretation of the history of English. It may suggest a conception of stages in the history of English, a prehistory (linguistic origins), a developmental stage and a finished product – presumably an unalterable linguistic entity that we stamp with the name English. Implicit in this notion is a teleological and normative view of language development in which the language as process gives rise to language as final product, its whole development leading to that point. Prior to some arbitrary point in time (perhaps the English Renaissance), the language was incomplete. Now it is complete. It is English.

The same, however, holds true for any language at any stage in its development: insofar as it exists, is spoken, it is a language and not a stage in the development of some future language. To measure it by a fixed standard („Modern English“) applies a subjective standpoint, just as surely as when we divide history into the pre-Christian (or pre-Muslim, or pre-Hindu, or pre-Buddhist) epoch as opposed to „ours.“ Those who spoke the language of Beowulf did not view





themselves as speaking “Old English.” They did not view their language as a developmental stage of some future language, any more than we do so today. And yet the one is no more justified than the other. That idea suffers from an obviously presentist flaw: that what has gone before is history, but what is now is removed from time, space, and development. This conception privileges the language as we know it – or, rather, as we imagine it.

4. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The history of English as follows:

- (1) Germanic roots; development in Northern Europe by Germanic peoples (prior to c.500 AD)
- (2) Period of development in the British Isles by Jutes, Angles, Saxons, Celts, and others, prior to the Norman Conquest (c.500–1150);
- (3) Period of development subsequent to the Norman invasion under the influence of the English, French, Celts (to whom the language continuously has spread), Danes, etc. (c.1150–1450);
- (4) Period of development that accompanied the consolidation of a “people” and a nation out of the heterogeneous elements of the earlier phase, often called the “Early Modern” period of English (McArthur, 1998: 87) (c.1450–1700);
- (5) The epoch constructed as “Modern English,” which featured the continued change of the language within the British Isles, where it continued to spread, joined by other outposts of English speaking communities, in particular in North America and Australia;
- (6) Period of development in the world, as English continuously spread around the globe, jointly developed by the English, but also by Asians, Africans, and others.

4.1. Sociolinguistic Approaches

Sociolinguistics“ covers a tremendous variety of approaches. It looks as very little has happened for the past couple of decades; In some corners of sociolinguistics, in others however, new developments are emerging at a speed defying that of publishing, causing people to download working papers and circulate Power point presentations rather than finished work. In this contribution I shall focus on the latter rather than on the former. What sociolinguistics has to offer to English Language Studies will be defined not by older ones but by new developments,. The new ones challenge the study of language at a fundamental level; the questions they raise cannot be avoided.

Two major issues stand out as to their relevance for English Language Studies. **The first, one** is the perspective of globalization. It is a commonplace to say that English is the language that defines globalization processes; public awareness that the world is globalizing is to a large extent





driven by the fact that one sees“ English all over the world nowadays. Non-native – non native English encounters are now the rule for the usage of English in the world; the numbers of non-native English language learners in countries such as China and India dwarf the so-called native“ English-speaking communities. English is in a globalizing world essentially becoming a language defined by non-native usage, and wherever English occurs in the world, it occurs with an accent (and this includes so-called ‘accent less’ varieties)As said, all of this is commonplace by now. The effect of this is, however, often underestimated. It means that English, wherever it occurs in the world nowadays, occurs in a multilingual environment and as part of multilingual repertoires. Put simply, it means that whenever we look at English, we also need to look at the other languages with which it co-exists and co-occurs. Studying English in isolation is rapidly becoming an irrelevance, for much of what we ought to study has not much to do with English but a lot with the multilingual contexts of which English has become a part. Another effect is that we must see languages, and certainly English, as mobile objects, no longer tied to an ‘organic’ speech community residing in a particular space, but moving around such places and communities in intensive ways, on the rhythm of globalizing flows of commodities, people, messages and meanings (Jacquemet 2005; Pennycook 2007; Blommaert 2010).

