Asian Englishes Today

ASIAN ENGLISHES
BEYOND THE CANON

BRAJ B. KACHRU

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Braj B. Kachru

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Dedicated to

scholars and educators and creative writers
whose
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contributed to
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... English is an international language in the Commonwealth, the Colonies and in America. International in the sense that English serves the American way of life and might be called American, it serves the Indian way of life and has recently been declared an Indian language within the framework of the federal constitution. In another sense, it is international not only in Europe but in Asia and Africa, and serves various African ways of life and is increasingly the all-Asian language of politics. Secondly, and I say 'secondly' advisedly, English is the key to what is described in a common cliché as "the British way of life". — John Rupert Firth (1956: 97)

But language must serve, not overwhelm [...] mastering it involves holding down and breaching a body of habitual English associations to secure that condition of verbal freedom cardinal to energetic, resourceful writing. In a sense the language is remade, where necessary, by adjusting the interior landscape of words in order to explore and mediate the permutations of another culture and environment. — Edwin Thumboo (1976: ix)

[The English] language needs to be decolonized, to be made in other images, of those of us who use it from positions outside Anglo-Saxon cultures are to be more than artistic "Uncle Toms." And it is this endeavor that gives the new literatures of Africa, the Caribbean, and India much of their present vitality and excitement. — Salman Rushdie (1982: 7)

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Series editor's preface

A new book from Professor Braj B. Kachru is nothing less than an event. The contribution of Braj Kachru to linguistics and English studies over the last three decades has been legendary. That academics today routinely talk about the 'Englishes' of the world is due in no small measure to the fact that when Braj Kachru and Larry Smith assumed the co-editorship of the Pergamon journal *World Language English* in 1985, they insisted that its title be changed to *World Englishes* (now published by Blackwell, UK).

Braj Kachru's distinguished academic career began in India in the mid-1950s and subsequently took him to Edinburgh University in the late 1950s, during the era of David Abercrombie, Michael Halliday, and J. R. Firth (then Visiting Professor after his retirement from London University). It was here that Kachru completed a ground-breaking thesis on Indian English, one of the very first studies of world Englishes. On leaving Edinburgh, Braj Kachru taught for a year in India and then took up a post in linguistics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, an engagement that has continued to the present. At Urbana-Champaign he gained the rare distinction of simultaneous Professorial appointments in Comparative Literature, Education, English as an International Language, and also served as the Jubilee Professor of Liberal Arts and Sciences and the Center for Advanced Study Professor of Linguistics. However, although Braj Kachru's academic career has been very closely associated with the field of 'world Englishes', his research interests have also spanned many other areas of linguistics, such as South Asian languages (including Kashmiri), contact linguistics, lexicography, and the creativity of new literatures in English. At Urbana-Champaign, Braj Kachru and his wife Professor Yamuna Kachru have supervised some three score PhD students, many of whom now hold influential positions at African, Asian, and US universities. Professor Braj Kachru has made the kind of academic contribution that many others of us may aspire to but rarely achieve. His contribution has been as a researcher and as a theorist, but also as a teacher, a *guru*, in the multiple senses of this word, for the many scholars that have been inspired by his work and the many students touched by his guidance and kindness.

This volume, *Asian Englishes: Beyond the Canon*, brings a range of previously published material (substantially revised and updated) together with new chapters specially written. The volume comprises five main sections: Part I on 'contexts' (Asian Englishes, South Asian English, English in Japan); Part II on 'convergence' (contact linguistics and Englishization); Part III on 'mantras' (literary creativity); Part IV on 'predator' (English as a 'killer' language); Part V on 'pedagogy' (approaches to learning and teaching); and Part VI, 'afterword' (current debates and controversies). The scope of this book is innovative and multidisciplinary, and moves from linguistic description to literary explication, from intercultural communication to critical commentary. This work is a major contribution to the *Asian Englishes Today* series and will attract a wide international audience among students and scholars of linguistics, cultural studies, literary criticism, and all those interested in the continuing story of English in the Asian context.

Kingsley Bolton
November 2004

Preface

This book is essentially about the Asianness in Asian Englishes and their gradual, yet marked, distinctness which has developed over a long history in contexts of language and cultural contact. It discusses the changing ideational and functional constructs of the presence of the English language in the Asian continent and the resultant linguistic turbulence. Asian Englishes are parting ways with the traditional canons of the Raj in the mantras they articulate while strengthening and expanding the link in the use of the English medium.

There are now multiple metaphors used for constructing the various identities of the evolving post-colonial Asian societies and their ascendancy. The motif of a newly emergent Asian context has taken a variety of forms: 'the roaring Asian tiger', 'the awakened giant' and the 'yawning elephant'. The newly awakened Asia has heralded what is being characterized as 'the Asian age'. At one level, Asia's awakening references only the demographic and economic dimensions of the region and its populations. At another level, Asians have traditionally conceived of their distinct identities through another elusive construct, 'Asian values', to counter the equally elusive construct of 'Western values'.

These constructs of Asian 'awakening' and introspection regarding the notion of a distinct set of values differentiable from those of the 'West', even if not homogeneous across Asia, have gradually crossed over language and linguistic creativity to Asian Englishes, the only shared — almost anointed — medium across the vast Asian region. The Asian mantras that the medium articulates are understandably mixed — as indeed they are in other Anglophone regions of the globe. True, there still is ambivalence about the presence of the English language as a two-ton linguistic gorilla in Asia's traditional linguistic ecology. Also clearly articulated, however, is celebration of the medium that has internationalized the Asian mantras of resistance, autonomy and regional values and identities. There is palpable excitement about what was earlier essentially a colonial linguistic weapon now turned to represent various dimensions of Asianness. The English language has thus been

recrafted at various linguistic, sociological, and cultural levels to contextually relocate it in Asian milieu.

The linguistic, literary and cultural implications of language relocation within Asian linguistic ecology continue to be discussed within changing theoretical and methodological paradigms. In the case of South Asia, to provide just one example, the characterization of the region as a linguistic, literary and cultural area has provided insights for our deeper understanding of language convergence, creativity and hybridity. One thinks, for example, of the influential studies such as that of venerable Murry B. Emeneau (1956 and later). Other studies from linguistic and literary perspectives include Weber (1852), Nagendra (1959), Pandit (1972), Masica (1976 and later), Mukherjee (1981), D'souza (1987), and B. Kachru (1992d).

A fresh dimension to this ongoing discussion is provided by Bolton in his 1992 study. In his proposed dichotomy between 'Western sociolinguistics' and 'Asian sociolinguistics', Bolton suggests that 'the case for "Western sociolinguistics", although fraught with many difficulties on many levels, is probably easier to establish ... than the case for any other "regional" branch of the discipline' (1992: 18). In this proposal, however, Bolton is aware of the reality that 'any attempts to characterize "Asian" societies in terms of broadly shared characteristics that directly demarcate such societies from "the West" would not only be ideologically suspect but would also be essentially erroneous' (23). And, in spite of these qualifications, there are three 'obvious connections' that Bolton points out in conceptualizing the main undercurrents of Anglophone Asia. The first is that all major states in the Asian region are confronting questions related to language policy and planning. One answer to these questions has been to adopt English as an 'ethnically neutral language' for wider communication. The second connection is that many Asian societies share 'linguistic and ethnic similarities', and co-opt in language planning (e.g., the promotion of Bahasa Malaysia and Bahasa Indonesia in their respective communities). And the third connection is that 'in all societies in Asia, the English language still has strong association with higher education, internationalism, modernity and, at a personal level, job mobility and career development'. These three connections, one might add, have ultimately contributed to a regional profile of English in Asia and to the gradual process of the acculturation of Asian Englishes on the one hand, and to the Englishization of regional languages of Asia on the other hand.

The current — hotly debated — avataras of globalization in technology, education, and sociocultural shifts have earlier, for centuries, left their distinct traces in what has been termed 'glocalization' of Asian Englishes, and on other Asian languages, too. This point, not related specifically to the languages, but essentially to technology, is insightfully contextualized by Thomas L. Friedman, a columnist of *The New York Times*, and a prolific commentator of contemporary sociopolitical scene. In the following excerpt from an interview, Friedman is

talking of India; however, what he says applies to other regions of Asia — and beyond — as well:

> ... your [India's] success in globalization is really a function of your success at glocalization, your ability to take the best from the world's systems, best practices, best ideas, best brands and meld them with your culture in a balanced way so that you don't feel overwhelmed by them.

And what impresses Friedman about India is:

> ... [the country's] ability, its innate ability, to glocalize. It's not so easy. But to take the very best practices of the world system, absorb them and yet, you go to India and you feel you are in India! [...] You know, you don't go there and feel — at least I don't — O God, globalization has really wiped out Indian culture!' Not at all!

What Friedman says about Indian culture is equally evident in the centuries-old histories of all Asian linguistic and literary cultures, their assimilative strategies, synthesis and hybridity. And historically speaking, the English language is just one recent example that shows constructs of assimilative identities and acculturation out of a large repository of Asia's language families. The 'robust' character of India's culture, that Friedman emphasizes, is not necessarily unique to India:

> Indian culture is extremely robust, has been able to absorb these things and find a kind of balance. You have to work on that balance every day. Whether it will last through the next generation or not, India has been doing it for 5,000 years. The Mughals come, the Mughals go, the British come, the British go, but still, it feels like India. India has found that balance between the Lexus and the Olive Tree pretty well now. But those who don't find the balance, you end up with the extremes. (Interview with Tanmaya Kumar Nanda, *India Abroad*, 23 April 2004, p. A25)

This takes me back to the observations of Bolton (1992) that I summarized above, the karmic cycle of the English language has gained an unprecedented momentum in its increased diffusion and functional roles in Anglophone Asia and beyond. It was during the Imperial period of the British Raj that British linguist, John Rupert Firth (1890–1960) — who had intensively researched the linguistic scene of the subcontinent and was professor of English (1920–1928) in Lahore — commented about Indian English that '[m]ost Indian English is kept going by the government, and though it has therefore, a certain local currency, it has no gold backing'. Firth rightly emphasized that 'to be linguistically solvent you must be able to exchange your terms somewhere and somehow for gold of intrinsic social value'.

And now, during the years that passed since Firth made this pragmatically insightful observation, not only has the face of the subcontinent altered —

politically and otherwise — but all over Asia, linguistically speaking, the English language has become 'solvent', and has indeed turned into linguistic 'gold of social value'. In spite of over a century of unending acrimonious debates on the language issues, Asia has undoubtedly reached the Age of Asian Englishes.

This book attempts to contextualize some major threads of the presence of what was a colonial language, waiting to be discarded from pluralistic Asian subcontinent in the 1940s. What actually happened — gradually and somewhat unexpectedly — is that the language turned into a seductive linguistic commodity with nativized ideological, linguistic, and functional reincarnations in Asian contexts. These chapters present the major directions and paradigm shifts in the research of the past decades towards formal and functional constructs of Asianization of the English language. The processes of nativization and linguistic identity constructs reflect in a variety of forms in theoretical, methodological and pedagogical debates. I have shared my interpretations of these issues with the profession in my presentations, publications, and, significantly, in classroom interactions. This book incorporates these presentations in more elaborated, updated and integrated forms, with an attempt to relate them to the broader contexts and functional realities of Asian Englishes. The *functional nativeness* of Asia's Englishes is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that Anglophone Asia shares with other Anglophone countries around the globe, as well as with world Englishes. The chapters in this volume thus present only the Asian slice of the story of transplanted Englishes.

This work owes its genesis to Kingsley Bolton, who, in his inimitable enthusiasm, initiated the idea for the volume, provided insightful suggestions and offered invaluable editorial guidance. His scholarly dedication and earnestness have contributed to our better understanding of several varieties of Asian Englishes and those of world Englishes. My deep gratitude is also due to 'Illinois *maṇḍala*' ('the Illinois circle') that includes several of my colleagues and former and current students at the University of Illinois, who since 1963 have continued to constitute a provocative forum for discussions, insights, and congenial disagreements; to Larry E. Smith and Edwin Thumboo for their elegance and warmth and intellectual generosity and for their much-valued comments on earlier versions of various chapters of this book; to Margie Berns, Pradeep Dhillon, Yamuna Kachru, Salikoko S. Mufwene, Cecil Nelson, Anne Pakir, S. N. Sridhar and Yasukata Yano for generously sharing with me their ideas with consummate professionalism; to Amita Kachru and Stanley Van Horn for reading various sections of the book and for their suggestions; to Jamie S. Lee for her skill and dedication beyond the call of duty in the preparation of the manuscript with a contagious smile and for her help from the beginning to the end of the project; to Clara Ho of Hong Kong University Press, for her patience, understanding and professional editorial advice; to the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Illinois, for allowing me to

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One final word of appreciation and *dhanyavād* to Robert McCarthy, Jr. for his insight and contribution in multiple ways, particularly the last tedious part, that of compiling the index to the volume.

Braj B. Kachru
October 2004

Acknowledgements

Phonetic symbols and transcription

In most cases, particularly in Chapter 3, the symbols of the Internatinal Phonetic Association (IPA) have been used. Since symbols may occur in cited text, their appearances may vary.

[   ] Phonetic transcription
/   / Phonemic transcription
:   (following a vowel) indicates a long vowel, e.g., *ba:za:r.* Vowel length is also marked by / - / above a vowel, e.g., *bazār* 'market', or by the use of double vowel, e.g. *bazaar*
.   (below a consonant) marks retroflex, e.g. ṭi: ('tea')

In the transliteration of some South Asian words into English, the South Asian, British or American spelling may be used, depending on the context, e.g. *pandit* or *pundit* (my preferred spelling for this word is *pandit*).

Diacritical marks in Asian proper names have generally been avoided, except in some cases as in Chapter 9.

Map of Greater Asia

Mongolia

CHINA

Pakistan

Nepal

Bhutan

INDIA

Bangladesh

Sri Lanka

Maldives Islands

Thailand

Singapore

South
Korea

Japan

Taiwan

Hong Kong

Macau

Laos

Vietnam

Cambodia

Brunei

Malaysia

Philippines

Indonesia

Papua New Guinea

New Caledonia

Fiji Islands

New Zealand

Australia

1
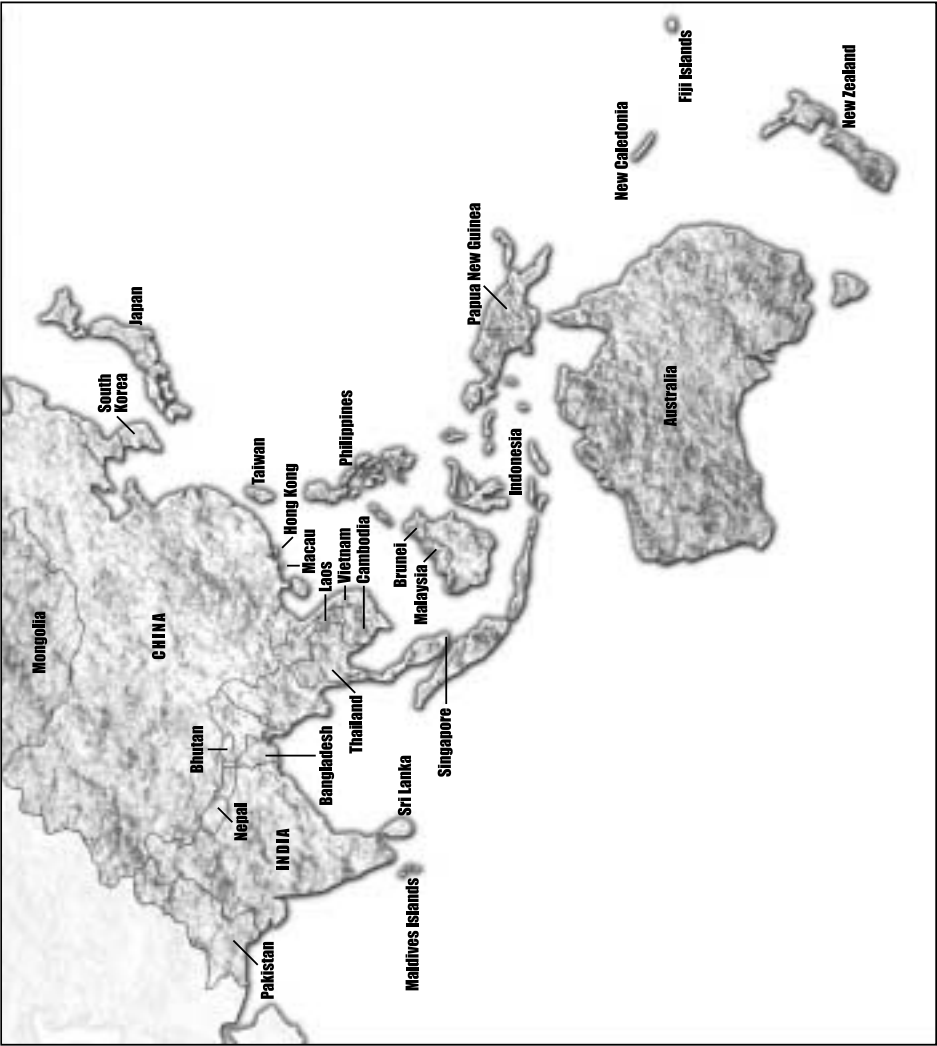
Introduction: Anglophone Asia

The volume, *Asian Englishes: Beyond the Canon*, contextualizes selected dimensions of world Englishes in Asia's Anglophone societies. The ten chapters that follow bring together various perspectives on functions, creativity, canonicity, attitudes and pedagogy.

The term 'Asian English' warrants an explanation. This regional identification marker for the varieties of English used by the region's Anglophone societies is understandably somewhat problematic. But, then, that is true of such other terms that designate regional boundaries such as 'Pacific Rim', 'South Asia', and 'East Asia'. In their discussion of Pacific Rim, Lim, Smith and Dissanayake rightly refer to this dilemma:

> In the production of cultural discourse, there is no "Pacific Rim" that is an "objective" given. Rather, a competing set of ideational constructs projects upon that location on the globe the interest, power, and vision of these historically produced relationships, one of the most crucial being constituted through the Asia Pacific region's participation in geoeconomic system in which capitalism is dominant. (1999: 3)

In constructs of Asia's Anglophone societies it is these shared ideational — and not necessarily objective — characteristics that are under focus, as outlined in Chapter 2.

The functional dynamics of Asian Englishes — as indeed of other Asian languages — are in constant change. We witness this in each region of Asia through the dynamics of language policies and thus the evolving identities of English, particularly in the post-1950s. The recognition of nativized creativity in English has gradually become yet another marker for establishing such identity in various genres of English, which until recently was considered essentially a 'colonial' linguistic remnant to be discarded with disdain. We see the evolving role of English as integral to national identity now in such places as Malaysia, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. There is

an articulation of altered constructs of English, a redefined functional, pragmatic and ideological location of the language. In Singapore, as in other states of the regions, the English language has now become a potent — and cherished — medium of youth culture. And, to the utter dismay of some, English has almost acquired the status of first or primary language. What Lick observes about Singapore certainly is true of segments of societies in other regions too:

> For the younger generation family members, English is the/a home language and the 'first language' in school; they are, stereotypically, very 'Westernized', being fed on a daily dosage of Western pop music, American sitcoms, etc. Generational difference in the cultural grounding in the use of Singapore English can thus be expected. (2001: 105)

In South Asia, to add yet another example, in a variety of linguistic interactions ranging from ZTV or Star TV channels to the language of youth culture in metropolitan areas, it is not easy to distinguish if the interlocutors are actually interacting in Hindi, Hindustani, or in English. In such interactions there are minimal clues indicating which is the 'receiver' language and which is the 'giver' language. The blending and hybridization of two or more linguistic systems is accomplished with dexterity and immense effect: A metropolitan variety of language has thus already been institutionalized in which English is a major partner and initiator of convergence.

The intent of this volume is to motivate a theoretical and methodological shift towards functionally relevant constructs of Asian Englishes within a broader conceptualization of world Englishes. This conceptual shift is of three types: First, it locates the bilinguals' creativity within the contexts of linguistic and cultural pluralism that characterize the Asian English SPEECH COMMUNITY; second, it treats linguistic *construction* of a text in any genre as a cohesive text representing structural, discoursal and cultural hybridity; and third, it distinguishes the bilingual's competence in terms of its appropriateness within the local contexts of function.

It is with reference to these conceptual points that *adoption* and *adaptation* of Asian Englishes within Anglophone Asian societies — or other societies — becomes meaningful. In recent literature, it has, however, been shown that there still continues to be a resistance to this shift. The result is that there are now two diametrically distinct approaches to Anglophone Englishes: The SACRED COW MODEL that perpetuates the age-old mythology of linguistic purity while what has been characterized as a LINGUISTIC LIBERATION MODEL, believed to follow the LIBERATION THEOLOGY MODEL, invites such Sacred Cows to the slaughter. The liberation linguistics views these theoretical and methodological sacred cows as unable to represent contexts in which Asian Englishes — and, indeed, other Englishes — function. This rather simplified version of the

differences between these two models is further elaborated and provides a number of the main threads of discussion in *Asian Englishes: Beyond the Canon.*

There are yet other threads that integrate the chapters: a celebration of the liberation of the medium (*madhyama*) of the English language, through a gradual recognition of the nativization and acculturation of the messages (*mantras*) that the medium conveys; and a retrospective study of the social, ideological, cultural and psychological implications of the methodology and pedagogy of English studies.

This book is divided into five thematic parts. The three chapters in Part I (Contexts) locate English in Anglophone Asia within two distinct historical and functional contexts, South Asia and Japan. Chapter 2, 'Asian Englishes', goes beyond the issues of methods and methodology and explores Asian reincarnations of Englishes in terms of what Marlowe, in another context, has characterized, 'the outwards sign of inward fires'. The conceptualization 'Asian Englishes' thus situates the focus of the debate not on language that is *in* Asia, but on language that is *of* Asia. These 'inward fires' related to the Asian presence of English have resulted in an understandable debate questioning the albatross of traditional mythology. This cultivated mythology has evolved three major constructs: first, that of HIERARCHY in terms of interlocutors in interactional contexts; second, that of CANONICITY in equating the medium (*madhyama*) primarily with Judeo-Christian contexts; third, that of ICONICITY in terms of models of creativity and peripheries for *deviation* from such canons of creativity. The chapter provides a redefined conceptualization for Asia's Englishes and a preamble to the volume. The two following chapters in this part, on South Asia and Japan show that these two regions are distinct in their populations and profiles, in their histories of contact with English, in the range and depth of functions of English, and in their identity formation with the language. However, in several ways these two contrastive case studies demonstrate and raise several identical issues about ideology, methodology and fast-changing attitudes towards the English language.

In Part II, Chapter 5, the Janus-like double faces of the CONVERGENCE of English are discussed with reference to multilinguistic contexts of world Englishes, including that of Anglophone Asia. The two faces, one of ENGLISHIZATION of native language and the other of NATIVIZATION of English have an immense impact in South Asian sociolinguistic contexts. These two faces provide valuable data for our better understanding of CONTACT LINGUISTICS within Asia. In this respect, as the Kahanes have appropriately observed, 'English is the great laboratory of today's sociolinguists' (Kahane and Kahane, 1986: 495). Chapter 6 extends these issues to examine the 'absent voices' in present conceptual and methodological paradigms of 'English for Specific Purposes' (ESP). It questions indiscriminate use of language corpora, its organization and the pragmatic validity of claims made for its cultural, social and functional appropriateness for the English users in Anglophone Asia.

The two chapters in Part III (Mantras) contextualize the canon of creativity in Asian Englishes specifically with reference to Raja Rao's classic *Kanthapura* (1938), to illustrate an Asian and African dilemma between *madhyama,* the medium, and *mantra,* the message. In other words, the debate is regarding the relationship between the *channel* of a message and the ideological *constructs* that this channel may convey. This dilemma is perceptively expressed by Raja Rao when he says that the medium represents 'an alien language' and yet, it is 'not really an alien language'. Chapter 7, 'Medium and *mantra*', focuses on Raja Rao and his pioneering articulation of the Indianness in Indian English in 1938. Chapter 8, 'Talking back and writing back,' presents further authentication of Raja Rao's credo for creativity by several Asian and African creative writers in their interviews with Feroza Jussawalla and Reed Way Dasenbrock (1992). This chapter is a review of their book which focuses on three intriguing questions about creativity in world Englishes: What does it mean to write in a language that is not one's own? What does it mean to have more than one language to write in? And, how does this bilinguality affect one's approach to English? The views of fourteen creative writers comprise the volume, including four from Anglophone Asia: Raja Rao, Anita Desai, Zulfikar Ghose, and Bapsi Sidhwa.

In current debates on language shift, decay and extinction the jury is still out on the putative cause of *linguicide, language murder,* or *language genocide.* In literature a finger is often pointed toward the English language. Part IV (Predator) revisits the questions of 'Killer or accessory to murder?' specifically with reference to English in Asia. In Part V (Pedagogy), Chapter 10, 'Contexts of pedagogy and identity', argues that there is a functional and pragmatic need to relate the broader conceptualization of world Englishes to the pedagogy in the teaching of English in Asian classrooms. This, then, entails a shift in methodology, in the syllabus design and in the contextualization of the texts. The concluding section, Part VI (Afterword), Chapter 11, 'Present tense: Making sense of Anglophone Asia', recapitulates the major theoretical strands — linguistic, ideological, ideational — that contribute vitality and pragmatic authentication to Asian Englishes. This concluding chapter provides a context and a backdrop for the watchers of Anglophone Asia. The major points discussed are:

- The heart of the matter
- Constructing constructs
- Flogging a dead horse
- On getting the Three Circles model backwards
- Identity markers and location
- Pidgins and creoles in the constellation
- Life-Cycle hypothesis and 'reincarnation'
- Lingua Franca, again!

- Codification and standardization
- The cauldron of 'empires'
- 'World Standard Spoken English' (WSSE) and the real world
- Futurology and the crystal ball
- Asian voices in repositories of knowledge
- The victimology of English
- 'A different ... uh, kettle of fish'
- Barking up the wrong tree
- Shared strands of ongoing debates

This chapter sums up the major issues, the tensions related to presence of English in Anglophone Asia, and the underlying reasons for these tensions. It also seeks to make sense of the present vibrant constructs and debates surrounding the evolving identities of English in Anglophone Asia.

Part I
Contexts

2

Asian Englishes

Introduction

The issues that I discuss in this chapter concern several aspects of the Asian presence of the English language, and are not restricted to methods and methodology. The concerns are about the constructs of the language that we use in a wide range of functional domains, about the ideologies, and the altered contexts that relate to the Asian reincarnations of the language. In other words, these issues relate to the Asian sociolinguistic, ideological and literary reinventions of the language. Actually, these issues go beyond English. One has to ask in what ways the Anglophone Asian contexts, whether linguistic, social, or cultural, are altering English, and in what ways English continues to alter Asian languages and literatures.

Thus, this chapter is yet another expression of what Peter Strevens (1992), using Marlowe's words, has called 'the outward sign of inward fires'. We have already entered another millennium, and ELT professionals have been busy designing plans for 'English 2000 and beyond' (Bowers, 1995). The debate on the theoretical and applied conceptualizations of the field of English studies has acquired a unique vitality and energy in its various incarnations around the world. It is the opportune time to take another look, in this new context, at our conceptualization of world Englishes in Asia — or what may be called the world of Asian Englishes.

The title 'Asian Englishes' is intended to alter and relocate the focus of our ongoing debate on this linguistic icon. The English language is generally discussed as a language that is *in* Asia, but not *of* Asia. This perception raises challenging questions about the almost permanent immigrant status of a language and the rights of a language to naturalization. I believe that answers to these questions are important, particularly for linguistically and culturally pluralistic Asian societies. And so far as English is concerned, these questions are not less important for societies that have traditionally considered themselves, linguistically or culturally, homogeneous. I am particularly thinking

of the dimensions of English that I have emphasized over the past four decades, i.e. the *acculturation* and *nativization* of the language, and the resultant *Englishization* of other Asian languages and literatures.

There is no paucity of metaphors that define the constructs of English in Asia and elsewhere. The metaphors 'the world language', 'the language on which the sun never sets', and 'a universal language' are particularly loaded. These are metaphors of 'indivisiveness' and 'partnership'. But the reality is different. Then there are metaphors of distance, Otherness, and conflict that refer to the deception perceived in English as a medium and its messages, for example, 'a Trojan horse', 'the other tongue', 'stepdaughter', and 'stepmother tongue'. And on the other extreme is the characterization of the English language as 'the most racist of all human languages' (Ngũgĩ, 1981). In this jungle of metaphors English is Hydra-like with many heads, including one that, in India's metaphysical writer Raja Rao's view 'elevates us all' (1978a). Rao has no hesitation in equating English in India with the Brahmanic sacred language Sanskrit, as discussed in Chapter 7. The metaphors 'the flowering tree' or 'the speaking tree' point to yet other dimensions of English, that of its multiculturalism, its pluralism and its immense hybridity. The discussion that follows combines some aspect of all these metaphors, since most of them also represent our Asian perceptions of the language. That is not surprising, since Asia comprises a linguistic, literary, cultural, ideological and, of course, political, world of its own — a vast world of hybridities.

In this Asian world of Englishes, the prolonged presence of the English language has raised a string of challenging questions that have been discussed in literature, not only in English, but also in other major languages of this vast region (e.g. Bengali, Chinese, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Singhala, Tamil, and Urdu). In Asia, for example, there has been an articulate and provocative debate in Japan, in the Philippines, and in Singapore. We see now that Hong Kong, Thailand, and Malaysia are gradually becoming active participants in this most controversial and virulent linguistic debate of our times. And the reason is that English in one way or another has a presence in the most vital aspects of Asian lives including our cultures, our languages, our interactional patterns, our discourses, our economies, and, of course, our politics. But above all, English has had a major role in altering our identities as individuals, societies, and the identities of Asian languages. These transformations are evident in a variety of contact languages and literatures in Asia and other parts of the world.

What is now a vibrant, and somewhat contentious, linguistic debate across cultures has indeed been present in colonial Asia for most of its history. And now, during the post-1960s, this debate has acquired a new vitality, added concerns, and a variety of daunting dimensions. The presence of this debate is indeed a good sign. It is, therefore, not uncommon to be asked: Whose

language is English, anyway? The question is a mix of part assertion and part intellectual probe.

Epistemological concerns

I shall add some epistemological concerns to this cross-cultural debate, but not necessarily restricted to Asia. These concerns are due to the intensity of the debate about re-thinking English studies, practically in every major area of Asia (e.g. see Dasgupta, 1993; Dissanayake, 1985; B. Kachru, 1983a, 1983b and later, Thumboo, 1985; see also Bautista, 1997; Foley, 1988 and Foley et al., 1998).

In order to respond to these concerns, two questions come to mind. First, what conditions must a transplanted colonial language in diaspora fulfil to be accepted as part of the colonizees' linguistic repertoire? In other words, why not consider the reincarnated English in the Philippines, Singapore and India — just to offer three examples — as a part of our local pluralistic linguistic heritage? After all, English has been with us in various parts of Asia for almost 200 years. That presence in relation to time compares very well indeed with the transplanting of English in North America, in Australia, and in New Zealand. The second question brings us close to an ongoing pan-Asian debate about the English language. Why not consider the diaspora varieties of English, for example, in the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia and India as functionally viable parts of our linguistic and cultural heritages? A heritage that has left indelible sweet-and-sour traces on our cultural and linguistic histories.

These concerns must be confronted to further strengthen our ongoing process of pluralistic foundations — cultural, social and linguistic. We need to redefine and reconstruct concepts such as NATIVENESS and NON-NATIVENESS of languages we use within the dynamic sociolinguistic contexts of Asia. We need to focus on their Asianness and Asian identities. These questions are like double-edged swords. However, these epistemological concerns cannot and should not be separated from our current emotional debate about languages and the place of English in designing and redesigning our language policies. I expressed these concerns in the 1980s with reference to English in India's multilingual context. In India, as it is well known, there is a continued agonizing and schizophrenic debate about the status of English and its role in the region (B. Kachru, 1994a). The story of this debate actually goes back to the 1830s, when Thomas Macaulay's *Minute* introduced a language policy for the subcontinent with English as its major component, as discussed in Chapter 3.

These multilingual societies, which have passed through a host of post-

colonial contexts, must confront these two concerns for pragmatic, political, and economic reasons — but more so for strengthening the pluralistic foundations of our societies. Asian sociocultural and sociolinguistic reasons of convergence and cultural interaction have made it vital that we redefine the concepts of the *nativeness* and the distance-marking *otherness* of the languages we use.

Language and nativeness

The questions concerning *nativeness* of a language have acquired most provocative connotations in language policies and language conflicts. In the present context, this debate is generally addressed with reference to English. In an earlier studies (see Chapter 2), I proposed that in the contextualization of world Englishes we make a distinction between GENETIC NATIVENESS and FUNCTIONAL NATIVENESS of the language in our multilingual repertoires.

GENETIC NATIVENESS: The historical relationship between, for example, Hindi, Kashmiri, and Bengali belonging to India's Indo-Aryan group of languages is genetic. This relationship is thus different from, for example, that of the Dravidian languages, such as Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam with Sanskrit. The interface between the Dravidian group of languages and Sanskrit is the result of extended contact, convergence, and the underlying cultural traditions. It is through such contact that languages belonging to distinct language families have developed a variety of shared formal features. It is again on this basis that South Asia has been characterized as a linguistic, sociolinguistic, and a literary area.[1] Such typologies of shared identities, i.e. linguistic, literary, and cultural, have been proposed for other regions of Asia like Southeast Asia and the Pacific region.

FUNCTIONAL NATIVENESS: Functional nativeness is not necessarily related to the genetic mapping of a language. Functional parameters are determined by the RANGE and DEPTH of a language in a society. Range refers to the domains of function, and depth refers to the degree of social penetration of the language. These two variables provide good indicators of comparative functions of languages in a society and of acquired identities and types of acculturation represented by a transplanted language. In determining functional nativeness one must consider, for example:

1. the sociolinguistic status of a variety in its transplanted context;
2. the functional domains in which the language is used;
3. the creative processes used at various levels to articulate local identities;
4. the linguistic exponents of acculturation and nativization;
5. the types of cultural 'cross-over' contributing to a new canon; and
6. the attitude-specifying labels used for the variety[2]

I am specifically thinking of English here, but there is no reason why this concept cannot be applied to other languages as well, i.e. Chinese in the Philippines and Singapore or in diasporic contexts in the USA, UK and India; Hindi in Fiji; Korean in Japan, and so on.

Contexts of the Asian presence of English

The answers to the above two questions are essentially determined by the contexts in which English is used in Asia. For example, one might consider the following contexts in which English is used in each Asian country.

1. *HISTORICAL*, with reference to the language policies of major regions and the place of English in such contexts;
2. *FUNCTIONAL*, within the contexts of the uses of English in various domains;
3. *FORMAL*, with reference to major productive processes which mark the nativization of English;
4. *SOCIOCULTURAL*, with reference to the acculturation of English within the social and cultural contexts of the region;
5. *CREATIVE*, with reference to, for example, literary genres, professional genres, and the news media;
6. *EDUCATIONAL*, with reference to the status and use of English in the educational system at various levels in, and types of, educational institutions; and
7. *ATTITUDINAL*, with reference to the users' attitudes towards the models and methods appropriate for the local users.

Asian Englishes within the Three Circles

If we consider Asian Englishes within the perspectives discussed above, one notices the following important facts. The first fact to consider is that Anglophone Asia provides an integrated profile of English within the Concentric Circles model of the spread of English. This model, observes McArthur (see also Chapter 11, 'On getting the Three Circles Model backwards', pp. 211–20):

> ... is a more dynamic model than the standard version, and allows for all manner of shadings and overlaps among the circles. Although 'inner' and 'outer' still suggest — inevitably — a historical priority and the attitudes that go with it, the metaphor of ripples in a pond suggests mobility and flux and implies that a new history is in the making. (McArthur, 1993: 334)
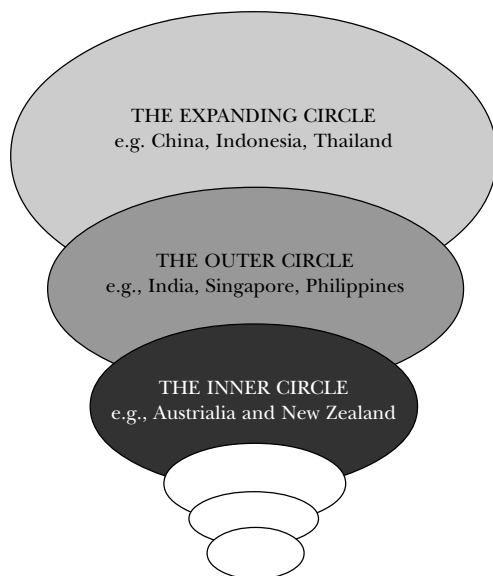
Figure 2.1 Three Concentric Circles of Asian Englishes

The Inner Circle is represented in greater Asia by Australia and New Zealand, where English functions primarily as a first language in majority of cases, though that profile is very dynamic. The Outer Circle is represented by, for example, India, Singapore and the Philippines. In these countries, English is used as an institutionalized additional language. The term 'institutionalized' has several implications as discussed in my original proposal of this classification in 1985. And the Expanding Circle is represented by, for example, China, Thailand, Taiwan and Korea, where English continues to be used primarily as a foreign language. However, dynamics of English in the Expanding Circle is fast changing.

The users of English in Asia's two numerical giants, China and India, add up to approximately 533 million. This speech community, then, is larger than the total of the USA, the UK and Canada. In China the estimated figure of students enrolled in programmes in English as a foreign language is about 200 million (see Zhao and Campbell, 1995). A survey conducted in India (*India Today*, 18 August 1997) shows that my earlier estimated figure of 60 million was both conservative and dated. The latest figures tell us that:

> Contrary to the [Indian] census myth that English is the language of a microscopic minority, the poll indicates that almost one in every three Indians claims to understand English although less than 20 percent are confident of speaking it. (*India Today*, 18 August 1997)

The estimated population of India is now over one billion. The survey figures, then, add up to 333 million Indians who possess varying degrees of bilingual competence in Indian English and almost 200 million in China. These are large figures. At one level these figures provide mute statistics describing the linguistic profile of one segment of Asia's English-knowing bilingual population. But these figures relate to a vast human population and have immense linguistic, ideological, cultural and indeed ethical implications.

All three Circles of English in Asia have certain shared characteristics. First, that all the varieties of English used in Asia are TRANSPLANTED varieties; and that these varieties comprise formal and functional distinctiveness of the diaspora varieties of English in various degrees.

The second fact about English as an Asian language is that its demographic profile is overwhelming in the following senses:
1. that the total English-using population of Asia is more than that of the Inner Circles, including Australia and New Zealand;
2. that India, in the Outer Circle, is a major English-using country along with the US and the UK;
3. that English is the main medium in demand for acquisition of bilingualism/multilingualism in the whole Asian region; and
4. that in parts of Asia (e.g. in Singapore) English is gradually acquiring the status of the dominant language or the *first* language, whatever we mean by that term.

The third fact concerns the extensive creativity in the language in a broad variety of literary genres. The innovations in the medium and the acculturation of the messages that the medium conveys has resulted in an unprecedented cross-over of the language.

The fourth fact relates to the types of penetration — and functions — the English language has acquired among various levels of society in the region, for example, in the print, spoken (radio) and visual (television) media as a major resource of information — in addition to multiple regional languages. We see this in the profile of English in India, discussed above. It is further evident in, for example, in India's press and print media. In 2000, reports *India 2002: A Reference Manual* (275), there were 49,145 periodicals and newspapers published in India, 'in as many as 101 languages and dialects'. Out of this total, Hindi was leading with 19,685, English with 7,175 was second, and Urdu was third with 2,848.

The total 'claimed' circulation of newspapers during that year was 126,963,763 copies. In terms of their circulation, the English newspapers have a national pan-Indian circulation and some international distribution. That claim is supported by the number of Indian cities in which each English newspaper is printed. *The Hindustan Times,* printed in seven cities, 'was the largest circulated single edition newspaper' with 847,306 copies; *The Hindu,*

printed in nine cities, with 779,851 copies; *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, a Bengali daily (Kolkata) was third with 754,348 copies; and *The Times of India* was 'the largest circulated multi-edition' daily with 1,687,099 copies, and with several editions from seven cities. The following table shows the number of English newspapers by type (periodicity), and percentage of the total.

Table 2.1 India's English-language press

PERIODICITY	TOTAL	ENGLISH	PERCENTAGE
Dailies	5,364	390	7.27%
Tri-biweeklies	339	30	8.84%
Weeklies	17,749	943	5.31%
Fortnightly	6,553	711	10.84%
Monthlies	13,616	2,868	21.06%
Quarterlies	3,425	1,255	36.34%
Bi-monthlies/half-yearlies	1,668	811	48.62%
Annual	431	168	38.97%
Total	19,140	7,176	37.49%

All these vehicles of information are primarily managed by Indians and most written in various varieties of educated South Asian English. Furthermore, the initiatives in planning, administration, and funding for the acquisition and spread of English are largely in the hands of Asians for whom English is an additional language.

And, finally, there is the inevitable formation of ideology in and through the English language. In this region there is a most articulate continuous debate about three major ideological issues related to English: its colonial constructs, its ideological impact, and its hegemonic implications for the cultures.[3] These questions indeed bring forth a string of issues related to Westernization, to the creation of conflicting identities, and, above all, to the types of resultant issues related to power and politics.[4]

The albatross of mythology

The mythology about English as a language — its curriculum, its research agendas, and its pedagogy — continues to be constructed and imposed in a deliberate and planned way as a loaded weapon. The mythology manifests itself in the norms of language, reactions to creativity and innovations, and recognition of canons (see B. Kachru, 1992d; 1995c).

The power of the mythology is immense; it is like a linguistic albatross around the necks of the users of the language. The result is that innovative

and creative initiatives are paralyzed and these result in self-doubt when there is a conflict with the paradigms of authority. And such dominant external paradigms continue to be present in all Anglophone Asia. These paradigms function like linguistic arms of control. These arms of control, for example, include assumptions and hypotheses related to the following:

1. language *production* with reference to, for example, language standards;
2. language *function* with reference to models of functional language-types (e.g., English for Special Purpose, ESP), schemas for genres of writing, and communicative competence;
3. channels of *authentication* and authority with reference to native versus nonnative status;
4. criteria for *legitimization* of the canon and innovations in creativity within a canon;
5. *standardization* of performance tests in evaluation of competence; and *definitions* of interactional concepts such as intelligibility, etc.

Table 2.2   Functional domains of English across the Three Circles

FUNCTION	INNER CIRCLE	OUTER CIRCLE	EXPANDING CIRCLE
Access Code	+	+	+
Advertising	+	+/-	+/-
Corporate trade	+	+	+
Development	+	+/-	+/-
Government	+	+/-	-
Linguistic impact	+	+	+
Linguistic creativity	+	+	+/-
Literary renaissance	+	+	+
News broadcasting	+	+	+/-
Newspapers	+	+	+/-
Scientific higher education	+	+	+/-
Scientific research	+	+	+/-
Social interaction	+	+/-	+/-

+   Only English has function in this domain
+/-   English as well as other language(s) function in this domain
-        English has no function in this domain

Note that in recent years even in the Inner Circle countries (e.g., UK and USA) there is increasing presence of Asian and African languages in some of the above domains.

The power of mythology is imperceptible until we see its underlying presence in the formation of hypotheses, definitions of contexts, and legitimization of methods and methodology (e.g. see Canagarajah, 1999; B. Kachru, 1996b). Lévi-Strauss, (cited in Eribon, 1991: 141) warns us about the power of myths when he says that 'a myth offers us a grid', and it is the grid that:

> ... makes it possible to decipher a meaning, not of the myth itself but of all the rest-images of the world, of society, of history, that hover on the threshold of consciousness, with the questions men ask about them. The matrix of intelligibility makes it possible to combine them all into a coherent whole (cited in Eribon 1991:141).

These myths have a way of acquiring a life of their own. There are agencies of control which intentionally use mythology as a foundation for models and for various paradigms (e.g. see Phillipson, 1992 and later). In the past, I have discussed these myths in several ways (see B. Kachru, 1995a and later; cf. Chapter 5). I will mention here three sets of such myths to illustrate the point. These three sets have one thing in common: they establish, as Foucault (1980) asserts, the 'regimes of truth'. In this particular case these 'regimes of truth' are of three distinct types:

The first set defines and determines the rank and hierarchy of interlocutors, for example,

Myth 1: THE NATIVE SPEAKER IDEALIZATION MYTH;
Myth 2: THE NATIVE VS. NON-NATIVE SPEAKER INTERACTION MYTH.

The second set constrains both the message and the medium, for example,

Myth 3: THE CULTURE IDENTITY (OR MONOCULTURE) MYTH;
Myth 4: THE EXOCENTRIC NORM MYTH.

The third set legitimizes the control of innovations, creativity, and linguistic experimentation, for example,

Myth 5: THE INTERLANGUAGE MYTH (cf. Chapter 5);
Myth 6: THE CASSANDRA MYTH.

This mythology applies to all major languages of power and control including English as well as other languages of wider communication in Asia, Africa, and Europe. However, my concern here is restricted to the presence of English in the Asian context.

What this mythology and the resultant chains of control negate is the vital sociolinguistic and identity-denoting concepts of PLURICENTRICITY and POLYPHONY in terms of mantras. This concept proposes that world Englishes have a plurality of centres. The major characteristics of these centres are that they provide the norms and models for its acquisition; develop methods and materials for appropriate localized pedagogical goals; use innovations in literary creativity, genre development, and region-specific ESPs; develop linguistic materials for authentication and local and regional codification; recognize the convergence of English with local languages (e.g. Chinese, Malay, Tamil, Hindi, Tagalog, Thai) as a natural process of convergence and acculturation; and consider the formal processes of nativization as an integral part of the linguistic variety and incorporate these features in the local dictionaries and teaching materials of the variety.

The Asian world of English, then, comprises two distinct types of users. These may be broadly divided into norm-providing and norm-dependant categories:

NORM-PROVIDING: L1 norm (e.g. Australia, New Zealand); L2 norm (e.g. the Philippines, Singapore, India, Sri Lanka).

NORM-DEPENDENT: L2 (e.g. China, Japan, Taiwan, Thailand, South Korea).

That a country is 'norm-dependent' does not necessarily imply that a recognizable local variety is not used. The most significant dimension of pluricentricity is that the regional varieties of English have primarily local, regional, and interregional contexts of use: Singaporeans with Thais, Japanese with Indians, and South and West Asians with West, East, or South Africans and Europeans. The situation of predetermined interlocutors (Inner Circle vs. Other Circles or as ELT literature presents *native* vs. *non-native*) has no pragmatic and communicative validity, as discussed in detail in Chapter 6. And this pragmatic fact has serious implications in our continued subordination to ELT mythology, imposed by the ELT Empire, as I have attempted to show in this volume.

Mythology and the Asian context

The acceptance of this mythology is not always innocent. There are contexts in which the use of the mythology is initiated towards cultural, religious, ideological, and economic ends. Let me illustrate my point by examples: those of the Philippines, India, and Japan. These countries provide insights into the motivations for the initial introduction of English in these three Asian regions and about the continued direct and indirect efforts to maintain the 'regimes of truth' in theory, in methodology, cultural and religious enlightenment and in the constructs of ELT. The case of the Philippines, in many ways, is identical to that of South Asia and parts of Africa. In these areas English was introduced partly for its 'civilizing' effect. In 1898, when the arm of power of the USA reached the Philippines, it ended 300 years of Spanish domination. It is believed that President McKinley had a distinct agenda for this newly acquired colony: the agenda was 'to educate the Filipinos and uplift and civilize and Christianize them to fit the people for the duties of citizenship' (cited in Beebe and Beebe, 1981: 322). In South Asia, the agents of colonial expansion from the other side of the Atlantic did not have a much different agenda. We see that in the case of the Indian subcontinent, Charles Grant believed that '[t]he communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders' (1831–1832: 60–1). And in that part of the colonial world English was again introduced as a tool of 'enlightenment', of 'light', and of 'civilization', as discussed in Chapter 3.

In Japan, proposals were made by some Japanese to abandon the native tongue, Japanese, and adopt some 'better, richer, stronger language, such as English or French' (Miller, 1977: 41). And Arinori Mori even argued that 'all reasons suggest its [the language of Japan] disuse' (see Chapter 4). There was not just the suggestion that Japan adopt English as its 'national language', but there was a more extreme suggestion that the Japanese should acquire the ethnic qualities of Caucasians by inter-marriage with them. That indeed is just one side of the Japanese romance with English. And yet, there is another side, more virulent, more questioning, and extremely resentful of the hegemonic roles of the language. The details are given in Chapter 4 which specifically discusses Japan.

What I have just said about the colonial linguistic arm in the three parts of the world is not the end of the story. It was repeated in other parts of the world with equal vigour, commitment, and conviction, and often with extensive and ruthless might (e.g. see Cohn, 1985). But all that is in the past, and we are rightly told 'You can never plan the future by the past' (Bowers, 1995). That indeed is true. This dilemma reflects the agony and ecstasy we witness over the continued uses of English, not only in Anglophone Asia but around the world (B. Kachru, 1996c).

Current strategies

What we see now is that the earlier agendas have really not been abandoned. What has changed are the ways the agenda is presented and the strategies that are used for its implementation. Roger Bowers, one of the senior officers of the British Council in the 1990s, makes it clear that 'the promotion of the English language is absolutely central' as one of the 'Charter obligations' of the British Council (1995: 88). And he continues that:

> [...] *we want to maintain the position of the English language as a world language so that it can serve on the widest possible stage as the vehicle for our national values and heritage* [...]

I must confess that, Bowers also adds, '*along with those of other English-speaking nations*' (1995: 88; emphasis added). We must give Bowers credit for being equally candid about the implementation of these goals in ELT: even more outspoken than that. He immediately agrees that 'we have then a vested interest in maintaining the roles of English as a language, *and of* British *ELT as a* trade *and a* profession' (1995: 88; emphasis added). What does Bowers' declaration sound like? And, here I quote in his own words:

> Now this begins to sound dangerously like linguistic imperialism, and if Braj B. Kachru were here, he would strongly object (as he has in the past) to putting national before supranational interests and to placing commerce before philosophy. (Bowers, 1995: 88)

The English language, then, according to Bowers' statement, is an asset and instrument of the British as a vehicle of British values and culture, and as a resource for trade and profession. This is a 'national' agenda and the British perspective on English. And this perspective has been put more directly, if less diplomatically, by the director of 'a dynamic worldwide chain of English language schools' who told Phillipson, the author of *Linguistic Imperialism* that 'once we used to send gunboats and diplomats abroad; now we are sending English teachers' (Phillipson, 1992: 8).

And now what does one say about the other part of Bowers' observation: Should one object to the Charter-mandated function of the British Council as 'linguistic imperialism'? That indeed depends on the interpretation, and I will not discuss that question here.

Decolonizing text and context

The conceptualization of world Englishes has introduced other dimensions for the types of crossover in contexts and texts in Englishes. We find the use of terms such as 'decolonization' (see Dissanayake, 1985; Thumboo, 1985), 'dehegemonization' (e.g. Kandiah, 1995; Parakrama, 1995), and 'liberation linguistics' (see Quirk, 1988, 1989; cf. Chapter 7). The positions of the above groups are obviously not in tune with one another. Indeed, the ranks are becoming more and more clearly defined (e.g. see what has been termed the Quirk/B. Kachru controversy in Tickoo, 1991). The major points of the above controversies are that:

- the internationalization of English has come at a price;
- there is nothing like international English, but there are international functions of English;
- pluralism and diversity are an integral part of the internationalization of the language;
- the earlier paradigms — linguistic, literary and pedagogical — are flawed on several counts and these do not address current overwhelming cross-cultural and cross-linguistic roles and identities of the language.[5]

In a broader conceptualization of world Englishes these issues then take us to larger concerns, regarding canonicity, pluralism and diversity (for a detailed discussion and references, see B. Kachru, 1997b). First, they are used

with reference to the contextualization of English in functions which are distinct from, and oftentimes contrary to, the original colonial agenda for the language and its presuppositions. Second, they are used with reference to assertions about the stylistic identities of the English medium (*madhyama*), as opposed to the messages (*mantras*) that the medium conveys, as illustrated with reference to the writings of Raja Rao in Chapter 7. Third, they are used with reference to placing the varieties of English within the larger contexts of shared formal and functional identities. This conceptualization has contributed to the use of regional identity-marking terms such as the *Africanization* or *South Asianization* of English (see Bokamba, 1982 [1992]; B. Kachru, 1981a). The *Asianization* (or Asian Englishes) is yet another dimension of that contextualization. Fourth, they are used with reference to the 'dehegemonization of English', primarily with reference to methodological and pedagogical concerns.

Canonicity, diversity, and Asian Englishes

The issues related to canonicity, pluralism and diversity are not simple. These concerns demand a fresh view about canon formation in language and literature. Questions related to canonicity have had to contend with the two diasporas of English, i.e. the first diaspora (in, for example, the USA, Australia and New Zealand) and what I have called the second diaspora (in the Outer Circle).[6] In this increasingly confrontational war of canons, the basic issues relate to the following four points:
• legitimacy of the canon
• attitudes towards the canon
• hierarchy of canons, and
• canonicity and marginalization

The participants in this war of canons represent three broad groups:
• established or hegemonizing canon(s)
• 'loose canons' (see Chapter 4), and
• canons under cannon

The canons under cannon do not refer only to the Asian, African, or African-American canons. One example is that of guarding the hegemonizing canon in Scotland. James Kelman, the author of *How Late It Was, How Late*, who received the prestigious Booker Prize in 1994, encountered the same attitude that Asians and Africans have traditionally experienced. His novel was called a 'disgrace' by one of the judges, Rabbi Julia Neuberger, and 'literary vandalism' by Simon Jenkins in *The Times*. *The New York Times* reported that:

> In his heavy Scottish accent [Kelman] made a rousing case for the culture and language of "indigenous" people outside of London. ... "A fine line can exist between eliticism and racism," he said. "On matters concerning language and culture, the distinction can sometimes cease to exist altogether" "[…] To me, those words are just another way of inferiorizing the language by indicating that there's a standard," he said. "The dictionary would use the term 'debased'. But it's the language! The living language and it comes out of many different sources, including Scotland before the English arrived." (29 November 1994: B1–2)

Kelman recalls those times 'when Glaswegian accents were banned from the radio' or when Kelman's two daughters, at age eleven, were 'reprimanded' in school for using the Scottish 'aye' instead of English 'yes'. Kelman believes that it is wrong to call the language of his work 'vernacular' or 'dialect'.

And just over half a century ago that same attitude was expressed about American literature in Britain. The great pandit of the American language, H. L. Mencken, summarizes well the British attitude towards American English when he writes that 'this occasional tolerance for things American was never extended to the American language'. This was in 1936 (see Mencken, 1936). And now the question remains: Is this attitude about American English in Britain dead (cf. Chapter 8)? The answer to this question is an emphatic 'no'; one does not have to go too far for the evidence. It was not too long ago that Prince Charles said that the American version of the language was 'very corrupting' and that the English version was the 'proper' one. He told the British Council that 'we must act now to ensure that English, and that, to my way of thinking, means English English, maintains its position as the world language well into the next century' (*Chicago Tribune*, 24 March 1995, section 1, p. 4).

And Prince Charles is not alone in taking this position; others like him are jealously guarding what is perhaps one of the major export commodities now left with Britain. It is, therefore rightly claimed that 'Britain's real black gold is not North Sea oil, but the English language. ... It's difficult to qualify a national resource. The value of having, in the post-industrial age, people use the language of one's own culture is virtually inestimable.' [7]

English on Asian terms

It is indeed true that the sociolinguistic contexts in which Asian Englishes function in Anglophone Asia are not identical in each country: all the functions are not necessarily shared. What is, however, attitudinally shared is an imperfect past and an albatross of mythology that reinvents itself constantly. This is true of the Philippines, Japan, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Sri Lanka. I do not think that there are any serious exceptions to it.

The concept 'English Conversation Ideology' (*Eikaiwa*) is not unique to Japan. I will discuss this topic in Chapter 4. The major points of 'English Conversation Ideology' (*Eikaiwa*), as Tsuda (1992: 32) summarizes, includes an 'emotional attachment to Western, primarily American culture; elevation of the "native speaker" and the "Caucasian race" in general to a status of "cultural superiority", thus damaging the images of Japanese "self" and society'.

The continued stronghold of the albatross of mythology results in paradigms of questionable knowledge, and in the centralization of linguistic inhibitors that are the legacy of the imperfect past. We see this in the types of norms of linguistic control that Anglophone has accepted, and the assumptions and hypotheses Asians use in English textbooks to create a world of English for young Asians. An insightful comparative case study, with special reference to North and South Korea, has been done by Baik (see Baik, 1995) and another has been written for South Asia (see Canagarajah, 1999 and later; see also Chapter 10). These mythologies are imperceptibly present in the definitions, in legitimation of methods and methodology, and even in grammatical descriptions and lexicographical research. This mythology has appropriated all collective initiatives — intellectual and pragmatic. In each place there is a tendency to assign Asian users of the language to a predetermined place, locale and role.

These myths have led to the constructs of three types: that of HIERARCHY in terms of interlocutors and interactional contexts; CANONICITY in equating the medium with essentially Judeo-Christian contexts; and ICONICITY in terms of canons of creativity. There are ardent believers and promoters — of these myths in practically all Anglophone countries, and Asia is no exception to that. The evidence of this mythology is also present in the constructs of negativism that make us overlook the sociolinguistic realities about the functions of world Englishes. One such basic reality is that of PLURICENTRICITY. What this implies is that like many other languages of wider communication — e.g., Arabic, Chinese, Hindi — world Englishes have identity-articulating multi-centres, in Asia, in Africa and other regions.

These centres, ideally, should provide linguistic security to the users of a variety of world Englishes. In reality, this is not happening. The result of this *discourse of destabilization* is that a variety of sociolinguistic facts about world Englishes are ignored. Let me give you some examples here: first, that there are plural norms and models of acquisition; second, that these models of acquisition are functionally appropriate for a variety of contexts; third, that such localized functions contribute to innovations in linguistic creativity; and, fourth, that convergence of English with local languages is a normal process in language contact situations that results in various types of code-alteration (mixing and switching), and pragmatically authenticates the text. The recognition of pluricentricity strengthens and develops various arms of linguistic stability (e.g. dictionaries, reference and teaching materials, as

discussed in Chapter 10) that contribute to linguistic resources for the construction and linguistic stabilization of identities in Asia.

The use of the term 'Asian' as a modifier with English or 'Asianness', to characterize the processes used in articulating the Asian identities, is not an attempt to suppress the cultural and linguistic diversity of English in Asia, or the differences in status of English in various educational and political systems in the region. We cannot overlook the fact that Asia — or, if I may use the term 'greater Asia' in which one could include Australia and New Zealand — represents all the Three Circles of English, thus bringing to this region a 'mobility and flux', the underlying concept of the Three Circles. The implication of that 'mobility' and 'flux' is, as McArthur says, that 'a new history is in the making' (1993: 334).

However we cut the Asian slice of Englishes within the greater Asian boundaries, we must recognize certain vital facts about this vast region of land, cultures and histories just as we must when we talk, for example, about African Englishes. The major sociolinguistic characteristics of the Asian region are that:

1. all varieties of English are transplanted and are not indigenous to the area;
2. all varieties manifest distinct diaspora features at various linguistic levels in varying degree and depth; and
3. all Asian countries share the mythologies about English that has been cultivated over a period of time.

It is, however, to be emphasized that the roles of English in Asia have already acquired FUNCTIONAL NATIVENESS, as discussed earlier, and that ASIA'S ENGLISH must be viewed in terms of that nativeness, that includes uses of English:

1. as a vehicle of communication across distinct linguistic and cultural groups at one level of interaction;
2. as a nativized medium for articulating local identities within and across Asia;
3. as one of the pan-Asian languages of creativity;
4. as a language that has developed its own subvarieties indicating penetration at various social, functional and educational levels; and
5. as a language that continues to elicit a unique love-hate relationship yet that has not seriously impeded its spread, functions and prestige status.

The implications of focusing on the Asianness of English and its Asian identities demand that we consider the message that the myths about English convey to us (see earlier discussion).

One important exponent of English on Asian terms is the use of English as Caliban's linguistic weapon, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 7, the integrative and liberating function of the language at one level of colonized societies. We can, of course, make a case for the *disintegrative* (should I say 'colonial'?) roles of English as the medium of Western culture and values and so on. That is

only one part of the story. We see that even Caliban could take only so much abuse. The result of that legacy is the vibrant political discourse in South Asia, both unifying and divisive — and the fast-increasing Asian writing in English for example, in Singapore, in the Philippines, in India, and in Sri Lanka (for further discussion and references see B. Kachru, 1993, 1998).

In culturally, linguistically, and ideologically pluralistic societies there are multiple levels of acculturation and hybridity. One has to answer a string of questions about such hybridity: Which language, ethnicity, and, yes, religion is colonial, less colonial, and not colonial at all? In the case of South Asia one has to ask questions, for example, Persian and the linguistic outgrowth of the Persian South Asian contact with Urdu/Hindustani and other languages. One has to ask questions about the spread of Sanskrit and Hindi in the Dravidian South. In the case of parts of Africa, one might ask: Why is Swahili less colonial than, say, English? That does not, however, mean that the medium does not articulate identities; indeed it does. That is a sociolinguistic reality. Once a language establishes its autonomy, it is actually liberated, and its 'liberated' uses and functions have to be separated from its non-liberated uses. We see this position well articulated, for example, by Raja Rao in South Asia, Wole Soyinka in West Africa and James Kelman in Scotland.

There surely are 'colonial Englishes', and 'Eurocentric' and 'racist' Englishes. But these constructs refer to particular uses of the medium. Such flawed constructs are not intrinsic to the language. 'Racism' or 'centricism' can surely be illustrated in English, but it can with abundant examples be illustrated in other languages too; for example, Persian, Japanese, Chinese, Sanskrit, and Swahili, etc. There is indeed a considerable body of literature making a case for discourse and narrative of racism, sexism, Brahmanism, and Casteism in Sanskrit. In fact, the prejudice went so far that the Indian Pandits refused to teach Sanskrit to Europeans, as they were considered *mleccha* 'impure', and not fit to acquire the *devavāni*, 'God's language', Sanskrit.

Institutionalization of Asian Englishes

The contextualization of English as an Asian language entails an Asian perspective in theoretical, methodological and pedagogical terms. I shall discuss these points briefly here.

In theoretical terms, the focus must shift from the monolingual paradigms to paradigms relevant and appropriate to multilingual and multicultural societies. It is not just a matter of conceptualization, but also one of appropriate methodology for research in such societies. Once the importance of paradigm shift is realized, we will certainly understand the limitations of our current imported materials and colonial constructs, their limitations in terms of our multilingual and multicultural societies, and their economic ends. I am

particularly thinking of the methods of English language teaching, the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic claims for success of the expanding pedagogical practices of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), and the use and pedagogical validity of packaged 'recipes' for various genres. And of equal importance are the ideological issues and assumptions that underlie ESP and genre studies and research in general. I shall discuss these points in detail in Chapter 6.

Conclusion

One might ask: Where do we go now with Asian Englishes? The indications are clear that beyond the year 2050 various incarnations of the English language will still be with us. English has unique functions, unparalleled domains and overwhelming diversity. It changes its face on each continent, in each region, and in each English-using nation. The colonial dimension of the language is just one dimension. And to these constructs of identities with this medium across cultures we add yet another dimension, a reincarnated dimension.

We see this dimension in 'the creations of a new culture' that Soyinka sees in the use of English (1993: 88) as 'a new medium of communication'. What Soyinka says about Africa is indeed already true in the world of English in Asia. What Soyinka means when he says that 'black people' are carving new concepts by the use of the medium and what Quirk means by 'liberation linguistics' constitute one of the major strengths of the English language in Asia. We cannot overlook the significance of such a conceptualization for Asian uses of English. These arguments have more significant theoretical, methodological and sociological relevance than the mere *mantras* of the colonial constructs of the English language.

We now have two fast-developing literary genres concerning the roles of English in the colonial world. One expresses the 'guilt' of the colonizee users of language, the GENRE OF GUILT. And the other attempts to search and seek out the colonizer within oneself, which may be called the GENRE OF ATONEMENT. The approach of linguistic guilt and atonement somehow bewilders the minds of the once-colonized like me. I am a product of both the pre- and post-colonial eras of the Indian subcontinent, and not one of what Rushdie calls 'midnight's children'. A majority of us Asians have experienced layer after layer of colonizers' (and conquerors') onslaughts — and most such onslaughts have left their cultural and linguistic imprints. A large part of such imprints have been assimilated by us and have become a part of our multicultural and multilingual legacies. We soberly transmit these legacies to our children — to our future generations. And I would like to believe that transmission, conscious or unconscious, takes place without any guilt.

In my case and in my part of India in Kashmir, these linguistic and cultural

layers, some of the results of unwelcome onslaughts, include Afghan, Persian, Sikh, Dogra, British, and so on. Where does it leave me, whether linguistically, culturally, in literary creativity or regarding types of sociocultural changes? I ask: Confused? Multicultural? Linguistically 'converged'? Enriched? Or just 'colonized' with a variety of layers? We cannot express 'guilt' about only one 'layer' — that of English. What happens to the other layers? We cannot use strategies that will destabilize us in terms of our tradition of assimilative multilingual and multicultural identities. That, to me, is both disruptive and self-defeating. I believe that linguistic and cultural hybridity is our identity and destiny.

Our major strategy, then, is that of Wole Soyinka, of Raja Rao, and of Edwin Thumboo, which is to acculturate the language in our contexts of use, on our terms, the Asian terms. The Australian Robert Hughes, now in the USA, is right when he says that '[in] society, as in farming, monoculture works poorly, it exhausts the soil' (cited in Gates, Jr. 1993: 15). In this case, he is talking of the USA. And now, let us take this vision beyond the USA, for example, to South and East Asia, to the Pacific, to Australia, to the Eastern Hemisphere. That abstract vision of a majority of the human population, with its linguistic diversity, cultural interfaces, social hierarchies, and conflicts, is represented in various strands of Asian Englishes in Asian terms. We see it, for example, in Singapore, in Malaysia, in the Philippines, in India, and in Australia.

The architects of each tradition, each strand, have moulded, reshaped, acculturated, redesigned, and by doing so, they enriched what was a Western medium. The result is a liberated English which contains vitality, innovation, linguistic mix, and cultural identities. And, it is not the creativity of the monolingual and the monocultural: this creativity has rejuvenated the medium from 'exhaustion' and has 'reinvigorated' it in multiple ways.

3

South Asian schizophrenia

Introduction

The history of English in South Asia is one of prolonged heated debates and controversies. The controversy about the legacy of English and desirability of its continued location in language policies and its cultural associations is the major pastime of politicians, academics and the media. However, the political map of South Asia is completely altered now from the way it was when the English language was originally introduced to the subcontinent over two centuries ago. The profile of English in the subcontinent is also different from that in 1947 when the colonial period came to an end and the country was divided into India and Pakistan. One task of the two new governments was to determine the role of almost 560 sovereign states which were ruled by maharajas, nawabs and lesser luminaries depending on the status and revenue of each state. In 1972, an independent nation, Bangladesh, was carved out of Pakistan after considerable hostility and bloodshed. When we refer to contemporary South Asia, we are talking of the following seven sovereign states: India (pop. 1,014,003,817), Pakistan (pop. 141,553,775), Bangladesh (pop. 129,194,224), Sri Lanka (pop. 19,238,575), Nepal (pop. 24,702,119), Bhutan (pop. 2,005,222) and Maldives (pop. 301,475) (Source: *CIA World fact book* on-line).

These political divisions, though meaningful at one level, are somewhat misleading at another level. This vast region gives an impression of immense diversity, linguistic and otherwise. However, there are many underlying shared linguistic, literary and sociolinguistic characteristics that are shared by the South Asian states as I have briefly indicated in Chapter 2.

In linguistic terms there are four major language families: Indo-Aryan, used by the majority of the population, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, and Munda (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 The main languages of South Asia

Bangladesh	Bhutan	India				Maldives	Nepal		Pakistan			Sri Lanka	
Indo-Aryan	Tibeto-Burman	Dravidian	Indo-Aryan	Tibeto-Burman	Munda	Indo-Aryan	Indo-Aryan	Tibeto-Burman	Dravidian	Indo-Aryan	Indo-Iranian	Dravidian	Indo-Aryan
Bengali	Dzongkha	Tamil Tulu Telugu Malayalam Kannada	Assamese Bengali Gujarati Hindi Kashmiri Marathi Oriya Punjabi Sindhi Urdu	Bodo Naga	Mundari Santhali	Divehi	Nepli	Newari	Brahui	Gujarati Punjabi Sindhi Urdu	Baluchi Pushto	Tamil	Sinhala

It is not only that the language families are shared across the continent; there is also considerable linguistic convergence due to areal proximity and contact between typologically distinct languages, such as Dravidian and Indo-Aryan (*Sprachbund*). This convergence is additionally the result of shared cultural and political history, shared literary and folk traditions, and all-pervasive substrata of Sanskrit, Persian and English, in that chronological order (Hock 1986: 494–512). All the major South Asian countries have a long tradition of societal multilingualism, and several language areas include DIGLOSSIC SITUATIONS: using a learned variety of language in formal contexts and its colloquial variety in non-formal contexts (e.g. Tamil in Sri Lanka and India, Bengali in Bangladesh and India, Telugu in India, Nepali in Nepal and India). It is for these reasons that South Asia has been considered a LINGUISTIC AREA (Emeneau, 1955, 1956; Masica, 1976) and a SOCIOLINGUISTIC AREA (Pandit, 1972; D'souza, 1987). A number of these shared linguistic characteristics are transferred to South Asian English (hereafter SAE) and result in the *South Asianness* in this variety of English.

The South Asian linguistic repertoire and English

The formal introduction of English in South Asia has passed through several stages. What started as an educational debate in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries culminated in Lord Macaulay's much maligned Minute of 2 February 1835, which initiated planned activity for introducing the English language into South Asian education.

Earlier, each Indian state had its own agenda for language in education and the political divisions did not foster a national language policy. In India, the largest country in the region, at least four languages had roles as languages of wider communication, or as bazaar languages: Hindi-Urdu (or varieties of Hindi and Hindustani), Sanskrit and Persian. Hindus generally sent their

Figure 3 1 Map of South Asia

children to *pāṭhsālās* (traditional Hindu school primarily for scriptural education) for the study of religious scriptures and for basic knowledge of the *sāstras* (Sanskrit instructional texts, and treatises). The Muslims sent their children to traditional *maktab* (schools for Koranic instruction). A number of

denominational schools (*vidyālaya*) provided liberal arts curricula in Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi, Arabic or in the dominant language of the region. The policy for determining language in education, if there was one (see B. Kachru, 1982e: 60–85), was primarily an 'inward' policy; this education was secular only in a marginal sense. The Nālandā University *(viśvavidyālaya,* fifth century AD, in what is now the state of Bihar) was much closer to our present concept of a university; it was a Buddhist monastery established for scientific, theological and humanistic education and deliberation. The Nālandā University attracted students from neighbouring regions including Southeast Asia. Two other such universities were Vikramshila in Bihar and Takshashila in the North Western Frontier Province of Pakistan. There were also the *maṭha* (Hindu monasteries), which undertook the role of theological education, and this function of the *maktab* continues even now. In Sri Lanka, this purpose was served by *pirivenas* (indigenous monastic institutes).

Only a small segment of the population could avail themselves of such opportunities. Thus there was no national language-in-education policy as we understand the term now. As Britain slowly gained administrative control of a large part of South Asia, attempts were made to develop a language-in-education policy. However, the new policy could not change the linguistic, cultural and religious diversity of the region. The educational Minute of 1835 did, however, provide for the first time a blueprint of a national language policy for the subcontinent, which sought to challenge tradition in initiating an 'outward-looking' policy.

And now, over 150 years later, it is clear that after the Minute was passed, the subcontinent was not the same, linguistically and educationally. The diffusion of English has continued unabated in spite of sporadic efforts to arrest its spread. The roots of English are much deeper now than they were in 1947, when a new era of anti-English policies was expected to be unleashed.

A detailed and cohesive history of the introduction and diffusion of bilingualism in English in South Asia has yet to be written. Whatever information is available is gleaned from the following types of studies: official reports concerning education, educational reforms and educational notifications (e.g. Sharp, 1920), histories of education in South Asia (e.g. Law, 1915; Nurullah and Naik, 1951; Ruberu, 1962), and from studies of histories of missionary activities, particularly those related to the introduction of literacy and education (e.g. Sherring, 1884; Richter, 1908; Neill, 1984, 1985). The survey presented in this chapter is primarily based on the above sources.

The diffusion of English in South Asia is closely linked with the control of the region by the British, and its eventual colonization for over two hundred years. The first South Asian contact with a speaker of English possibly dates to AD 882. It is claimed that the first English-speaking visitor to India may have been an emissary of Alfred the Great. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* Alfred's ambassador went to the subcontinent with gifts to be offered at the

tomb of St Thomas. The next recorded attempts at contact started around the sixteenth century, and by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the political domination by the British was almost complete. As the British political power increased, so did the currency of the English language in various important functional domains. However, for understandable reasons, the earlier uses of English were restricted to a very small group of people: those who had to deal with the affairs of the British East India Company, and later those of the Raj.

In retrospect we see that the introduction of English into the language policies of the region has primarily gone through four stages. First, *exploration;* second, *implementation;* third, *diffusion;* and finally, *institutionalization.* These four stages broadly capture the slow but goal-orientated efforts to bring to culmination the underlying policy of providing a secure place for English in South Asian education.

The foundation for the eventual introduction of English in the subcontinent was laid on 31 December 1600, when Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to a few merchants of the city of London, giving them the monopoly of trade with the east, primarily with the Dutch East Indies. The East India Company was essentially a small company of adventurous and enterprising merchants which had originally been conceived in 1599. A few trading 'factories' were established by the company in Surat (1612), Madras (now Chennai) (1639–1640), Bombay (now Mumbai) (1674) and Calcutta (now Kolkata) (1690). These 'factories' covered the major trade routes to the subcontinent. During the period of Charles II the Company became politically ambitious and consolidated its power as 'a state within the state'. It did not become a political power in the subcontinent until two favourable events took place: the victory of Lord Clive (1725–1774) in the Battle of Plassey in 1757 and the land grant (*diwānī*) of three regions, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by Emperor Shah Alam to the company in 1765. And, finally, when William Pitt's (1759–1806) India Act was passed in 1784, the Company gained joint responsibility for Indian affairs with the British Crown. However, the earlier attempts for the introduction of English cannot be attributed to one single group or agency, for the situation was much more complex than that. There were several groups working towards this goal, often with distinctly different motivations and interests.

During the phase of exploration, the role of the missionaries had been quite vital. At the beginning, the educational efforts of the Europeans

> had an ulterior purpose, viz. the propagation of the Gospel. Moreover, they were directed purely to religious education — the objects being the instillation of Christian doctrines into the minds of the people through their native language which the Europeans tried to master, as also the spread of Western education among the Indians in order to enable them to appreciate better the Christian doctrines (Law, 1915: 6–7).

Not all such schools used the native language for imparting education. There were several schools where English was used, for example, St Mary's Charity School, Madras (1715), the Charity Schools established at Bombay (1719) and Calcutta (1720–1731), Lady Campbell's Female Orphan Asylum (1787) and the Male Asylum in Madras (1787), and the English Charity Schools in the South of India, Tanjore (1772), Ramnad (1785) and Sivaganga (1785).

The period of exploration is well documented in several studies (for India, Sherring, 1884; Richter, 1908; Law, 1915; for Sri Lanka, Ruberu, 1962). The initial efforts of the missionaries started in 1614 and became more prominent after 1659. This was the time when the missionaries were permitted to use the ships of the East India Company. The 'missionary clause' was added to the charter of the East India Company at the time of the renewal in 1698 (see Sharp, 1920: 3). This clause lasted for about sixty-seven years; in 1765, the policy changed, when support and encouragement of the missionary activities was abandoned.

The missionaries' reaction to this new policy was rather violent; the Clapham sect initiated agitation for continuation of missionary activities in the subcontinent. The efforts of Charles Grant (1746–1823) are particularly noteworthy in this context. Grant's concern was specifically about the morals of the people, and the means of improving them (Morris, 1904). In Grant's view, the missionary activities were desirable for the moral uplift of the people, since it was the moral decay which was the main cause for the upheaval in the subcontinent. In his view:

> The true curse of darkness is the introduction of light. The Hindoos err, because they are ignorant and their errors have never fairly been laid before them. The communication of our light and knowledge to them, would prove the best remedy for their disorders. (Grant, 1831–2: 60–1)

By 1813, the efforts of Charles Grant and his supporters, for example, William Wilberforce, the Foreign Secretary, and Lord Castlereagh, bore fruit, and the House of Commons, in its thirteenth Resolution, resolved that:

> it is the opinion of this Committee that it is the duty of this Country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominations in India, and that measures ought to be introduced as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, or remaining in, India. (*Parliament Debate*, 26: 562–3 [1813])

It was also in 1813 that William Wilberforce told Parliament to 'exchange its [India's] dark and bloody superstition for the genial influence of Christian light and truth'. The official sanction not only revitalized the missionary

activities, but also gave a stimulus to the teaching of English, since initially English was one of the major languages used in the missionary schools (for references, see Kanungo, 1962: 11–4).

The story of Ceylon, renamed Sri Lanka on 22 May 1972, is not much different: the island was declared a Crown Colony in 1802. However, before this declaration, in 1799, the Reverend James Cordiner went as a chaplain to the garrison in Colombo. He took over as principal of all schools in the settlement. The initial efforts to introduce English in Sri Lanka were again made by the missionaries; the government did not start imparting English education until 1831. By this time, Sri Lanka already had 235 Protestant mission schools, and only ninety of them were under the direct control of the government. By the time the government in Sri Lanka involved itself in imparting English education, the 'Christian Institution' was already there; its foundation was laid in 1827 by Sir Edward Barnes. The aim of the Institution was:

> to give a superior education to a number of young persons who from their ability, piety and good conduct were likely to prove fit persons in communicating a knowledge of Christianity to their countrymen. (Barnes, 1932: 43; see also Ruberu, 1962)

The Report of the Special Committee of Education (1943) in Sri Lanka makes it clear that in that country, until 1886, a large number of schools were Christian. The first British Governor, Frederick North, initiated far-reaching educational schemes and 'the Colebrooke Cameron reforms of 1832 made explicit the position of English in Ceylon' (T. Fernando, 1972: 73). It was in 1832 that English schools were established in five cities, Colombo, Galle, Kandy, Chilaw and Jaffna. Only sixteen years later, in 1848, the number of such schools had increased to sixty with 2,714 students (Mendis, 1952: 76).

While the controversy concerning the role of English in India's education was going on, there was a small but influential group of Indians who were impressed by Western thought and culture and its scientific and technological superiority. The English language was, therefore, preferable in their view to Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, as it was a valuable linguistic tool for access to such knowledge. The most articulate spokesman of this group was Rammohan Roy (1772–1833). His letter, dated 11 December 1823, is often quoted as evidence for such local demand for English. The following excerpts from Roy's important letter are worth noting:

> Humbly reluctant as the natives of India are to obtrude upon the notice of Government the sentiments they entertain on any public measure, there are circumstances when silence would be carrying this respectful feeling to culpable excess. The present Rulers of India, coming from a distance of many thousand miles to govern a people whose language, literature, manners,

customs and ideas are almost entirely new and strange to them, cannot easily become so intimately acquainted with their real circumstances as the natives of the country are themselves. We should therefore be guilty of ourselves, and afford our Rulers just ground of complaint at our apathy, did we omit on occasions of importance like the present to supply them with such accurate information as might enable them to devise and adopt measures calculated to be beneficial to the country, and thus second by our local knowledge and experience, their declared benevolent intentions for its improvement [...].

When this Seminary of learning [a Sanskrit school in Calcutta] was proposed, we understand that the Government of England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world [...]. We now find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu Pundits to impart such knowledge as is clearly current in India […].

And, then, Roy adds arguments against spending government money on Sanskrit studies:

If it had been intended to keep the English nation in ignorance of real knowledge the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to keep the country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature … (see Roy, 1823: 99–101; see also Wadia, 1954: 1–13)

It is on the basis of pleas such as Roy's that Chaudhuri (1976: 89) ridicules the idea that English 'was imposed on a subject people by a set of foreign rulers for the sake of carrying on their alien government'. However, Chaudhuri is only partially right. The phase of implementation of English had to wait until the educational Minute of 1835 was passed. That Minute made English a constituent part of the language policy of South Asia. The passing of this epoch-making Minute was not without extensive debate, which resulted in what has been labelled the Oriental and Occidental (Anglicist) controversy. The argument was about the indigenous system of education (the Oriental) as opposed to the Western system of education (the Occidental), their merits and demerits, their relevance for the British interests and the interests and needs of the subcontinent. The debate began soon after 1765, when the East India Company was finally able to stabilize its authority in the subcontinent.