The second, point is a spin-off of the first one. There is an older tradition in sociolinguistics – the ethnographic tradition – in which ‘language’ itself is not the focal object, but the actual specific resources that people use in communication. The work of Hymes (e.g. 1996) and Gumperz (e.g. 1982) is exemplary for the older tradition. Neo-Hymesian approaches have lately taken this ‘resources’ perspective further (e.g. Rampton 2006 Agha 2007, Blommaert 2010). Language, as we have seen, is no longer a fixed thing; it is also no longer a unified thing, and globalization processes again prompt us to take this seriously. Standard English is distributed in the world in fundamentally different ways than, say, Hip Hop English. Standard English orthography is also distributed in fundamentally different ways that the rapidly globalizing ‘hetero-graphic’ codes of mobile texting and chatting (of the type “CU@4”). So statements about ‘the spread of English’ to place X or Y instantly begs the question: which English? Which specific resources we associate with English are effectively being spread to X and Y? And what do people in X or Y effectively do with these resources? What are their precise functions in the multilingual contexts in which they enter, and in the multilingual repertoires of users?

The central point to all of these attempts is that a ‘language’ in its actual reality only occurs in the shape of small fragments,‘features’ in the terms of Jørgensen et al. (2011), as highly specialized resources that can be combined with any other available resource for the purpose of meaning making. Certain of these features are conventionally associated with (and hence





indexical of) ‘a language’ such as English; others with ‘French’, ‘Chinese’ etc., and the conventionalized usage of such features is the enregisterment of a ‘language’ Silverstein 2003, Agha 2007). The point, however, is that all of those features actually enter into meaning making processes, regardless of the conventional attributions we bestow on them. Meaning making, thus, should not be reduced to ‘linguistic’ meaning, but involves indexical, emblematic, aesthetic and other dimensions of meaning, and one should focus on the complex practices of enregisterment rather than on structures of ‘language’ in this process (Hymes 1996; Hanks 1996; Blommaert & Rampton 2011).

These two developments can be disturbing. The first one dislocates English, so to speak, and denies it its autonomy. Our basic imagination of ‘English’ should be that of a mobile object that can only be understood as to its actual function (and often also structure and patterns of occurrence) when it is considered as part of a larger set of linguistic objects. The second development further questions the nature of these objects, and suggests looking beyond ‘language’, at ‘infra-linguistic’ objects such as specific genres, registers, styles, accents, scripts and codes, as well as at the practices by means of which they are ordered as meaningful signs. Both developments dislodge perhaps the oldest consensus in the study of language: that there is an object called ‘language’, that such objects come with a recognizable label (e.g. ‘English’) and that they can be studied as such and in isolation.

4.2. The Global Spread of English

Known as a truly global language, or a lingua franca, English has “touched the lives of so many people, in so many cultures and continents, in so many functional roles, and with so much prestige” (Kachru,1990, p. 5). Although the adjectives might change, one thing remains the same: English has unquestionably become a global phenomenon. Reinforced by globalization, today English is used on all seven continents, is an official or second language in more than 100 countries, and is used as an official language in more than 85% of international organizations. Although the numbers are subject to change, English is used by nearly 2 billion speakers in varying degrees of competencies and non native speakers (NNSs) of English outnumber native speakers (NSs) by a ratio of 3:1(Crystal,2003). Serving as the common vehicle of communication among speakers with or without the same linguistic and cultural background, English is the language of air and maritime navigation, the Internet, politics, business, education, media, diplomacy, sports, and international scientific exchange. Whether you are an English tourist bargaining in the Grand Bazaar of Istanbul, a Chinese business professional on a business trip in South Africa, a graduate student in a multilingual classroom in Washington, D.C., a pilot of an Australian airplane landing





in Toronto, or a Brazilian economist presenting your latest research in Moscow, you probably speak some English.

4.3. Teaching and Learning an International Language

The global spread of English, the emergence of its nativized varieties, and ever-increasing number of NNSs of English across the world created an unparalleled global interest in the teaching and learning of English. As a pedagogical response, increasing importance is attached to developing principles and practices specific for teaching EIL. In this vein, McKay (2002) argues, “the teaching and learning of an international language must be based on an entirely different set of assumptions than the teaching and learning of any other second and foreign language”. This simple yet profound statement generates a series of questions surrounding EIL pedagogy: Whose language is being talked about? On which speakers is instruction being modelled? Which language variety or varieties should be taught to learners? Which teachers are qualified to teach English? Which approaches are the best in teaching? These fundamental questions should be of interest to all English language teaching professionals in the new millennium and, therefore, define their goals throughout this book.