The main concern was to determine an official policy about the role and appropriateness of English in Indian education. The Orientalists proposed the

nativist theory and the Occidentalists the *transplant* theory. Proponents for each side included administrators of the Empire, both in India and in Britain. The Orientalists included H. T. Prinsep (1792–1878), who acted as the spokesman of the group and who presented a dissenting view in a note dated 15 February 1835. Prinsep was supported by, among others, Houghton Hodgson, who worked for the Company, and John Wilson, a missionary scholar. The Occidentalists included Charles Grant (1746–1823), Lord Moira (1754–1826) and T. B. Macaulay (1800–1859).

The Minute had the support of the powerful government lobby and was a classic example of using language as a vehicle for destabilizing a subjugate culture with the aim of creating a subculture. As Macaulay says, this subculture in India would consist of:

> a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect. (Sharp, 1920: 116)

These words have frequently been quoted with various interpretations by researchers on Indian education and language policies. In Macaulay's view, this subculture could not be created using 'poor and rude' Indian vernaculars. In fact, he believed that the learning of the East was 'a little hocus-pocus about the use of cusa-grass and the modes of absorption into the Deity' (Bryant, 1932: 56–7). The answer to the debate, therefore, was to teach English. On 2 February 1835, he presented to the Supreme Council of India a Minute 'embodying his views and announcing his intention of resigning if they were not accepted' (Bryant, 1932: 56).

The Minute finally received a Seal of Approval from Lord William Bentick (1774–1839) on 7 March 1835, and an official declaration endorsing Macaulay's resolution was passed soon thereafter. This vital resolution for the introduction and diffusion of English in the subcontinent reads as follows:

> First. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.
>
> Second. But it is not the intention of His Lordship to abolish any College or School of native learning; while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords, and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which,

in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any Professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

Third. It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General-in-Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works; His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be employed.

Fourth. His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language; and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose. (Sharp, 1920: 130–1)

With this declaration and approval of the Minute, yet another external language was added to the multilingual repertoire of South Asia. The implication of this imposition was that by 1882 over 60 percent of primary schools were imparting education through the English medium. Macaulay's dream had, at last, been realized. In 1857, three metropolitan universities were founded by the government in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, which significantly contributed to imparting English education to enterprising Indians. There are, however, scholars who in retrospect feel that 'in the very conditions of their establishment and organization the seeds of the decline [of English] were present' (e.g. Nagarajan, 1981: 663).

Was this the correct decision? The debate on this question, both among South Asian and Western scholars, has continued since the Minute's final approval. Post-independence South Asian countries continue to argue about this issue from various perspectives (e.g. see Ram, 1983).

The British linguist J. R. Firth (1890–1960) holds 'superficial Lord Macaulay' responsible for 'the superficiality characteristic of Indian education' (1930: 210–1). However, not all agree with the views represented by Firth. There are many, like Rammohun Roy, who were grateful to Macaulay and the British Empire for leaving the legacy of English to India. Macaulay stated twenty years later that he believed that the Minute 'made a great revolution' (Clive, 1973: 426). There is no doubt that one has to grant him that (for detailed discussion see Banerjee, 1878; Chatterjee, 1976; Chaudhuri, 1976; Sinha, 1978; Cohn, 1985; Dharwadkar, 2003).

The original role of English in South Asia was essentially that of a foreign language. However, with the diffusion of bilingualism in English, and its institutionalization, English developed various South Asian varieties, discussed in the following section.

Types of variation

The term SAE is used as a cover term for the educated variety of South Asian English. There are, however, several varieties within this variety. This situation, of course, is not different from the sociolinguistic context of any other institutionalized variety of English. The parameters determining variation include the following.

The first is the users' proficiency in English in terms of language acquisition and years of instruction in the language. The second is the region of South Asia to which the user belongs and the impact of the dominant language of that region on English. The dominant language may reflect characteristics of a single language (e.g. for Hindustani English, see Pandey, 1980; Kannada English, Murthy, 1981; Maithili English, Sadanandan, 1981; Chaudhary, 1989; Marathi English, Rubdy, 1975; Gokhale, 1978; Pakistani English, Rahman, 1991a, 1991b; Punjabi English, Sethi, 1976, 1980; Rajasthani English, Dhamija, 1976; Tamil English, Vijayakrishnan, 1978; Upendran, 1980; Telugu English, Prabhakar Babu, 1974; see also Ramunny, 1976, for subjective reactions to regional and non-regional English accents in India) or shared characteristics of a language family (e.g. Dravidian English, Indo-Aryan English). The third variable is the ethnic background of the users. This variable has, for example, been used to describe Anglo Indian English (Spencer, 1966; Bayer, 1986) and Burgher English in Sri Lanka. The term Burgher '… now indicates any persons who claim to be of partly European descent and is used in the same sense as *half-caste* and *Eurasian* in India proper' (Yule and Burnell, 1886 [1903]: 130; see also T. Fernando, 1972, particularly pp. 73–5). Thus there is a CLINE OF PROFICIENCY in English. The two ends of the spectrum are marked by educated South Asian English at one end and by Broken English at the other. There are other functionally determined varieties of South Asian English which have acquired various labels indicative of their function and the interlocutors involved in an interactional context. These are briefly discussed below.

Babu (baboo) English (Hindi-Urdu bāp, bābā)

Babu English was first used in reference to English-using clerks in the Bengali-speaking parts of undivided India. This regional restriction does not apply any more to the use of the term, and it is now used in most of north India, in Nepal and in some circles in south India. This term originally referred to the style of administrative English, but that register restriction is no longer applicable. This style is marked by excessive stylistic ornamentation, politeness and indirectness. The discourse organization is typically that of a South Asian language. This variety has drawn the attention of scholars for over a century,

and has provided linguistic entertainment in various forms. This style is used in T. A. Guthrie's *Baboo Jabberjee, B.A.* (1897); Cecil Hunt's *Honoured Sir from Babujee* (1931) and *Babujee Writes Home: being a new edition of Honoured sir with many additional letters* (1935). The following examples are from *Baboo English or Our Mother-tongue as our Aryan brethren understand it: Amusing specimens of composition and style or, English as written by some of Her Majesty's Indian subjects.* This volume was collected and edited by T. W. J. (H. P. Kent and Co., Calcutta, n.d.).

Application for a post

> Sir,
>
> Being in much need and suffering many privations I have after long time come to the determination to trouble your bounteous goodness. To my sorrow I have not the good friendships with many people hence my slow rate of progression and destitute state.
>
> Here on earth who have I but thee, and there is Our Father in heaven, needless to say that unless your milk of human kindness is showered on my sad state no other hope is left in this world.
>
> Be not angry my Lord at this importunity for my case is in the very worst state. If your honour kindly smile on my efforts for success and bestows on me a small birth (berth) of rupees thirty or more per mensem then I can subsist myself and my families without the hunger of keen poverty, with assurance that I am ever praying for your goodness and liberality.
>
> I remain
> Yours obedient
> S. C. (p. 9)

Application for a situation

> HON'D SIR,
>
> In the holy bible of your honoured religion it is said that knock and it shall open to you therefore I am humbly knocking at the door of your honour, hoping that by special grace of Heavenly Father your honour may cast the pitying glance on my object state.
>
> Although not of Christian religion I enjoy much respect for it. It is true I am only a poor Hindu but of highest caste which was also the religion of forefathers and mothers since the time memorial ('immemorial') many of my ancestors and posterities are now dependent on me for daily bread.
>
> Your Obedient servant,
> N.C. B. (p. 11)

Letter received by a magistrate who was about to retire from the Civil service

HONOURED AND BELOVED SIR,

I have heard with deepest emotion, and never ending regret, that my honoured master is shortly to proceed to Europe where his last days may be spent in bosom of family, and in contemplation of his good works, which have been done in such exalted manner and in which fear of friend or foe has never been allowed to appear, since I have been allowed to shelter under the wing of your kindness, my lot has been envy of many, and I have prospered so far the world's good is concerned, still I am dependent upon you, and therefore humbly beg to your honour some mark of respect or good feeling before you are "lost to my sight and memory dear." You can no doubt interest your successor in my welfare and advice him to cast the shadows of his favour also on me, that I may sustain my life with honour. For which mark of your kindness I shall evermore be thankful, and pray, notwithstanding, that you never have the less shadows.

Lastly, I implore your generosity in increase my pay before it is too late.

Man wants by little when alone, but I am in deepest dread for the prosperity of my family, whose wants are many as the sand of seashores.

'Think of me
When this you see,'
and do the needful in my behalf more and for ever.

I remain
Sir
Forever your attached servant
J. C. A.   (pp. 158–9)

Butler English (also called Kitchen English and Bearer English)

This variety is a result of language simplification in functionally restricted interactional contexts. It also shows limited control of the language. Butler English, though first described with reference to its use in the Madras Presidency (Yule and Burnell, 1886 [1903]: 133–4), was used and continues to be used in major metropolitan cities in South Asia where English-speaking foreigners live.

It was primarily used by butlers, the head servants of English households, in communicating with their masters. An interesting aspect of this variety was that the native speakers of English used the same variety to communicate with their servants. In its structure, Butler English is like a 'minimal' pidgin and

its formal features reflect the characteristics of the local languages, though it has simple SVO word order. One major characteristic of this variety is in the use of tense. The tendency is (Yule and Burnell, 1886 [1903]: 133–4) to use the present participle for the future indicative, *I telling* ('*I will* tell'), and the preterit indicative formed by *done, I done tell* ('I have told'), *done come* ('actually arrived'). There is, thus, deletion of auxiliaries and a high frequency of *-ing* forms. Additionally Butler English has a highly restricted lexical stock. Some lexical items have acquired specific meanings (e.g. *family* used for 'wife'). The characteristics noted in the nineteenth-century Butler English (Schuchardt, 1891) are present in twentieth-century Butler English too (Hosali, 1982). These include, in addition to the features and examples given just above, the Dravidian influence on the pronunciation of [ye] for [e] and [wo] for [o], *yexit* for 'exit' and *wonly* for 'only' and use of *got* to mean 'have'. The following examples are illustrative (Hosali and Aitchison, 1986: 57; see also Hosali, 2000):

a.   Tea, I making water. Is boiled water. Want anybody want mixed tea, boil the water, then I put tea leaves, then I pour the milk and put sugar. [description of how to make tea]

b.   One master call for come India ... eh England. I say not coming. That master very liking me. I not come. That is like for India – that hot and cold. That England for very cold. [report of an invitation to England by a butler]

Butler English shows several underlying characteristics which are associated with pidginization, for example deletion of verb inflections and prepositions, and indirect speech reported directly (Hosali, 1982; see also Hosali, 2000).

Boxwāllā(h) English (-wāllāh or vālā Hindi-Urdu suffix denoting 'owner, possessor')

This is a pidgin variety of broken English and is used by door-to-door sellers of wares (e.g. *papier-mâché, jewelry* and *shawls*). The itinerant peddlers, with boxes or bundles of wares, are found in the affluent neighbourhoods of metropolitan cities in South Asia, or in hotels. Such peddlers primarily visit locations where foreigners or the well-to-do local population lives. Boxwāllā(h) English has considerable code-mixing from one or more languages and a very simplified syntax.

> *I come go:* I am going away, but I'll be back.
> *One man no chop:* Eating is not the privilege of only one person.
> *This good, fresh ten rupee:* This is good and fresh; it is only ten rupees.
> *He thief me:* He robs, robbed, etc. me.
> *sāb, best, ciz, price good:* Sāb (sāhib) [mode of address generally used for a European] the price is good.

In some studies variation in South Asian English has been described in terms of a LECTAL RANGE: ACROLECT, MESOLECT, BASILECT (e.g. for Sri Lankan English, Fernando, 1989). However, in these studies the data for analysis are so limited that no meaningful generalizations are possible.

The recognition of varieties within South Asian English is a clear indicator of the institutionalization of the language, its range in terms of functional allocation, and its depth in terms of societal penetration. The educated variety has pan-regional intelligibility. Additionally, it has a large number of shared contexts for comprehensibility of meaning (locutionary force), and interpretability of underlying sociocultural patterns (illocutionary force). This point is important here, since shared comprehensibility and interpretability are markers of the acculturation of English in South Asia (see Smith and Nelson, 1985). There is thus a cline of intelligibility on which the educated variety of South Asian English ranks high. This is the variety discussed below.

The South Asianness of South Asian English

The major features which contribute to the distinctiveness of South Asian English are varied and complex. First, English is an additional language in South Asia; this means that in the total linguistic repertoire of the users of English, English may be a second, third, or *n*-th language. Only a small number of the total English-using population claim it as their first or only language. Such a claim, for example, has been made by some members of the Anglo-Indian community in India (Spencer, 1966; Bayer, 1986) and the Burgher English users in Sri Lanka (T. Fernando, 1972). Second, English is acquired in typical sociolinguistic, educational and pragmatic contexts of South Asia. These contexts differ from one major region to another and from one South Asian country to another. Naturally, such contexts determine the way English has been taught, and the functional domains in which the language is used. Third, in the South Asian educational system, English has traditionally been taught as if it were a classical language, that is, as a written language and not as a spoken language. The result is that spelling or orthographic pronunciation plays an important part in the acquisition of English: at the beginning, orthography is the only serious access to the phonetic/phonological component of the language. One notices it in, for example, the pronunciation of geminate (double) consonants in words such as *innate, illegal,* and *oppressive* and in the pronunciation of unaccented prefixes. Later, varieties of South Asian English provide an aural input for the language learner (e.g. see Appa Rao, 1978; Gupta, 1980; Premalatha, 1978; Krishnamurti, 1978a).

The *South Asianness* of English, then, has to be characterized both in terms of its linguistic characteristics and in terms of its contextual and pragmatic functions. In a pragmatic sense, this variety has now deviated significantly from

the mother-tongue varieties. Also there is hardly any serious input from the native speakers in terms of providing a pedagogical model, in the classroom or in other interactional contexts. South Asian users of English have marginal interaction with the native speakers of the language. English in South Asia is essentially used as an intranational language.

The following sections present a brief outline of some linguistic characteristics of educated South Asian English.

Phonology

In its phonetic and phonological features, educated South Asian English has several shared characteristics. Though this variety has intranational and international intelligibility, it is used by only a small segment of the English-using population of the region. What has been presented (e.g. Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali, 1979) as a surprisingly large range of variation, is actually not much different from that of any other Inner Circle or institutionalized Outer Circle variety. The shared identificational features of educated South Asian English are the following.

Consonants. There are some differences between RP and SAE consonant systems, but 'as a system, the consonant system of Indian English is often identical with that of RP and other accents of English' (Wells, 1982: 627). The major differences are as follows. The alveolar series of consonants (t, d) are replaced by a retroflex series which are pronounced with the tongue-tip curled up towards the hard palate, for example [ʈiː] 'tea', [ɖɑːrk] 'dark'. The retroflexion increases considerably in Dravidian English (Tamil speakers in India and Sri Lanka, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada speakers in India, and Brahui speakers in Pakistan); the fricatives [θ] and [ð] are replaced by plosives [th], [d] or [dh]; no distinction is made between the 'dark' and 'clear' varieties of *l*; /f/ is generally pronounced as aspirated /p/ (e.g. [phan] for 'fun'); no distinction is made between the voiceless palato-alveolar [ʃ] and its voiced counterpart [ʒ]; /r/ is generally retained after a vowel. A small group of radio and television announcers and some teachers use a non-rhotic variety but the speakers of this variety are an insignificant minority (Khan, 1974; Bansal, 1990).

The initial voiceless plosives are not aspirated, since aspiration of plosive consonants is distinctive in many South Asian languages (cf. in Hindi, Urdu, *pal* 'moment' versus *phal* 'fruit'). In English, aspiration of initial voiceless plosives is automatic, and it contrasts with the delayed onset of voicing in the voiced plosives; [pʰɪn] as pronounced by some South Asian English speakers is often heard as [bɪn] by the native speakers of English; /v/ and /w/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are not distinguished in the speech of some South Asian English speakers.

The distribution of consonant clusters is different in many subvarieties: for instance, *sk-, sl-, st-* do not occur in initial position in several languages of north India and Pakistan (e.g. Urdu). In such varieties of English, *school, station, student, store* and *speech* are pronounced with an epenthetic vowel as in [isku:l], [iste∫ən], [istudənt], [istor], and [ispi:t∫] respectively. It is true that in Sanskrit borrowing in educated or High Hindi such clusters are present, for example, in *skandh* 'shoulder', *spardhā* 'competition', *sthāpit* 'established', *spaṣṭ* 'clear', etc. However, in colloquial (less well-educated) Hindi these are pronounced as *askandh, aspardhā, asthāpit* and *aspaṣṭ*. The Kashmiri speakers pronounce these words as [səku:l], [səte:∫ən], [sətu:dənt], [sətor] and [səpi:t∫]. In some varieties [ʒ] as in *pleasure* is replaced by [z]. Marathi speakers replace it with [dʒ] or [ɟɦ], and Punjabis and Kashmiris use [j]. Marathi speakers tend to replace friction at the place of articulation by glottal friction (Rubdy, 1975).

Vowels. In the use of vowels, there is considerable regional variation. A majority of South Asian English speakers, however, use monophthongs where English uses diphthongs. Those speakers with a Dravidian language background use glides [j] and [w] with word-initial high vowels (e.g. *yem, ye, yel, yel, bi* for 'M.A.L.L.B.' and *wopen* for 'open'). There is no vowel reduction, and no distinction is made between the strong and weak forms of vowels. A large number of South Asian English speakers, termed speakers of General Indian English (GIE) have a seventeen-vowel system. It consists of eleven pure vowels and six diphthongs (Bansal, 1990: 222–3).

The pure vowels: /i:/as in *lead;* /ɪ/ as in *this;* e:/ as in *game;* /ɛ/ as in *send;* /æ/ as in *mat;* /a:/ as in *charge;* /ɔ/ as in *shot;* /o:/ as in *no;* /ʊ/ as in *book;*/u:/ as in *tool;* /ə/ as in *bus.* The vowel glides are as follows: /aɪ/ as in *five;* /ɔɪ/ as in *boy;* /aʊ/ as in *cow;* /ɪə/ as in *here;* /eə/ as in *there* and /ʊə/ as in *poor.* In General Indian English vowels in diphthongs are not consistently long, and vowel length is not reduced before voiceless consonants. As mentioned earlier, a majority of speakers use orthographic pronunciation: thus weak vowels (ə, ɪ, ʊ) in unaccented syllables are generally pronounced according to their spelling. This also applies to the pronunciation of unaccented prefixes and suffixes.

In Andhra Pradesh, the Telugu speakers do not use the diphthongs [eə] as in *there*, and [ʊə] as in *poor*; instead they use [e:r] and [u:r] in *fair* and *poor* (Prabhakar Babu, 1974). In Punjabi English generally the distinction between [ɛ] and [æ], and between [ɑ:] and [ɒ] is not maintained (Sethi, 1978).

Syllabification. There is variation between the use of syllabic /n/ and /l/. These are generally replaced by /ən/ and /el/ (e.g. *button* [bəʈən], *apple* ['æpəls]). In inflectional suffixes many speakers use [ɖ] in place of [ʈ] (e.g. [a:skɖ] *asked*).

Stress, rhythm and intelligibility. Differences in stress and rhythm are two good clues which mark a speaker in South Asian English. The differences in rhythm are noted in the division of 'sense groups' and 'tone groups', pauses in speech and in the 'intonation nucleus' (see Bansal, 1969: 171; 1990: 227–8, for Indian English). A broad characterization of South Asian English stress is that the stressless vowels are not pronounced as [ə] 'losing both their quantity and quality whereas in IE [Indian English] stressless vowels appear to lose only their quantity but retain their quality' (Chaudhary, 1989: 85). Masica and others (e.g. see Masica, 1972: 7) have suggested that the difference in South Asian English and other varieties is one of syllable prominence.

The notion of stress and rhythm in South Asian English has also been discussed in terms of regional phonological characteristics; that of South Asian languages being syllable-timed as opposed to English which is a stress-timed language (e.g. see Chatterji, 1926 [1970]; Nelson, 1982). In a stress-timed language the stressed syllables occur at regular intervals of time, while the number of intervening unstressed syllables is not vital. This characteristic is termed 'isochronism'. On the other hand, in syllable-timed languages, all syllables in an utterance receive equal prominence and a length of time relative to the numbers of segments each contains. This characteristic has been termed 'isosyllabism'. Nelson's investigation involving American and Indian English shows:

> that the perception set for isochronicity in American English is created largely on the basis of the contrast of inter stress intervals having zero and one unstressed syllable[...]. The findings suggested that, in general, Indian English speakers do not shorten the stressed syllables before an unstressed to the extent that American speakers do. (Nelson, 1982: 69–70)

In several studies on Indian English stress, attempts have been to show that there is a regular predictable pattern in Indian English stress (e.g. see Vijayakrishnan, 1978; Pandey, 1980, 1985; Sadanandan, 1981; Chaudhary, 1989). Chaudhary (1989: iii) claims that there is 'a very great deal of similarity and systematicity in the English spoken by educated speakers from nine different parts of India. Differences witnessed between different varieties are limited to the surface and can be predicted as differences between different dialects of any natural language.' He provides a set of rules with which one can predict the lengthening, reduction and elision of vowels, gemination of consonants and word stress in all these varieties (1989: iii).

The non-segmental features of Sri Lankan English are discussed in Passé (1947) almost sixty years ago. The main points are that stress (or force) accent is comparatively weak in Sinhalese and Tamil and that is reflected in Sri Lankan English too; there is no vowel reduction; and no distinction is maintained between strong and weak forms. Gopalakrishnan's observations on Tamil

English of south India (1960) also apply to the Tamilians of Sri Lanka: he claims that there is an unawareness of patterns of primary as well as secondary stress, such as [mækˈbeθ] for [məkˈbeθ] [ˈtjuːʃʌn] for [ˈtjuːɹɪʃən]; there is non-differentiation of stress patterns of nouns and adjectives on the one hand and verbs on the other hand, and there is an unawareness of the shift in stress formed in different parts of speech derived from the same Latin or Greek root.

The following tendencies have also been noticed: (a) placing of stress on the suffix itself; (b) according weak-strong stress to nouns as well as verbs in the group of two-syllable words showing grammatical contrast through stress; (c) giving full value to auxiliary verb forms written as contractions, and assigning them relatively strong stress as well; and (d) breaking up grammatical units arbitrarily within sentences, thus violating the confines of 'sense groups' and placing a strong stress on words other than those normally formed to have 'sense stress'.

Spencer discussing the Anglo-Indian speech observes that:

> It is, however, in certain prosodic features that the most distinctive deviation from R.P. is to be observed, in particular the relationship between stress, pitch and syllable length. The tendency in Anglo Indian is for stressed syllables to be accompanied by a fall in pitch; indeed for a fall or low-rise to replace stress, since Anglo-Indian pronunciation does not show such marked variation in syllable intensity as R.P. The fall in pitch on the 'stressed' syllable is normally followed by a rise on the succeeding syllable, even on final unstressed syllables in statements. The tonic 'accent' is accompanied by a lengthening of the syllable in question; but this lengthening usually takes the form of doubling of the final consonant(s) before the transition to the following unstressed syllable. (Spencer, 1966: 66–7)

The differences in intonation are mainly in division of 'sentences into intonation groups' and in locating 'the intonation nucleus' (Bansal, 1990: 228). Several studies on regional varieties of South Asian English further attest to the differences, Prabhakar Babu (1974) and Dhamija (1976) for Telugu English, Gokhale (1978) for Marathi, Latha (1978) for Malayalam, Sethi (1976) for Punjabi English, and Rahman (1991a) for the varieties of Pakistani English.

A comparative study of stress, rhythm and intonation of twenty Indian speakers representing five Indo-Aryan languages and three Dravidian languages, and five native speakers of English (Prabhakar Babu, 1971) showed interesting results: Indian English had 70 percent agreement with RP in word accent. The greatest divergence with RP in stress assignment was in words beginning with *re-, de-, dis-, com-* and words ending in *-self, -ity, -ic, -ical*; and the rhythm of Indian English speech was not exactly syllable-timed or stress-timed.

The range of variation in South Asian English, as seen in the preceding discussion, is wide, but the subvarieties, regional, ethnic and others, share a common core which makes them mutually intelligible and functionally effective and appropriate.

Grammar

When we come to the grammatical characteristics of South Asian English, we are on rather difficult terrain. There is as yet no large-scale study of spoken or written South Asian English. Nor has any serious attempt been made to distinguish the features in terms of the proficiency scale, the register-specificity of the features and the distribution of grammatical features with reference to the regions.

The available studies are either impressionistic or based on analyses of restricted texts, from which some generalizations have been made. These studies, useful as they are, leave much scope for further research. A number of these studies date back to the 1930s (e.g. Kindersley, 1938).[1] During the post-1960s, several register-specific empirical studies and contrastive studies were undertaken using various theoretical approaches. These contrastive studies focus on selected aspects of structural comparisons between English and a particular South Asian language.[2] I shall summarize below some selected grammatical features of educated South Asian English.

Sentence structure. There is a tendency to use complex (over-embedded) sentences as opposed to simple sentences. One reason for this tendency may be traced to the diglossic nature of several major South Asian languages. In these languages, there are two styles, colloquial and formal (śiṣṭa). The formal style is a 'learned' style, and displays elaborate lexical ornamentation and grammatical complexity. An example of such sentence complexity may make this clearer:

> In fact, schemes for the compilation of technical terminology, setting up of units of the Department of official language and Hindi typewriting and Hindi stenography training centres at division level and granting cash awards for commendable work done in Hindi both at the Secretariat and non-Secretariat level [*sic*] etc. have already been finalized and a sum of Rs. 10 lacs [Rs. 1 million] has been sanctioned for the purpose of meeting expenditures on these during the current year. (S. Dwivedi, 1981: 243)

Function items. The typical South Asian use of the article (definite, indefinite and zero) has been discussed extensively in the literature for several decades. Dustoor (1954, 1955) classifies the Indian use of the article as 'missing', 'intrusive', 'wrong', 'usurping' and 'dispossessed'.

Is there a systematic use of the articles in South Asian English? The present research does not provide a definitive answer. It can be argued that if South Asian English is compared to British English, the types of difference indicated by Dustoor account for all the varieties of South Asian English. There are differences in frequency of the use of the article, and a number of differences are related to the acquisitional level of the user (e.g. see Agnihotri, Khanna

and Mukherjee, 1984, for the use of articles in English by Hindi/Punjabi-speaking undergraduates at Delhi University).

Tag questions. The structure of tag questions in South Asian English is identical to that of many other institutionalized varieties of English (e.g. West African, Southeast Asian). In the native varieties of English, the tag question is attached to a statement. There is a contrasting polarity in such structures: a positive main clause is followed by a negative tag and vice versa. The parallel structure, such as in Hindi-Urdu, consists of a single clause with a postposed particle *na.* In British English the tag questions form a set, out of which an appropriate choice has to be made according to the context. In South Asian English generally, that choice is restricted to *isn't it?: You are going tomorrow, isn't it?, He isn't going there, isn't it?*

Question formation. There is a tendency to form information questions without changing the position of the subject and auxiliary items: *What you would like to eat?, When you would like to go?*

Selection restrictions. In English, certain verbs govern certain forms of complements, for example *want* takes only an infinitive complement (e.g. *want to read), enjoy* only a gerund *(enjoy reading),* and *like* both. In South Asian English, these restrictions are not adhered to: for example, *The Baluchistan Clerks Association has **announced to take out** a Procession; He doesn't **hesitate from using** four-letter words; She said that her party wanted **that we should not intervene** in internal affairs of Afghanistan* (Baumgardner, 1987).

Reduplication. This is used both in spoken and written educated varieties of South Asian English and includes various word classes, such as *hot, hot coffee* ('very hot coffee'), *small, small things* ('many small things'), *to give crying crying* ('incessantly crying'), *who and who came to the party* ('who came to the party'). The use of reduplication is found in all the educated varieties of South Asian English and is used for various stylistic and other effects (S. Fernando, 1989).

There are regional characteristics in the use of grammar too, which have been noted, for example earlier by Kindersley (1938) and later by S. N. Sridhar (1996). Sridhar's study was conducted in Bangalore, South India, and involved thirty undergraduate students. He notes the following features: the use of reflexives for emphasis (e.g. *Each of her word [sic] was respected as though it was God's orders **itself**, If you falter in the first few steps **itself***); the use of a quotative marker *(Indian woman was considered **as** a machine [as 'to be'])*; the use of a limiter/qualifier as a clitic (*[They were] built up to live like that **only***); the use of discourse adverbs (***Like this** the position of women has been changed;* this shows the transfer of Kannada *voṭṭinalli); lack of agreement between antecedent and pronoun (**Women** should take initiative to do any work **she** wants to do*). A number

of examples are about tense and aspect (e.g. progressive for simple; present or past perfect for simple past). Sridhar also notices the tendency of 'idiom transfer' from Kannada (*In olden days women just worked **like a bullock***; cf. Kannada *ettinante*); *Since her birth, she has been **under the hands of men*** (cf. Kannada *kay keḷage*).

In grammar, British English continues to provide a yardstick for standardization of South Asian English. The above examples are merely indicative of the tendencies which mark the differences. An extensive grammar of South Asian English and its varieties is as yet an unexplored research area.

Lexical resources

The earliest South Asian lexical compilation is *Indian Vocabulary, to which is prefixed the form of Impeachment* (Stockdale, 1788). Lexical studies such as these have resulted in a genre with several shared ethnographic, sociopolitical, administrative and descriptive characteristics. The glossaries of Robarts (1800) and of Sir Charles Wilkins (1813, see Yule and Burnell, 1886: xxiv) are the earliest, though understandably amateurish, attempts at lexical listing. The main motivation for the Raj lexicography, as these studies may be characterized, was pragmatic: to provide lexical manuals or handbooks for the large network of administrators in a linguistically diverse and culturally pluralistic subcontinent.

One such register-orientated study is *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* compiled by H. H. Wilson (1855). The second part of the title clearly brings out the registral focus of the compilation: *and of useful words occurring in official documents, relating to the Administration of the Government of British India, from the Arabic, Persian, Hinddshini [Hindustani], Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Uriya [Oriya], Marathi, Guzarath [Gujarati], Telugu, Karnata [Kannada], Tamil, Mayalalam [Malayalam] and other languages.* In their compilation, published in 1886, Yule and Burnell concur that Wilson's work '… leaves far behind every other attempt in that kind' (p. xv). In Sri Lanka, a compilation of the 'native words' was published fifteen years after Wilson's work with the title *Ceylonese Vocabulary: Lists of Native Words Commonly Occurring in Official Correspondence and other Documents* (Colombo, 1869).

A detailed review of such works is given in B. Kachru (1980 and later). Out of a long list, one work certainly stands out with an esoteric title: *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive.* The title *Hobson-Jobson* is from the British soldiers' rendering of the Shia Muslim wailing cry '*Yā: Hasan! Yā Hosain!*' in the month of the Moharram (Muharram) ceremony — the mourning period observed by the Shia Muslims in commemoration of the death of Hassan and of his brother Hussain (AD 669 and 680). In 1903, William

Crook edited a new edition of this monumental book. In recent years, it has been reprinted both in England and India. Yule and Burnell were well aware of the register specificity of lexical compilations that preceded their work:

> Of modern Glossaries, such as have been the result of serious labour, all, or nearly all, have been of a kind purely technical, intended to facilitate the comprehension of official documents by the explanation of terms used in the Revenue department, or in other branches of Indian administration (1886: xv).

In their work, Yule and Burnell deal with:

> a *selection* of those administrative terms, which are in such familiar and quotidian use as to form part of the common Anglo-Indian stock, and to trace all (so far as possible) to their true origin — a matter on which, in regard to many of the words, those who hourly use them are profoundly ignorant — and to follow them down by quotation from their earliest occurrence in literature. (1886: xvi)

Almost all the studies discussed above were compiled by the British administrators of the Raj, or by other Europeans interested in South Asia. The first serious book-length study by a native South Asian scholar is by G. S. Rao (1954), who undertook his study within the context of 'Indo British cultural and linguistic relations'. In his book, the South Asian lexical stock in the English language is discussed in linguistic (phonetic, grammatical and semantic), sociocultural and historical contexts. (See also "Codification and standardization" in Chapter 11.)

South Asian lexical stock in English

There have been primarily two sources for entry of South Asian lexical stock into English: a small number of lexical items came through travel literature, including words related to flora, fauna, local customs, festivals and rituals, and a number of words related to the legal system, revenue and administration came from various other sources.

In Wilson (1855 [1940]: i) the pragmatic need for such South Asian borrowing is discussed with illustrations. Wilson suggests that the use of *ryot* and *ryotwār* is better than 'cultivator' or 'peasant', for the local terms 'suggest more precise and positive notions in connection with the subject of land revenue in South India'.

A period of major lexical intrusion came after the 1930s and this intrusion has not abated as yet. By 1783, the earlier trickle of lexical borrowing had increased considerably, and Edmund Burke was provoked to comment:

> This language is indeed of necessary use in the executive department of the company's affairs; but it is not necessary to Parliament. A language so foreign from all the ideas and habits of the far greater part of the members of the House, has a tendency to disgust them with all sorts of inquiry concerning this subject. They are fatigued into such a despair of ever obtaining a competent knowledge of the transactions in India, that they are easily persuaded to remand them ... to obscurity. (quoted in G. S. Rao, 1954: 5) [3]

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in the register of administration and agriculture the following lexical items were adopted, not many of which have survived: *batta* 'travelling allowance' (1632, Urdu/Hindi); *bigha* 'measure of land areas, 3035 sq. yds' (1763, Hindi/Urdu); *cadi* 'civil judge' (1608, Urdu from Arabic); *chit* 'note or a letter' (1608, Hindi); *crore* 'ten million' (1623, Hindi/Urdu); *dawk* 'mail' (1623, Hindi/Urdu); *firman* 'imperial order' (1614, Urdu from Persian); *basbirb* or *basheesb* 'narcotic drug' (1598–1613, Urdu/Hindi from Arabic); *jumma* 'assessment for land revenue' (1781, Urdu/Hindi); *jowar* 'tall millet' (1636, Hindi/Urdu); *kotwal* 'police officer' (1623, Urdu/Hindi); *rahdaree* 'transit-duty, toll' (1623, Urdu/Hindi); *sunnud* 'deed of grant' (1759 Urdu/Hindi from Arabic); *zamindari* 'system of land tenure, jurisdiction of zemindar' (1757, Urdu/Hindi from Persian).

Lexical intrusion and range

The South Asian lexical intrusion into the English language may be discussed in terms of two classes. The first class consists of those lexical items which have been assimilated across varieties of language, specifically in British English and American English (e.g. *pandit, mantra*). However, it is true that, for reasons of past close historical and political connections and sociocultural interaction, British English has assimilated a larger percentage of such lexical items. This is evident in the recent edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED2*). The second type comprises those items which have not necessarily crossed the proverbial Seven Seas. Such items occur frequently in various registers of the South Asian varieties of English. Thus, a large majority of this second class of words are not included in the dictionaries of English. However, these do form an integral part of the glossaries or dictionaries focusing on South Asia. Hawkins' work is a step in this direction, particularly the supplement (1976: 685–717) which is 'intended for those who, because they live in the region or are interested in it, read current books and periodicals and older literature about India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka' (p. 685). Thus words such as *gherao* 'surrounding and detaining a person to extract a concession'; *idli* 'steamed cake of rice and black grain'; *janta* 'the people, the masses'; *naxalite* 'violent agrarian revolutionary'; *razakars* 'volunteer'; and *satyagraha*, 'friendly passive resistance', are included in the supplement.

Distinctive classes

The South Asian lexical stock may be divided into three major classes: those items which are borrowed from South Asian languages as single items and which may undergo various types of semantic shift once borrowed into English; those hybrid items which comprise elements of two or more languages in which, at least, one item is from a South Asian language, and the other from English; and those English lexical items which have undergone semantic extension or restriction in South Asian English.

The first class of words, single lexical items, are to be separated from the hybridized items or neologisms. A vast number of such single items have actually not been assimilated into the native varieties of English, though a small percentage have been assimilated and are included in the major dictionaries of English. The following are illustrative of the range of such items: *ahimsa* 'non-violence', *almirah* 'cupboard', *bangle* 'ring bracelet or anklet', *bindi* 'dot marked on forehead by Hindu women', *bungalow* 'one-storied house', *catamaran* 'boat or raft with two hulls side by side', *cheetah* 'large leopard-like animal with black spots', *cheroot* 'cigar with both ends open', *chota* 'small, junior', *coolie* 'native hired labourer', *cowrie* 'small sea-shell of Indian Ocean, used as money in some parts of Asia', *cummerbund* 'waist-sash', *curg* 'dish cooked with mixed spices and eaten with rice', *dinghy* 'small boat', *dungaree* 'coarse Indian calico, overalls', *gunny* 'coarse sack of jute fibre', *guru* 'Hindu spiritual or religious teacher', *jungle* 'land overgrown with vegetation', *jute* 'fibre from bark, used for sacking', *kurta* 'loose fitting tunic usually made of cotton', *myna* 'a bird', *pan* 'betel leaf', *pariah* 'social outcast', *pukka* 'real, genuine', *sarvodaya* 'uplift of all', *veranda* 'open pillared gallery around a house'.

The second class involves hybridized lexical items which consist of two or more elements from at least two distinct languages. A distinction is made between a hybridized form which has no grammatical constraint on the selection of items, and an item which has such a constraint. Examples of the first type are *lathicharge* 'baton charge', and *bindi mark* 'a dot-like mark put on the forehead by Hindu women'. The second type includes items such as *police walla* 'a policeman' or *brahmanic*. The productive suffixes *-walla(h)* and *-ic* have selection constraints in the sense that these can only be preceded by a fixed set of lexical items. Other such examples are *chowkidared* and *challaned*, where the *-ed* suffix has been added to *chowkidar* 'a watchman' and *challan* 'citation', and *cooliedom* and *goondaism*, where suffixes *-dom* and *-ism* have been added to *coolie* 'a labourer' and *goonda* 'a thug, rowdy'.

Hybrid innovations include the following major types:

a. *Hybrid collocations:* these are generally restricted to one register in South Asian English, although the register restriction does not apply to their South Asian elements in a South Asian language. The following hybrid collocations, for example, occur in the political register in Indian English:

Sarvodaya leader 'a leader belonging to the Sarvodaya organization'; *Sarvodaya Party* 'name of a party'; *satyagraha movement* 'insistence on the truth movement' (associated with the Indian leader M. K. Gandhi), *Swatantra Party* 'Swatantra (independent) Party'; *Janata Party* 'Janata (masses) party'.

b. *Hybrid lexical sets:* this is a functionally restricted semantic set, and operates in one register of a variety of South Asian English. An example of such a set is *purda woman* 'a woman in a veil', *-system*, *-lady*, which is frequently used in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and in Nepal. In South Asian English this set is used only with reference to sociocultural contexts associated with Islam. However, in Hindi and Urdu, the word *purdah* 'veil' has no such semantic or register restriction.

c. *Hybrid reduplication:* this class is comprised of two elements from two languages in which the individual elements have the same connotative meaning, for instance in *lathi stick, cotton kapas, court kachari* and *curved kukri* the South Asian duplicated items have the same meaning as the English word which constitutes a part of the hybrid reduplication (B. Kachru, 1983b: 156–63).

The third class includes English lexical items used with extended or restricted semantic connotations and involves several productive processes:

a. neologisms transferred from underlying South Asian languages into South Asian English, such as *bull work, caste-mark, cousin-brother, cousin-sister, cow-worship,* to *break rest;*

b. innovations formed on the analogy of British English or in some cases American English, for instance *caste-proud* formed on the analogy of *house-proud;*

c. innovations which are the result of institutionalization of English in South Asian sociocultural contexts, such as *eating-leaves* 'leaves on which food is eaten, mainly banana leaves', *military hotel* 'a non-vegetarian restaurant'.

In formal terms there are regular underlying processes involved in such formations. A number of these have been discussed in detail in B. Kachru (1983b). Some of these innovations are area-specific; for example, to *break rest* and *bull work* are primarily used in Sri Lanka, and *coconut paysam* 'a dish made of coconut' *(paysam* 'pudding') is restricted to South India. These processes have been discussed with illustrations in B. Kachru (1983b, 1986a; see also Baumgardner [1990, 1993] for Pakistani English; S. Fernando [1989] for Sri Lankan English: see also section on 'Codification and standardization' in Chapter 11).

Models of English

In South Asia, as in other parts of the world, there is a difference between linguistic behaviour and an idealized linguistic norm. Traditionally, for historical reasons, southern British English has been the norm presented to the South Asians through the BBC, a small percentage of the English administrators and some teachers. In the written mode the exocentric norm came in the form of British literature and newspapers. In reality there is a wide gap between the perceived norm and the performance of users. Educated South Asian English was the variety actually used in South Asia in the past and it continues to be used now (see B. Kachru, 1985a, especially pp. 214–6).

However, attitudinally it is a post-1960s phenomenon that identificational modifiers such as 'Indian', 'Sri Lankan' and 'Pakistani' are used with a localized variety without necessarily implying a derogatory connotation. A speaker of South Asian English approximating RP has always been marked as socially and educationally separate, and such speakers form an insignificant minority, which includes some radio and television announcers and select teachers (Bansal, 1990: 222). In Sri Lanka even in the 1940s, users of 'standard English' were considered 'apes of their betters' (Passé, 1947: 33). The reasons for this attitude are sociological.

During the past three decades, the gap between behaviour and ideal has narrowed, and as the studies of B. Kachru (1985a) and Shaw (1981) show, a different picture emerges. The attitudes towards exocentric models (e.g. British and American), and endocentric models (e.g. Indian) are changing. Tables 3.2–3.4 illustrate these trends. Kandiah (1981) clearly indicates that in the 1980s an RP-sounding Sri Lankan was less acceptable to fellow Sri Lankans than was a speaker of recognized 'Lankan English'.

The recent situation, then, is that there is a realistic and pragmatic attitude towards the issue of a model; there is recognition and acceptance of the endocronic educated varieties, and there is also a significant impact of American English through films, television programmes, the Voice of America, newspapers and literature. The earlier British linguistic connection has become much more fragile, and '… RP and the British Standard have increasingly gone out of use while remaining in academic reference' (Hashmi, 1989: 17). Hashmi's reference is to Pakistan, but it is true of the whole of South Asia. The discussion of the question of a model, whether it should be exocentric or endocentric, still continues, as is evident from the number of earlier studies on the topic (see bibliographies edited by Aggarwal, 1982; Ramaiah, 1988).

Table 3.2   Indian faculty preference for models of English for instruction

	Preference		
Model	I	II	III
American English	3.07	14.35	25.64
British English	66.66	13.33	1.53
Indian English	26.66	25.64	11.79
Don't know	5.12		

Table 3.3   Indian graduate students' attitude towards various models of English and ranking of models according to preferences

	Preference		
Model	I	II	III
American English	5.17	13.19	21.08
British English	67.6	9.65	1.08
Indian English	22.72	17.85	10.74
Don't care	5.03		
'Good English'	1.08		

Table 3.4   Indian graduate students' self-labelling of the variety of their English

Identity-marker	%
American English	2.58
British English	29.11
Indian English	55.64
'Mixture of all three'	2.99
Don't know	8.97
'Good English'	0.27

Source: B. Kachru, 1976

Bilinguals' creativity in South Asian English

The term 'bilinguals' creativity' is used here to refer to creative uses of English in South Asia by those who are bilingual or multilingual, and who use English as one of the languages in their linguistic repertoire. South Asia has a long tradition of creative uses of English in journalism, broadcasting, literary genres and advertising.

India, to take one example from the region, is the third largest English book-producing country after the United States and the United Kingdom, and in book publishing it ranks eighth in the world. Among the languages in which books are published in India, the largest number of titles are in English. The

average number of English titles per million of population published each year is 360, which is higher than the world average.

In three major English-using countries in South Asia — India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka — creative writing in English is being considered an integral part of the pluralistic literary traditions, in spite of opposition in some circles (see below).

In many important intra- and inter- regional domains of use, English, often mixed with local languages, continues to have currency. One can travel in any part of the region and find that even in an average-sized city, there is a newspaper in English, and the local radio and/or television station (if there is one) allocates some time to English. This is particularly true of India and Pakistan and increasingly in other regions.

The English press in South Asia has a long history dating back to 29 January 1780, when the first English (newspaper) weekly, the *Bengal Gazette* or *Calcutta General Advertiser*, was published by an Englishman, James Augustus Hicky, who was its owner and editor. In India, the English press has immense influence, disproportionate to its circulation. This influence is not decreasing; rather it continues to increase. This trend has been particularly noticeable since 1947.

In South Asia, the English press has been instrumental in introducing various genres of journalism. In India, as stated in Chapter 2, for example, there are seven daily papers which have been in existence for over one hundred years and out of these, four are in English: the *Times of India* (Bombay, 1850); the *Pioneer* (Lucknow, 1865); the *Mail* (Madras, 1867); and *Amrita Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta, 1868). The pan-regional nature of English newspapers deserves emphasis here. Out of thirty-one states and Union Territories (areas directly administered by the central government) in India, English newspapers and periodicals appear in twenty-eight. In Pakistan there are 18 English-language daily newspapers, 35 weeklies, 33 fortnightlies, 152 monthlies and 111 quarterlies (Baumgardner, 1990). In 1985 Nepal had a total of thirty-two English language publications, and English was second only to Nepali (Verma, 1988: 3). Sri Lanka has over half a dozen dailies and weeklies in English. In Bhutan and Maldives there are bilingual or trilingual papers and periodicals which include English.

It is, however, in South Asian English literature that the stylistic innovations and experimentation have been most creative. At present there is actually no pan-South Asian Literature other than that written in English; it is the only writing which has a market in all the South Asian nations (however meagre), and has also created a market for itself internationally.

In South Asia, India has the largest, most vibrant, productive and articulate group of writers in English. There are both historical and educational reasons for this (see also Chapters 7 and 8). True, Indian writers in English have been controversial, and various issues concerning their identity and loyalty have been

raised (Lal, 1969: i–xliv; Jussawalla, 1985). This controversy is somewhat muted now, and in the 1990s there was a slow reversal of the controversy. There seems to be an acceptance of Indian English literature as 'one of the voices in which India speaks', as the venerable Indian critic Iyengar said over four decades ago (1962: 3). He does recognize that 'it is a new voice, no doubt, but it is as much Indian as the others'.

In recent *An Illustrated History* of *Indian Literature in English* (2003: xx) the editor Arvind Krishna Mehrotra appropriately says that a question, '… facing the historians of Indian literature in English is whether the "Indian" in Indian literature in English is conterminous with the India of the political map, or is to be used in a wider, imaginative sense. As I discovered, the answer is a bit of both.' (For earlier Indian English literatures see Iyengar, 1985, 4th edition; Naik, 1982; Walsh, 1990, for an outline of twentieth-century writing). Hashmi (1989: 2) considers English in Pakistan 'equally (if not more than equally) a Pakistani language'. In Sri Lanka English has become 'a means of self-expression divorced from the self-consciousness that had accompanied it before' (Wijesinha, 1988: i).

Actually, South Asian English literature is not a very new voice. Attempts in creativity in English go back to the 1830s; Kashiprasad Ghosh's *Shair and Other Poems* (1830) is considered the earliest South Asian attempt at writing poetry in English. Sochee Chunder Dutt, another Bengali, was the first writer of fiction. He also consciously initiated the process of Indianization of English by translating Indian expressions into English. It is believed that Cavelly Venkata Boviah (1776–1803) was 'the first great [Indian] master of English prose' (Ramaiah, 1988: xiii).

However, in the beginning, understandably, it was the deeply nationalistic political writing in English that dominated. This tradition can be traced back to Rammohun Roy (1772–1833). In such writing English was used as a linguistic tool in the freedom struggle; it was the language of an elite culture which cut across linguistic, cultural and religious boundaries. And later in the 1980s and 1990s, the same tradition continued and English is still the language of Indian (or, as Indians prefer to call it, 'All-Indian') and pan-South Asian dialogue (see Iyengar, 1985).

South Asian novelists not only nativized the language by extensive stylistic experimentation, but also acculturated English in terms of the South Asian context. The processes of nativization vary in their subtlety from one writer to another (see Mukherjee, 1971; B. Kachru, 1986a).

Indian English poetry dates back to the nineteenth century. The earlier poets include Aurobindo Ghosh (1872–1950), Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809–1831), Manmohan Ghose (1869–1924), Toru Dutt (1857–1877) and Sarojini Naidu (1879–1949). The modern period began in the 1950s and shows considerable influence from T. S. Eliot (1888–1965), W. H. Auden (1907–1973) and other Western poets. However, it has also initiated a period of considerable

stylistic innovation and Indian identity (see, for a detailed discussion and references, King, 1987 and later.)

The tradition of English writing in Pakistan dates back to the pre-partition days. However, this writing is recently being studied as national writing in English. Hashmi believes that in spite of the shifts in official language policy 'the creative writing in English has flourished' (89: 8; see also Rahman, 1991c). He adds that 'Pakistani literature in English has been responsive, increasingly and almost inevitably as a national literature, to the society in which it is created, and to the sensitivities that the society engenders' (ibid.). Hashmi has anthologized Pakistani poets in his *Pakistani Literature: The Contemporary English Writers* (1987; see also Hashmi, 1989; Rahman, 1991b, 1991c; for Sri Lanka, see Wijesinha, 1988).

In Chapter 8 I will come back to how creative South Asian writers themselves respond to the question why they write in English. This question has been seriously asked in India, in Sri Lanka, and in recent years in Pakistan. After the independence of India in 1947, and of Sri Lanka in 1948, this question naturally acquired new undertones. The creative writers in English are attacked on many counts: their commitment to the nation is considered suspect for abandoning the national or regional language and writing in a Western 'foreign' language; their 'alien' medium is considered inappropriate for expressing culturally and socially determined sensibilities; and they are accused of catering to a foreign readership, thus focusing on the exotic to satisfy the taste of such readership. The list of accusations and counter-arguments is long, as is the body of literature representing such points of view. A number of these points are discussed, for example, by Lal (1969), Jussawalla (1985), and Dharwadker (2003) (for Sri Lanka, see Kandiah, 1971, 1981).

There is, of course, no one answer to the question, 'Why write in English?' One linguistically meaningful answer is that in multilingual and multicultural societies, which all the major countries of South Asia are, English has become, and is used as, yet another linguistic and literary resource. In the case of India, just to give one example, Indian English literature is one of the twenty-two national literatures recognized by the National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Academi). The creative and critical writing in all these languages, including English, is annually considered for national awards for excellence. In Pakistan, the Pakistan Academy of Letters recognizes English works for its national literature prizes.

South Asian English literatures are part of the worldwide contact literatures in English (cf. Chapter 5). Contact literatures are essentially the result of the diffusion of English in its second diaspora in multilingual and multicultural contexts across the world (see Dissanayake, 1985; Thumboo, 1985; B. Kachru, 1992b).

At one level such literatures in English have national identities — Indian, Pakistani and Sri Lankan; and, at another level, contact literatures are

components of world literatures in English, and they share the medium with
the varieties of language in the 'Inner Circle' of English' (e.g. the United
States, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand) mentioned with reference
to Asian in Chapter 2. The traditional canonical points of reference are not
necessarily shared by these varieties. This, indeed, is an important point of
divergence.

The bi/multilingual writers in South Asia use several devices which
contribute to the acculturation of South Asian English, and result in their
'national identity'. In these literatures a new historical and cultural backdrop
is introduced to English literature. In many cases, as with Raja Rao, the
discoursal strategies and the processes of lexicalization do not necessarily
belong to the traditional norms. The interpretation of such texts has to be in
tune with South Asian cultural assumptions and linguistic innovations (see
Chapter 7).

An analysis and description of the language design of such texts, therefore,
demands going beyond the conventional conceptualization and descriptive
apparatus of the monolinguals' structural resources. Such resources include
all the linguistic levels from lexicalization to discourse and style. Within this
view, creativity has to be interpreted in a broader context: the sociolinguistic
context of VERBAL REPERTOIRE or CODE REPERTOIRE. The interactional
characteristics of code repertoire and the convergence of such repertoires from
two or more languages result in a distinct configuration, a marked language
design. The identity features of the texts are not merely structural. In fact,
the structural features provide only one aspect of such creativity. Equally
important is the contextualization of the text within the new context of
situation. Linguistic innovations and contextual extension are two primary
components of South Asian English literature.

What we see, then, is that the national literature of, for example, Britain
or North America is only one of the identities of English literature. The other
national identities of English (e.g. Indian, Pakistani or Sri Lankan) make up
the total picture. The recognition of multiple identities of English, its linguistic
and literary pluricentricity, does not simplify matters; the multi-identity of
English unfolds a host of questions concerning textual interpretability (see
also Chapter 6).

I must revert here to the question of the distinctiveness of South Asian
English literatures, and the characterization of this body of writing in linguistic
terms. In recent years this aspect of world Englishes has been the focus of many
investigations. I shall summarize the major points here.

First, such creativity entails the contextual nativization of a text, embedding
the text within its South Asian sociocultural and historical contexts. There is
thus a shift from the traditional presuppositions of English, a crossover from
one underlying canon to another (B. Kachru, 1986a: 159–73). In linguistic
terms, grammatically, lexically or collocationally, the texts may not be very

South Asianized. The nativization may be rather in the historical and cultural presuppositions in the text. It is in this sense that the cultural milieu of English has been expanded. It is this type of cultural and linguistic identity that gives validity to the claim that English has acquired pluricentricity in its underlying cultural presuppositions and in its linguistic norms.

Second, there is an altered concept of textual cohesiveness and cohesion. The organization of textual structure may not necessarily be the canonical structure associated with English. It may be, and often is, a transfer from another underlying dominant language, and may involve a lexical shift: direct lexical transfer, hybridization, code-switching, etc.

Third, the rhetorical strategies are not consistent with those used in British or American Englishes. The devices used for nativizing rhetorical strategies include similies and metaphors from local languages that may result in 'unusual' collocations, combinations of lexical items, for the native speakers. The speech acts and culture-specific interactional markers are translated from South Asian languages. This device is clearly seen, for example, in the Pakistani novelists Ahmed Ali and Bapsi Sidhwa, the Indian novelists Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, Khushwant Singh and Salman Rushdie, and Sri Lankan novelists James Goonewardene and Punyakante Wijenaike. The bilingual writer chooses styles not only appropriate to the 'high culture' and 'popular culture' but also appropriate to the specific cultural and linguistic group of South Asia. This linguistic device, for example, is skilfully exploited earlier by Raja Rao in his *The Serpent and the Rope* (1960) and *The Chessmaster and his Moves* (1988). For a critique of Rao, see Chapters 7 and 8.

The above discussion naturally leads to a more complex question concerning cross-cultural discourse: To what extent does the bilinguals' creativity in English represent the underlying thought patterns of South Asian languages? An answer to this provocative question is not easy, since very little research has been done in this area. I have briefly discussed this with appropriate references elsewhere (B. Kachru, 1986a: 168–71; see also B. Kachru, 1986b; Y. Kachru, 1992; C. Fernando, 1977, particularly the section on 'styles for narrative, descriptive and serious discourse', as well as Chapter 8).

English in post-1947 language policies

The end of the British Raj in the subcontinent during the 1940s was supposed to initiate the slow but sure demise of the English language in South Asia. That actually did not happen. It is true that during the past half-century we have seen a wide range of attitudes towards the continued use of English in various official and public documents. However, the reality of use is different. The actual picture is one of ever greater social penetration of English. The

functional domains in which English is used have actually expanded rather than shrunk.

In linguistically explosive regions of South Asia — and most of South Asia is full of linguistic landmines — a more or less *laissez-faire* policy has been adopted. In general, the trend is to leave the linguistic hornet's nest untouched, particularly when it comes to English. In India that policy has calmed down a situation that used to result in frequent language riots. In Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka there have been several policy switches, but they have not drastically reduced the enthusiasm for English in the general public. Indeed, in the 1990s the diffusion of English and excitement for learning the language has substantially increased. In all the countries of South Asia, it has been realized that issues relating to English, and attitudes towards the language, are much more complex than the nationalists, educationists and language policy designers had made us believe.

What we see in India, which at present includes almost 78 percent of the population of the region, is to a large extent true of other countries in South Asia. The central government seems to have a deliberate policy of 'wait and see', while the state governments have generally oscillated on this issue from one position to another. There are, therefore, regional differences in policy making and its implementation in the twenty-five states and the centrally administered Union Territories of the Republic of India.

There is already an abundance of studies on English in South Asia's language planning, and this body of literature is ever increasing. The debate on this topic primarily centres around the pros and cons of the inclusion of English in the language policies (for detailed bibliographical references up to the 1980s, see Aggarwal, 1982; Ramaiah, 1988). The controversy is basically about three issues. What should be the function of the English language at various stages of education? What should be the role of regional language, national language and English? And in some selected circles there is even discussion of what model of English should form part of the curriculum (see B. Kachru, 1982e). The first two questions have been raised in one form or another in Bangladesh, Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka, and the issues get more politicized at certain specific times, particularly at the time of elections. What makes matters more difficult is that attempts are generally made to seek political solutions to language problems which, naturally, leave educators frustrated (e.g. see Tambiah, 1967; Shah, 1968; Annamalai, 1979; for Pakistan, see Rahman, 1996). As Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, observed, the language question does not 'have anything to do with politics as such, but, unfortunately, the whole language question has got entangled in political issues' (1963: 1).

A retrospective look at the continued debate on English in South Asia confirms that the Orientalist/Occidentalist controversy of almost two hundred years ago has actually not subsided; the issues that confronted the proponents

of the two sides of that controversy continue to surface in various forms in each South Asian country. However, there is one serious difference: the articulation of various positions takes a much more violent form now than when the debate first came up. In the post-independence period, several attempts have been made to take a serious look at the issue of language-in-education, and particularly at the role of English. A brief summary of such attempts is given below.

In India, to take the largest country first, the President appointed the Official Language Commission on 7 June 1955 under the chairmanship of B. G. Kher (1888–1957). The commission was charged with the duty to make recommendations to the President of the Republic concerning the following points: (1) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union; (2) restrictions on the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union; (3) the language to be used for all or any purposes mentioned in Article 343 of the Constitution; (4) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specific purposes of the Union; (5) the preparation of the time schedule according to which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union, and as a language for communication between the Union and the State government; and so on (see *Report of the Official language Commission* [*ROLC*], 1956). This report is a vital document for understanding the post-independence position of English in India; it presents, among other matters, two rather opposing views about the functions of English in free India, one represented by the dean of South Asian linguistics, Suniti Kumar Chatterji (see his note of Dissent appended to the Report, 1957: 217–314) and P. Subbarayan. These two were less enthusiastic about an immediate switch-over to Hindi. The other view, the majority view, was held by those members of the Commission who supported an immediate change-over to Hindi and other Indian languages.

In the debate on the role of English in India, it is important to mention Article 343(2) of the Indian Constitution; the Article specified that the English language was to be used for all official purposes of the Union until 26 January 1965, and, according to Article 343(l), after that date Hindi was to be the official language of the Republic. This recommendation, however, could not be implemented, since the language controversy took a violent turn. In Tamil Nadu, in particular, anti-Hindi riots erupted in May 1963, and West Bengal also expressed its resentment towards the 'imposition' of Hindi in many ways, and not always in a non-violent form. This resulted in the Indian Parliament enacting an Official Language Act (1967). The Act extended English's lease on life as an additional language with Hindi to be used for purposes of the Union and in Parliament.

The Official Language (Amendment) Act was enacted to reassure the non-Hindi speakers that their interests would not suffer. This amendment, however, did not allay the fears of those groups who felt that there was a conflict between

their language and Hindi, or the groups supporting continued use of English. More importantly, no specific language policy was proposed. That job was taken up by a series of commissions which looked into the functions of English in the overall language policy, and the restructuring of the curriculum at various stages of education. I will just mention some of the more important commissions here: S. Radhakrishan (1888–1975), educator and philosopher, and President of the Republic of India (1962–1967) headed the University Education Commission. The report submitted by this commission *(The Report of the Education Commission* 1950/1) was a thorough evaluation and provided a blueprint for Indian education. The report naturally discusses the role of English in India (see especially pp. 316–26). The past role of English is aptly summarized in the following words:

> it is true that the English language has been one of the potent factors in the development of unity in the country. In fact, concept of nationality and the sentiment of nationalism are largely the gifts of the English language and literature to India ... English has become so much a part of our national habit that a plunge into an altogether different system seems attended with unusual risks. (p. 316)

There could be no better refutation of Macaulay's original design for the introduction of English in the subcontinent. Macaulay's aim was, as quoted earlier, to create a class of Indians 'English in taste, in opinion, in morals, and in intellect'. That did not happen; on the contrary, English became a vehicle for national unity, and for initiating a pan-Indian cultural and political awakening. The Report feels that 'the plunge is inevitable', and states that:

> English cannot continue to occupy the place of state language as in the past. Use of English as such divides that people into two nations, the few who govern and the many who are governed. The one unable to talk the language of the other, and mutually uncomprehending. This is negation of democracy. (ibid.)

However, the report does not negate the use of English in India's language policies; it adopts a pragmatic position, for 'we must take into account our *Yugadharma* [duty according to the needs of time]'. And the need of the time suggests, as the report says, 'that English be studied in high schools and in the universities in order that we keep in touch with the living stream of ever-growing knowledge.'

This commission was to be followed by an appointment of a committee by the University Grants Commission in 1955, under the chairmanship of H. N. Kunzru (1887–1978). The committee was formed specifically to review the status of English. The Kunzru Commission Report was published in 1965 (see *Report of the English Review Commission*). The commission's major recommendations were the following:

A.   that the change from English to Indian language as the medium of instruction at the state universities should not be hastened;

B.   that even when a change in the medium of instruction is made, English should continue to be studied by all university students;

C.   that it would be necessary to have textbooks prepared on scientific principles and that the Government of India or the Council of Secondary Education should take up this question for consideration;

D.   that in relation to the Three-Year Degree course, which is now proposed to be introduced in our universities, the teaching of English be given special attention in the pre-university class;

E.   that the teaching of English literature should be related to the study of Indian literatures so that, apart from its value for linguistic purposes, it could be an effective means of stimulating critical thinking and writing in the Indian languages;

F.   that it is desirable to have the question of courses of study in English and methods of teaching English at the state universities examined by an expert body and the recommendations of that body adopted by all the universities;

G.   that where English is not the medium of instruction at any university it is necessary to adopt special methods to secure an adequate knowledge of English as a second language;

H.   that far greater attention should be given to linguistics in our universities and in our teacher training colleges; and

I.   that it is in our educational interest that English should be retained as a properly studied second language in our universities even when an Indian language is used as the ordinary medium of teaching. (p. 39)

In 1958, the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages at Hyderabad organized a forum to deliberate upon the recommendations of the Kunzru Commission. Yet another committee was appointed by the University Grants Commission under the chairmanship of G. C. Banerjee. The charge to the committee was to examine the issues involved in the teaching of English.

What is the present situation? In the 1960s, after great debate, the Three Language Formula was proposed as a solution to language-in-education policy. It was endorsed by almost all the states and Union Territories, by some with excitement and by others with cynicism. Tamil Nadu and Manipur did not endorse it. The formula proposes studying at least three languages in the school years: the regional language, Hindi and English. In the so-called Hindi belt, which includes the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, it entailed teaching a Dravidian language (Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil or Telugu), the idea being that in the states comprising the Hindi belt, Hindi would function as the regional language. The underlying motive for teaching a Dravidian language was to balance in an even manner the language load of all the school children throughout the nation. However, during the last three decades holes in the formula have begun to appear. On paper, the proposal

seemed to make sense, but in its implementation more problems surfaced than were envisaged. The main problem in implementation was that not all the states of the Union accepted the formula with enthusiasm; it was interpreted as bringing Hindi through the back door. In the Madhya-deśa (central India, core of the Hindi belt), the teaching of a Dravidian language was done in a superficial way, to pay lip service to the formula. In the early 1980s, the government of India adopted a 'New Educational Policy'. In its essential provisions it is not very different from the 1966 policy; it reiterates its support of the Three Language Formula and recommends its enthusiastic implementation in the states.

The controversies and agony which India shows in relation to the role of English as a language-in-education are shared by other South Asian countries. In all South Asian countries there are language conflicts, the differences being in degree and in the number of languages involved. In Pakistan, the tension is among the speakers of Urdu, Sindhi, Punjabi and Pushtu; in Sri Lanka, between Sinhala and Tamil; and in Nepal, among Nepali, Newari and Bhojpuri. All the countries have to assign a role to English and to a language of religious and ritualistic identity — Sanskrit in the case of Hindus, Arabic for the Muslims, and Pali for the Buddhists.

I have discussed the post-1947 deliberations concerning English in India in detail. In other South Asian countries, the issues about English in education and its international and intranational roles have many shared concerns. I shall briefly present these below.

The Pakistan Constitution of 1956, and amendments of 1968, 1972 and 1985, recognize Urdu as the official language of the country: 'the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.' This position is reflected in various reports of the government of Pakistan. In 1981, the President of Pakistan set up a Study Group on the Teaching of Languages, the convenor of the group being Anjum Riyazul Haque. The report:

> recommends that Urdu should continue to be the only medium of instruction at the school level, with no exception, overt or covert in any school, and that a federal agency should ensure the implementation of this policy. English and Arabic should be introduced from class six onwards, though Arabic will be taught as part of Islamiyat curriculum all through school. (*Report Study Group on The Teaching of Languages,* Islamabad, 1982: vi)

The report adds that students will have a choice of Urdu or English as the medium of examination, and institutions will have the option to offer instruction in either language (ibid.; vi). Bangladesh was part of Pakistan until 1971. Urdu was the national language of both the wings of Pakistan (East and

West). English was the official second language and the link language. The Bengali majority resented the imposition of Urdu, which resulted in violent language riots; 21 February is commemorated as Language Martyrs Day. Since its formation as in independent state, Bangladesh has not adopted a consistent policy towards the role of English; it falls between an ESL and an EFL country. In 1987 the Bangla Procolon Ain 1987 (Bangla Implementation Act, 1987) was passed, giving Bengali the status of an official language. However, the declaration does not stipulate the future role of English. On 19 January 1989, English was introduced as a compulsory language from classes I to XII. Students must qualify in English and Bengali in the Secondary Certificate Examinations. At the university level English is taught as a much sought-after optional subject (see Islam, 1975).

In the Kingdom of Nepal, English has been used as a primary foreign language; Nepali (also known as Gorkhali, Khas-Kura, Parbatiya), an Indo-Aryan language, is the national language recognized by the Constitution, and over 58.4 percent of the population speak it as their mother tongue. In one respect Nepal is unique among the South Asian nations discussed in this chapter: it was never politically colonized by a Western power, nor has it been open to the influence of Christian missionaries for proselytization. The tradition of English education and methods for curriculum design came from neighbouring India. Until Tribhuvan University was established in 1960, all teachers, administrators and the cultural elite were trained in Indian universities. The Tri-Chandra College, established in 1918, was earlier affiliated with Calcutta University and later with Patna University, both in India. In 1951, when the king's authority was established, as opposed to that of the hereditary prime ministers from the Rana family, a process of democratization was initiated. English-language teaching, journalism and broadcasting have now relatively more support. The National Education System Plan, introduced in 1971, includes English as one of the important languages.

Nepal's economy essentially depends on tourism; therefore, in Kathmandu (the capital) and other tourist spots English is used for advertising, and for interaction with tourists. Mixing of English with local languages is as common in Nepal as in other parts of South Asia. There are several English 'coaching shops' in Kathmandu where English instruction is available. These tutorial shops are in great demand, though of questionable quality. In Bhutan a department of education was set up in 1961. The teaching staff is primarily from India, and the teaching materials are developed by Indian specialists.

Maldives has no university, and students go to other countries for education. Basic English instruction is locally available so that Maldivian students can benefit from instruction abroad.

Attitudes and schizophrenia about English

The controversies that Macaulay's Minute and its implementation initiated in the 1830s actually never ended. Right from Macaulay's period, there have continued to be three distinct attitudes towards the role of English in South Asian language policies. One attitude is that English has played an important mathetic role in South Asia, and that its continuation and diffusion contribute to keeping South Asian countries abreast of the scientific, technological and humanistic developments of the world. This position may be labelled the 'Rammohan Roy Syndrome'. Roy, as noted previously in this chapter, pleaded for the introduction of Western knowledge in India. This position with reference to India is articulated in several earlier studies and in more recent ones. One such representative study, appropriately named *The Great Debate* (Wadia, 1954), brings several perspectives together.

In 1988 Girilal Jain, an Indian political commentator, reiterated this position with reference to India:

> I for one doubt whether we could have managed our political order as well as we have (even if we accept Prof. Galbraith's description of it as a functioning anarchy) if we had not retained the English language as the medium of higher education and inter-regional communication. This, in my view, has not only helped us maintain a measure of continuity with the Raj, the first properly founded and durable state in India capable of rising above social divisions and conflicts, but also to sustain and expand a class of people capable of thinking and acting in all India terms. We can call them neo-Brahmins because the Brahmins constituted the first historically known pan-Indian group. *(The Times of India,* November–December 1988, Special Sesquicentennial Concept 5: 127–8).

And Swapan Dasgupta, a perceptive journalist, expresses his impatience about India's 'silly battles over English'. He observes: ' … if only India hadn't wasted time fighting silly battles over English … an entire generation of Indians, some occupying high political positions spent their best years fighting vicious battles over language' (*India Today International,* December 11, 2000, p. 17; see also 'Shared strands of ongoing debates' in Chapter 11).

In the case of the second attitude concerning the role of English in South Asia, the words of Macaulay's Minute continue to reverberate in the minds of those who share this attitude, particularly Macaulay's use of words such as 'poor' and 'rude' for the vernacular languages, and his vision of using English to create '*brown sahibs*' in South Asia. In this view, English has no role in the language policies of South Asian countries. The third view rejects the enthusiasm of these two positions and has adopted a somewhat neutral position — neutral in the sense that its proponents would like to see English as one of the languages in the linguistic repertoire, as one of the foreign languages, but not in competition with local languages.

The past has thus resulted in several types of prejudices about the uses of English in South Asia, both in the minds of native speakers and in South Asians who have articulated their positions on this vital issue. I have discussed these positions (B. Kachru, 1982e). It is not, as is generally believed, the international uses of English which contributed to the change in the attitude towards English in post-1947 South Asia. What Wijesinha (1988: i) says about Sri Lanka after the political independence was true of other South Asian countries too: 'English symbolized the continued domination of the nation by a Western elite. It was this that understandably prompted the Swabhasha or Indigenous Languages policies of almost all political parties.' The implementation of such policies resulted in a multitude of other problems. In the case of Sri Lanka, the monolingual Sinhalese and Tamil had 'no means of communication with members of the other communities' (Wijesinha, 1988: i). This happened in other parts of the region too, and the result was quiet re-evaluation of the role of English within new pragmatic intranational realities (see also Musa, 1981).

Reactions and attitudes towards English are also determined by the functional power and status which this language has acquired during the last fifty years (see B. Kachru and Smith, 1986). A number of symbols are used to convey the status and power of English. In Sri Lanka, for example, the power of English is symbolized by the word *kaduva* 'sword', and to speak in English is *kadden kapanava* 'to cut (down) with the sword', and by implication, to intimidate the listener by doing so' (Kandiah, 1984: 117). By extension, the meaning *kadupanti* is used for 'English classes', again representing the power of the language.

Current issues

The current issues related to South Asian English in a way reflect the concerns of all institutionalized varieties of English (e.g. West African, Singaporean). The main points of the debate, specifically in South Asia, are as follows: attitudes towards the ontological status of South Asian English (see Chapter 6); teaching and acquisition of English in a multilingual and multicultural context; pragmatics of the uses and users of English cultural identity of the varieties of English and its implications with respect to intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability (see Smith and Nelson, 1985; B. Kachru, 1986a); hypotheses concerning communicative competence in English (cf. Chapter 6), their validity across varieties and manifestations of the bilinguals' creativity in each variety; and the development of literatures in world Englishes particularly in the Outer Circle.

In recent years it has been shown that the 'deficit' and 'deviational' approaches to South Asian English are not very meaningful, since these two

discount the contextual and pragmatic variables (B. Kachru, 1986a). There is a paradigm shift in another sense, too; the exocentric 'mono model' position is less favoured, and the 'functional polymodel' approach has proved more insightful. The nativist position, in its extreme form, is presented in Prator (1968), and Quirk (1988, 1989; the Quirk–B. Kachru controversy is outlined in Chapter 2). The functional polymodel approach emphasizes issues of identity, and sociocultural and interactional contexts (e.g. see B. Kachru, 1983b, 1986a; Kandiah, 1991; see also Canagarajah, 1999, 2002; Parakrama, 1995; Khilnani, 1997 [1998 Penguin ed. 1999: 22–28]; Khilnani, 2003). The South Asian varieties of English raise interesting theoretical questions concerning second language acquisition and creativity. These questions have been raised with reference to some dominant paradigms in, for example, Lowenberg and S. N. Sridhar (1986). Some of these questions relate to concepts such as 'interlanguage' and 'fossilization' (see K. Sridhar and S. N. Sridhar, 1986; Y. Kachru, 1994b). There is concern with broader issues too, such as the pluricentricity of English and the manifestation of its multicultural identities, English as a vehicle of ideological change, and the study of institutionalized varieties of English within the framework of contact linguistics.

It is not only in theoretical aspects that South Asian English has proved to be a fruitful area of research. In the areas of applied linguistic theory, a number of potential areas of research have been identified, for example lexicographical research on the varieties of Englishes particularly in Anglophonal Asia and Africa (e.g. B. Kachru, 1980), curriculum design (cf. Chapter 6) and the parameters for communicative competence in English (see Chapter 6) to mention just three such areas.

There is another area in which research on South Asian English has been instrumental in dispelling several unverified or partially verified hypotheses concerning the Outer Circle of English (e.g. South Asia, West Africa, Southeast Asia; see B. Kachru, 1985b). These hypotheses have naturally resulted in the exposure of several fallacies of which the following six may be mentioned as representative:

1. that in the Outer Circle, English is essentially learnt in order to communicate with the native speakers of English;
2. that English is learnt to understand and teach British and American cultural values;
3. that the goals for acquisition of English are to adopt exonormative models of English;
4. that the varieties of English used in the Outer Circle are 'interlanguages' and the goal of acquisition is to acquire 'native-like' competence;
5. that native speakers of English, as teacher trainers, curriculum developers and academic administrators, provide serious input in the operation of teaching English in the Outer Circle;
6. that diversity, innovation and variation are necessarily indicators of the 'decay' of English; and

7. that English is learnt with an 'integrative' motivation rather than an 'instrumental' motivation, and the 'integrative' motivation is more conducive to successful language learning.

In several recent studies it has been shown that these hypotheses are empirically and sociolinguistically flawed or only partially correct (see B. Kachru, 1986a and later; Bhatt, 2002; Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986; Y. Kachru, 1993a).

Conclusion

The case study of South Asian English discussed in this chapter clearly demonstrates the complexity of describing an institutionalized variety of English in a non-Western context. There are several dimensions to South Asian English: historical, linguistic, sociolinguistic, attitudinal, ideological, educational and cultural. It is only recently that these issues are being raised, and the limitations of the earlier 'paradigm trap' are being discussed. However, in terms of the research potential — historical, linguistic and sociolinguistic — what we have seen so far is merely the proverbial tip of the iceberg.

4

Past imperfect: The Japanese agony

Introduction

This chapter primarily focuses on Japan, which holds a unique position in Asia, and provides important insights for understanding various methodological, attitudinal, and ideological issues about the functions of English and attitudes towards the language. In the East Asian region Japan has been one of the first countries to articulate positions about the acceptance of English and an identity with it, and about rejection of the language and proposing a distance with it. The case study of Japan and its ongoing sweet and sour relationship with the language has a lesson for us all. A large body of such writing is in Japanese and is not as well-known as it ought to be in Asia and elsewhere.[1]

We see that during the past three decades the profile of English in Asia has substantially changed. It is certainly one of the regions in which bilingualism in English is continuously on the increase — from year to year, from month to month: Japan and China provide enough evidence. There is also a vibrant debate about the issues related to the diffusion of English, and its ideological and cultural implications in this region (e.g. see Hiraizumi and Watanabe, 1975; Suzuki, 1975; Tsuda, 1990, 1993; Stanlaw, 2004).

In Asia, we have several technologically established and emerging powers in which English plays a very dominant role in spite of a love-hate relationship with it. At the same time there is the overwhelming baggage of the past and a continuously developing mythology concerning forms and functions of English which has mystified the reality of the functions of English as discussed in Chapter 2. The mythology of 'Japanese uniqueness' characterized as *nihonjiron* has not been restricted to the Japanese mind, interactions, and culture, but has acquired a rather significant place in literature on issues concerning English in Japan and Japanese English. There is an often articulated impression that the general 'mystique' of the Japanese mind extends to the Japanese use of English.

It is not only distinguished Japanese specialists who have commented on

this, but professionals in ELT have also discussed this mystique and developed it into a paradigm. Reischauer is thus not alone when he says:

> Since the Meiji period, English has been the chief medium for communication with the outside world, but despite prodigious efforts on the part of virtually all students from the seventh grade through high school and the hard work of about 60,000 full-time English teachers, the results have been meager. Teaching methods have remained antiquated and inefficient, and not many of the teachers themselves can really speak English. (Reischauer, 1971: 299)

I have no difficulty agreeing with McCreary when he terms *nihonjiron* a 'neo fascist' concept (McCreary, 1994: 1). The mystification of a culture, of a language, and of a people continues to be used as a subtle way of marginalization.

One major aim of this chapter is to argue that the past approaches to the discussion of English in Asia are based on a variety of *imperfect* assumptions. And these assumptions in turn result in the *mystification* of sociolinguistic, attitudinal, ideological and pragmatic profiles of the English language in Japan and Asia at large. An imperfect assumption naturally contributes to an imperfect profile. I believe that now is the appropriate time to look at the *other side* of English in Asia; there is a need for *demystification* in several ways.

Perspectives on English in Japan

The earlier perspectives on what I shall call Japanese English primarily focus on six aspects of this variety.
1   *Historical,* within the contexts of Japan's language policy towards English;
2.   *Functional,* within the contexts of the *uses* of English;
3.   *Formal,* with reference to various types of nativization;
4.   *Attitudinal,* with reference to what model and method is appropriate for the Japanese consumer of English;
5.   *Pragmatic,* with reference to the interactional contexts within which English is used by the Japanese; and
6.   *Aquisitional,* with reference to the strategies for acquisition and issues related to it.

These studies are both by Japanese scholars and Western scholars. However, the main articulators have been the Western scholars. I purposely use the term *Western* here since there is hardly any work I could locate that addresses these issues by other Asians from an Asian perspective, for example, in India, the Philippines and other regions. I will briefly discuss these six perspectives.

In historical terms, as we know, English has been 'the chief medium for communication with the outside world', since the Meiji Period of Japan's

history (Reischauer, 1971: 299). As seen in Chapter 2, Japan is perhaps the only Asian country in which a proposal was made over a century ago to abandon Japanese and 'adopt instead some better, richer, stronger, language, such as English or French' (Miller, 1977: 41). Mori Arinori (1847–1899) expresses his frustration in strong words claiming that 'all reasons suggest its [the language of Japan] disuse'. In his proposal he argues:

> Without the aid of Chinese, our language has never been taught or used for any purpose of communication. This shows its poverty. The march of civilization in Japan has already reached the heart of the nation — the English language following it suppresses the use of both Chinese and Japanese. The commercial power of the English-speaking race which now rules the world drives our people into some knowledge of their commercial ways and habits. The absolute necessity of mastering the English language is thus forced upon us. It is a requisite of our independence in the community of nations. Under the circumstances, our meager language, which can never be of any use outside of our island, is doomed to yield to the domination of the English tongue, especially when the power of steam and electricity shall have pervaded the land. Our intelligent race, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, cannot depend upon a weak and uncertain medium of communication in its endeavor to grasp the principle truths from the precious treasury of Western Science and art and religion. The laws of state can never be preserved in the language of Japan. All reasons suggest its disuse. (Mori, 1873: i, vi; quoted in Hall, 1973: 189)

And another such proposal came from Shiga Naoya (1883–1972). These proposals are not much different from the thinking of Raja Rammohan Roy (1772–1833), whose initiative I have already discussed in Chapter 3, which resulted in his plea to Lord Amherst in December 1823 for 'employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India'.