The new linguistic landscape of the world where NNSs of English outnumber their native counterparts by a ratio of 3:1 suggests a reconsideration of the ownership of the language. English is no longer an exclusive commodity of native-speaking communities. Today, people are more likely to use English to communicate with “multilingual speakers than with monolingual speakers, and for their own cultural, social, political, and economic purposes, removed from Inner Circle norms” (Burns, 2005, p. 2). Its ownership is now shared by the native- and non-native-English-speaking communities because English “belongs to all people who speak it, whether native and non-native, whether ESL or EFL, whether standard or non-standard” (Norton, 1997, p. 427). This understanding redistributes the rights to determine norms and standards to those who use the language. From a pedagogical point of view, NS norms perpetuate monolinguals essentialism Anglo-American users of English as a reference point, marginalize NNSs, and fail to recognize proficient speakers in Outer and Expanding circles (Jenkins, 2009).

The debate about instructional variety (such as choosing between U.S. and British English) becomes even more complicated by a growing sensitivity toward nativized varieties in post-colonial contexts. This reality necessitates a modification in the role of linguistic norms in language pedagogy. Consequently, there emerges a growing trend to move away from introducing a single variety to exposing and embracing multiple varieties determined by learners’ needs and goals in learning the language. Along these lines, McKay (2002) argues that EIL users’





cultural content and their sense of the appropriate use of English are two key factors that inform EIL pedagogy. Thus, as an alternative to standard variety, she emphasizes the centrality of “intelligibility (recognizing an expression), comprehensibility (knowing the meaning of the expression) and interpretability (knowing what the expression signifies in a particular socio-cultural context)”. Applying this view to English language teaching, exposing English language students merely to British or U.S. English, and regarding those Englishes as universal norms and desirable targets in language instruction means neglecting the realities of EIL uses and users.

Therefore, some scholars argue that the ultimate instructional goal should be achieving intelligibility rather than acquiring a native or native like accent. Imposing the standard of an exclusive single variety of English assumes language as a static and unchanging entity and prioritizes imitation over communication as the chief purpose of learning the language (Burns, 2005). Most important, choosing one exclusive variety as a standard in instruction would place it in a privileged position and thereby place all others in an underprivileged, nonstandard, and marginalized position. Although communicative language teaching (CLT) has been the dominant methodological approach in English language teaching, it has been criticized for not paying adequate attention to local cultural and linguistic needs and culture of learning, as well as for imposing pre-packaged, one-size-fits-all methods, materials, assessment tools, and teaching approaches imported from the West (Bax, 2003).

As a response to emphasizing particular methods, the field of English language teaching moved into a post method era, which emphasizes “a pedagogy of particularity, practicality, and possibility” (Kumaravadelu, 2003). This development increased the ever-existing reliance on teachers as agents of curricular reforms and decision-makers who are cognizant of learners’ needs, local dynamics, global context, and realities of EIL. Therefore, EIL pedagogy emerges as a viable response to the global use of different types of English for communication. The various aspects (methods and materials, culture and identity, assessment, and curriculum) of this pedagogy are discussed in the following chapters.

5.1. Levels of Variation

Language variation refers to differences in aspects of a language resulting from its historical, geographic, social, or functional changes. World Englishes differ from each other mainly on four levels: pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, and discourse styles (Jenkins, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2004). What patterns do you observe about the levels of variation (pronunciation, lexicon, grammar, and discourse) in your own variety of English?