The functional indicators of Japanese English are rather complex. This is so because the strategies used are both *visible* and *invisible*.[2] The visible functions of English are, of course, different from the regions in the Outer Circle (e.g. Nigeria, India, Singapore). In other words, in Japan, the English language has no institutionalized status in a language policy which seeks its use in administration, in the legal system, or in local trade and pan-Japanese trade and commerce. It is, of course, true that English is a much-sought-after major preferred *foreign* language, and thereby hangs another linguistic tale.

It is the *invisible* functions of English that deserve special attention — English as a 'lending resource' for a range of social, political, and commercial genres of the language, English as an overwhelming resource for linguistic 'borrowing'. And the term 'borrowing', as has been pointed out, is misleading here since the borrower has no intention of returning the borrowed items — nativized or non-nativized. The borrowed item goes through various

incarnations and transformations and acquires a unique Japanese character.[3] In Japan the attitude about English borrowings has gone through various phases of militarism and war, and with reactions towards Americanization of Japanese culture. During the phase of 'Militarism and the War', Reischauer says:

> A not very successful effort was made to stem the flood of English words into Japanese conversation and writing. Bilingual street and language signs were remade with the English omitted. (Reischauer, 1971: 201)

And, during the phase termed 'Recovery', the Americanization of Japan was again under attack, and it was feared 'that Japan was losing her cultural identity or soul' (Reischauer, 1971: 261). However, during this phase, Reischauer emphasizes that:

> It should be noted, however, that, protected as they were by much higher bulwarks of linguistic distinctiveness, they shared little concern about the huge new influx of English words, and instead made full use of them in *amusing abbreviations* and imaginative new specialized meanings and compounds. [emphasis added] (Reischauer, 1971: 261–2)

In the post-Second World War period, as Tanaka and Tanaka (1995: 123) tell us, English symbolized 'happy and rich'. The formal dimension of Japanese English is a fascinating study of a 'language within a language' (Honna, 1995). The processes of contact and convergence are essentially similar to such processes in any bi- or multilinguistic context. In this respect, then, Japanese English has shared characteristics with the Outer and Expanding Circles. In a study by Honna (1995; see also Stanlaw, 2004), these processes have been discussed in detail.

Eikaiwa 'English Conversation Ideology'

In attitude studies the major focus has been on what is termed 'English Conversation (*eikaiwa*) Ideology' that I have briefly mentioned in Chapter 2. This apparently innocent label belies a very complex attitude. And this ideology has been cultivated — and perpetuated — by several external agencies. Lummis (1973 [1976]) discusses 'English Conversation Ideology' with emotion from the perspective of an outsider who, one might say, played the game in an ideological system which is not unique to Japan. The Japanese reaction to it is succinctly and effectively discussed by, among others, Fukuzumi (manuscript), Ohishi (1990) and Tsuda (1986, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1997). The major points of *eikaiwa* include, for example:
• that the ideology of 'English conversation' is not the same as acquiring competence in speaking English;

- that, as Tsuda says (1992: 32), this ideology '[...] involves emotional attachment to and obsessive infatuation with Western, especially American culture';
- that this ideology equates 'the ideal speaking partner' with a 'white middle class American' (Lummis, 1976: 10);
- that this attitude elevates a particular type of 'native speaker' to a position of 'cultural superiority' and cultivates specific attitudes towards the Caucasian race in general;
- that 'the ideology and structure of the subculture' of *eikaiwa*, says Lummis (1976: 7), is 'racist';
- that 'the idea of the native speaker', again argues Lummis (1976: 7), is 'mostly a fraud', and this term is exploited by business-oriented language schools; and
- this concept damages the image of Japanese 'self' and 'society'.

The concept 'English conversation' entails a very skilful occupation of one's mind. It takes away the key to innovation and creativity from a Japanese learner of English whose mind has been conditioned by such ideology. It confuses one about one's identity. And that is only a part of what it does. Although it fails to freeze the medium of English in Japan, it deprives the medium of its energy and vitality and its potential for new meanings. It exhausts the language by controlled use and makes the user suspicious of his or her linguistic independence. In short, one consequence of *eikaiwa* 'English conversation' is that one dreads any notion of linguistic creativity and identity.

The idea of *eikaiwa* indeed is not restricted to Japan. It is a subculture, and such subcultures are alive and very much kicking in various reincarnations in other regions of Asia. In fact, even now, Indian men in Indian ethnic newspapers in the USA and the UK — as in India — seek and prefer 'convent educated' brides and reveal their obsession for colour preferences. This is another type of hangover of *eikaiwa* ideology. But the most pernicious examples of it are in our academic centres, professional societies, and professional journals that feed this ideology in various ways (e.g., see Quirk, 1988, 1989; B. Kachru, 1991a; see also Chapter 2).

The Japanese scholars have articulated their visions of the variety of English they should aim for since the 1970s. Tanaka and Tanaka (1995: 127–8) mention two such earlier proposals. The first is by Takao Suzuki who, in 1971, proposed the use of Englic in his article 'From English to Englic' in *Eigo Seinen* (*Young Generation*, 19[10]). Tanaka and Tanaka define Englic as '... a variety of English that is dissociated as much as possible from the thought and culture of Britain, the USA, or other English-speaking countries'. It is also claimed that:

> ... Englic has a sort of psycho-cultural advantage for the speakers because they
> do not need to throw their own identity away, because for instance, in speaking

> Englic a Japanese person does not need to force himself/herself into the framework of the British. Thus, Englic, influenced by one's own native language, and his own personality can be used with confidence. (Tanaka and Tanaka, 1995: 127)

The second proposal by Suenobu entitled 'Nihon Eigo' ('Japanese English') is 'not much different from Suzuki's Englic'. In this proposal the emphasis is on Japanese language, life and culture (Tanaka and Tanaka, 1995: 127–8).

There are yet other attempts to develop culturally 'dissociated' varieties based on English. That all such proposals met the fate of Englic is not surprising.

Dimensions of paradigm shift

The above discussion, I believe, broadly unfolds the various dimensions of the first part of the title of this chapter — past imperfect. On reconsidering English in Japan and in Asia as a whole, it is evident that in the past the debate on the forms and function of English is essentially based on mythology and minimalization. The *imperfections* of the past — in approaches, attitudes and descriptions — are revealed in many ways and I have discussed them in several of my earlier studies (for references, see B. Kachru, 1994a). What the mythology tends to do is to mask the real sociolinguistic contexts. In our understanding of Japanese English and other Asian Englishes, this mythology clouds an important side of English — the *other side* of English. That is the second part of this chapter.

The following assumptions have formed the foundations of this mythology.

English for the West

The first assumption is that the primary interlocutors for interaction are from the West — the USA and the UK. This basic assumption thus lays strong attitudinal, functional and educational foundations for the 'English conversation' approach so well argued by Lummis (1973) and others. This approach defines the people, defines their linguistic roles, and defines their place as the *Other* in the contexts of interaction. And this is done essentially in terms which are pragmatically of doubtful validity, and consciously ideologically marginalizing. This approach and manipulation of minds, methods, and resources has established the conceptual foundations of English teaching in Japan and in most of Asia. This approach fosters one identity of the Asian interlocutor, the Caliban identity mentioned earlier; the master is already defined, and determined for the learner. Thus the mind of a Japanese

English learner — an Asian learner in general — has already been cast in a linguistic, attitudinal and ideological mould, and has been turned to the West. There is a negation of other interactional faces — with the rest of Asia. The rest of Asia, including Japan, comprises over 60 percent of the world's population (2000 est.; including Greater Asia, Australia and New Zealand; see Chapter 11).

This point is of special significance for post-industrial Japan, for Japanese is not a language of wider communication, as is well recognized by a long line of distinguished Japanese scholars. The tool of wider communication for the Japanese at present is essentially English, whether they turn to the West, to other parts of Asia, or to the vast continent of Africa. In this interactional equation of uses and users of English, the population of the UK is only 0.93 percent of total world population and that of USA 4.4 percent (2004).[4]

Norms for creativity

The second assumption takes me to the creative and innovative uses of the English language in Japan. Whatever attitudinal reactions one has to such creativity is not the point here. The major point is the acculturation of a language — the Japanization of English. What happens to English in Japan is not unique; it is exactly what happens to a language when a language acquires *hybridity* — functional pluralism, transplantation, and convergence. Let me with two examples illustrate what has been termed 'pragmatic success' in Japanized English.

One has to view these two examples with reference to the Japanese attitude towards creativity in English, and its impact on the Japanese, and their 'consuming passion for English vocabulary' (*Asiaweek*, 5 October 1984: 49; see also Stanlaw, 2004). First, we might consider the use of English in advertisements such as the following:

- Kanebo Cosmetics: For Beautiful Human Life
- Tokyo Utility Company: My Life, My Gas
- Shinjuku Station Concourse: Nice Guy Making; Multiple Days Autumn Fair; Planning and Creative; Let's Communicate

What has escaped the proponents of 'English conversation' was grasped very well indeed by *Asiaweek* in its pragmatically apt observation about the above examples. It observed:

> to the English speaker they [vocabulary items] may be silly, childish, or annoying. Sometimes a double meaning makes them unintentionally funny: *But the ubiquitous English of Japanese ads conveys a feeling to Japanese.* (*Asiaweek*, 5 October 1984: 49; emphasis added)

In the first chapter of this book I noted the deep psychological effect the use of these phrases has from a Japanese point of view, which in fact is the commercial aim of the advertisement. Again, let me cite the following extended excerpt from *Asiaweek* which underlines this point:

> To produce one such phrase requires the expensive services of an ad agency as sophisticated as anywhere. A creative director gathers the team and concepts are tossed about, a first-rate copywriter works on the theme, a lengthy rationalization is prepared for the client, a decision eventually made to launch. Cost: maybe millions of yen. *Everyone understands that it is substandard English. Explains a copywriter at Dentsu: 'yes, of course we know it sounds corny to an American, even objectionable to some. But what the foreigner thinks of it is immaterial. The ad is purely domestic, a lot of market research has gone into it. It evokes the right images. It sells.'* For product names, English words that seem dismayingly inappropriate to the foreign listener are sometimes chosen. The most frequently quoted example is a very popular soft-drink called *Sweat.* The idea of using a body secretion as an enticing name for a fluid to drink out of a can is just as unpleasant to a Japanese as to an Englishman, but sweat conjures a different image: hot and thirsty after vigorous activity on the sporting field. The drink is *Pocari* in Hong Kong. Some English words enjoy a fad season. Currently very much in are *life, my, be,* and *city,* the last-named suffering from the phonetic necessity to render the *s* before *i* as *sh.* My City is a multi-storied shopping complex in Shinjuku where you can shop for *my-sports* things to take to your *my-house* in your *my-car. New* remains popular. If no suitable English word exists, nothing is lost, coin one. Some, indeed, are accidentally rather catchy: *magineer.* Others elicit only sighs. *Creap* is a big selling cream-powder for coffee. Facom was perhaps not such a felicitous choice considering the open back vowel for Japanese. Currently in season are words ending in *topia,* presumably from *utopia.* There was a *Portopia,* a *Computopia* and a *Sportopia.* The brand-new Hilton Hotel boasts a splendid shopping annex called the *Hiltopia.* (*Asia Week,* 5 October 1984; emphasis added; see also B. Kachru in Tickoo, 1991: 191–2; for a detailed discussion of language contact in Japan, see Loveday, 1996)

A second example of Japanese English in this context illustrates what may be termed 'innovation for *neutralizing* effect'. The term *neutralization* refers to use of English in place of the Japanese language in what may be considered intimate contexts of language use, for example, *sekkusu* with reference to sex, *sekkusu tashi* (sex ecstasy), and *sekkusu paato* (sex therapist). This type of innovation again is, of course, not unique in Japanese but is also found in other varieties of English (e.g. see B. Kachru, 1992a [1982]; Cheshire, 1991). However, note the reaction to the above Japanese innovation and creativity from the British perspective: it is claimed that 'English words that sound good in Japanese may be *off-putting to native speakers*' (*EFL Gazette,* March 1995: 3; emphasis added).

Here again we see the 'English conversation' assumption: the assumed

interlocutor for the Japanese is already annoyed. What we see in this creativity is pragmatic and attitudinal appropriateness for Japanese users of the language; the intended interlocutors are the Japanese. And attitudinally, English is welcome in this discourse for its neutralizing effect; *sekkusu* results just in a smile while the Japanese word might result in a blush and a giggle. This again is true of an innovations like *silver age*: this has 'appeal to Japanese consumers who find slogans in their [own] language too harsh' (*EFL Gazette*, March 1995: 3).

The creativity that 'may be off-putting to native speakers' is actually a very creative productive linguistic process in acculturization of English lexical items in Japanese. In his collection of 'a selection of useful loanwords' entitled, *English in Japanese,* Akira Miura (1985 [1998]) provides a long list of 'made-in Japan "English" words', and adds that '[...] I could not help marveling at the tremendous vigor with which the Japanese have borrowed English words or created new pseudo-loans.' Miura also wonders:

> What does the Japanese language gain, for example, by discarding the perfectly adequate non-loan *nejimawashi* "screw driver" in favor of *doraibaa*, or by creating new pseudo-loans such as *raibu-hausu* (lit. "live house") and *surri-saizu* (lit. "three size"), which although composed of English words, no one but Japanese would understand anyway? (Introduction, p. ii)

A partial specimen of 'English in Japanese' are the following loans (see Miura, 1985 [1998], title page):

> *aisu kyandee* 'ice candy'; *anime* 'animation'; *baaten* 'bartender'; *bebii hoteru* 'baby hotel'; *channeru* 'channel'; *deddo booru* 'dead ball'; *dezainaa* 'designer'; *echiketto* 'etiquette'; *eesu* 'ace'; *ereki gitaa* 'electronic guitar'; *feminisuto* 'feminist'; *fiiba* 'fever'; *furaiingu staato* 'flying start'; *furii saizu* 'free size'; *gareeji* 'garage'; *gattsu* 'guts'; *gera* 'galley'; *guriru* 'grill'; *haadouea* 'hardware'; *hanbaagaa* 'hamburger'; *hansamu* 'handsome'; *hieraruki* 'hierarchy'; *hoippu kureemu* 'whipped cream'; *hoomu beesu* 'home base'; *hotto doggu* 'hot dog'; *iijii oodaa* 'easy order'; *jaketto* 'jacket'; *jimu* 'gym' *jinkusu* 'jinx'; *kamubakku* 'comeback'; *koinrandorii* 'coin laundry'; *komon sensu* 'common sense'; *komisshon* 'commission'; *kuroozu appu* 'closeup'; *mazaa konpurekkusu* 'mother complex'; *mispurui* 'misprint'; *naiibu* 'naive'; *noo katto* 'no cut'; *omuretsu* 'omelette'; *ooda meedo* 'order made'; *pakku* 'pack'; *piza* 'pizza'; *raberu* 'label'; *raito ban* 'light van'; *roke* 'location'; *saafin* 'surfing'; *sekohan* 'second hand'; *shisutemu enjiniaringu* 'systems engineering'; *sukyuuba* 'scuba'; *surira* 'thriller'; *suroo moo* 'slow motion'; *toppu battaa* 'top batter'; *tero* 'terrorism'; *tsuna sando* 'tuna sandwich'; *wannauto* 'one out'.

In his comprehensive volume *Japanese English: Language and Culture Contact*, Stanlaw (2004: 1) cites the following text by Japanese commentator Matsumoto Toru to show that 'even a rudimentary conversation in the Japanese language could not be conducted without resorting to at least some English linguistic devices':

> We, that is, the Matsumoto family, live in *manshon* ('mansion') too. At this moment, I am watching *beisu-booru* ('baseball') on *terebi* ('television'). My wife is out shopping at *depaato* ('department store'), and later she will stop at a *suupaa* ('supermarket') to get *pooku choppu* ('pork chops'), *pan* ('bread') *bataa* ('butter'), *jamu* ('jam'), and perhaps some *sooseiji* ('sausage') for breakfast. My daughter has gone to the *byuutii saron* ('beauty salon') to get a *paama* ('permanent'). Oh, the *terehon* ('telephone') is ringing. We cannot live a day in Japan today without these loan words. Language purists lament the fact. The nationalists would wipe out all foreign-sounding words from our vocabulary. But where will they be without *takushii* ('taxi'), *terebi* ('television'), *rajio* ('radio'), *tabako* ('tobacco', i.e., 'cigarettes') *shatsu* ('shirts'), *beruto* ('belt'), and *meetoru* ('meter')?

The English glosses were added to the original text by Stanlaw (2004: 309, n. 1).

One might also add to these lists innovations such as *imegiappu,* 'image up' (improving one's image), and *imegi songu,* 'image song' (a commercial jingle that fits a product's image).

The question, then, is who determines pragmatic success of English across cultures? This question has been there since English acquired local functions in Asia and Africa, as discussed in Chapter 2 (see also Chapter 8). It has been answered in various insightful ways by Africa's Amos Tutola, Chinua Achebe, Gabriel Okara, and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o; Asia's Edwin Thumboo, Raja Rao, Salman Rushdie and Shirley Lim; and by a string of African-American writers (e.g., see Gates Jr., 1992).

Multicanonicity

The third aspect relates to the concept of 'internationalization' and English as a medium of such pluralism. The articulation of this concept is much more evident in Japan than in other parts of Asia: one sees this particularly in the bulletins of institutions of higher learning. There are understandable reasons for it, but I will not go into that digression here.

Let me provide some examples of this term from the bulletins of Japanese universities. The bulletin of International Christian University (1992–1993) says:

> Because ICU is international, the language requirements are exceptional. Japanese and English are the common languages in use among the campus community, in both casual and formal situations. (ICU, 1993)

The bulletin of Hosei University (1994–1996) in Tokyo is more specific. It says:

> As internationalization has progressed steadily in all fields in recent years, the knowledge of English has become more and more necessary. The Department

> of English considers that in order to properly meet the demands of such an age, one of its main objectives should be the fostering of those skills needed to adapt to an international society. (p. 17)

The above two bulletins clearly articulate the position of two universities. This position shows the vision of most Japanese universities. The bulletin of Kyoto University (1992–1993) provides yet another example of this vision:

> English courses given in the college aim … to encourage a proper understanding of English and American culture. (p. 485)

There is also variation in this pattern. The Taisho University has had an exchange agreement with the University of Hawaii since 1980. And the aim of the program '… is not only to "speak" in English, but to begin to "think" in English' as mentioned in their bulletin (p. 33).

However, let me not overgeneralize on the basis of the position of just these three universities. A different picture emerges when one reads, for example, the bulletin of Meiji University (1993–1994). It clearly says that '[f]oreign languages such as English are used only occasionally in class and only when the necessity arises' (p. 3). There is, of course, no ambiguity here.

The questions one might ask now are:
- How does the curriculum for the majors in English at the university level reflect the *internationalization* of the English language and literature?
- Does the curriculum reflect the multicanonicity of the English language and literature?
- Does the curriculum reflect multicanonicity of the medium? (What I mean is English *literatures* as opposed to an assumed monolithic canon of English literature).

In order to answer these questions even partially, I took a rather quick look at the catalogues/bulletins of fifteen Japanese universities.[5] See Table 4.1 on p. 84.

One can see that several things are obvious in this table. First, the terms 'internationalization' or 'internationalizing' refer to the use of English as a resource for access only to the American and British literary canons. Second, English is viewed exclusively as an access language to American and British culture. Third, the medium is not used for access to what Gates Jr. (1992) has termed the 'loose canons'. And there is a variety of such 'loose canons' within the Inner Circle: the African American, the Chicano, the Scottish — to give just three examples. And an insightful cultural access to the Asian and African canons of English is negated by this position.

Table 4.1 also reveals that the curriculum does not include Australian English and New Zealand English literatures and their creativity. This, of course, raises questions about other canons in the Englishes of the Outer Circle. What I have in mind is the well-institutionalized canons such as West African, South African, South Asian and Southeast Asian.

Table 4.1   Courses in English studies

Institution	American Literature	British Literature	Australian Literature	Canadian Literature	Author-specific Literature e.g. 17th century, 18th century	Period-specific Literature e.g. 17th century, 18th century
Hosei University (1994–96)	√	√	—	—	√	√
International Christian University (1992–93)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Keio University (1990–92)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Kyoto University (1992–93)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Kyushu University (1993–94)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Meiji University (1993–94)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Nagoya University (1993–94)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Osaka University (1993–94)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Rikkyo University (1994)	√	√	—	—	√	√
University of the Ryukus (1990)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Sophia University (1992–93)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Taisho University (year not given)	√	√	—	—	√	√
Tokai University (1992–93)	√	√	—	—	—	√
Tokyo University (1993–94)	√	√	—	—	—	√
Utsunomiya University (1994)	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 4.1   (continued)

Institution	Varieties of English	World Englishes	English as a global language	English phonology	Anglo-Irish	African English Literature	Southeast Asian Literature in English	Sociolinguistics of English	Dialects of English	English Conversation	Others
Hosei University (1994–96)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	
International Christian University (1992–93)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	
Keio University (1990–92)	—	—	—	√	—	—	—	—	—	√	
Kyoto University (1992–93)	—	—	—	—	√ 3 course	—	—	—	—	√	
Kyushu University (1993–94)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	English linguistics
Meiji University (1993–94)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	
Nagoya University (1993–94)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	English linguistics
Osaka University (1993–94)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	Comparative literature
Rikkyo University (1994)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	English linguistics
University of the Ryukus (1990)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	
Sophia University (1992–93)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	
Taisho University (year not given)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	History of English language
Tokai University (1992–93)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	English linguistics
Tokyo University (1993–94)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	
Utsunomiya University (1994)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	√	

As an aside, I should mention that it is insightful to contrast this table with the study conducted by one of my former students, Frances Vavrus, now a senior researcher and academic. In 1991 Vavrus wanted to explore 'whether attitudinal change among pedagogues is contiguous with the political and social developments worldwide' (1991: 181). She selected twelve universities 'to determine if teacher trainees are receiving information about IVEs [Institutionalized Varieties of English] and if that awareness is carried over into the classroom' (1991: 185). She selected five areas for comparison: MA degree options, foreign language requirements, core course requirements, courses on world Englishes, and courses on related topics. These five components, says Vavrus:

> were selected as indicators of the extent to which the programs were based on a monomodel or a multimodel approach to teacher training, the former relying heavily on either theoretical linguistics or education, while the latter programs tend to be of more applied nature. (Vavrus, 1991: 185)

Table 4.2 (pp. 87–9) summarizes the responses to Vavrus's questionnaire. On the basis of this restricted survey Vavrus found that '... only UH [University of Hawaii] and UIUC [University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign] have elective courses that emphasize non-native varieties of English' (p. 186). Vavrus vehemently argues for a shift in 'theories, attitudes and methodologies'. In her view:

> one way to ameliorate this situation is to prepare future ESL teachers for the varied linguistic and cultural world in which they will be teaching by exposing them to a paradigm based on diversity. *ESL professionals need to recognize that pedagogy is political, from its broadest level, at which certain varieties of English are recognized by society as knowledge, down to the methodology teachers use in the classroom.* [emphasis added] (1992) (Vavrus, 1991: 191)

What we see here is that the advanced teacher training programmes in a sense are the initiators of the English Conversation paradigm (see Table 4.2 on pp. 87–9).

Sort of 'Quirky English'

Why is this vibrant and unique pluralism of world Englishes being negated? The reason is that the gatekeepers of what are considered the major canons of English have traditionally marginalized the 'loose canons'. The recent well-publicized controversy concerning the recognition of and attitude towards creativity in Scottish English discussed in Chapter 2 with reference to the Scottish writer James Kelman is very revealing of this custodian attitude.

Table 4.2   Summary of TESL programmes in the USA

School	MA	Foreign language	Required courses	World Englishes	Related courses
IU	MA in applied linguistics	Yes	(1) Grammar OR phonology (2) Transformational grammar OR syntax (3) Second language acquisition (4) Linguistics resources and TESL + practicum (5) Testing (6) Survey of linguistics (or equivalent)	No	(1) English dialects
MU	MEd in applied linguistics	No	(1) Psycholinguistics (2) Sociolinguistics (3) Instructional approaches (4) Curriculum development	No	
SIU	MA in applied linguistics MAEFL	No	(1) General linguistics (2) Articulatory phonetics (3) Theory and methods (4) Practicum of oral English (5) Practicum in written English	No	(1) American dialects (2) Sociolinguistics (3) Language planning
UCLA	MATESL	Yes	(1) Method (2) Introduction to linguistics (3) Phonology (4) Contrastive and error analysis (5) Composition/ literature/reading	No	
UH	MAESL	Yes	(1) Phonology (2) Testing (3) Teaching ESL (4) Syntax (5) Second language acquisition (6) Sociolinguistics (7) Practicum		(1) Sociolinguistics

Table 4.2   (continued)

School	MA	Foreign language	Required courses	World Englishes	Related courses
UIC	MA in applied linguistics (TESOL specialization)	Yes	(1) Phonology (2) Morphology (3) Syntax (4) Sociolinguistics (5) TESL I and II (6) Grammatical structure/TESL (7) Linguistics and language learning	No	
UIUC	MATESL	No	(pedagogical track) (1) Theoretical foundations (2) Topics-verbal interaction (3) Methods + practicum (4) Phonology/ morphology (5) Descriptive grammar (6) Pedagogical grammar (7) Culture OR sociolinguistics (8) Testing (9) General linguistics (prerequisite)	Periodically	(1) Bilingualism (2) American dialects
UM	MAESL	Yes	(1) Introduction to linguistics (2) Linguistic analysis (3) Phonetics (4) Contrastive linguistics (5) Methods (6) Practicum (7) Linguistic description of modern English	No	(1) American dialects

Table 4.2   (continued)

School	MA	Foreign language	Required courses	World Englishes	Related courses
UP	MA in linguistics (TESOL certificate)	Yes	(1) Linguistic structure of English (2) Theory and methods OR techniques and procedures (3) Language acquisition (4) Demonstration lessons (5) Current TESOL publication (6) Practicum (7) Testing OR materials development OR psycholinguistics OR sociolinguistics	No	(1) Sociolinguistics
UW	MA in English (applied English linguistics)	Yes	(1) English dialects (2) Applied English linguistics (3) Advanced English syntax (4) Advanced English phonology (5) Structure of English (prerequisite) (6) English phonology (prerequisite)	No	

(From Vavrus 1991: 187)

What Kelman says has a sobering effect, and one coming from the Outer Circle is not surprised to read in a review of Timothy Mo's novel *Burnout on Breadfruit Boulevard* by Richard Tyrrell that:

> 'Mo's vivid language is a *sort of* Chinese English, as *quirky* as Salman Rushdie's Indian English.' This is called killing two linguistic birds with one stroke! (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 7 May 1995: 28; emphasis added)

Variety repertoire

The concept, *variety repertoire*, brings in the fourth dimension — the intercultural functions of English. In Anglophone Asia — a world in itself —

there is also a complex world of the uses and users of Englishes. The range is wide: Australian and New Zealand English are primarily used as the first languages; the Philippine, Singaporean, Malaysian and Indian varieties are used as institutionalized additional languages in fascinating and challenging multilingual settings, and, then, the varieties in, for example, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korea are primarily used as fast-expanding foreign languages.

There is as yet very little awareness of and sensitivity towards the world profile of English and its regional varieties. Again, Japan has provided a leadership role in this by publishing a book in Japanese on the varieties of English edited by Honna (1990) and by initiating a journal entitled *Asian Englishes* in 2000 and an organization, Japanese Association for Asian Englishes.

There are, of course, several ways in which an awareness may be created about the distinctiveness of and resources in Asian and other varieties. The following come to mind:

- that the curriculum include courses to introduce selected varieties of English from the region (e.g. for Korea, see Baik and Shim, 2002; see also studies in *World Englishes* Vol. 21: 3, 431–57 that specifically address this issue);
- that texts from such varieties be used to illustrate the distinctiveness in acculturation and nativization of a variety; and
- that qualified teachers familiar with other varieties be appointed to teach English, for example, Filipinos in Japan, Sri Lankans in Malaysia, Malaysians in the Philippines, in order to provide 'variety exposure' to the real world of world Englishes. This, indeed, is a very effective strategy to create variety awareness and to develop 'sensitivity' towards other accents. In other words, one has to overcome the 'native speaker' syndrome as it has been inculcated by the 'English Conversation Ideology' approach and such other approaches.

In terms of contexts of interaction, and frequency of interaction with speakers of *non*-local languages (e.g. non-Japanese, non-Indians, non-Singaporeans) and users of Asian varieties of English, it is desirable and attitudinally and pragmatically preferable to have awareness of other varieties. In Singapore an *un*planned exposure to the variety repertoire of Englishes clearly has helped in fostering awareness and consciousness of the creative potential of Singaporean English. When I taught in the Department of English Language and Literature at the National University of Singapore, my faculty colleagues provided a panorama of varieties of English: Australian, English, Scottish, Mid-American, Indian, and Iranian, and of course, Singaporean, and Malay.

And soon after I left, I understand the variety repertoire expanded by the addition of some Pakistanis and Nigerians. It was a pragmatically healthy blend of a wide range of the varieties of English — an effective perhaps unplanned pedagogical resource. That is the type of variety profile English departments should provide at the advanced level; not only in the classroom, but also in

the curriculum. This awareness of and exposure to varieties is not related only to pedagogy, but in an interesting sense contributes to cross-cultural understanding across Asia; English becomes a global medium with local identities and messages.

The intercultural Asian or African identities of English manifest themselves in many subtle, formal and attitudinal ways — one overlapping with the other and each contributing to distinct canons within one shared medium. There are four major exponents of canonicity and distinctiveness. The first is a variety of *specific nomenclature* that provides a regional space to a variety, for example, Nigerian English, Sri Lankan English, Singaporean English. The second is the sociocultural, religious, and interactional contexts that reflect in the *acculturation* of English in the regional space, the functions as manifested in the form the *Nigerianization* of English or *Indianization* of English. The third is *institutionalization* as manifested in discourse strategies and speech acts and genres that mark the users of a variety. One might say that institutionalization is yet another step of language acculturation and finally, alteration of textual structure by various devices in English, for example, language mixing and convergence.

Economic resource

The fifth dimension of English in Japan — as elsewhere — is English as an economic resource. I am specifically thinking of the use of English in Asian trade and commerce. I could indeed make equally convincing cases for Malaysia, India, Sri Lanka, Korea and so on.

We are told that in 1994 Asia has become Japan's leading trade partner (*Asiaweek,* 28 April 1995: 23). The total volume of trade is $252 billion. And in that year (1995) analysts expect, says *Asiaweek,* 'Asian trade to surpass Europe and America combined.' That is indeed a big jump — a spectacular figure. The years (1990–1994) provide the profile of Asia's position in Japan's total trade in Table 4.3.

Again, if this trend continues, one must exclaim that the sky is the limit for Japan's trade with its regional Asian partners. This Asian interaction shows in other ways, too; for example, in tourism. Note Tables 4.4 and 4.5 on p. 92.

Nyuu-oh, Datsu-oh

There is thus a need for shifts in paradigm and in attitude. There was a time when the politically astute philosophers of the Meiji era (1868–1912) argued for 'secession' from Asia and identification with the Western powers. That phase has been characterized as *Datsu-ah, Nyuu-oh,* 'Leave Asia and enter the West'. And now the phase that has been ushered in is *Datsu-oh, Nyuu-ah,* 'Leave

Table 4.3   Asia in Japan's trade

Year	%
1990	37.7
1991	39.8
1992	41.2
1993	42.8
1994	43.7

Source: *Asiaweek,* 28 April 1995, p. 23

		Asia	USA
1997	Export	44.9%	27.8%
	Import	48.3%	22.3%
2000	Export	41.1%	29.3%
	Import	41.7%	19.0%

Sources: Adapted from *Japan Almanac* published by *Asahi Shimbun* (1999) and *Statistical Handbook of Japan* (2001)

Table 4.4   Japanese tourists visiting Asia

Year	in millions
1989	4.62
1991	5.08
1992	5.35
1993	5.42
1994	6.20

Source: *Asiaweek,* 28 April 1995, p. 23

Table 4.5   Japanese tourists visiting Asia and USA (in thousands)

	1996	1997	2001
USA	5,183	5,376	4,841
Hong Kong	1,509	913	685
Korea	1,438	1,602	2,106
China	1,019	1,040	1,227
Taiwan	835	823	763

Source: *Statistical Handbook of Japan*

the West and enter Asia'. This indeed would mean a swing in another direction. What is preferable, of course, is the Buddhist middle path, *madhyama mārga,* and that would mean:

Nyuu-ah, Nyuu-oh.
'Enter Asia and enter the West.'

This would be the middle path, but it surely needs two changes: one, abandoning the key of assumptions based on 'English Conversation Ideology' and two, making a new Japanese key which will open the doors to Asian Englishes and beyond. I will return to this point in the next section.

Let me repeat here another aspect of the economics of English. I would like to recall the statement of Prince Charles already mentioned in Chapter 2. If one deconstructs Prince Charles' message, what he is doing is zealously guarding a major export commodity left to Britain — the English language. We cannot say that Prince Charles does not understand the economics of English. In order for Asia to sell English by the yen, or by the rupee, one must look at the linguistic readjustment of attitudes. I believe it has six implications:

- *One medium and pluralistic canons:* Consider the medium as a repertoire of canons and develop a pluralistic vision for English — the vision of world Englishes;
- *Regional cultures:* Teach English as an exponent of regional cultures, and use regional literature and creativity in English as a resource for introducing cultural pluralism;
- *Repertoire of ESPs and genres:* Reject the extreme version of English for specific purposes (ESP), and provide exposure to regional ESPs and genres of English (Chapter 6);
- *Acculturated communicative strategies:* Expand the concept of cross-cultural discourse strategies and speech acts, not restricting these to the Outer Circle;
- *Unidirectional culture induction:* Use the medium to articulate local cultures, and do not restrict it as a resource for one-way cultural induction; and
- *Multilinguals' creativity:* Teach English within the paradigms of multilinguals' creativity in order to make multilinguals' creativity meaningful at various levels, contextual, sociolinguistic, pragmatic and linguistic, within the theory and methodology of contact linguistics (see Chapter 5).

Marginalization, ideology and paradigms

In recent years there has been considerable discussion of issues related to marginalization and inequality (e.g. see Baik, 1995; Baik and Shim, 1995; Bhatt, 2002; Canagarajah, 1999; B. Kachru, 1996b; Pennycook, 1995; Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 1991). There are various manifestations of marginalization and, understandably, there are not uniform responses to it. At one level one might say that the 'English conversation' syndrome appears in various types of incarnations in other parts of Asia, too. In pedagogical terms there are several arms for such ideological transmission. These include:

- Teacher training

- Curriculum design
- Pedagogical resources (e.g., dictionaries/manuals)
- Textbooks
- Instruments of testing and evaluation

In Asia, as in other places, scholars have slowly started exploring these areas and asking challenging and probing questions. I am particularly thinking of, for example, Baik (1995) about English textbooks of the two Koreas, Dendrinos (1992) about English textbooks used in Europe, Y. Kachru (1994b, 1995b) about ESL/EFL textbooks produced in the USA, Nicholls (1995) about Canada, Tickoo (1995b) about 'Asian TE(S)FL classrooms — their materials and methodologies', and broader conceptualizations and descriptions of ideology in textbooks (see also Canagarajah, 1993a).

Japan without *Eikaiwa*

The past is imperfect not only in Japan but in other regions, too. One might ask: What does the present tell us about the future? Is there *a future perfect* in view? One does not know the future, but, if the present is any indicator of the future, Japan has a vital role ahead of it. We see intense agony in the debate on the topic — a vibrant debate, both in Japanese and in English. What Tsuda (1994a: 49) rightly characterizes as a 'dilemma' is a genuine concern all over Asia — all over every English-using region. Tsuda articulates this dilemma in two questions. He asks:

> Do we have to globalize ourselves at the risk of losing our national and ethnic identities? Do we have to maintain and encase ourselves in a boundary of national and ethnic bond to avoid the anxiety and uncertainty as we live in a rapidly globalizing world? Is it really possible to have the both of them? (Tsuda, 1994a: 49)

These are indeed vital and timely questions. The answer may be again the *madhyama mārga* suggested by the wise Buddhist sages. That entails a pragmatic use of English as a cross-cultural medium. We have to explore its multicultural messages, and use it for our message — in this case a Japanese message — on our terms. The keys must be retained by the users: the keys to creativity, to various messages, and to cultures and ideology. In this Japan can play a leadership role, as it has indeed played in other areas. What is needed now is the participation of Japanese scholars and programmes to unfold that new phase — a post-*Eikaiwa* phase — for English studies in Japan and the rest of Asia. I cannot say it better than it has been said in *Asiaweek:*

> In a hundred different ways, the Japanese are rediscovering their roots in Asia, re-awakening to the possibilities of the huge continent at their doorstep. It may seem absurd to draw a sharp line between 'Japan' and 'Asia'. *After all, in terms of geography, of cultural associations going back to thousands of years, of physical attributes, the Japanese are indubitably a part of Asia. But for long, they haven't really seen it that way.* (*Asia Week*, 28 April 1995, p. 22; emphasis added)

There are already signs of this new direction at the beginning of the new millennium; we witness that in the Japanese media, in the scholarly debate, and in fresh initiatives taken in reorienting programmes for English studies with their relevance, in Asia and indeed beyond. One laudable example is the College of World Englishes at Chukyo University in Nagoya, Japan.

Conclusion

The debate that Japan initiated several decades ago is of equal concern to multilingual and multicultural societies, in Asia and elsewhere. This debate has theoretical, applied and ideological foundations. We cannot isolate these issues and their implications. These issues deserve, as Tsuda says (1994a: 60), 'careful examinations ... not only by the non-Western, non-English-speaking intellectuals but also by the English-speaking, Anglo-American intellectuals.' I believe that all English-using people from all the Circles should be concerned about it because language — national and international — touches us all, whichever Circle of Englishes we belong to.

Part II

Convergence

5

Englishization: Asia and beyond

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on one of the two Janus-like faces of language contact situations involving English and other languages termed ENGLISHIZATION. This is an aspect that has received considerable attention in recent years (e.g. see Viereck and Bald, 1986, for references). The other face is that of *nativization* earlier discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. In focusing on Englishization I shall argue that the paradigms of CONTACT LINGUISTICS must include SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIABLES as integral to conceptualization and methodology. And, as asides, I shall make observations on some selected issues concerning language policies.

Why focus on Englishization as a manifestation of contact linguistics? There are several reasons for doing so. The first reason, of course, relates to the unique and multidimensional character of the diffusion of English. For the first time in linguistic history a language has established contact with practically every language family in all the continents, both formally and functionally. And this contact is not primarily restricted to one function, say religion, as is the case, for example, with Arabic and Sanskrit. In this sense, then, English provides a cross-cultural and cross-linguistic indicator of change, acculturation, and convergence. The second reason relates to the sociolinguistics of English: the unprecedented functional range of the language, and its cross-cultural domains of use. In other words, its *range* and *depth* mentioned earlier: what is generally not recognized is that the British and American identities form only a part of a larger group of identities of English around the world.

The third reason is attitudinal that results in linguistic schizophrenia about the language. But that schizophrenia — one of acceptance and rejection of the language — has not impeded the accelerating and ongoing contact of English with other languages across cultures. The fourth reason takes me to the consequences of the above profile of English in terms of its contact with

other languages, the effect of the contact and its implications. There is a need to access what kind of shift there should be in the traditional paradigms of contact linguistics, its methodology and its data. We have already seen the limitations of the ERROR and TRANSFER paradigm, or the INTERLANGUAGE paradigm. A significant body of research done to support or attack these paradigms has again involved English (e.g. see Lowenberg and S. N. Sridhar, 1986).

The fifth reason relates to the development of the large body of bilinguals' creativity characterized as CONTACT LITERATURES in English, discussed in Chapter 3 (e.g. in South Asia, Southeast Asia, West Africa, East Africa). This aspect has also issues resulting from contact linguistics. The reason for this is the traditional dichotomy between language and literature. It has been shown in literature that contact linguistics will gain greater insights about linguistic creativity by considering such texts as data for making language-related generalizations (e.g. see Smith, 1987). The last reason relates to applied contact linguistics. In language planning English continues to play a vital role as a competing language in most of the developing countries. It is an interesting linguistic fact that even the most anti-Western nations are not reluctant to use English for national development — internal and external reasons conspire in favour of assigning English an important role. These dimensions of cross-cultural sociolinguistic profile of English are indeed of greater impact than the impact of earlier Western prestige languages, Greek and Latin (Kahane and Kahane, 1979 and 1986).