Regarding pronunciation, Jenkins (2009) discusses the differences in the production of consonant and vowel sounds. Speakers of Englishes in the Outer and Expanding circles replace some consonants with others. For example, /θ/ and /ð/ sounds in thin and this are pronounced like /t/ and /d/ by speakers of Indian and West Indian Englishes. Also, speakers of Sri Lankan and some Indian Englishes pronounce /w/ as /v/, so wet sounds like vet in their speech. Regarding the variations in vowel sounds, Jenkins observes they vary “according to how high/low and forward/back the tongue is in the mouth, and the degree to which the lips are rounded or spread, and to how long the sound is actually maintained”. For instance, the short vowel /ɪ/, as in sit, and long vowel /i:/, as in seat, are slightly distinguished in most Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes, and both are pronounced as /ɪ/, which is also a tendency in the production of /ɔ/ and /u:/.

Regarding the differing grammatical tendencies in Outer and Expanding circles, Jenkins (2009) cites the list by Platt, Weber, and Ho (1984). Some of these tendencies are (a) to not mark nouns for plural, (b) to use a specific or nonspecific system for nouns rather than a definite or indefinite system or to use the two systems side by side, and (c) to change the form of quantifiers. Additionally, Seidlhofer (2004) identifies some generalizations in grammatical features of NNS–NNS interactions, which usually occur in Expanding Circle countries. Some of these generalizations include dropping the third-person present tense -s, omitting the definite and indefinite articles where they are obligatory in English as a native language (ENL) and inserting them where they do not occur in ENL, and failing to use correct tag questions (e.g., isn't it? or no? instead of shouldn't they?).

Jenkins (2009) discusses three types of lexical variation in Outer and Expanding circles: (a) locally coined words and expressions, (b) borrowings from indigenous languages, and (c) idioms. Locally coined words and expressions reflect speakers' creative capacity, as in the following examples: spacy (“spacious” in Indian English), jeepney (“a small bus” in Philippine English), enstool (“to install a chief” in Ghanaian English), and basket-woman (“coarsely behaved woman” in Lankan English). Another category of lexical variation includes the words that Englishes have borrowed from indigenous languages: chai (“tea” in East African English), crore (“10 million” in Indian English), and kundiman (“love song” in Philippine English). Finally, there are four categories of variation in idioms used in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Englishes:

(a) Direct translations from indigenous idioms (e.g., to shake legs in Singaporean and Malaysian Englishes comes from a Malay idiom),





- (b) Those based on ENL (e.g., to be on the tarmac in East African English means “to be in the process of seeking a new job”),
- (c) Combinations of ENL and indigenous forms (e.g., to put sand in someone’s gari in Nigerian English means “to threaten someone’s livelihood”),
- (d) Variations on ENL forms (e.g., “to have your cake and eat it” in British English becomes to eat your cake and have it in Singaporean English).

Concerning the variations in discourse styles across Englishes, Jenkins (2009) attends to the following differences: (a) speakers of Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Englishes tend to use sentences that seem formal and complex to ENL speakers in terms of vocabulary and grammatical structure, (b) indigenous cultures have led to new discourse styles that do not exist in ENL use (e.g., some Indian English expressions of thanks, deferential vocabulary, and the use of blessings that ENL speakers could find redundant), and (c) expressions of greeting and leave-taking tend to be different in Outer Circle and Expanding Circles, which is also an influence of indigenous language and culture (e.g., You’re enjoying?, a greeting translated from Yoruba, becomes an expression of greeting in Nigerian English, and Walk slowly ho! is an expression of leave-taking in Singaporean/Malaysian English).

Native and Non Native distinction is still a debate among the scholars. Social networks the speakers form, tends to influence their language choices. This in turn facilitates language change. Power relation also plays a major role in the influence and change in the language. Therefore language can be powerful in one domain and less powerful in the other. The influence of language on each other should not be ignored. There is a need to highlight those divergences and place them under close scrutiny. It has been said that Indians have made English a native language with its own linguistic and cultural ecologies and socio-cultural contexts. If it is true then what are the factors motivating them for using English frequently in their speech. This work aims to seek answers for factors motivating use of English in several domains. To conclude, it is argued that language change is dictated by the social and pragmatic factors but other factors such as power, identity, age, and gender play a major role.