We have seen a spate of publications, specifically during the post-colonial period, on the hegemony of English across cultures. Most of this research discusses the power and influence of English in the domains of education, administration, literary creativity, and in international and intranational interactions, as well, for it presents new perspectives and attitudes about English: English opening the doors to religious and cultural 'enlightenment', English as a tool of colonial exploitation and political consolidation, and English symbolizing the 'killer language' for various regional languages and cultures (for earlier references, see B. Kachru and Smith, 1986; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986; Phillipson, 1992). The BBC series, *The Story of English*, successfully took the positive sides of this unprecedented story of language spread to millions of homes around the world, as did the companion volume with the same title (McCrum et al., 1986). Again, there is no dearth of studies of the sociological and political implications of the spread of English.[1] A string of epithets and metaphors mentioned in Chapter 2 of this book are indicative of such perceptions of the language.

This all-pervasive impact of English has resulted in a vital linguistic resource. In a majority of cases the impact of this resource has been direct, and has become a part of corpus planning and status planning (e.g. Singapore, Nigeria, India, the Philippines). But there is another aspect of this resource,

which is indirect and has received less attention in language planning due to the rather rigorous boundaries between disciplines. Consider, for example, the following:

1. impact on literatures and process of literary creativity;
2. introduction of new or modified literary genres;
3. expansion of thematic range in various varieties of English;
4. patterning of discoursal and stylistic strategies; and,
5. initiation of ideological changes.

In the countries where English may have no direct impact, its indirect impact has been difficult to arrest, for it comes through the channels which bypass the generally recognized channels by the language planners, and are 'unplanned' (Annamalai, 1988) or 'invisible' (Pakir, 1988). And equally important are the factors of attitude. In other words, the direct and indirect impact of English is simply overwhelming, and the tools of planners are not up to the task.

In studies of contact linguistics, the multidimensions of the contact of English have yet to be viewed in their entirety. This, then, raises questions about the conceptualization of this field, its methodology and its goals. As Dell Hymes (1988) reminds us:[2]

> … we have methods highly elaborated for addressing the processes of genetic relationships, but very little for addressing the processes of diffusion, contact, etc. Quite parallel, in the two types of classification having to do with non-historical resemblances, typological and functional, it is the one that least involves the use of language, the typological, that is most developed, and the one that involves the use most, and indeed, definitionally, the functional, that is least developed.[3]

What I propose to do is to briefly discuss Englishization in a broader context within the framework of contact linguistics, and to investigate the contours of the dimensions discussed above.

The spheres of Englishization

The impact of Englishization is evident in three major spheres of influence associated with the spread of English and institutionalization of world Englishes. These three spheres are:

1. *Traditional regions of contact:* This includes the 'inner' periphery of traditional linguistic and cultural contact (e.g. the languages of Western and Eastern Europe). A majority of these languages are cognate languages of English.

2. *The Outer Circle:* A majority of the languages of this Circle (and of the Expanding Circle, see below) are non-contiguous with English in a geographical sense, and, unrelated or not closely related in a genetic sense (e.g. South Asia, Southeast Asia, West Africa).
3. *The Expanding Circle:* This includes language of parts of West Asia, Japan, China, Latin America, and the remaining areas of the world.

Within each sphere English has acquired the role of a 'source' language for linguistic innovations and creativity. In all the three spheres the local languages have generally been 'receiving' language in terms of the process of Englishization. However, I must hasten to add that this contact has left its traces of Asianization and Africanization on English, too, but I will not discuss that here.

The term Englishization is used here in a broad sense. It does not refer only to phonology, grammar and lexis, but goes beyond these levels into discourse, registers and styles and development of literary genre. Thus, this extended use of the term takes us into various genres of literatures written in what Western scholars have generally referred to as 'vernaculars' — a term loaded with attitudinal and functional connotations. There have been mainly two types of studies on the Englishization of other languages. A large body of such research is devoted to studies of lexical borrowings from English into other language (e.g. see Viereck and Bald, 1986; for a theoretical discussion of related issues, see Thomason and Kaufman, 1988). A fewer number of such studies describe the influence of English phonology on another language (e.g. in the case of South Asia, see Bhatia, 1967 and later). Other aspects of this phenomenon have received very little attention.

There seem to be two primary reasons for the earlier concentration on these two levels: the first reason goes back to the dominance of the Structuralist model of language teaching and learning until the 1960s, and its overemphasis on phonetics and phonology in language 'transfer'. The second reason may be considered a more practical one and is closely associated with the expansion of the Raj, and the interaction of its administrative and other networks with the former colonies. And, here we again go back to the sociological, cultural and political motivations for Englishization. The evidence of transfusion of English lexical items is found in the lexical lists compiled for the administrators of the Raj — both the expatriates and the natives.[4]

Deficit versus dominance hypothesis

The motivations for Englishization must be viewed within the contexts of the historical and political background, and the duration of the colonial period. In some cases it goes back 100 to 200 years. There are essentially two

hypotheses about the motivations for the Englishization of Asian and African languages: the DEFICIT HYPOTHESIS and the DOMINANCE HYPOTHESIS.

The deficit hypothesis presupposes that borrowing necessarily entails linguistic 'gaps' in the language, the prime motivation for borrowing being to remedy such linguistic 'deficit', especially in the lexical resources of a language. On the other hand, the dominance hypothesis is evaluative in terms of the importance of the two cultures which come into contact. In Higa's view (1979: 278), when two cultures come into contact 'if one is more dominant or advanced than the other, the directionality of culture learning and subsequent word-borrowing is not mutual, but from the dominant to the subordinate.' In this case, then, the determining factor is functional power of English. The first view attributes the need to the formal limitations of the 'receiving' language, and the second view to the cultural dominance of the 'giver' language. These two views, of course, are not mutually exclusive, and such dichotomies do not necessarily hold in the real world.

There are other motivations which function as a serious pull for lexical, phonetic, grammatical, and stylistic Englishization of the languages in the Outer Circle, for example, establishing *distance* in a linguistic interaction, maintaining *neutrality* in terms of class, caste, region, by using English and not using a local language, and for maintaining an *identity*. The terms neutrality and identity are somewhat tricky here. What is neutrality at one level may be a strategy for solidarity and immense power at another level. That certainly is the case of English in, for example, the Outer Circle. These are related to exponents of Englishization, which need to be discussed first.

Exponents of Englishization

One is better able to capture the range and impact of the exponents of Englishization by crossing over the traditional boundaries that divide language and literature. Furthermore, one must realize that the earlier paradigms of investigation of 'transfer' and 'influence' are not very insightful in capturing the full understanding of the impact of English.[5]

One must ask: What has been the impact of English in developing new registers, styles, codes, and literary genres in languages with which English has come in contact? In answering such questions, the impact of lexis, syntax, and phonology, for example, is seen in a broader functional and textual context. But more of that later. First, it might be useful to recapitulate the obvious. There is already clear evidence that within the traditional levels of lexis, grammar, phonology, and orthography, particularly the system of punctuation, Englishization has left hardly any major language (or for that matter, any minor language) untouched. The difference is one of degrees. Parallels of this contact in terms of number of languages affected, and extent of influence is hard to

find. In order to appreciate the range of the phenomenon, it may be useful to look at some examples at each level, which present the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural dimensions of Englishization.

In this discussion lexis is a good starting point, and there is considerable data available on this aspect of Englishization (for examples and references, see Viereck and Bald, 1986).

Lexicalization

The lexis of a language is open to the greatest intrusion from a language in contact. In discussing lexical borrowing my aim is not to provide lexical lists. Rather, it is to illustrate some selected processes and tendencies of such borrowing, and to mention some preferred functional domains for lexicalization from English. The magnitude of such borrowing is evident in languages from both the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. In Japanese, to choose one country from the Expanding Circle, the percentage of words of 'English origin' among the borrowed items is 81% as of 1979 (Higa, 1979: 282; see also Stanlaw, 2004). This process of borrowing is also true of Bengali, Chinese, Hindi, Malay and other languages.

Englishization at the lexical level involves processes such as the following:

1. *Loan words (nativized in phonology):* The intrusion of lexical items is found in practically every domain. However, the registers of science, technology, fashion, television, cinema and advertising have a particularly high frequency of such items (e.g. see Bhatia, 1987; Meraj, 1993).

2. *Loan shifts (internal creation):* These are of two types: extension of a lexical item from English (e.g. *transport* is translated into Tamil as *Pokkuvarattu* 'going and coming'), and lexis-bound translation in which the aim is to establish lexical equivalence (e.g. 'illegal licence' is translated as *donga laysensui* and *common man* is translated as *sri samanya* 'Mr Common' in Telugu and Kannada respectively).

3. *Hybridization:* In hybridization at least one component is from English (e.g. Kannada *riṭ arji*, Telugu *riṭ darkhāstu* 'writ petition'; Marathi *ṭikiṭ ghar* 'ticket office'). I might add that it is also true of several non-Asian languages, for example, Danish *booking-kontor* 'booking office'; *gospelsang* 'gospel singing'; *popkunst* 'pop art'; German *Haarspray* 'hair spray'; and *Livesendung* 'live broadcast'.

4. *Parallel lexical sets:* The use of parallel lexical sets which have roughly the same denotative meaning is an interesting example of the structure of the multilinguals' verbal repertoire. The following examples from the Sanskritized, Persianized and Englishized verb formations used in Hindi

Urdu with the structure V + operator (*karnā* 'to do') are illustrative:

Table 5.1   Parallel lexical sets

Sanskritized	Persianized	Englishized	Gloss
arambh karnā	*śurū karnā*	begin karnā	'to begin'
adhikār karnā	*kabzā karnā*	control karnā	'to control'
bhūl karnā	*galati karnā*	mistake karnā	'to make a mistake'
cintā karnā	*phikar karnā*	worry karnā	'to worry'
dayā karnā	*raham karnā*	pity karnā	'to pity'
ghrinā karnā	*nafrat karnā*	hate karnā	'to hate'
kripā karnā	*meharbānī karnā*	favour karnā	'to favour'
prayŏg karnā	*istemal karnā*	use karnā	'to use'
prashamsā karnā	*tārif karnā*	praise karnā	'to praise'
partikshā karnā	*initzār karnā*	wait karnā	'to wait'
smaraṇ karnā	*yād karnā*	remember karnā	'to remember'
pyār karnā	*muhabbat karnā*	love karnā	'to love'

The parallel lexical sets, with English as a partner, are present in major Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, African and Southeast Asian languages.

In the Asian and African regions of the Outer Circle, the transfusion of such lexical items was either *donor-initiated* or *receiver-initiated*. The donor-initiated lexical items were introduced in the former colonies by representatives of the Raj for their administrative convenience. Linguistically speaking, the aim was to provide uniform register. A large segment of the local population was originally irrelevant to such linguistic transfusion; it concerned only those who worked for the network of the Raj. The recipient-initiated items have a different story: these are a result of prolonged sociocultural interaction between the ruler and the governed. Such lexical items, in nativized forms by now occupy what may be termed 'dominant domains of function'. And, even with the shift of post-independence language policies, lexical Englishization of the languages in the Outer Circle not only prevails, but is increasing. This is a vital sociolinguistic indicator for language planners. The domains of language use in which extensive lexicalization from English has taken place range from administration, education and politics to film and literary criticism.

A number of domains listed here satisfy the traditional definition of the term 'borrowing', as a process that fills 'lexical gaps'. In this sense, then, as a giver language, English is performing the same function towards the receiving language, as did, for example, French, German, Latin, Greek, Spanish and Italian for English during earlier periods of its own linguistic history. However, English continues to contribute lexical stock to various languages for other reasons, too, and thereby hangs the tale of attachment to the language. In fact, in most cases, English provides an additional lexical item for which there already is a native lexical item. And this takes me to the point which I briefly mentioned earlier.

The point is about the perceived 'neutrality' of English among the codes involved in the bilingual's linguistic repertoire, and the attitude towards English as an *effective* code of communication. Note here the emphasis on the term *effective*. There is considerable evidence of the use of English for such attitudinal reasons both in the Outer and Expanding Circles. And here, as shown in literature on this topic, the motivation for borrowing is essentially sociolinguistic. In many South Asian languages, the borrowed word from English is perceived as neutral in many interactional contexts, or its use implies a certain status, class or level of education. This may not be true, in the same sense, of a word from Sanskrit, Persian or from a local source. That explains why in Tamil, for example, common words like *wife* and *rice* from English are sometimes preferred to the native words. In Kashmiri, English *widow, cancer, bathroom, sex* are preferred by educated natives to the Kashmiri words. The native words — in Tamil or Kashmiri — have caste, class or regional connotations. This is not true of an English word, and in that sense, then, English has 'neutrality'.

One therefore sees that 'using English words or phrases where correct translation equivalents are available in an Indian language is common in educated informal speech' (Krishnamurti and Mukherjee, 1984: 109). In Pakistan, as in other parts of South Asia 'the use of an English word is believed to add a note of refinement and elegance to conversation in the "lower languages" ' (Hands, 1983: iii; 227). In addition, borrowing from English provides a stylistic range to the users of the receiving language. Examples of such borrowings may be seen in Table 5.1 above.

Grammar

Once we turn to trace the influence of Englishization on the grammar of other languages, we have to be cautious. The evidence is either anecdotal, or fragmentary, scattered in various types of studies, although such stray observations do show the impact of English on languages across cultures. The following examples highlight some selected aspects of such an influence on various languages. The examples are differentiated in two ways: *mode-dependent* and *register-dependent.*

Mode-dependent

A large number of syntactic features transferred from English are restricted to either spoken or written modes. In some cases this restriction applies to the frequency of use, as illustrated in the following section.

Register-dependent

Register-dependent features have a high frequency in registers of law, journalism, news broadcasting, to give just three examples.

The use of impersonal constructions and passives provide interesting examples. It is claimed that '[…] the use of passives and impersonal constructions in Dravidian languages is an innovation normalized in the newspaper style under the influence of [English] (Krishnamurti and Mukherjee, 1984: 110). This is true of several other parts of the world too and involves other grammatical features, for example, '[…] in the Belgrade newspaper, radio, and TV language there is a marked increase in the use of feminine forms due to the translation of information from news agencies which release their information in English' (Kostic, 1984: 5).

There is an explanation for mode-restriction and register-dependency. To a large extent, such restrictions are due to the technology involved in the media; teleprinters, telegraphic communication, telex and so on. Until recently, the local language media, for example, in Asia and Africa, was fully dependent on the teleprinters and telegraphic transmission in English. A quick process of translation — almost instant — was used to translate the news items from English into local languages. Thus, there was a very close adherence to the text. What originally appeared as a close translation from English, gradually became institutionalized in a particular register, and then, slowly found its way in wider use. It is only recently that attention has been paid to translation as an initiator of syntactic change (e.g. see Danchev, 1984).

I do not propose to use here an inventory of the types of grammatical influence on the 'receiver' languages. However, it is evident across cultures that the influence of English has been considerable on the languages of the world, representing distinct geographical areas and language families. Ansre (1971: 160) confirms that, in the case of West African languages, it is not merely lexis that has been influenced by English, '[...] but closer examination however shows that the grammar is also more deeply affected than is realized' (for other areas and languages, see also Viereck and Bald, 1986; Krishnamurti and Mukherjee, 1984; Hsu, 1995; Kubler, 1985; Zhang, 2003). The following are illustrative of grammatical influence:

1. Impersonal constructions

    In South Asia, to give one example, the impersonal construction is now used both in the Dravidian (e.g. Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam), and in the Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Bengali, Marathi, Hindi, Urdu). What initially started as a register-restricted syntactic construction under the influence of English, primarily in the news media, has now been extended to the colloquial styles. In Hindi-Urdu, for example *zāhir hai* 'it is evident', and in other languages, too, for example:

'It is heard';	*suna gayā hai*	(Hindi)
	bozān chi	(Kashmiri)
'It is said';	*kahā gayā hai*	(Hindi)
	vanān chi	(Kashmiri)

2. Passive constructions

It is widely recognized that passive constructions, or various modifications of them, are a direct result of Englishization (for Thai, see Chutisilp, 1984; Warie, 1979; for Chinese, Zhou and Feng, 1987; Kubler, 1985; Hsu, 1995; Zhang, 2003; for Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, B. Kachru, 1979; Krishnamurti and Mukherjee, 1984). Consider the following modifications of the passive.

a. *Passive with Agent*

In Indo-Aryan languages passivization with the agent NP in passive is due to the influence of English (e.g. see Lakshmi Bai, 1984: 21; Tiwari, 1979). This construction is now slowly losing the register constraint. In Korean the '... *e ui-han*' (by) expression is a transfer from English.[6] Note that in some languages (e.g. Hindi-Urdu) the overt manifestation of the agent is only one aspect, the other aspect is high frequency of such forms in formal registers. In Hindi-Urdu a construction with overt manifestations of the agent has a high frequency in formal registers (e.g. *hemleṭ shekspiar ke duārā likhī gayī thī* 'Hamlet was written by Shakespeare').

b. *Passivization with extended semantic functions*

In Chinese, Japanese, and Thai, to give just three examples, the passive construction has traditionally been used in the context of unpleasant states. This constraint does not apply to the passive in English. Zhou and Feng (1987: 116) claim that 'this characteristic of the English passive has been influencing Chinese through translation, especially since the May 4th Movement of 1919'. Wang Huan (1957: 46; quoted in Kubler, 1985: 98) says that 'as the result of foreign language influence, passive sentences with *bei* that are not at all infelicitous have increased in Modern Chinese [...]'.

Another case of 'translation passive' is Japanese. Under the influence of English, the passive in Japanese is now not restricted to adversative connotations. This, as Alfonso (1966) states, was not the case with the traditional use of this construction. In Thai, passive construction is marked by *thuuk* with the semantic feature of 'being punished'. This is also now changing to mean 'to receive'. The same claims, concerning the influence of English on the passive, have been made for Swahili, and several other languages, too (e.g. see Viereck and Bald, 1986).

It is true that there are no in-depth studies of this aspect of contact linguistics with English. However, several other grammatical features have been discussed in the literature. Consider, for example, the following:

Chinese (Zhou and Feng, 1987 and Kubler, 1985).
a.   complex 'adnominal or adjective clauses'
b.   pronoun modifiers
c.   postpositional subordinate clauses
d.   postpositional clauses of condition

Thai (Chutisilp, 1984)
a.   'It is ...' construction
b.   'That is ...' construction
c.   NP+be+Adj. construction: the construction NP+be+Adj. is the translation transfer from English with the presence of the copula 'be'.

These constructions have a high frequency of occurrence in Spoken Thai discourse in casual style.

Japanese (e.g. see Alfonso, 1966; Miura, 1979)
It is claimed that the use of ellipsis has reduced in frequency. Consider the use of *anata*. The use of *anata* has changed under the influence of English 'you'. In normal Japanese conversation, reference to the addressee is made by using name (e.g. *Tanaka-san*), or title (e.g. *sensei*). It is believed that the spread of *anata* is partly due to the influence of English 'you'.

Hindi (B. Kachru, 1979)
In the case of Hindi-Urdu, note for example, the following additional constructions:
a.   change in word order: the SVO construction of English is used for stylistic effects, as opposed to the traditional SOV construction.
b.   indirect speech: this feature of Hindi discourse is attributed to English: there is back shifting of pronoun as in: *jon ne kahā ki vo jā rahā hai* 'John said that he is going.' Here the first person pronoun *mai* changes to the third person pronoun *vo*.
c.   post-head relative clauses with the relative marker *jo* following the head noun.
d.   parenthetical clause: this influence is traced both to English and Persian. In a pragmatic sense, the parenthetical clause shows one's reaction towards a situation, e.g. *ramesh kal se haspatāl me hai*, **aur jahan tak mujhe patā hai,** *uskā bhāi uskā hāl cāl pūchne tak nahī gayā.* 'Ramesh is in a hospital since yesterday **and so far as I know** his brother has not visited with him.'

Korean

a. Redundant plurality: the use of sentences which have redundant plural forms as a result of English plural form -s (e.g. *hak-saeng-dul-i man-ta* 'there are many students').

b. Non-deletion of subjects: it is claimed that this is due to hyper-correcting Korean grammar to comply with English grammar.

In this brief overview, I have not touched the areas of phonology, semantics and orthography. However, one example from Modern Malay (Bahasa Malaysia) shows the impact of English on phonology. Asmah (1983: 51) claims that the consonant clusters CCVC and CCVCC '. . . are innovations which have been effected on the language in the process of being exposed to English, specifically to the technical terms that are used in the various sciences.' She provides the following examples: *blok* 'block'; *klausa* 'clause'; *kompleks* 'complex'; *obstetriks* 'obstetrics'; *projeck* 'project'; *proses* 'process'; *psikologi* 'psychology'; *stor* 'store'.

Englishization beyond the sentence

Englishization beyond the sentence takes us back to the Outer Circle. It is primarily in this Circle that the influence of English has become an integral part of the literary traditions. It is, again, in this Circle that the impact of English on literary creativity, both in form and in content, becomes evident. The immense impact of English, the conscious efforts towards Englishization, both in languages and literatures, make it difficult to separate these two. I will consider just two manifestations of this impact here: the development of new registers and styles, and the development of code-mixed varieties of languages of Asia and Africa with English.

In several speech communities, the English-based registers have created what may be termed partial diglossic situations. This is particularly true of official uses and academic registers. And lexically distinct styles have developed in topics related to films (e.g. Vaid, 1980), sports (e.g. Stanlaw, 1982), advertising (e.g. Bhatia, 1987, 1992, 2000; Martin, 1998, 2002), and pop culture (Lee, 2002). In South Asia, Southeast Asia, and in the English-using parts of Africa, the traditional linguistic and stylistic resources of the local languages have been complemented with an additional, and attitudinally elevated and pragmatically desirable, linguistic resource of Englishization (e.g. see B. Kachru, 1983b: 193–207, Chishimba, 1983; Magura, 1984; Smith, 1987).

In the past, the South Asian languages have undergone three main linguistic influences: one major and all-pervasive influence has been that of Sanskrit, not only on the Indo-Aryan languages but also on the linguistically unrelated family of Dravidian languages. Sanskrit has, in fact, functioned as a

rich repository for centuries and has provided models for literary forms and themes to most of the South Asian languages. Then came, much later, the impact of Persian. However, the Persian influence was primarily restricted to those regions which came under the rule of the Muslims (e.g. see Gargesh, 1998, on the impact of Persian on word formation of Hindi-Urdu). In a series of major linguistic contacts, the contact with English is the latest and is in some sense multidimensional. It began with the introduction of bilingualism in English as discussed in Chapter 3, and aggressively continues even now.

Englishization was responsible for changes in the outlook of English educated people, and conceptualization of things within entirely different sociocultural, political and philosophical frameworks. It opened up a new way of looking at social order, and the concepts of liberalism, secularization and the fundamentals of humanistic culture as understood in the Judaeo-Christian tradition (Bhatia, 2000; Geis, 1982; Larson, 1990; Takashi, 1990; Thonus, 1991).

'Great Tradition' versus 'Little Tradition'

The impact of English has been somewhat different on those languages in the Outer Circle which have a long literary tradition, as opposed to those languages which have essentially an oral tradition. Here, Singer's distinction between 'Great Tradition' versus 'Little Tradition' (1972: 55–65) is helpful. Consider, for example, the following:

First, English provided a model for developing a literary genre, thus initiating an innovation which has impact both on language and literature. This is what Sanskrit has been doing for centuries, as well as Persian to a lesser degree for some languages. A new direction was given to the literatures of Asia and Africa which, in Singer's terms, qualified for 'The Great Traditions'. One can provide many examples of developing new genres influenced by English: the lyric (in Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and West African languages), expository short essays (e.g. for Indian languages, see Handa, 1978; for South Asia, see Chapter 3), to give just two examples here. English also functioned as a model for modification, extension, and refinement of a literary genre which was already present in a tradition: the one-act-play, the short story and the novel, to name just three. The situation of Malayalam as discussed by George (1972: 89), is duplicated in other languages too: 'it is clear beyond a ray of doubt that Malayalam has borrowed the technique of story [novel] narration from English.'

These primarily exemplify formal innovations, or development of variations in literary art form. However, this is only one side of the coin. The other side, in some cases perhaps the more important side, refers to the contribution of English in thematic innovations and modifications. These two sides of language and literature are closely interrelated, and have yet to be studied in depth by scholars.

Thematic range and literary experimentation

Englishization contributed to the expansion of the thematic range of literatures associated with the Great Traditions in several ways. And, it also provided a stimulus and a model for development of a literary tradition in those languages which had essentially oral traditions.

The following aspects are illustrative: first, Englishization led to an expansion of an already established genre; it introduced social realism and secularization. Second, it introduced new literary movements, controversies, innovations and trends — not restricted to the literary traditions initiated in the Inner Circle of English. In turn, the classical stylistic traditions changed, and linguistic innovations were initiated. English contributed to conceptualization of literature and literary theory within new sociological, literary and linguistic paradigms. It made models available for the development of literary genres traditionally not associated with South Asian literatures, for example, Walter Scott's (1771–1832) historical novels inspired prose writers to look at the past with a sense of historical curiosity, particularly in fiction. In Assamese, for example, Rajanikanta Bardoloi (1867–1939) was the first to attempt historical novels such as *Mirijiyari* (1894), *Monomoti* (1900), *Nirmal Bhakar* (1926) and *Radhai Ligiri* (1930). In Gujarati, to take another literature from central India, Scott's influence is found in Nandshankar's (1835–1905) treatment of the historical theme in *Karan Ghelo* (1866). The same is true of Hindi, Sinhala and Nepali. These are not isolated examples; they are indicative of a major trend of the period (see relevant section in Das [1991]).

In South Asia, it was primarily through English that the young writers were introduced to what is known as the Progressive Writer's Movement in the 1930s. This movement provided two credos — the linguistic and the literary. It was a call to break away from the canon of the established Great Traditions. The norms of Sanskritization and Persianization were seriously questioned (for further discussion and case studies, see Coppola, 1988). The credos unleashed, as it were, immense linguistic experimentation not always consistent with the earlier norms of Sanskritization and Persianization. What George says of Malayalam (1972: 244) is applicable to most of the literatures of Asia; he says, 'apart from Sanskrit, no other language has *touched* Malayalam as deeply and as effectively as English' [his emphasis]. Chatterji, the noted linguist with encyclopedic knowledge of South Asia's languages and literatures (1963: 135), sees this impact in a larger context; he says, 'contact with the European spirit through English literature brought in a real Indian renaissance, and gave a new course to literature in modern Indian languages'. The politician and visionary Nehru concurred with this view when he wrote, 'through the impact of English and of ideas through English our regional languages developed new forms of expression' (1963: 5).

Third, literary experimentation, in turn, often resulted in stylistic experimentation. In this connection one can refer, for example, to the Romantic movement and its implications on stylistic shift, new metaphor and its manifestation as in *rahasyavād* (mysticism) in Hindi. A number of post-Romantic movements had their influence too, as had T. S. Eliot (1888–1965) and others. The credo of Wordsworth, particularly about language, was adopted by young writers across cultures. In India, it resulted in *chāyāvād* (romanticism) and *rahasyavād* (mysticism). These were innovative in many ways and introduced 'modernism' into the literatures of the Outer Circle.

There is general agreement that English has functioned as the main agent for releasing the South Asian languages from the rigorous constraints of the classical literary traditions. With the influence of English literature came new experimentation, and resultant controversies. The issues were seen in new theoretical and methodological frameworks. Some of the major languages, particularly those used in the metropolitan cities like Calcutta (Kolkota) and Bombay (Mumbai) became the vehicles for channelling the impact of English into other languages. What is called 'the Bengal Renaissance' did not influence only the neighbouring languages, Assamese and Oriya, but the gains and challenges of the renaissance were transmitted to Hindi and Urdu, among other languages. In turn, these literatures transmitted the literary and linguistic impact of Englishization to Punjabi, Dogri, Kashmiri and other languages. It is in this way that Englishization became a pan-South Asian phenomenon and a literary movement.

We see that practically all literary languages recognize this impact on modernization and thematic expansion; for example, Assamese (Barua, 1964: Ch. IX); Bengali (Sen, 1932); Dogri (Shivanath, 1976: 181); Gujarati (Jhaveri, 1978: 67); Kannada (Mugali, 1975: Ch. IX); Kashmiri (B. Kachru, 1981b: 100–1; Raina, 2002). Mugali's (1975: 97) observation rightly applies to all the literatures of South Asia, 'as in other Indian languages, modern literature in Kannada arose as a result of the powerful impact of English education and the new mode of thinking. This impact is clearly visible in the theme, content, form, and style of the literature which has come up during the last 40–50 years.'

Englishization and code development

The influence of Englishization has particularly been in developing two types of codes: those which are the result of mixing with English, and those which are attitudinally low on the lectal scale but have important functional domains attached to them.

The 'Mixers' and 'Mixing'

The first types of codes (mixed varieties) have received considerable attention by linguists in recent years (for a detailed bibliography, see Kamwangamalu, 1989; Bhatia and Ritchie, 1989; Bhatt, 1989). However, the literary use of such varieties has yet to be explored from linguistic and literary perspectives.

The 'mixers' are South Asian bilinguals who 'mix' a South Asian language and English. Mixing implies the use of two or more languages in a cohesive way within a stream of discourse.[7] The use of mixing with English is found in both spoken and written modes of South Asian languages. Code-mixed texts have a wide range of use, such as interactional contexts from personal to formal discourse, literary texts, newspaper stories and captions, and advertising. The motivations for the use of code-mixing with English include the following:

a. *Register-identification:* Particularly the registers of science and technology. In the case of South Asian languages, this is particularly true since the registers of local languages are as yet not quite stable and institutionalized.

b. *Style-identification:* Both in interpersonal interaction and literary creativity, attitudinally speaking, the Englishization of style is a marker of education, modernity and Westernization.

c. *Elucidation and interpretation:* In using specialized vocabulary or technical concepts after using the term in the local language, a close equivalent in English is used to elucidate the term. It is like providing a 'translation equivalent'.

More important than these pragmatic motivations seems to be the social value attached to the knowledge of English and resultant languages in a contextually cohesive way within Englishization. Social value represents the interlocutor's attitude towards a person who has linguistic flexibility in English, since the use of English is considered an indicator of status, modernization, mobility and 'outward-looking' attitude.

In South Asian newspapers, to provide an example from one region, mixing South Asian languages with English is all-pervasive. In some registers, for example that of newspapers, the bilingual competence of readers is taken for granted. This explains the use of mixing in the following newspaper captions:

'Panchayat system upholds ideals of human rights' (*The Rising Nepal*, Kathmandu, 7 May 1977)

' "Pan masala" causes rare disease' (*The Hindustan Times*, New Delhi, 5 May 1981)

'Krishi bank branch needed' (*The Bangladesh Observer,* Dacca, 21 June 1979)

'Women to oppose Shariah bill' (*The Muslim,* Islamabad, 1 August 1990)

'Advani begins rathyatra to "promote nationalism" ' *(The Hindustan Times,* Delhi, 28 September 1990)

The glosses of the local lexical items are as follows: *panchayat system* 'village council', *pan masala* 'betelnut mix', *krishibank* 'agricultural bank', *Shariah* 'Islamic religious laws', *rathyatra* 'chariot procession'. For most of these items, there are appropriate English equivalents but the local lexical items are preferred. In the new millennium we note increasing use of code-mixing in metropolitan newspapers in the whole of South Asia.

Englishization goes beyond the units such as words, clauses, and sentences. It has contributed to the development of several stylistic and discoursal strategies that are approximations of the strategies used in the Asian or African languages and English. On the one hand, we have nativized English discourse, and on the other hand we have Englishized discourse in South Asian languages. In nativized English the speech acts, strategies of persuasion, request, apology and command, are South Asian, while the lexicalization is English; it is in this sense that English has a local cultural identity (e.g. see K. Sridhar, 1989a, for use of such strategies in requesting in Indian English; see also B. Kachru, 1965 and later, Y. Kachru, 1995a, 1996, 1997, 1999, 2003). South Asian languages have adopted certain strategies of, for example, thanking, introducing, etc., which transfer English speech patterns.

Punctuation marks

The written mode of South Asian languages has also been Englishized; the whole system of punctuation marks has been adopted from the English writing system. In most South Asian languages (e.g. Hindi, Punjabi, Bengali) the punctuation marks were traditionally restricted to two vertical lines '||' termed *virām,* for marking the end of a paragraph, or a 'thought unit', and one vertical line '|' termed *ardha virām,* for a full stop. This traditional system has now been completely replaced by a full set of English punctuation marks. The practice of breaking a text into paragraphs has also been introduced.

The lectal scale

As a contact language, English provided two distinct varieties: on the one hand, in its H(igh) variety, it did what Latin and Greek had done for Europe, and Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic had done for parts of Asia; on the other hand, it provided (L)ow varieties in Africa (e.g. Nigerian Pidgin), in Southeast Asia (basilect) and in South Asia (e.g. Bazaar English, Butler English). The

importance and impact of the 'L' varieties as contact codes and codes of literary creativity have not been discussed in the literature seriously (exceptions are Dwyer [n.d.] and Schneider [1966] for West African Pidgin).

Englishization and linguistic schizophrenia

What I have presented above is the positive side of the Englishization — a linguistic march of triumph of English — a gracious 'giver' language being received with gratitude. This, however, is only one side of it. There is another side too: the side of linguistic schizophrenia towards the Englishization — the attitudes and reactions to it.

The reactions are diametrically opposed: one view considers the hegemony of English as cultural and linguistic imperialism and believes the sooner one attains emancipation from it the better (e.g. see Raghuvira [1965] for India and Ngũgĩ [1981] for East Africa). In Finland there is '[...] a rather negative attitude towards the use of English elements' (K. Sajavaara, in Viereck and Bald, 1986: 76), and such English elements 'seem to have a mere iconic function only' (ibid.). This view is perhaps one educator's view, it certainly expresses one attitude about English in Finland. Barth, in discussing Anglicisms in German, feels that Anglicisms could 'poison' our language because they 'are contrary to the spirit and rules of the German language' (1957: 143). It must be remembered, however, that Barth expressed this view in 1957.[8] Yet another perspective on German attitudes and identities is presented by Hilgendorf and Martin (2001). The other view, and this is not a minority view, considers English as part of the local literary and linguistic traditions. In this view, English has a local identity and the Englishization is a valid process for modernization. The conflicting views on the impact of English bring into the forefront, for example, the following positions:

1. NATIVE LINGUISTIC RESOURCES VERSUS ENGLISH: This conflict is seen particularly with reference to elaboration and standardization of local languages. The debate manifests itself in different ways, e.g. Sanskritization in India; Arabization in Bangladesh, Malaysia, Pakistan, and Indonesia. Consider the following extreme position:

   > Shall we be anglicized, shall we be turned into Greeks and Latins and shall we then alone pick up the few crumbs thrown to us as refuse because that is no longer needed by the West. We have a grain of sense. We have our respect to attend to. We have to stand up. ... Our languages will again go into the lap of mother Sanskrit, the language of India, when she was free. We shall have again our own words...When this is done, Indians will be free of the thralldom of the European languages. (Raghuvira, 1965: 206–7)

2. NATIVE CULTURAL IDENTITY VERSUS CULTURAL PLURALISM: The emphasis is on local cultural identities as opposed to cultural and linguistic pluralism in which English is one of the partners.
3. MODERNIZATION VERSUS WESTERNIZATION: The debate on the question whether 'modernization' necessarily entails 'Westernization'.

In these views one gets a taste of the confrontational positions which various groups have adopted.[9] However, the debate on Englishization has not yet concluded, certainly not in linguistically complex countries in the Outer Circle. We have yet to see how these views will be reflected in the language policies which are being formulated.

Whatever the future reveals, it is obvious that the spread of English, the degree of Englishization of the languages of the world, and the development of varieties of English and English-based codes raise a wide variety of theoretical, methodological, ideational, and applied issues.

Englishization and contact linguistics

What is the significance of the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic Englishization phenomenon to the approaches and methodology of contact linguistics? An answer to this question has to wait until we have in-depth studies of the following types:
1. *Typological:* focusing on typologies of contact with English, emphasizing shared and non-shared characteristics of varieties of English. I am particularly thinking of the institutionalized varieties in the Outer Circle.
2. *Sociolinguistic:* focusing on the use of English in interactional contexts to see how the domains of the use of English in Africa and Asia resulted in creating new speech acts (see Chishimba, 1983; Y. Kachru, 1985a and 1985b, 1987) and interactional styles.
3. *Empirical:* focusing on different registers and the types of users with various levels of proficiency.
4. *Literary:* discussing the impact of English on the formal and thematic aspects of literary creativity (e.g. see Thumboo, 1988, for an overview).

The answers to this and related questions will additionally help us in understanding the cross-cultural roles of English in language policies. True, much remains to be done in contact linguistics of English within a functional framework. However, the past two decades have been rewarding in several ways:

First, *attitudinal*: the institutional varieties are now not viewed merely as 'interference varieties'. These are seen as distinct culture-bound codes, in terms of their functions and form. Second, *context of function:* recent research has taken us a step further in characterizing the bilingual's linguistic behaviour.

This has raised several theoretical and methodological questions which are relevant to contact linguistics and to our understanding of the bilingual's behaviour as opposed to that of the monolingual. Third, *methodology:* research has raised concerns regarding the application of monolingual linguistic models for the description and understanding of the bilingual's linguistic behaviour and the functions of languages in multilingual societies. Fourth, *degree of linguistic competence* in various languages in the bilingual's linguistic repertoire: it is evident that bilingualism does not, and need not, entail, as Bloomfield suggests, 'native-like control' of two languages (Bloomfield, 1933: 56). In real interactional contexts in multilingual societies 'native-like control' is rare as a linguistic phenomenon. Fifth, *varieties of English within a variety:* there is now recognition that in the Outer Circle there is a range of Englishes within each educated variety. These subcodes of interaction, their formal characteristics at each level, and the pragmatics of their functions, have yet to be described (see also Chapter 3). Sixth, *paradigm shift:* There has been a re-evaluation of concepts such as 'interlanguage' and 'fossilization', with reference to multilingual's linguistic behaviour. Seventh, *dynamic nature of language:* it has been shown that a framework which looks at language in a dynamic interactional context is more insightful than a framework which views language as a static phenomenon. Finally, English in *ideological change:* Englishization of languages and literatures has not been an end in itself. It has been a means to ideological, social, and cultural changes.

The typological studies, then, are only one part of the agenda: it is desirable to know about the typological characteristics of language to understand area linguistics. However, for multilingual societies, it is equally valuable to have in-depth studies on sociolinguistic areas (e.g. see Pandit, 1972; D'souza, 1987; Lowenberg, 1984). It is through such studies that we will understand the parameters of language dependency, functional aspects of convergence, and language choice, and the function of English in such contexts as an indicator of language change.

Englishization and language policies

And now let me return to another vital issue briefly discussed in Chapter 3. What is the role of Englishization in language planning and how can this resource be used in multilingual settings? There is a hazard in answering this question from a global or a regional perspective. Each country has to determine its own evolving linguistic destiny. We have seen that the prediction and planning of linguistic pandits takes us only so far. In the case of South Asian countries, to give one example, each decade presented new linguistic problems and predetermined language planning had to meet new daunting challenges.

The past, therefore, has a lesson for language planners: it is now evident that linguistic ecology is minimally determined by local conditions. It is the wider political, ethnic and religious considerations that seriously influence language choice and language hierarchy. In Anglophone Asia as in Africa, we cannot deny the fact that English is a valuable resource in our linguistic repertoire. And the resource must be used to an advantage. So far, the functional value of English has been seen in terms of what English can do for us internationally as a resource for science and technology and communication. And intranationally English continues to be used as a code for pan-regional link language. This linguistic and literary resource, in an acculturated and nativized form, has become part of our linguistic ecologies. We must ask ourselves how this resource of English can be used in our multilingual and multicultural contexts. We must explore the possibilities in the area of applied contact linguistics.

The following three possible areas of such applied research come to mind. Two of the areas discussed below have resulted in an on-going debate on questions such as: What linguistic resources should be used for corpus planning, specifically in developing terminology? What role should be assigned to English in a multilingual education system? The third question is related to the attitude towards a particular type of contact literature.

It is in response to the first two daunting questions that there are two proposals. One from Bh. Krishnamurti who has struggled with the issue of corpus planning in India for almost ten decades. In his view, what we need is 'a linguistic *laissez-faire* approach rather than a normative approach' to this vital issue (Krishnamurti, 1978a: 54). Krishnamurti's approach would encourage 'a bilingual style with uninhibited code-mixing and code-switching'. He is, of course, right in claiming that 'the process of language development seems to have been slowed down by the avid normative policies of governments, academics, and text-book bodies'. I am not sure that Krishnamurti wanted English as a partner in such mixing and switching. But in relating language to development, any linguistic partnership should be acceptable and welcome, particularly, since English has played a vital part in our linguistic ecology at least since 1835 when Macaulay's much debated *Minute* was passed.