5.2.Current Contributions and Research

Work on these topics has been underway for several years now; what is lacking at present is an integration of such work into mainstream English studies. Three bodies of particularly relevant recent work will be discussed. (a) Work on evolving contemporary urban vernaculars of „English“, often containing dense forms of „crossing“ and „styling“. (b) Ethnographically-inspired linguistic land scaping, focused on the various ways in which „languages“ enter, affect and regulate public





space, drawing on orders of indexicality in which „English“ assumes an elevated position, especially in peripheral areas of the English-using world. (c) Work on „global flows“ of popular culture using various forms of „English“: Hip-Hop and reggae are cases in point, and the flows in which they appear are increasingly mediated by virtual environments.

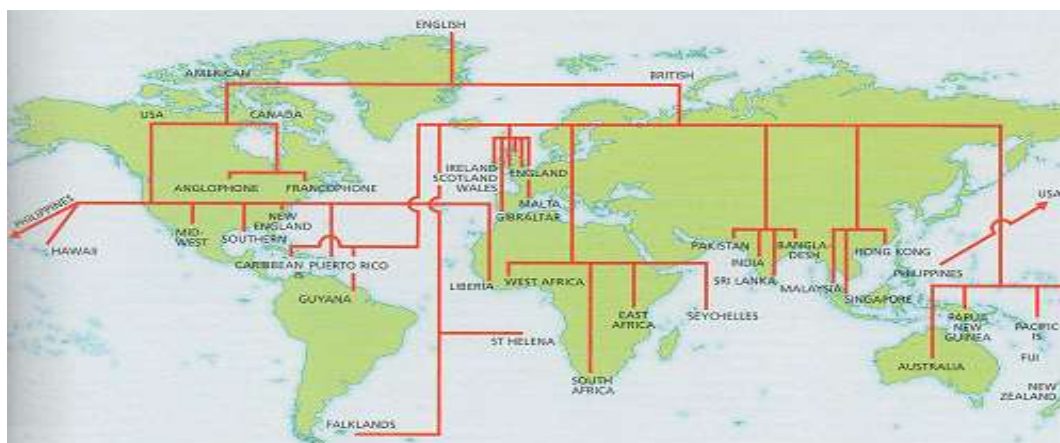
5.2.1. Styling English

Ben Rampton’s *Crossing* (1995) provoked a great amount of interest in the very unpredictable ways in which (especially young) people appropriate and deploy linguistic resources consciously in highly marked forms of identity-work called „styling“. *Crossing* showed that identity preoccupations were a major factor animating the specific deployment of language resources, and identity opportunities were major motives for acquiring such resources. Rampton and his associates, in subsequent work, elaborated several of the major points raised in *Crossing*, and this tradition of research now stands as a neo-Hymesian, linguistic-ethnographic approach in which attention is paid to the actual situated interactional work performed by participants (Rampton 2006; Rampton & Charalambous 2010; Coupland 2007); the long and short cultural and ideological histories, notably of ethnicity and race, in which their practices need to be situated (Harris 2006); the unstable and flexible, almost „ad lib“ range of identity-styling practices young people can engage in (Bucholtz & Hall 2005; Coupland 2007); the effects of such forms of „styling“ on dominant sociolinguistic hierarchies (Jaspers 2011; Rampton 2010; Block 2012) and on dominant images of social class (Rampton 2006). Since this view „from below“ throws new light on general issues of language competence, the impact of this line of work on language teaching has also been spelled out in several papers (e.g. Harris, Leung & Rampton 2002).

5.2.2. Ethnographic Linguistic Landscaping

The high degree of context-sensitivity articulating in the previously discussed line of work is equally present in a very recently emerging body of work, in which signs in public space are being analyzed ethnographically against the backdrop of locally prevailing linguistic, sociolinguistic and literacy economies. While this work has its origins in Linguistic Landscaping studies (e.g. Shohamy & Gorter 2009), it draws more inspiration from the seminal study of Scollon & Scollon (2003) and the work of Gunther Kress on multimodality (Kress 2010) and of Street and others on the social grounding of literacy (e.g. Street 1995). From this work, it derives a focus on detailed contextual accounts of the emplacement of public signs, the particular visual and linguistic resources that enter into it, often combining various scripts and symbol types, their local and trans-local histories of distribution and use, and the specific functions such signs fulfil (Stroud & M pendukana 2009; Pan Lin 2009, Juffermans 2010; Huang 2010, Blommaert 2010).





5.2.3. Global flows

The importance of informal learning environments becomes clearest when we start looking into the booming literature on English in the field of popular culture, now overwhelmingly mediated by technologies such as the Internet and mobile phones. Pennycook's influential (2007) study of global cultural flows provided a compelling case for taking such peer-group based learning and performance practices – often dismissed as counterproductive – seriously both as sociolinguistic phenomena of considerable importance, and for research on language teaching and learning. A similar case was made by James Gee (2003), who emphasized the pedagogical potential of video games (again, something that is very often dismissed as „anti-learning“). The collaborative learning dimension of online activities was equally emphasized by Leppänen (2007) and Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh (2009), and the strongly normative (i.e. nonrandom) aspects of such processes were the focus of Varis & Wang (2011)

5.2.4. Features and Structure of Indian English

The variation in the language is impossible to hold and stop. Therefore when English language started to develop in India, it changed through the time, started gaining popularity and was accepted whole heartedly by the people. The errors and mistakes are now considered a necessary part of the socio-cultural setting of the multilingual India, where they are used to convey the contextual meaning. The process of deviation from the standard form can be termed as the Indenisation of English which is mutual between the vernacular languages and English language. Today English has spread in various domains including the personal domains such as family and friends. English in India has acquired new functions and self-expression. Indian English does follow the grammar of Standard English. However it contains many locally restricted lexical items. In addition to this standard Indian English, there is a vernacular colloquial Indian English,





often termed as 'Hinglish'. Indian English is best identified through its phonological features. Still the variation in the phonology is widespread. Indian English pronunciation is a relatively close in approximation to the written form. There is a lack of aspiration in the word-initial position. It has been found that the entire series of English alveolar consonants tend to be replaced by retroflex consonants (Trudgill and Hannah 1994). English alveolar /t/ articulated as the Indian retroflex /t/ or as the dental /t/ in different phonological environments. The retroflex has completely replaced the alveolar; the entire series of English alveolar consonants tends to be replaced by retroflex consonants (Trudgill & Hannah 1994).

5.3. Multilingualism in India

Padmashree D.P. Pattnayak (1990) Ex Director CIIL, Mysore, describes the multilingual situation of India as a non-conflicting type, where different languages of India allocate different functions. According to him a mother tongue is 'an expression of primary identity and a group of solidarity, and it can be successful if there is respect for multiplicity in the society. There are many languages in India but many people do not know any other language than their own (Spolsky 1978). Every state in India is a multilingual region, still; they have a dominant language common for all. The other fact is Hindi-Urdu/Hindustani is a predominant language of North India. A form of pidginized variety of Hindi-Urdu/Hindustani is understood and used throughout India (Sridhar 1989) but the speakers in southern India prefer English over Hindi. This is where English play a vital its role in India. English, followed by Hindi is the most widely spoken second language of the people. The usefulness of Hindi is limited regionally but English prevails throughout the country. The constitution (Constitution of India 1998) recognizes Hindi as the official language of India according to Article 343 (1). In addition to the designation of Hindi, English is also accepted as an official language with eighteen other scheduled national official languages of India. Many controversies against Hindi in non-Hindi states made a worse situation for the development of Hindi as a national language and as a result English continues to enjoy the language of power and prestige (Kachru 1986).

The diverse geographical and linguistic background of the people reveals interesting facts about the linguistic scenario of India. India has always been a multiracial, multiethnic, multinational and multilingual country from the time of history (Chaudhary 2009). In Indian multilingual setting, there is a transparency and fluidity of boundaries between the languages (Khubchandani 1997). New languages arise because of the close contact between the existing languages, and this happens especially for the need of communication purposes. The languages emerged through contact are few, and are restricted to specific regions (Sridhar 1988). The new languages imparted themselves with the existing languages of the region. The multilingual creation in the





country changed from time to time but multilingualism itself remained constant. The new languages emerged because of the socio-political and cultural, and primarily literary happenings in different linguistic communities (Pollock 1998).