The second proposal is perhaps somewhat unorthodox — certainly for some language teachers. This proposal comes from Robbins Burling (Burling, 1982: 49–66). Burling's concern is essentially pedagogical: he suggests that 'we offer students texts that are intimate mixtures of their new languages' (50). In this method, one starts with texts 'with only modest deviations from the students' native language [...] as the pages and chapters pass by, shift progressively in the direction of the target language' (50). Burling is conscious of the fact that this method will 'surely strike a good many language teachers as bordering on the bizarre' (50). But, he assures us that he has used this

method for teaching French, Halmuth H. Schaefer (1963) used this method for teaching German, and in the Asian multilingual context R.K. Tongue (n.d.) used it for teaching Indonesian. The underlying principle in this method is not much different from using interlinear translations and glosses for teaching, for example, Sanskrit, Arabic and other languages. The third question relates to the status and use of contact literatures which have attitudinally been given a low position, e.g. Nigerian Pidgin,[10] basilect, and varieties of Bazaar English, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The area of applied contact linguistics with specific reference to English is as yet unexplored. But the potential is immense. One also notices several trends which should interest language planners: first that the domains of the spread of English are not necessarily planned. The invisible and unplanned channels are contributing more to the diffusion and functional range of English than are the planned strategies. The 'invisible' conquest of English is more frustrating to language planners who are interested in restricting the uses of English. Second, that the models of literary creativity and unconscious processes of translation are initiating language change (see Krishnamurti and Mukherjee, 1984). Third, that in the Outer Circle of English, the nativized H varieties have also developed localized L varieties. Fourth, that the pluricentricity of English, both literature and language, has created a complexity which was not faced earlier. The language has acquired a presence in our cultures, and its linguistic centre has 'shifted' (Steiner, 1975), and Anglophone Asia is one of such major centers.

Conclusion

This chapter attempts to show that contact linguistics must cross over the disciplinary barriers: it must view and investigate language contact in societal interactional contexts, and in the contexts of ideological changes. The insights thus gained should be valuable in several ways for our better understanding of multilingual societies, their linguistic behaviour, and their linguistic creativity. We might also gain some insights into what has until now been an elusive area of research, the bilingual's grammar.

The cross-cultural acculturation of English, its manifestations in various varieties, and its two faces, those of *Englishization* and *nativization*, provide a gold mine of data for the study of contact, change, and attitudes. In theoretical and applied contact linguistics this asset of world Englishes has yet to be fully explored, particularly within the framework of functional linguistics.

6

The absent voices

Introduction

This chapter discusses English for Specific Purposes (hereafter ESP) primarily within the context of Anglophone Asia. In most studies on ESP, the focus is generally on the appropriateness of a language corpus: the formal organization of the corpus at various linguistic levels: phonetic, phonological (e.g. Flood and West, 1952); lexical (e.g. Anthony, 1976; Cowan, 1974; Flood, 1957); syntactic (e.g. Huddleston, 1971; Lackstrom et al., 1973) and discoursal (e.g. Widdowson, 1971); and the relationship between the formal features and the functions of the texts in terms of the profession and participants. The result of this earlier research has been the development of courses on English for academic purposes, English for science and technology, English for business and economics, and English for vocational purposes, to give a few examples. It is claimed that the 'specific purpose' of such materials, determines the type of texts, the organization of the features of the text, and contextual appropriateness of the texts. The list of such text materials is overwhelming.[1]

One can hardly quibble about the pedagogical usefulness of this concept. However, pedagogical acceptance does not mean that all the descriptive, methodological, and functional issues have been answered. These issues have been discussed and questioned in the literature on ESP. Robinson (1980), for example, presented a survey of the field, and in a provoking paper Swales (1985 and later) raised some basic ethnomethodological and attitudinal questions. However, the conceptual and applied research on ESP seems to have avoided addressing issues vital for understanding the uses of English across cultures within the conceptualization of world Englishes, Swales (1985 and later) being an exception. And even in studies which present 'common sense about ESP' (e.g. Brumfit, 1977), the vital methodological and pragmatic issues concerning Asian and African varieties and their relevance to ESP have been left untouched.

ESP: Presuppositions

In the available literature on ESP, and in resultant pedagogical materials from Western countries, two basic presuppositions are typically made. These concern the text and the uses and users of the text. These presuppositions, then, determine the conceptualization of the field of investigation and its methodology in several ways. The selected texts are typically those written in the USA and UK and aggressively marketed by publishers from mainly these two countries. In terms of the users of the texts, it is believed that the interlocutors are primarily of two types: speakers of the Inner Circle with other speakers of the same Circle; and the Inner Circle speakers with the speakers of other Circles (Outer or Expanding). The typology of the ESP contexts is thus restricted to, for example:
a.   Inner Circle interactional contexts,
b.   Inner Circle register-types,
c.   Inner Circle speech functions, and
d.   Inner Circle pragmatic settings.

Finally, in terms of the language use, there is a certain attitude about the varieties and subvarieties of English, specifically about what are termed *non-native* varieties, institutionalized or non-institutionalized. This chapter brings the dimension of the Anglophone Asian and African Englishes to the deliberations on this topic.

ESP: Beyond the canon

In several earlier studies, for example, Chapter 1 in this volume, a distinction has been made between the *institutionalized* and *performance* varieties of English within the concept of the Three Circles of Englishes.[2] By introducing what are traditionally labelled the *non-native* Englishes into this discussion one is opening, as it were, a Pandora's box. A number of daunting questions must be answered before the *non-native* Englishes are recognized as areas of research for ESP, and before suggestions are made for appropriate texts for teaching. As an initial step, one has to answer questions such as the following.

First, the ONTOLOGICAL question: What is the status of the institutionalized varieties and how acceptable are these varieties as 'standard' varieties of English? Second, the ATTITUDINAL question: Have the localized varieties been recognized in the language policies in the English-using countries in which these are used, for example, India, Singapore, and Nigeria? Third, a FUNCTIONAL question: What is the role of such varieties as codes of communication? Fourth, a PEDAGOGICAL question: What, if any, are current

uses of such varieties in the instructional materials for the teaching of English? Fifth, a question concerning LINGUISTIC CREATIVITY: What do we mean by localized linguistic innovations, and what criteria may be used for determining whether such innovations should actually be incorporated in the pedagogical texts? The sixth question takes us to the CONTEXTUALIZATION of such innovations: What are the pragmatics of such innovations, and what are the functions of such innovations in various sociocultural contexts? And, finally, an often-asked vital question with wider ATTITUDINAL and LINGUISTIC IMPLICATIONS: What will happen to English as an *international* or *global* language if divergent varieties are accepted, encouraged, and recognized as viable models for teaching?[3] I shall attempt to contexualize these questions within the current profile of world Englishes and the dynamics of English in Anglophone Asia and beyond.

Acceptability and local contexts

The term acceptability is very elusive; it does not always entail a formal criterion for language acceptance or its functions. If used in a formal sense, the term conveys the meaning of *correctness* according to a certain standard, that of a dictionary, of a manual or of a prescriptive grammar. But, that is not the only use of this term. In its general use, it expresses a language attitude, and implies various types of appropriateness.

With respect to innovations in Englishes in Asia and Africa, the attitudinal response often determines the 'acceptance' by the users of each variety in the Inner Circle (e.g. UK and USA). Without pondering on any formal or functional reasons for innovations of other Englishes, the reaction often is 'as a native speaker I would not use it [lexical item, construction and so on]'. This attitude even manifests itself towards some subvarieties of Englishes used in the Inner Circle, for example, towards African American or Chicano Englishes in the USA, or towards regional and some class-based varieties in Britain (e.g. see relevant sections in Ferguson and Heath, 1981; Trudgill, 1984b). In determining acceptability, it is essential to determine what is one's own attitude towards a variety; the perception of others towards one's variety, and attitudinally-determined functional allocations of a variety (for example, the reactions towards the use of basilect in Singapore, *bazaar* or Babu English in India, and Nigerian pidgin in Nigeria.)[4]

Now, returning to what are called the non-native varieties, the issue of 'acceptance' seems to have been divorced from the pragmatic and functional contexts. Two important facts of language use, that English has localized uses, and English has interactional uses with (mostly) other *non-native* speakers, are not still well-recognized. This non-recognition of pragmatic context has created

a serious gap between the researcher's concept of language function, linguistic behaviour, and the language needs of the users of varieties of world Englishes outside the Inner Circle.

Anglophone Asia's language policies and 'loose canons' of Englishes

The lack of pragmatism in methodology, evangelical zeal and linguistic narcissism of the specialists is not restricted to the 'outsiders' who are either indifferent to, or not familiar with, local situations (see Maley, 1984). It is surprising that the national language policies and educational policies of the Anglophone Asian or African varieties of Englishes have not, until recently, recognized the uses of English for *intranational* functions. This pragmatic fact is not, therefore, reflected in language planning, teacher training, and curriculum design. The Anglophone nations (e.g. India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Singapore, Sri Lanka) generally continue to adhere attitudinally to an external norm of what is loosely called *English* English. The nations which were under the American influence (e.g. the Philippines, Japan) have generally attempted to follow the educated American model.

However, one must add an important caveat here. The language policies and the actual language performance show a serious conflict. The perceived norm rarely matches the language behaviour. In Sri Lanka, where traditionally the standard of English teaching was very high — certainly before the 1950s — this preference for an *imitation* model of *English* was questioned (see Passé, 1947). During the post-independence period, this view has been well articulated by C. Fernando (1977) and Kandiah (1981 and later) and in several empirical studies by Parakrama (1995) and Canagarajah (1999 and later). Dissanayake in his several papers (particularly in Dissanayake and Nichter, 1987) focuses on this question from a literary perspective. The debate continues in Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, and now in China and Hong Kong too (for Hong Kong, see Bolton, 2002; for China, see Bolton, 2003; Zhang, 2003).

It is encouraging, however, that recently in the minds of some educators this conflict between an endonormative and exonormative model is being resolved, and the earlier 'linguistic insecurity' is now in less evidence (see B. Kachru, 1985b and later). This shift towards the realization of actual language behaviour is evident in three ways: first in the identification of a variety with regional modifiers such as *Sri Lankan* English, *Indian* English, *Nigerian* English, or *Singaporean* English and now *Chinese* and *Hong Kong* English — without serious connotations of stigma; second in the recognition of reasons for such identification in terms of national identity, educational realism, and localized functions of English; and third the recognition of English in the language polices of Asia and Africa continues as a link language for *intranational* purposes as shown in earlier chapters.

Asian Englishes as codes of communication

Whatever external (or even internal) attitudes are present about the institutionalized varieties and whatever descriptive labels are used for them, in reality the *localized* varieties of English are actually used by most of the users of English in Asia and beyond. The segment of population that uses external models comprises such a small percentage of the total population that for our discussion we might as well ignore it. The administrative network of the Indian subcontinent has been held together by the users of various types of Babu English (Widdowson, 1979) exemplified in Chapter 3, and in Nigeria by Nigerian Pidgin. The code of the administrative and educated elite has generally been a *localized* educated variety.

In the functional network, the localized varieties of Asian Englishes have developed typically local registers, for instance, for agriculture, for the legal system, and for the localized speech functions. This linguistic (and pragmatic) fact was recognized, for example, by Wilson over a century and a half ago (Wilson, 1855: i), as mentioned in Chapter 3, concerning the use of what may be called ESP in agriculture in the Indian subcontinent. He observed:

> *Ryot* and *Ryotwar,* for instance, suggests more precise and positive notions in connection with the subject of the land revenue in the South of India, than should be conveyed by cultivator, or peasant, or agriculturist, or by an agreement for rent or revenue with the individual members of the agriculture classes.[5]

Three decades later, suggesting an 'Indian supplement to the English dictionary', Whitworth (1885: vii–viii) remarks:

> The words of Indian origin will be by far the most numerous, as it is usual, when new objects and ideas are met with to call them by the names they already possess. But this is not always done, and no one can make much acquaintance with India without hearing of alienated and unalienated land, permanent and annual settlements, inferior and superior holders, twice-born classes, right-hand and left-hand castes, village headman and village accountants, governors and district officers; then references are frequently made to the solar race, the lunar race, the serpent race, even such words as 'month' and 'year' have different meanings in India and in England; and there are many names which, though their component parts are familiar English, yet express things, unknown in England such as 'bell music', 'black buck', 'carpet snake', 'dancing girl', 'egg-plant', 'fire-temple', 'prayer-wheel', 'slave-king', 'sacred thread ...'

Before I provide further examples of those registers and styles, let me go back to the question of localized VERBAL REPERTOIRE in English, and the uses of such repertoire in the intranational contexts. The uses of English for

intranational communication raises a host of complex issues which have generally been left unanswered in methodological literature on ESP. One can, for example, think of questions such as the following:

a. What is meant by communication, and the levels of communicability?
b. What determines pragmatic success and pragmatic failure of English in its international uses?
c. What role do the varieties within a variety (e.g. see Chapter 3) play in local/national/regional communication?
d. What role does the context of situation play in communication, and what role should localized context-dependent innovations play in the pedagogical materials?
e. What accommodation does an interlocutor from the USA, Britain or other English-speaking countries from the Inner Circle have to make for participation in communication with those speech fellowships that use localized varieties of English?
f. What insights have we gained by research on intelligibility and comprehensibility concerning intranational and international uses of English? And finally,
g. What attitudinal and linguistic adjustments are desirable for effective teaching of localized varieties?

These are essential pragmatic questions directly related to any serious discussion on ESP in the international context, particularly since they have been swept under the rug in the prolific literature that has grown on this topic during the past five decades. Unfortunately, a large body of such publications is primarily motivated by commercial goals whose proponents have found it convenient not to encourage discussion of these more basic issues.

Pragmatic success and ESP

The underlying assumption for ESP is that, ideally, it contributes to maximum pragmatic success in the contexts of language function. It entails a hierarchy of encounter-types in which linguistic interaction has been observed and described. The research (see Smith, 1987, particularly the chapter by Candlin) on, what may be termed interactional aspects of language, has as yet been given very limited attention.

In such research there still is no recognition of typical Asian and African contexts in which varieties of English have been used for long periods in distinctly localized ENCOUNTER-TYPES. The competence of such users of English varies from local educated varieties to a form of pidgin. Such localized interactional contexts also show an extensive use of mixing, and use of discourse types which presupposes bilingual or multilingual competence, as

discussed in Chapter 5.[6] The concepts SITUATION, CONTEXT, and ATTITUDES are vital for understanding the issues and variables related to pragmatic failure or pragmatic success in the use of a variety of English as has been shown (e.g. see Chishimba, 1983; see also Y. Kachru, 1995a and 2003).

In ESP-oriented research we find two problems: ethnocentrisms in approach and neglect of *intranational* motivations for the uses of world Englishes. In the Outer Circle, the international roles of English are highly restricted: the *domesticated* (or localized) roles are more extensive. Pragmatic success, then, is determined by the context of encounter, and the participants in the encounter. We should, of course, expect maximal pragmatic success in 'survival registers' or 'survival ESP', e.g. seaspeak, aviation, diplomacy, and so on. In registers of law or medicine, we must investigate the localized strategies of lexicalization, mixing, switching, and lectal change. This pragmatism and shift in the paradigm is well-articulated in Swales (1985 and later; see also V. Bhatia, 1983) who, like J. R. Firth, argues for 'local knowledge' and '[…] for renewal of connection with the textual environment, and for greater attention to the tasks that specialized environments require of their occupants' (Swales, 1985: 223). And, Swales rightly feels, that 'we have given text too great a place in nature and believed a thick description of a text is the thickest of description of them all' (ibid.). The question is: in doing so, and by ignoring the 'conventions of conduct' and 'localized pragmatic needs', are we actually producing, to use Clifford Geertz's term, 'thin descriptions' which have less pragmatic validity?

The phenomenal spread of English and the diverse users of world Englishes make it imperative to view concepts like 'communicative competence', 'pragmatic success', and 'pragmatic failure' and ESP from a realistic perspective of current world uses of English. This would entail that consideration be given to what may be called variety-specific ESP and typology of ESP, briefly discussed below. One has to consider several aspects in order to provide functional bases to such concepts. These aspects include, for example:

VARIETY-SPECIFIC ESP: The formal characteristics of ESP can be distinguished in terms of their uses in the three Concentric Circles. The pragmatic success or failure in, for example, doctor/patient interaction, or teacher/student interaction is determined by the cultural background and linguistic repertoire of the participants. When we talk of legal English and the discoursal and other strategies associated with it, we seem to use an idealized notion of 'legal English'. In reality the situation is different. In South Asia, legal English has localized subvarieties which may be distinguished in terms of the hierarchy of courts and lawyers who practise in such courts, the supreme court, the high court, the lower courts, the district courts, the *moufusil* court, and so on. At each level, a specific type of language is used with its characteristic

lexicalization and other features. An idealized variety of legal English does not guarantee pragmatic success, nor does research on legal English of the USA or the UK provide any useful insights for understanding legal Englishes of South Asia, Southeast Asia, or West Africa.[7]

In South Asia, for example, legal Englishes have distinct characteristics in the following respects:

a. the level of the court,
b. the type of legal document, and
c. the participants in the legal interaction.

This concept does not apply only to legal English, but also to other ESP types (e.g. administration, banking, news media).

TYPOLOGY OF ESP: A typology for ESP should take into consideration parameters such as the following:

a. What is the functional range of the ESP types with reference to intranational and international uses?
b. Who are the participants in the situations? Users of one variety and/or users of several varieties?
c. What is the language competence of the users on the cline of bilingualism?
d. What are the distinctive characteristics of the verbal repertoire for the participation in the interaction? H(igh) varieties, L(ow) varieties, mixing of varieties, and bi- or multidialectism or multilingualism?
e. How are the codes used in the interaction viewed by those who are 'outside' the speech fellowship, and by those who are 'within' the speech fellowship?
f. What formal features of the ESP must be learned by the members of the speech fellowships who are essentially 'outsiders'?
g. What are the implications of the formal innovations on the material production and curriculum?[8]

The repertoire of a specific ESP (e.g. legal English) clearly shows that the burden of pragmatic success and pragmatic failure does not rest only on what is called the 'non-native' learner; it rests on the native speakers of English, too. Particularly, those users who desire to establish successful communication with the users of other varieties, in Anglophone Asia and Africa.

If the international functions of English are viewed within this context, it has several consequences. In theoretical terms, one has to reconsider the notion SPEECH COMMUNITY for English. One has to view the world Englishes in terms of SPEECH FELLOWSHIPS. The defining context and acceptance of linguistic innovations must be related to the pragmatic context of each speech fellowship. This is particularly important in the case of institutionalized varieties of English. The applied aspects include, for example, research on lexicography, discourse strategies, interactional sociolinguistics, and attitude studies.

The methodological aspect becomes important since one has to raise questions about the universal validity claimed for language teaching or language learning methods. The present tendency that the Western methods should be sold to consumers of English across languages and cultures — the 'non-native' users — with evangelical zeal is suspect (for a stimulating discussion, see Maley, 1984; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986 and later; see also Parakrama, 1995; Canagarajah, 1999). It is particularly suspect since commercialism and ethnocentricism seem to determine such hard-sell strategies as the examples given in Chapter 2 about the ELT Empire and Prince Charles provide a telling example. What is more frustrating is that the survival rate of such 'methods' does not seem to be more than a decade. It is sad that often these methods are promoted without much familiarity with intranational contexts in which the varieties of English are actually used and in which the 'method' is planted by interested external agencies.

Let me now turn to two issues specifically related to one localized variety. First, the question of the use of nativized linguistic features in instructional materials, and second, the divergence of nativized varieties and the future of English in an internal context.

Asian Englishes and instructional resources

I will interpret the term 'instructional resources' in a broader sense: both for pedagogical materials and other supplementary published resources to which a student may be exposed. At the lexical and collocational levels, let us consider the localized characteristics of ESP in the caste system in intercommunal (Muslim versus Hindu) interactions and in politics (the term inter-communal is used here in a specific Indian English sense). Consider the following lexical sets:

LEXIS RELATED TO CASTE: The lexical item *caste* may be followed by *-basis, -brotherhood, -dinner, -distinction, -domination, -elders, -feast, -feeling, -following, -less, -mark, -proud, -sanctity, -union, -vermin, -waif, -well*. The lexical item *caste* may also be preceded by *high-, inter-, low-, lowest-, out-, professional-, sub-, upper-*. Note also the following modes of address and reference used in the context of caste: *highborn, high caste, twice-born, upper caste, casteless, low-caste, lower caste, untouchable.*

LEXIS RELATED TO LOCAL RITUALS: *rice-eating ceremony, turmeric ceremony, naming ceremony, aroti time, bath milk, car festival, shagan ceremony, brother-anointing ceremony, rain-bringing ritual, vinayaka-festival.*

The localized innovations at other levels have been illustrated in several studies (see Chapter 3). However, the localized innovations must be distinguished with reference to the cline of bilingualism and the sociocultural

contexts of use as has been done, for instance, in the case of Singapore, Malaysia, India, and Anglophone regions of Africa. In the case of Sri Lankan English, the need for such distinctions has been well-illustrated in Kandiah (1981 and later). Consider, for instance, the examples given by him: *sil* (a Buddhist religious observance); *asweddumize* (a process used by farmers in paddy-fields); *basket woman* (a woman whose behaviour is rough); *rice puller* (an appetizer eaten with rice). The items *junction, under, is too much, put a telephone call*, and *put a catch to* are used with typically local meaning. The localized innovations, then, have a 'code-related' dimension and a 'context-related' dimension. These are two basic aspects which any research on ESP cannot neglect.

There is also the question of motivation: one distinguishing feature of institutional varieties, as opposed to that of performance varieties, is that English is not used with an 'integrative' motivation with the native speakers of English, but essentially with an 'instrumental' motivation. The instructional materials clearly show such contextualization of English in the local sociocultural context. However, the 'integrative' motivation is of a different type: the integration is not necessarily sought with the users of Inner Circle Englishes, but English is seen as a vehicle of integration within the sociopolitical context of the nation, or a wider region comprising several nations (e.g. South Asia, West Africa). In other words, English provides a link among the culturally and linguistically diverse groups. This is clearly evident in Singapore, Nigeria, India, and other Anglophone regions. English thus becomes a language of national integration, political awakening, and cultural unification. As it were, the linguistic code is turned against the native speaker; a colonial language is nurtured and retained as a tool for emancipation, and more important for national resurgence: the native (localized) linguistic resources are additionally used for an approximation of localized discoursal strategies of various types (see B. Kachru, 1982a, 1983b and later; for creative text [e.g. short stories, poems] by local creative writers in English, see relevant sections in Bailey and Görlach, 1982; B. Kachru, 1982b; Thumboo, 2001; see also Mehrotra, 2003).

Localized varieties and English for international communication

An often-asked question is: whether the *recognition* — and the use of — localized varieties of world Englishes will have adverse effects on the international intelligibility of English? If that happens, it is argued, that the function of English as an international (or universal) language is defeated. The question has three aspects. First, the pragmatic aspect: we need international intelligibility for those users of English whose linguistic encounters entail *international* interaction and communication. The need for

such communication is generally combined with adequate motivation for achieving intelligibility, comprehensibility, and pragmatic success. Those users of English whose functions do not entail such encounters need not, functionally speaking, aspire for proficiency in exonormative models. Equally important, native speakers of American or British English, who have extensive encounters with the users of Asian and African varieties should be encouraged to familiarize themselves with the characteristic features of appropriate varieties, and should show some awareness and sensitivity towards the repertoire range of other varieties. It is difficult to imagine an expatriate to be linguistically comfortable, for example, in Singapore without familiarity with the basilect and its users, and the interactional and creative use of such varieties. The same applies to the varieties of Indian English and Nigerian English and that of fast emerging Chinese English.

The second aspect is that of implementation of standards. I will not discuss this aspect here in detail since this discussion forms part of several earlier studies, particularly B. Kachru (1985b and later). However, unlike French, standardization and codification have very complex implications for English. Even if one recognizes the need for such international standards, one is at a loss to provide practical steps for such codification, other than the ones I have briefly discussed above in the context of acceptability (see also Chapter 11).

The third aspect brings to the debate a variety of interrelated issues. In most of the nations of South Asia or Southeast Asia, English has a long tradition of use as a language of politics, education, administration, literary creativity and religious discourses. The identity with the language is deep, and its functional range and depth is considerable (see B. Kachru, 1982b). As shown in previous discussions, it would be unrealistic to expect that the language would not be 'shaped' and 'moulded' according to the local needs, and develop its variation due to the influence of local languages and literatures, cultures, and uses. The result of such deep-rooted local functions is that the *intra*national uses have been institutionalized. Additionally, in regional writing in English, the nativization is consciously used for a stylistic device.[9]

Towards a shift in paradigm

The pragmatics of world Englishes clearly shows that in research on ESP, particularly for relevance in the Outer Circle, there is a need for a shift in the paradigm. There is also a need for change in the methodology and in collection of appropriate empirical data. This shift, then, entails the following:

1. Recognition of the functional usefulness of the concept verbal repertoire, and a description of such a repertoire with reference to its societal meaning;
2. Recognition of the levels of pragmatic failure due to the inappropriate

selection of the code. The non-recognition of localized lectal range has already resulted in various types of problems in English-using countries such as Singapore, Nigeria, and India;

3. Acceptance of localized innovations in ESP and the subvarieties within ESP (e.g. legal, administrative, advertising) as part of the pragmatic needs of the users; and

4. Recognizing the creativity in regional literatures in English as an extension of the local literatures and the 'literatures in English'. Such recognition will make it easier to select local texts for instructional purposes.

This recognition is desirable not only for functional reasons. It is also vital for several psychological and sociological reasons. This attitudinal change means accepting a hypothesis of *code difference* as opposed to one of *code deficit*. This is an important distinction since as teachers we are concerned with language-using human beings, and not merely with figures and percentages.

The last point brings in another dimension of Asian and other Englishes which has traditionally not been considered as one of the concerns of ESP methodologists: the literary creativity in localized Englishes. Such contact literatures have certain textual and functional characteristics which set them apart as a body of writing in English. These texts need both linguistic and contextual explanations for a person who does not belong to the speech fellowship. Does this entail expanding the boundaries of ESP research? It certainly does. Contact literatures raise many theoretical and descriptive questions which are only recently being raised.[10] The writers of such texts are bilingual or multilingual, but not necessarily bi- or multicultural. They are using English in contexts which give it new linguistic and cultural identities (see Nelson, 1985 [1992]). In this 'non-native' creative use of English, a distinctive ESP has developed which is not identical to British, American, or Australian writing in English (see Chapters 7 and 8 for further discussion).[11]

The three Singaporean writers provide excellent examples of such creativity: in Kripal Singh's poem 'Voices', Arthur Yap's poem, '2 mothers in HBD playground', and Catherine Lim's short stories 'The Taximan' and 'The Mother in Law's Curse', various linguistic devices are exploited to maximize pragmatic success in textual terms. 'Voices' essentially uses mixing of codes, and Yap contextually legitimizes the use of mixing and the strategies of basilect. The lexicalization and basilectal constructions nativizes the text beyond the scope of a reader not familiar with the linguistic reality of Singapore. Consider, for example, the following linguistic features: *jamban* ('toilet bowl in Malay'), *toa-soh* ('drive in a car' in Hokkien), *ah pah* ('father' in Hokkien), *what boy is he in the exam?*, *I scold like mad but what for*, *sit like don't want to get up*, and so on. Lim provides convincing examples of code alternation appropriate to the functions and roles in Singapore (for a detailed discussion and further examples, see Lim, 1993; Lim et al., 1999).

The Sri Lankanness of Wijenaike's English, as Dissanayake and Nichter (1987) have shown, is expressed through various linguistic and cultural exponents; her 'food idioms', her 'hot/cold dichotomy' and her use of silence as a speech act, are potent means for conveying cultural and linguistic 'meaning'. This meaning escapes if the text is divorced from the context in which it functions. We see the same stylistic experimentation in Raja Rao's novels *Kanthapura* and *The Serpent and the Rope* (see Parthasarathy, 1987; Dissanayake, 1985; see also Chapter 7). It is through such devices and linguistic experimentation that Asian and African literatures provide the appropriate ecological context to the text. There is, of course, a linguistic dilemma in this. If such creativity is evaluated in terms of the contexts and models of the Inner Circle, the innovations in the Outer Circle are considered 'deviant', therefore, resulting in pragmatic failure. If such experimentation is viewed from the perspective of a Singaporean, Sri Lankan, and Indian creative writer, it is clearly an appropriate use of the stylistic devices; that are part of a multilingual's linguistic resource. What we need, then, is to extend the monolingual (traditional) stylistic norms of creativity in English, and to evaluate such Singaporean, Sri Lankan, and Indian texts with reference to altered norms, and extended, linguistic, cultural, and interpretive contexts. In other words, recognize that functionally Anglophone Asian and African writers have evolved a culturally and linguistically appropriate ESP.

There is another aspect of the use of multicodes (or lectal range) which touches us all as parents, teachers, students, and academic administrators; I am thinking of the varieties of English and their use in the classroom. The primary focus of such research on English, though very insightful, has been the linguistic behaviour of the speech fellowships in the Inner Circle. It is the contexts of the USA, UK and now Australia in language functions, complexities of linguistic interaction, language attitudes, and interpretation of language use in the professions that has been the focus of attention. The Englishes of the Outer Circle, unfortunately, are still not part of this research activity, though some encouraging steps are being taken in this direction. The paradigm must change in another sense, too, as I have discussed in Chapter 10. We must discard exclusive use of *deviational* approach and evaluate the pragmatic success (or failure) of various codes with reference to the types of *interaction* and *encounter* within the *intranational* uses of English. The deficiency hypothesis, interlanguage hypotheses, and exclusively error-oriented approaches do not capture the sociolinguistic realism of Asia and Africa and current profile of world Englishes.

All the bees are not out of my bonnet yet. A number of points remain which are specific to ESP. In developing ESP we must adopt a pluralistic approach since English functions in pluralistic sociolinguistic contexts. This entails a shift from the monomodel approaches to a polymodel approach. This shift must reflect in teacher training and curriculum design.

Conclusion

The issues I have raised have wider and deeper implications. They touch delicate attitudinal chords of users of English internationally, and do not necessarily conform to traditional ESL and ELT paradigms. The consequences of not facing the pragmatic context of world Englishes are serious. The issues involved are linguistic, sociocultural, psychological, and educational. To repeat a very crucial point, in his Presidential Address, delivered to the Linguistic Society of America in 1973, Dwight Bolinger emphatically told us that 'truth is a linguistic question' (1973: 539–50). The research of the last two decades has shown that linguistic issues do have educational, social, and psychological implications. And having seen that, we must pay heed to Bolinger's warning that 'a taste of truth is like a taste of blood'. Once the issues have been raised, it is the responsibility of the profession to explore their implications. Swales (1985 and later) has very emphatically drawn our attention to these issues. It is essential that the professionals in ESP and ELT reconsider the earlier paradigms of methodology, and their applications to world Englishes.

Part III
Mantras

7

Medium and mantra

Introduction

This chapter contextualizes Raja Rao's *Kanthapura*, published in 1938, within what is now the canon of Indian English creativity. In fact, Rao's *Kanthapura* provided a liberating *mantra* in the formative years of the creativity in Asia's Indian English. In this chapter, I will place that *mantra* in a broader historical context and study its impact on Asian and African creativity in English. In 1937 [published in 1938], Rao said, about writing in English, that 'the telling has not been easy' since 'one has to convey in a language that is not one's own the spirit that is one's own' (p. vii).[1] This dilemma is between *madhyama*, the medium, and *mantra*, the message — the channel and what it conveys. The medium represents 'an alien language' and yet, Rao adds, it is 'not really an alien language'.

This explanation, and its elaboration, is articulated in just 461 words in the 'Author's Foreword' (pp. vii–viii), which I would like to discuss and contextualize here. In retrospect, sixty-five years later, one can argue that this foreword as a *mantra* envisions an emerging canon, and circles the possible boundaries of its canonicity — linguistic and contextual. The foreword outlines an agenda and became Rao's own credo of creativity: it indeed proved the trail-blazer of what turned out to be a liberating tradition in world Englishes. It was, as Parthasarathy tells us (1987: 157), 'revolutionary in its declaration of independence from English literature'.

A number of sentences from this foreword have repeatedly been quoted, analysed and paraphrased, both in Rao's India and in other parts of the world, where creativity in English has gradually become an integral part of the national literatures. And, as time passed, with various modifications and interpretations, the credo acquired almost the status of a manifesto in founding what in the 1980s has been called 'liberation linguistics' discussed in Chapter 3.[2] Rao, of course, did not use the term 'liberation'; he did not need to. Instead, he just carved a different path consistent with his native

tradition — that of convergence, cohesion, and assimilation. What he did by this *mantra*, and later, was to put around the English language 'the sacred thread'. It is in this subtle and suggestive way that Rao performed the *saṃskāra* ('initiation rite') and brought the English language within the mainstream of India's linguistic and cultural tradition, *parampara*.

In this sense, then, Rao's credo was a reinvention of the language, and a reconstruction of how it could be defined. In his reconstruction, Rao recognized the implications of features of the induction of English in India's pluralistic context: the implications of the bilingual's creativity, the formal and functional hybridity of the language, and the recontextualization of a colonial linguistic weapon within the age-old assimilative linguistic history of India.

The caste of English

In 1937 Rao talked of an Indian identity of English — he was presenting a vision and expressing a *kamana* — an intense desire. This visionary insight was, however, elaborated further over twenty years later, in 1978. In a short paper appropriately titled 'The Caste of English', Rao attributes a *varna*, a caste, to the language. He actually blends his metaphysical and pragmatic visions concerning English and places the language on the same elevated pedestal of Truth as the one on which Sanskrit ('The Perfected Language') has traditionally been placed by the Brahmins as *devavāṇī* ('divine or heavenly language'). And Rao adds a pragmatic aspect to the language by saying, 'so long as the English language is universal, it will always remain Indian'. This point is further elaborated by Rao:

> Truth, said a great Indian sage, is not the monopoly of the Sanskrit language. Truth can use any language, and the more universal, the better it is. If metaphysics is India's primary contribution to world civilization, as we believe it is, then must she use the most universal language for her to be universal [...] And so long as the English language is universal, it will always remain Indian [...]. (1978a: 421)

It is this type of *mantra* which Rao uses to respond to the ideological and linguistic war which Thomas Macaulay (1800–1891) had launched almost 170 years earlier, aiming at the soul and mind of India.

Rao is also responding to India's linguistic chauvinism, particularly that of the post-1960s, when he says:

> It would then be correct to say as long as we are Indian — that is, not nationalists, but truly Indians of the Indian psyche — we shall have the English language with us and amongst us, and not as a guest or friend, but as one of our own, of our caste, our creed, our sect and of our tradition. (1978a: 421)

By incorporating the language within the caste, within the creed, and within the sect, the *saṃskāra* is complete — and for Rao the Indian identity of English is complete. The initiation, *saṃskāra,* has 'liberated' both the medium and the message that it conveys. And now truly 'the Empire talks back', reciting its own *mantra* in multiple voices.

The *mantra* is not just incantation, the intoning and chanting of a word or a phrase. It is more than that. It is a medium of thought, and

> ... it is not the conceptual, discursive, differentiating form of thought (*vikalpa*) that accompanies empirical language. This is more intense, more effective thought, a thought that is also one-pointed since it is connected with a concentrated form of speech, endowed with special potency and efficacy. (Padoux, 1990: 373)

This explanation of *mantra* is consistent with what has been labelled as the 'Kashmirian theory of *mantras*'.[3]

Anatomy of the *mantra*

What Rao's *mantra* regarding English does is to contextualize English within five refreshingly new perspectives. First, there is a reference to language as medium and as a vehicle of a message. The medium, as mentioned above, is 'not one's own'. But the spirit that the medium conveys 'is one's own'. The identity is with the functions and acculturation that the language has acquired in Rao's India — the form or substance appropriately Indianized to serve these ends.[4]

The second perspective concerns the daunting issues of reconciling local culture and 'thought-movement' in an 'alien' language ('... thought-movement that looks maltreated in an alien language' (ibid.). And here Rao is encountering the Whorfian dilemma. But having said this, Rao pauses, and almost as an after-thought, he reconsiders his use of the distance-marking term 'alien'. In reconsidering the 'alienness' of English, and how it becomes 'Indian', Rao says:

> I used the word "alien", yet English is not really an alien language to us. It is the language of our intellectual make-up. We are all *instinctively bilingual*, many of us writing in our own language and in English. [emphasis added] (1938: vii; 1967 ed.)

The term 'instinctively bilingual' has immense implications for our understanding of the multilinguals' language behaviour. This concept of 'instinctive' bilingualism has yet to be understood in the societies where monolingualism continues to be treated as a normal linguistic phenomenon.

And this latter view continues to be held in many linguistic and educational circles in the West.

I do not think that the concept 'instinctive bilingualism', or at least some inherent human capacity for multilingualism, has even now entered the theoretical conceptualization in explaining bilinguals' strategies (e.g. see B. Kachru, 1987a, 1996c, 1996d, 1996c, 1997b). Consider the relatively recently articulated views of social scientist Shills and linguist Crystal. Shills claims that:

> The national language of literary creation is almost always the *language of the author's original nationality,* there are, of course, exceptions, such as Conrad, and, at a lower level Nabokov and Koestler, Apollonaire and Julien Green. But for writing about public or political matters, a foreign language is often used effectively. (Shills, 1988: 560; emphasis added)

When asked to explain the difference between people who have native speaker awareness of a language and those who do not, Crystal's response is rather mystifying. He says (cited in Paikeday, 1985: 66–7) that it is quite unclear what to make of cases like Nabokov and the others. George Steiner (*Extraterritorial Papers*) talks about as having no native language. But these are marginal cases. And, elaborating on who is a 'native speaker' (of English), Crystal continues:

> I know several foreigners whose command of English I could not fault, but they themselves deny they are native speakers. When pressed on this point, they draw attention to [...] their lack of childhood associations, their limited passive knowledge of varieties, the fact that there are some topics which they are more 'comfortable' discussing in their first language. 'I couldn't make love in English,' said one man to me. (cited in Paikeday, 1985: 68)

These views only partially reflect the contexts of literary creativity across speech communities, and are particularly inadequate when considering language use in the multilingual societies around the world.[5]

Rao's third perspective relates to the hybridity in terms of convergence of visions when the English language is used in pluralistic contexts:

> We cannot write like the English. We should not. We cannot write only as Indians. We have grown to look at the large world as part of us. (ibid.)

What is called the Rushdiesque language, and defined as 'a hybrid form of post-colonial and post-modern narrative discourses' by Langeland (1996: 16) has its well-conceptualized beginning in Rao. Langeland considers this aspect of Rushdie's technique (1996: 16) 'as a radical linguistic operation implanting new cultural impulses into hitherto more narrowly ethnocentric language'. This was the point that Rao was addressing a decade before Salman Rushdie was born and over a generation before Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981) was published.

Fourth, Rao recognized that there is a linguistic consequence of this convergence that results in formal distinctiveness of the Indian variety of English. He compared the situation with the Irish and American English, both of which had to undergo a long struggle for what was for the USA 'linguistic liberation' (see also Chapter 2):

> Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will someday prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American. (1938: vii; 1967 ed.)

Fifth, hybridity results in stylistic transcreation, and here again, Rao refers to American and Irish varieties of English:

> After language the next problem is that of style. The tempo of Indian life must be infused into our English expression, even as the tempo of American or Irish life has gone into the making of others. (ibid.)

Thus, Rao sees that the 'tempo of Indian life' must be 'infused' in our literary creativity. That 'tempo' is well represented, as Rao reminds us, in our literary *parampara*, in our epics, and in the *puranas* — in 'high' culture and the 'vernacular' culture:

> And our paths are interminable. The *Mahabharata* has 214,778 verses and the *Ramayana* 48,000. The *Puranas* are endless and innumerable. (ibid.)

And what are our conventions of discourse? What is our "culture of grammar"?

> We have neither punctuation nor the treacherous 'ats' and 'ons' to bother us — we tell one interminable tale. Episode follows episode, and when our thoughts stop our breath stops, and we move to another thought. This was and is the ordinary style of storytelling. (ibid.)