5.4. English spread and language change: The “New Englishes”

Theories addressing the political side of global English spread (particularly when conceived as language imposition or linguistic imperialism) tend to conceive linguistic outcomes of the process in terms of such phenomena as language shift, or the abandonment of the first language in favor of English (Phillipson, 1992; Skuttnab- Kangas & Phillipson, 1994; Tsuda, 1997). It is important that the study of English not be driven by such extra-linguistic a priori assumptions. On the contrary, current statistics on English use show that the vast majority of its speakers worldwide are bilingual. According to recent estimates, 80% of the approximately one-and-a-half to two billion English users in the world today belong to that category (Crystal, 1997; Romaine, 1995; World Englishes, 1998: 419) On the other hand, theories of global English spread all but ignore what is by far the best documented linguistic outcome of English spread: the language change that has resulted in the development of varieties of English in such African and Asian nations as Nigeria, India and Singapore known collectively as the “New Englishes.” The emergence of the “New Englishes,” also referred to as the “Indigenized Varieties of English” has been documented in great detail over the last two decades (e.g. Bokamba, 1992; Görlach, 1991; B. Kachru, 1985; Platt et al., 1984; Pride, 1982; Trudgill & Hannah, 1985).

Most work on the “New Englishes,” in contrast to that by scholars concerned with the mechanisms and politics of English spread, concentrates on how the spread of English has resulted in the development of separate English varieties through a process variously termed “indigenization” or “nativization” (B. Kachru, 1990). This process, as yet largely lacking a fully-articulated theoretical explanation, involves the establishment of the separate linguistic and sociolinguistic identity of, in particular, postcolonial African and Asian varieties of English through their “decolonization” or “deanglicization” (B. Kachru, 1985). Scholars concentrate on attempting to substantiate how the New Englishes reflect the uniqueness of the national conditions in which they arise and how they express the national culture (Gonzalez, 1987; B. Kachru, 1990; Y. Kachru, 1987; K.K. Sridhar & S.N. Sridhar, 1992).

5.5. English in Press and Media

The impact of English in media is not only continuing but increasing day by day. The number of newspapers, magazines and journals are increasing rapidly. According to Kachru (1986), at present there are 3582 Indian newspapers in English. English language newspapers are published





in almost all the states of the country. Most of the major national news papers are popular in cities and towns. English newspapers are maintaining circulation in figures roughly similar to the Hindi newspapers.

English has become an important part of the popular culture; the use of English is becoming significant in movies serial and songs. The advent of satellite television and radio has served and is still serving for entertainment and news programs. These channels broadcast many programs in Hindi, English and other regional languages. Newscasters and anchors, presenting the programme try to maintain their accent close to British RP. To keep pace with the rapid development and the popularity of English language in India the movies in India are often completely made in English or with the mixed dialogues in English and Hindi. The mixed speech of Hindi and English is often termed as 'Hinglish'. Such Hinglish movies and daily soaps are adored by domestic audiences. This is mainly because 'Hinglish' is the natural mode of speaking in many parts of Indian speech community.

English in the society and culture

India had a ruthless caste based society long before, when British came to India. Still, when the British are gone, India continues to have a division between northern and southern region, rich and poor, higher and lower caste, rural and urban as before. Many different languages and regional dialects can be heard throughout the country. The languages of the people belonging to different cultures and places send a clear signal about the background of the people. The popularity of using English language among the people varies markedly around the country. The 'Indian English' covers the linguistic, cultural and the geographical divides by providing a single medium of communication in various situations.

6. CONCLUSION

The present study traces the development of English through history and its use throughout the globe today. We have seen how English has acquired the status of a global language from a small tribal language. No language has spread as widely as English, and it continues to spread. Internationally the desire to learn it is insatiable. In the twenty-first century the world is becoming more urban and more middle class, and the adoption of English is a symptom of this, for increasingly English serves as the lingua franca of business and popular culture. It is dominant or at least very prominent in other areas such as shipping, diplomacy, computing, medicine and education. A recent study has suggested that among students in the United Arab Emirates "Arabic is associated with tradition, home, religion, culture, school, arts and social sciences," whereas English "is symbolic of modernity, work, higher education, commerce, economics and science





and technology.” In Arabic-speaking countries, science subjects are often taught in English because excellent textbooks and other educational resources are readily available in English. This is not something that has come about in an un-purposed fashion; the propagation of English is an industry, not a happy accident.

English has spread because of British colonialism, the technological advances of the Industrial Revolution, American economic and political ascendancy, and further (mostly American) technological developments in the second half of the twentieth century. Its rise has been assisted by the massive exportation of English as a second language, as well as by the growth of an English-language mass media. The preaching of Christianity, supported by the distribution of English-language Bibles, has at many times and in many places sustained the illusion, created by Wyclif and Tyndale and Cranmer, that English is the language of God.

The embrace of English in the world’s two most populous countries means that the language is changing. Some of the changes are likely to prove disconcerting for its native speakers. The “English-ness” of English is being diluted. So, more surprisingly, is its American flavour. English’s centre of gravity is moving; in fact, in the twenty-first century the language has many centres. As this continues, native English-speakers may end themselves at a disadvantage. Native speakers freight their use of the language with all manner of cultural baggage. An obvious example is the way we use sporting metaphors. If I say to a Slovakian associate, “you hit that for six,” she probably won’t have a clue what I am on about. Nor will an American. An Indian very likely will (the image is from cricket), but really I should choose my words with greater care. The trouble is, often I and many others like me do not exercise much care at all. To non-native speakers, quirks and elaborations of this kind are confusing. Non-native speakers of English often comment that they find conversing with one another easier than sharing talk with native speakers. Already many people who learn English do so with little or no intention of conversing with its native users. If I join their conversations, my involvement may prove unwelcome.

The main challenges to English may come from within. There is a long history of people using the language for anti-English ends – of creative artists and political figures asserting in English their distance from Englishness or Britishness or American-ness. For instance, many writers whose first language has not been English have infused their English writing with foreign flavours; this has enabled them to parade their heritage while working in a medium that has made it possible for them to reach a wide audience. Two challenges stand out. I have mentioned India already; English is important to its global ambitions. The language’s roots there are colonial, but English connects Indians less to the past than to the future. Already the language is used by more





people in India than in any other country, the United States included. Meanwhile in China the number of students learning the language is increasing rapidly. The entrepreneur Li Yang has developed Crazy English, an unorthodox teaching method. It involves a lot of shouting. This, Li explains, is the way for Chinese to activate their “international muscles.” His agenda is patriotic. Kingsley Bolton, head of the English department at the City University of Hong Kong, calls this “huckster nationalism.” It certainly has a flamboyant quality; one of Li’s slogans is “Conquer English to Make China Strong.” A few dissenting voices suggest that he is encouraging racism, but the enthusiasm for his populist approach is in no doubt, and it is a symptom of China’s English Fever: the ardent conviction that learning English is the essential skill for surviving in the modern world.

The fact, that English is now a global language and a language that leads to economic empowerment, has secured its position in contemporary times. English language itself is taking a new form. It has changes substantially from where its journey began. It has now started to fabricate the social life of the people and at the same time acquiring a vitality of its own, developing and reflecting local cultures and languages throughout the world.

6.1. FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The three bodies of sociolinguistic work discussed above all prompt a highly diversified and fragmented view of what one understands as ‘English’. Rather than a „language“, we see a tremendous (and increasing) diversity-within-language. Many of these varieties circulate through and are acquired in informal learning environments such as peer groups, popular culture and new technologies. And the detailed ethnographic study of them raises fundamental questions affecting the foundations of our field. If we take stock of these developments, we can sketch a future trajectory of sociolinguistic research,

- (a) In which, English“ will become an increasingly complex term begging for more nuanced descriptors, both as sociolinguistic-descriptive tools and as tools for analyzing identity processes;
- (b) In which both spoken and literacy performances need to be considered in conjunction with one another, given the increasing prominence of interactive literacy media (blogs, chat, Twitter etc).
- (c) In which we address ‘English’ from within the wider perspective of multilingual and multi-literacy repertoires, which compels us to adopt a dynamic and contextualized perspective on language and language usage.





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