In these five points Rao provides a context and broad features for the Indianization of the English language. In other words, he outlines the grammar of discourse, and emphasizes the culture that the language was gradually acquiring in India. These five perspectives, then, encapsulate the foundations of emerging canons of English in its second diaspora — the Asian and African diaspora. This *mantra* authenticates the crossover of English in its altered sociocultural contexts. The five perspectives may be summarized as:

a. the relationship between the medium (*madhyama*) and the message (*mantra*);
b. the reconceptualization of the contextual appropriateness of English as a medium of creativity;
c. the relevance of hybridity and creative vision and innovation;

d.   the relevance of language variety, linguistic appropriateness, and identity; and

e.   the stylistic relevance of cultural discourse and its relationship with local *parampara*.

The text of *Kanthapura* that follows the foreword actually gives life to Rao's vision of creativity, and he tells us that 'I have tried to follow it myself in this story' (p. viii). He takes up his own challenge to demonstrate that the 'thought-movement' is not 'maltreated in an alien language'. But, then, he makes a distinction between two linguistic functions — *intellectual* and *emotional*:

> It is the language of our intellectual make-up — like Sanskrit or Persian was before — but not of our emotional make-up. We are all instinctively bilingual, many of us writing in our own language and in English. (ibid.)

In Rao's novel — his *sthalapurana* — a new linguistic tradition, a new dimension of creativity in world Englishes, began to develop in the 1930s. This experimentation in creativity in English was not restricted to India. We witness various versions of such gradual — and sometimes subdued — experimentation in West Africa, in East Africa, and in Southeast Asia and the Philippines. The new paradigm was unfolding itself, primarily with local initiatives. The earlier conceptual frameworks were being altered and set aside, and fresh initiatives were being outlined.

The credo of 1938 became the cornerstone for what followed in the years to come. In different ways, and with different emphases, we hear these new voices in, for example, Nigeria's Amos Tutuola, Chinua Achebe, Buchi Emecheta, and Wole Soyinka; in Kenya's Ngũgĩ wa Thiõng'o; in Somalian Nuruddin Farah; and in Rao's own contemporaries in the Indian subcontinent, particularly in the stylistic and thematic experimentation of post-1947 writers such as Upamanyu Chatterjee, Amitav Ghosh, Mukal Kesavan, Rohinton Mistry, Arundhati Roy, Allen Sealy, Vikram Seth, and Shashi Tharoor. In 1982, Rushdie tells us that, 'we can't simply use the language [English] in the way the British did: it needs remaking for our own purposes'.[6] The next generation has taken Rao's *mantra* and now the *parampara* continues.

When Rao emphasizes the term *Indian* with English, for him English is a part of the region's multilinguals' linguistic repertoire. And his modifier *Indian* with English is neither to be understood in the sense in which it was being used in Rao's time by, for example, Goffin (1934), Kindersley (1938), and earlier by Whitworth (1907): they viewed Indian English primarily within the 'language deficiency' paradigm, discussed in earlier chapters, and Whitworth (1907: 6) considered Indian innovations as 'linguistic flights, which jar upon the ear of the native Englishman'. The use of the term Indian English is also not identical to what Nissim Ezekiel has labelled his 'Indian English poems'.

Rao's creativity goes back over six decades; these have been years of innovation and stylistic experimentation for him. *Kanthapura* provides the first conceptualization of Rao's view of *Indian* English, and this conceptualization continues to evolve in other distinct ways in his later writing. Parathasarathy (1987: 160) insightfully explains such experimentation as 'ritually de-Anglicized'. The use of *ritually* with *de-Anglicized* is significant here:

> In *Kanthapura* English is thick with the agglutinants of Kannada; in *The Serpent and the Rope* the Indo-European kinship between English and Sanskrit is creatively exploited; and in *The Cat and Shakespeare* (1965), English is made to approximate the rhythm of Sanskrit chants. At the apex of this linguistic pyramid is [...] *The Chessmaster and His Moves*, wherein Rao has perfected his experiments with the English language spanning more than fifty years. (1987: 160)

What we see, then, is that each of Rao's novels in its distinct way authenticates and expands one or more aspects of Rao's 1938 credo. And each stylistic experiment appropriates, as it were, the English language on Indian terms. The Indian canon of English gains yet more energy, vitality, and identity. In other words, it legitimizes itself in India's sociocultural context. The works that followed *Kanthapura* are essentially Indian in their contextualization, their multilinguality, their linguistic and cultural hybridity, and to use Thumboo's term, in linguistic and cultural 'crossover'.

Let me give just one example of the code-mixed texture of his discourse here. The linguistic hybridity is skilfully foregrounded in Rao's *The Chessmaster and His Moves* (1988). The novel brings together eight languages: three Western (English, French, and Greek), and five Indian (Sanskrit, Tamil, Hindi, Hindustani, and Urdu). Witness the following:

> "Ça va?" answers Jayalakshmi, adjusting her necklace.
> "Est-ce qu'on va le trouver aujourd'hui," he continues, the last word said with such heaviness.
> "Si le Seigneur le veut."
> "Mais quel seigneur?"
> "Lui," she said with a mischievous smile, as if thinking of someone far away, very far away.
> "Qui donc?"
> "Son Altesse le lion." Of course she was speaking a lie.
> "Le tigre?"
> "Non," she said, and turned to her father, asking if the mail had come." (95)

And Rao with equal ease switches to Hindi:

> "Maji kahan gaye hain? — Achha. Suno. Vo kab arahi hai? — Agaye? Kapada badalke arahi hai? Achha. Padu. Bye-bye" (175).

In designing the text, in incorporating language into the stream of narrative, 'instinctive bilinguality' is taken for granted. There is no concession made for monolingualism. And no textual clues are available for comprehension of Sanskrit, French, or Hindi. The burden of linguistic and cultural intelligibility and interpretation is on the reader. Consider, for example, sentences such as:

> "Our alaya, the true home, is forever the Himalaya" (46)
> "It's all prarabdha, it's written on our foreheads" (49)
> "For either you touch suffering, and so suffer, or reach to the other side, and be it. One is kashta and the other duhkha" (84)
> "A brahmin should not touch jhoota, especially, my jhoota" (130)
> "And so you and your beads, and the sorrow of sorrow. Duhkh me duhkh mila ja" (108)

The MIXING and SWITCHING (see also Chapter 5) play distinctive stylistic and identity roles in his writing, and they are much more marked in *The Chessmaster and His Moves* (1988) than in the earlier *The Serpent and the Rope* (1960). In the former, the glossary includes 336 words, as opposed to just 27 in the latter.

One linguistic device that contributes to this metaphysical style is his aphoristic use of language. One is tempted to say that in such use the medium is English, but the underlying thought-process is almost Vedantic. Rao is adept in the process of transcreation from Sanskrit. Consider, for example,

> "To be is to is-to-be nowhere" (48)
> "To be is to know, but to know is rarely to be" (63)
> "… You become what you concentrate on" (68)
> "Not to be is truly to be" (95)
> "Death's death is what death seeks" (104)
> "To belong you must be lost" (143)
> "The essence essences essence" (162)

If *Kanthapura* was his first specimen of the implementation of his credo, the conceptualization of *Indian* English, the full range of such experimentation, is found in his later works.

In his lexicalization from India's languages, Rao follows a somewhat different path than his contemporaries Mulk Raj Anand, Khushwant Singh, and Ahmad Ali. It is not just lexical foregrounding, but it is part of discoursal cohesion — an integral part of the style. The incorporation of Sanskrit words is one device that Rao uses for the metaphysical and Vedantic contextualization of the narrative. This type of Sanskritization of discourse results in a linguistic dilemma of establishing translation equivalence between Sanskrit and English. What Rao does is to include in the stream of narrative *semantic sets* of the following types: *Adi Sesha*, 'The Primal Serpent'; *advaita*, 'nondual'; *ahamkara,*

'I-ness'; *ahanta*, 'emphasis on personal I'; *agnana*, 'ignorance'; *anaman*, 'nameless'; *bhavati*, 'becoming'; *dhih*, 'intellect'; *ka*, 'light'; *prana*, 'life-breath'; *samsara*, 'cyclic becoming or existence'; *satvic*, 'pure'; *tapas*, 'austerity'; and *yoga chakra*, 'the subtle nervous system'.

Structure as the puranic form

In his structural conceptualization of the text, Rao again looks back to the tradition, to the *parampara* of *sthalapurana*. In other words, to recreate English within that tradition of 'legendary history'. Whether Rao has been successful in doing so can be judged by critics who are competent to do so. Rao, however, does recognize that it is India's Puranas and epics which provide ideas for structural frameworks to him: the conventions of *Kādambarī* (7th century CE) by Bāṇa, and *Uttararāmacharita* (7th century CE) by Bhavabhūti. One is, therefore, not surprised that Rao regrets his inability to write in Sanskrit. And he often talks about it with nostalgia. In his acceptance speech when India's National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Akademi) in 1997 conferred its highest honour, the Fellowship, to Raja Rao, he said:

> My dream would have been to write in that luminous and precise language Sanskrit, the richest vak in the world. [...] It was only in this wise and rich language that I would have liked to have written. Alas it has not been so. But Kannada, my mother tongue, which historians tell me was alive in the Third Century before Christ — it is the language belonging to the Hoysala Land — is what I should have written in. But my karma made me live outside of Karnataka — I was going to say Mysore! — and my Kannada was a babble. I tried and failed writing in it. Thus English it had to be. (See Hardgrave, Jr [1998] for citation of the Sahitya Akademi Fellowship Award Presentation by U. R. Anantha Murty [pp. 169–73] and Raja Rao's Acceptance Speech [pp. 174–5].)

In 1997, in *The Vintage Book of Indian Writing 1947–1997*, Salman Rushdie, commenting on 'the generation of independence, Midnight's parents' of Indian English, rightly calls them 'the true architects' of a new tradition (e.g. Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayan, Raja Rao). Rushdie considers Rao, 'a Sanskritist, [who] wrote determinedly of the need to make an Indian English for himself, but even his much-praised portrait of village life, *Kanthapura*, seems dated, its approach at once grandiloquent and archaic' (1997: xvii). These are, of course, broad and sweeping generalizations. But, then, a few pages earlier, Rushdie is honest when he says that some readers [of the anthology] may feel that 'we are simply betraying our own cultural and linguistic prejudices, or defending our turf, or — even worse — gracelessly blowing our own trumpet' (p. xi).

In the same volume, Rushdie, however, does echo Rao's observation of 1938 that 'Indian English, sometimes unattractively called Hinglish, is not English English, to be sure, any more than Irish or American or Caribbean English is.' The achievement of the writers is '… to have found literary voices as distinctly Indian, and also suitable for any and all of the purposes of art, as those other Englishes forged in Ireland, Africa, the West Indies, and the United States' (1997: xiii). Rao, as indicated above, has no hesitation in violating the traditional conventions of English punctuation, capitalization, and sentence construction. In the traditional orthographies of Indian languages there are just *virām* and *ardhavirām*, one represented by one vertical line and the other by two such lines (see Chapter 5). There are, therefore, no rules of Fowler's prescriptivism for Rao, though Fowler had acquired the status of a linguistic bible in colonial Asia and Africa.

In *The Chessmaster and His Moves*, for example, Rao is indifferent to the conventions of English punctuation, capitalization, and sentence and discourse organization. There are sentences of one page (pp. 264–5) and even one-and-a-half pages in length (pp. 501–2). There is a conscious attempt to extend the Indian identity of the language by de-emphasizing its 'alien' canonical conventions — the Judeo-Christian conventions, the range of linguistic and contextual associations with such identities. What Rao does is to put India's English on the same linguistic pedestal as Sanskrit has been in Rao's native India for the past thousands of years. And Rao does it on his own terms. That is what he had envisioned in 1938 when he said that:

> Our method of expression therefore has to be a dialect which will someday prove to be as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American. Time alone will justify it. (1938: vii, 1967 ed.)

What Rao said in 1938 in those 461 words was both visionary and prophetic. It was the first conceptualization of canonicity of India's English. It was visionary in more than one sense. In his approach to Imperial English he was creative and assimilative. He questions the pragmatics of the exocentric model; argues for the legitimacy of nativization of English, and justifies the acculturation of Imperial English to give it an Indian identity. In other words, he locates the language in India's linguistic and cultural space.

Rao's credo in a historical context

In the historical context of world Englishes, the cross-cultural spread and evolving new identities of English, Rao's credo was indeed, to repeat Parthasarathy (1987), 'revolutionary'. In the 1930s, and until much later,

Imperial English continued to have a firm grip — attitudinal and symbolic — on all world varieties of English. One has to make a distinction here between attitudes towards the received variety of English and actual performance in the variety. In literature, it has been shown that even in the USA, UK, and other Inner Circle countries, adherence to the received model has been an exception and not a rule. And in recent years, the 'loose canons' are aggressively seeking their legitimate linguistic rights in that Circle. But that is a different story and has been briefly discussed in Chapters 2 and 4.

One might ask: What were the views on 'linguistic liberation' and experimentation in Rao's India and beyond in the 1930s? What was the context of English in the Outer Circle (Anglophone Asia and Africa)? Rao made these observations just nineteen years after Henry Louis Mencken (1880–1956) published his monumental, *The American Language* (1919). In his first edition of the book, Mencken claimed that 'Americans spoke a separate language of their own making that they could take pride in, not an imperfect imitation of the language of England' (McArthur, 1992: 651; see also Kahane, 1992).

The stirring for an identity had just begun in the USA, but Australia, New Zealand, and Canada were still not seeking a linguistic identity in any serious sense. The story of English in the Outer Circle was essentially one of English as the tool of the Empire. The Empire had yet to become articulate in English. It is true that bilingualism in English had gradually gained momentum, but there was still no recognition of the types of crossover and markers of new linguistic and cultural identities for the language.

A parallel example of the linguistic — and cultural — appropriation of English by the natives of the Outer Circle would be that of Africa. However, in the 1930s, the Africanization of English and its components of identity had yet to be established. We see the first articulation of that in a most skilful way in, for example, Amos Tutuola in the 1950s and Chinua Achebe in the 1960s. That is almost three decades after Rao's foreword. The statement of Achebe about 'how I approach the use of English' reveals the most skilful argument of a literary craftsman. In making a case for the Africanization of English, Achebe contrasts the Africanized version with 'another way'— the non-Africanized way. In Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1966), the chief priest, explaining to one of his sons the importance of sending him to church, says to him in what may be called the Africanized version:

> I want one of my sons to join these people and be my eyes there. If there is nothing in it you will come back. But if there is something then you will bring back my share. The world is like a mask dancing. If you want to see it well, you do not stand in one place. My spirit tells me that those who do not befriend the white man today will be saying 'had we known', tomorrow. (1966: 20)

Then Achebe contrasts this with another version — a non-Africanized version — and asks, 'supposing I had put it another way. Like this for instance':

> I am sending you as my representative among these people — just to be on the safe side in case the new religion develops. One has to move with the times or else one is left behind. I have a hunch that those who fail to come to terms with the white man may well regret their lack of foresight. (1966: 20)

In support of the first version, that is the African version, Achebe provides a pragmatically and contextually valid argument. In his view 'the material is the same. But the form of the one is in character, the other is not. It is largely a matter of instinct but judgment comes into it too' (1966: 20). The two crucial words here are 'instinct' and 'judgment': the first relates to the African 'thought-pattern' as transcreated into English and the second to pragmatism with reference to the African context. In Achebe's decision, we see that African 'thought-movement' has not been 'maltreated in an alien language'. Indeed, Rao would agree with Achebe.

What we see, then, is that each African and Asian English-using country adopts a strategy relevant to its own contexts of culture and patterns of interaction. The theoretical dimensions of Englishization have been almost identical, but the specific linguistic innovations have varied in each region — West Africa, East Africa, Southern Africa, South and East Asia. The search has been towards the same end — to seek culture-specific cultural identity through the medium of English. The most passionate articulation of this position, as discussed in an earlier chapter, is that by Wole Soyinka, who emphasizes that English plays 'unaccustomed roles' in Africa and has thus become a 'new medium of communication'. In other words, the acculturation and Africanization of English has been complete. The process which Soyinka explains in a way answers Gabriel Okara's question:

> Why shouldn't there be a Nigerian or West African English which we can use to express our own ideas, thinking and philosophy in our own way? (Okara, 1963: 15–6)

The identity issue is not restricted to Asia or Africa — far from that. We see it in the USA too. The result is what Gates, Jr. (1992) calls 'the culture wars' for the identity of 'the loose canons'.

Caliban's canon and the Western canon

What are the responses to Caliban's canon? What is the reaction to the literary movements that Rao's 1937 [1938] credo anticipated? The reactions have been

of two types. The first reaction is that the multilingual's creativity in Anglophone Asia and Africa has given the English language a unique vitality, innovation, and cultural expansion. It has given it a pragmatic legitimacy. The result is what may be called 'multicanons' of English — of *Englishes*. It has indeed rejuvenated the medium and rescued it from exhaustion. The other reaction is almost the opposite of that, as demonstrated in, for example, the attitudes and concerns of Bailey and Quirk. I have discussed these elsewhere (see B. Kachru, 1991a).

The ongoing debate about diluting the canon and keeping 'loose canons' out on the periphery is only one side of the current debate on English. Rushdie (1991: 61) encounters this attitude when, a specialist in English literature, '... a friendly and perceptive man' suggested to him that '… [as] a Commonwealth writer [...] you probably find, don't you, that there's a kind of liberty, certain advantages, in occupying, as you do, *a position on the periphery*?' [emphasis added]. This *periphery* is one way that *defines* a Commonwealth writer in English. At a seminar in Cambridge, a lady from the British Council reassured Rushdie that, 'it's all right, for the purposes of our seminar, English studies are taken to include Commonwealth literature' (1991: 61). And Rushdie continues that:

> [a]t all other times, one was forced to conclude, these two would be kept strictly apart, like squabbling children, or sexually incompatible pandas, or perhaps, like unstable, fissile materials whose union might cause explosions. (Rushdie, 1991: 61)

Rao's *mantra* of the Indian reincarnation of English is one perspective. The debate about English in India, initiated with Macaulay's Minute of 1835, has continued unabated, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3. There are more than two sides to it. Consider, for example, views expressed in reviews both published in 1996. These views present two distinct visions and two distinct responses to Rao's *mantra*. First, the ecstasy of an Indian journalist, N. S. Jagannathan (1996):

> And the most important means that both the rulers and the ruled used for transforming the Indian mind and imagination was, ironically, the English language. It was through it we had access to western (read English) ideas and imagination. And Sanskrit literacy among even educated Indians being what it is, it was through English that the majority of them discovered their own intellectual history including that part of it inscribed in Indian languages unknown to them. Even anti-British nationalism was nurtured by English, a fact often forgotten by Macaulay-baiters assailing the hegemonic hold that the West has even today on our thinking. (*The Book Review*, April 1996: 29)

Second, the agony of an Indian educator, R. C. Gupta (1996):

> The ethical questions: 'How and by what logic should we continue to impose English language on our young learners?' and 'how much damage are we

> doing to the Indian languages and to the self-esteem of their speakers by our continued insistence on the teaching of English as an integral, nay essential, part of our curriculum?'— are not asked even by one contributor. (*The Book Review*, April 1996; 33)

Rao's *mantra*

There is no paucity of theoretical, ideological, and pragmatic perspectives and analyses on the consequences of the introduction of English in colonial Asia and Africa. And each label, each epithet, and each characterization represents an underlying attitude and a vision of a nation, nationhood, and national linguistic identity. These identities reflect in the use of a variety of attitude marking terms such as *auntie tongue, Trojan horse*, the *Other tongue, step daughter*, and so on, as mentioned in Chapter 2.

The most suggestive and loaded metaphor indeed is Caliban's tongue. It symbolizes how Caliban acquired a voice and used it as a linguistic weapon. It also symbolizes the imperial attitude towards Caliban and what he represents. The language was used for the spiritual, moral, and educational elevation of Caliban — Asia and Africa were the White Man's burden. But not for Rao. He does not use any such metaphors. There is no Caliban here, nor is Rao using English from the periphery. He brings English, and its functions, to the centre of his creativity, to the centre of *Indianness*. In his hands, the crossover of the language is on his terms.

In the foreword to *Kanthapura*, Rao makes a calm assertion of the instrumental use of the English language without the anger and agony of Nigeria's Wole Soyinka or the accusation of racism against the English language of Kenya's Ngũgĩ wa Thiõng'o. There is no conscious linguistic overlay of, for example, Mulk Raj Anand (1948), nor is there any 'radical linguistic operation' of Salman Rushdie:

> The (English) language [...] needs to be decolonized, to be made in other images, if those of us who use it from positions outside Anglo-Saxon culture are to be more than artistic Uncle Toms. And it is this endeavor that gives the new literatures of Africa, the Caribbean and India much of their present vitality and excitement. (Rushdie cited in Langeland, 1996: 16)

When asked, 'Why does Rao use English?', his response is consistent with the historical context of the period and within the assimilative linguistic tradition of India's past.[7] He says:

> Historically, this is how I am placed. I am not interested in being a European but in being me. *But the whole of the Indian tradition, as I see it, is in my work.* There is an honesty in choosing English, an honesty in terms of history. [emphasis added](Rao, cited in Jussawalla and Dasenbrock, 1992: 144)

Rao prefers the medium of English for pragmatic reasons too:

> In English, it seems as if one can do what one wants with the language. There are fewer rules, it's a newer language, and therefore has more freedom for invention. (Rao, ibid: 145)

And he contrasts English with French:

> I lived in France for a long time and know French almost as well as I do English, but this freedom is not available in French at all. French is so strict a language that there is hardly any freedom there. (Rao, ibid: 145)

We see the same view shared by Rao's younger contemporary, Anita Desai. Her 'material' is 'Indian' and she 'had to bend it and adapt it somehow to the English language'. Desai continues:

> The reason I'm so fascinated by the English language is that it's really possible to do this with English; it is flexible, it is so elastic. It does stretch, it does adapt, and it does take on all those Indian concepts and traditions and ways. (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock, 1992: 171)

The canon formation had begun with Rao and it continues in various ways in the post-colonial Indian writing in English.

Conclusion

The vision Rao presented in 1938 for India's English 'as distinctive and colorful as the Irish or the American' has actually come true, especially during the post-imperial period. It is meaningful that in 1988, Rao revisited the question which he had raised — almost as an aside — sixty years earlier. In *The Chessmaster and His Moves*, he brings in another facet, that of the contemporary English of his native India:

> Today of course what one speaks in India called English is a vernacular, and will someday grow like Urdu, and taking its own rhythm and structure. (Rao, 1988: 189)

And then, Rao provides an Indian 'meaning' to his contextualization, adding that:

> We in India welcome everything outlandish and offer it to the gods, who taste it, masticate it, and give it back to us as prasādam ['offerings to the gods returned to man sanctified']. When our English will have come to that maturity it might still achieve its own nationhood. Till then it will be like

> Anglo-Norman, neither French nor English, an historical incident in the growth of culture. After all, and we forget so easily, sister, India is hallowed with wisdom, antiquity, and history. (Rao, ibid: 189)

Once English acquired the ritualistic sanctity of *prasādam*, the earlier dichotomy which Rao suggested in 1938 between the *emotional* and *intellectual* make-up ceases. Indian English becomes an integral part of *being* — being an Indian.

We have seen several visions concerning canons of world Englishes — the South Asian, the East Asian, the West and East African, and African-American. Rao's vision of 1938 is far from Caliban's vision, or Caliban's anger or his revenge. And in Rao's hands language is not a weapon. There is no remorse, there is no revenge.

> You taught me language, and my profit on't
> Is I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
> For learning me your language![8]

For Rao, English is linguistic *prasādam* and he enjoys it, he celebrates it. It is consistent with his native *parampara*. In a recent evocative book, entitled *Empire of the Soul: Some Journeys in India*, Paul Roberts says that after

> Independence, however, Indian English said farewell to British English and began a life of its own. The British had shipped back a rich hand of linguistic booty over the years, too; many commonly used words [...] were the offspring of what Khushwant Singh termed promiscuous couplings with Indian languages. Home alone, Indian English became even more flirtatious among so many exotic tongues, rapidly evolving into a form as distinct at times, say the Irish English of James Joyce, or the richly varied American English of Damon Runyon, or Thomas Pynchon, or Alice Walker. (Roberts, 1996: 271)

Roberts has missed the mark; in a way Indian English said farewell to British English in 1938 when Rao wrote his credo for creativity. And as the years have passed, we see that Rao's *mantra* established a subtle connection between the English language and India's linguistic and cultural *parampara* and its assimilative literary culture. It took English over half a century to become an exponent of India's literary culture. In this way, Rao authenticates what he said later — much later — in an interview in 1992:

> [T]he important thing is not what language one writes in, for language is really an accidental thing. What matters is the authenticity of experience, and this can generally be achieved in any language. (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock, 1992: 147)

What Rao's *mantra* did was to create what has been called 'unselfconsciousness' about English, about creativity in this language, about *Indianness*. The new generation of Indian English writers such as Vikram Seth are celebrating it. Seth (1993) says:

> Many Indians have become quite unselfconscious about the use of English. It doesn't have colonial association for them. They use it as freely as their own language. [9]

The various modifications and elaborations of Rao's *mantra* thus provide us with earliest insights towards 'canon expansion' in world Englishes. These insights have to be contextualized within the literary and linguistic theoretical conceptualizations of the time — from the 1930s to the beginning of a new millennium. In literary terms, the influence of the Romantics was dominant in the 1930s. The concept of transcultural and multilingual creativity, and resultant canons, was yet to be established in English. Forster (1970) succinctly explains the context:

> [...] we have all been brought up to believe that each language has its mystery and its soul, and that these are very sacred things, in whose name indeed much blood has been shed in our own lifetime and is still being shed [...] [I]f we put sentiment aside, there are very many people and very many situations for which different languages are simply tools appropriate to certain definite purposes, analogous to the different stylistic levels within any one language.

This attitude resulted in what Lefevere has called the attitude of 'monolingualization' of literary history. He says:

> another pernicious outgrowth of the "monolingualism" of literary history by Romantic historiographers intent on creating "national" literatures preferably as uncontaminated as possible by foreign influences. (Lefevere, 1990: 24)

In linguistic conceptualizations, as Haugen reminds us, the attitude towards a bilingual's creativity conveyed psychological and linguistic marginalization; what we see, as Haugen says, is that '[...] both popularly and scientifically, bilingualism was in disrepute' (1950: 272). Haugen makes a poignant observation that 'just as the bilingual himself often was a marginal personality, so the study of his behavior was a marginal scientific pursuit'. (ibid: 272)

It is within the context of such a literary and linguistic theoretical vacuum that Rao's *mantra* has to be contextualized. In canon-formation in world Englishes, in constructs for such creativity, and in understanding the bi- or mulitilinguals' linguistic behaviour, Rao's *mantra* emphatically reminds us that language is merely the *madhyama*. In a multilingual's creativity, as Rao rightly

observes, what language one writes in 'is an accidental thing'. The important thing is the 'authenticity of experience'. Rao believes that one can express one's 'experience' through the *madhyama* of English. He 'found English to be the nearest equivalent to the ancient Sanskrit as it has almost the same range of varied expression, suppleness, and adaptability to different modes and effects and similar richness and complexity'.[10] Rao found French, as stated earlier, 'more disciplined and precise'. But it did not provide room for 'experimentation'. What Rao wanted was 'to adopt a Western language to his Eastern sensibility'.[11] That he found in English *madhyama* so that he could use it for his *mantra.*

It is in this way — a pragmatic way — that Rao authenticates the formal and functional Indianness in Indian English. It is such authentication that contributed towards developing 'strategic constructs' for the Indian canon of English. And it is through such constructs, to use Kermode's concept,[12] that a *parampara* is established, and that is what Rao did by using the subtle device of the 'sacred thread' that Indianized the English language. It laid a foundation for the later generations, including the Rushdie generation as well as 'Rushdie's children'.[13]

8

Talking back and writing back

Introduction

In its genre, that of face-to-face interviews, *Interviews with Writers of the Post-Colonial World* is rewarding, stimulating, and extremely informative.[1] The team of two skilful interviewers, Jussawalla and Dasenbrock (hereafter, J and D), have made this fine book a resource for both scholars of language and literature of 'new literature in English' (1992: 3). They rightly hasten to explain, however, that 'some of them [new literatures] are not so new'. One example of a long tradition of writing in English is India, as Indians began to write in the 1820s and a continuous tradition of Indian writing in English descended from that time (p. 141). The book includes interviews with fourteen writers in English representing diverse sociocultural and multilingual contexts from Kenya, Somalia, Nigeria, Trinidad, India, Pakistan, New Zealand, and 'minority writers' from the USA. The writers included are: Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o (pp. 25–41), Nuruddin Farah (pp. 43–62), Chinua Achebe (pp. 64–81), Buchi Emecheta (pp. 83–99), Sam Selvon (pp. 101–16), Roy Heath (pp. 118–39), Raja Rao (pp. 141–55), Anita Desai (pp. 157–79), Zulfikar Ghose (pp. 181–96), Bapsi Sidhwa (pp. 198–221), Witi Ihimaera (pp. 223–42), Rudolfo Anaya (pp. 244–55), Rolando Hinojosa (pp. 257–85), and Sandra Cisneros (pp. 287–306). A detailed introduction (pp. 3–23) provides both a backdrop for understanding the selection criteria and a brief discussion of the shared concerns of the writers. There is an index (pp. 307–12) and each interview includes a picture of the interviewee.

The introduction provides a profile of English as medium of literary creativity which encompasses practically all the continents, almost all major countries of the world, and many small nations. These include diverse cultures and language backgrounds. A significant fact is that 'writing in English is now being done all over the world, not just in North America and the British Isles' (p. 3). In short, the sun never sets on the writers of English, and 'the Empire writes back with a vengeance' (Rushdie, 1982). There is much more to it —

the centre for creativity, as Steiner affirms (1975), has shifted from what used to be the citadel of the Raj, the United Kingdom.

What J and D have done to focus on this international literary creativity in English is 'to interview some of the best writers from the new literatures in English, bringing together writers from former British colonies in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Indian Subcontinent, as well as minority writers from New Zealand and the United States' (pp. 4–5). The ethnic or minority writers of the USA (Rudolfo Anaya, Rolando Hinojosa, and Sandra Cisneros) are included with other writers interviewed for 'their multilinguality and their multiculturalism' (p. 7).

Three basic questions

The focus of the interviewers is on three intriguing questions concerning literary creativity in world Englishes: (a) What does it mean to write in a language that is not one's own? (b) What does it mean to have more than one language to write in? (c) How does this affect one's approach to English? (p. 7)

These are the questions that have been asked by linguists and literary scholars for several decades now. In the case of India one thinks of, for example, P. Lal's extensive empirical study addressing these issues (Lal, 1969). The answers by Indian English poets to Lal's questionnaire were very perceptive. In answers to these questions one detects both agony and ecstasy for using English as the medium of creativity. This agony continues, and now years after Lal's study, J and D have understandably not come up with a new or definitive answer. However, their interviews confirm what other studies have shown, that every writer interviewed 'had an answer — some explicit, some implicit — to this question, but the variety of answers indicates no clear consensus' (p. 8).

There are also intriguing and provocative questions concerning what may be termed the multi-canons of Englishes and the critical criteria for evaluating these canons. One asks: To what extent can Eurocentric critical approaches be applied to Asian or African writing in English? In Africa, these questions have been articulated by Chinua Achebe and Chinweizu; in South Asia by C. D. Narasimhaiah, P. Lal, and Thiru Kandiah; and in Southeast Asia by Lloyd Fernando and Edwin Thumboo, just to name a handful of scholars. The questions raised by these scholars go beyond critical approaches. They concern such issues as the bilingual's creativity (B. Kachru, 1986b and later), issues of textual comprehension and intelligibility (Smith and Nelson, 1985; Smith, 1987, 1992), and the crossover of discourse strategies from one language into another (Y. Kachru, 1985a, 1987, 1991).

The debate on these issues ceases to be purely academic and becomes

vitriolic when one asks: Can one express one's cultural identity (Asian or African) in a colonial language? Ngũgĩ, 'one of the great novelists of English of our time' (9), has now gone back to writing in Gikuyu (or Kikuyu) for he believes, as J and D explain that 'to be truly afrocentric [sic], one should go back to writing in African languages, not writing in a European language such as English' (9). Ngũgĩ's approach to establishing identity raises a variety of concerns for multilingual and multicultural societies. A host of questions come to mind: How does one treat Swahili in parts of Africa, and Sanskrit and Hindi in the Dravidian south of India? What recourse do the users of 'minority' languages have when Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Yoruba, Chinese, and Malay are imposed on them as regional or national languages? There is no one satisfactory answer to these questions.

Then comes another tricky issue, that of 'localism' versus 'universalism'. This issue goes beyond establishing an evaluative criterion for literature, but crosses over to *acculturation* and *nativization* of Englishes in Anglophone African and Asian sociolinguistic contexts. These two processes mentioned earlier have been extensively discussed in literature and have resulted in an extended debate (see B. Kachru, 1997b). Questions related to these processes recur practically in every interview in the book. One must agree with Achebe when he says that 'we may have gone from Mathew Arnold to Lacan, but we live under the same kind of hegemonic domination of Western critical criteria' (p. 79).

What are the solutions?

The recurring attention to these questions is understandable since the interviewees have several shared experiences: a common heritage of colonialism and post-colonialism, multilingualism and multiculturalism, and that of displacement and migration (p. 14). In focusing on these shared experiences of the fourteen writers and their impact on creativity in English, J and D want to make a broader point; the point is that 'the study of distinct national literatures may work well enough in a European context, but it does not make much sense of the post-colonial world' (p. 14).

What, then, is the solution? The interviewers argue that 'what we need instead to make sense of the richness of literature in English from around the world today is a comparative approach' (p. 14). And they redefine the relatively recent scholarly field of comparative literature which

> is customarily taken to be the study of literature in different languages, but what we need to develop today is comparative literature within English, studying and comparing the different literatures in English, looking both for their similarities and commonalities but also for their differences. (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock, 1992: 14)

J and D thus lock horns with traditional scholars in comparative literature on two levels. First, comparative literature has generally meant comparison of national literatures in more than one language. As an aside, one might add here, that Asian and African literary components have traditionally been treated as marginal or peripheral for this field, though this Eurocentricity is now less visible than what it was just a few decades ago. Second, one wonders if comparative literature as a field can be defined just with reference to literatures in world Englishes. One must, however, agree with J and D that comparative study of world English literatures can be one dimension — indeed an important dimension — of comparative literature as a scholarly field of investigation. What J and D suggest is academically insightful, as an added dimension of *comparative* studies.

There are a number of themes which run throughout the interviews. Some of these themes have received considerable attention from linguists and literary scholars during the past three decades in conferences, seminars, and publications (B. Kachru, 1997b). It is, however, refreshing to revisit these issues in this book. One has an opportunity of taking a peek into drawing room conversations. One has an opportunity to listen to substantial agreements and considerable disagreements among the international novelists in English.

There is a sample of some of the most aggressively debated issues in literature, and reactions to those issues by some major writers in world Englishes. First is the question of why Africans or Asians write in English and their identity with the language. Ngũgĩ's response to this question is that African thought is imprisoned in foreign languages. African literature and African thought, even at their most radical, even at their most revolutionary, are alienated from the majority (p. 30). This is, of course, consistent with Ngũgĩ's earlier observation that English is the 'cultural bomb' in Africa (1986: 3; see also Ngũgĩ, 1991). On the other hand, Nuruddin Farah, has problems with Ngũgĩ's stand:

> [...] because when I come to define who my people are, and I ask myself, really and truly, who I feel closest to, I find that not only are Somalis my people, but the whole of the continent of Africa; India, where I grew up intellectually, and where I wrote my first novel; the Arab world, which has also influenced me culturally; all these are my people. My people are the people in any part of the world who have been colonized and have been deprived of their own self pride. (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock, 1992: 45)

Chinua Achebe also creates a distance between himself and Ngũgĩ; for him Ngũgĩ 'comes from a country where there is now a very strong tradition of extremism. He is *almost* as extremist as Moi (*Laughter*)' (p. 67). For another Nigerian writer, Buchi Emecheta, English is 'our lingua franca' (p. 93), therefore, 'there is no real need in Nigeria to translate books from English'

(ibid.). Raja Rao responds to this question in typical Rao style which I have quoted earlier in Chapter 7 and cannot resist quoting it here again:

> Historically, this is how I am placed. I'm not interested in being a European but in being me. But the whole of the Indian tradition, as I see it, is in my work. There is an honesty in choosing English, an honesty in terms of history. (p. 144)[2]

The second question, again hotly debated in Asia and Africa is: Does authenticity require writing in one's mother tongue? The debate on this provocative question continues: it is claimed that Ngũgĩ in Kenya, Parthasarathy in India, and Mazisi Kunene in South Africa believe that authenticity does require writing in the mother tongue. However, Raja Rao does not see his 'coming to English as a second language', either as an 'advantage' or 'disadvantage' (p. 147). It is not important what language one writes in for him: the medium is an 'accidental' thing for Rao. It is the 'authenticity of experience' that matters to him, as discussed in Chapter 7.

And Rao's position has abundant support from literary creativity in multilingual societies, and that leads to a third question: What are the processes of the bilinguals' creativity? This fascinating question has generally been ignored in the studies on the spread of English. One aspect of such creativity is that a creative writer 'plays' with several mediums to produce a cohesive text in a variety of English. In Kenya, as Ngũgĩ observes, there is a 'three-language situation' which involves English, Swahili and 'nationality languages like Gikuyu, Luo, and so on' (p. 34). What does a writer do in such situations? The answer is: 'By playing with this language situation, you can get another level of meaning through the interaction of all three languages' (*ibid.*) One manifestation of this interaction of languages is the hybridity of the medium. Two manifestations of this as shown earlier, are MIXING and SWITCHING. These two devices result in stylistic innovations as in Ngũgĩ's *Petals of Blood* and *Devil on the Cross*, in Raja Rao's *The Serpent and the Rope*, and *The Chessmaster and His Moves*, and in the recent, much acclaimed novel, *A Suitable Boy*, by Vikram Seth.

The use of subvarieties of Englishes, such as Babu English, basilect, and the pidgins (for example, in Singapore, Malaysia, Nigeria, and India) has intrigued linguists and literary critics for a long time. And now, in this book, we have the voices of those who use these subvarieties in a creative way for stylistic effects. We learn from them what role varieties within an institutional variety of English play. In an answer to a question by Dasenbrock, we learn about Achebe's attitude towards the pidgins:

> John Updike did a review of *Anthills of the Savannah* in *The New Yorker*, in which he expresses irritation at your use of pidgin? ... How do you feel about this? (ibid: 73)

And Achebe answers:

> I think again we're dealing with these people who are irritating in their "this cannot be; this must not be; this will not be". Why, why, why are people so frightened of letting things that happen in real life happen in literature? Pidgin exists. Pidgin English is there. On the other extreme, there are others who say everything must be written in pidgin; this is our language. That's just as absurd. (p. 73)

However, not all agree with Achebe's frustration. Witi Ihimaera, 'the first Maori to write a novel and the first to receive any international acclaim' (p. 223), says:

> … although I know that there are some people who defend pidgin now as a language in its own right in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu and in Melanesia generally, my whole attitude has been that I dislike pidgin intensely. (p. 234)

Bushi Emecheta's views on style and language are equally provocative, particularly when she discusses the work of the much talked about Amos Tutuola (p. 88). About her own style, Emecheta explains the way she plays 'with the English language':

> […] I translate my thoughts from my own emotional language into English, and try to adjust as much as possible. An example of that kind is I don't say the child says "thank you," I will say "she dances her thanks." That is because it belongs to my culture. If I say thank you, I say "thank you and good". I show a feeling, "She cried her sorrow," or "she cried her woes." And so she mourned, or something like that. The verb shows exactly what you are going through. You say in English, "that man is very sad." We say, 'that man is walking his sadness." In *The Slave Girl*, for instance, I translated almost word for word like that. (p. 98)

These observations about her creativity echo what Chinua Achebe says, and what Raja Rao says, to mention just two. These statements support what has been termed acculturation, and conscious nativization of English. And, here we get it straight from the horse's mouth.

Creativity, pluralistic contexts and standards

There are other opportunities in the book to peek into the processes for creativity used by the multilingual and multicultural writers, for example, Roy

Heath about the use of creoles; 'it's simply an English that has changed in crossing the sea and is spoken by people whose mother tongue was not English' (p. 125).

The fourth question has agonized educators in the post-colonial world; it relates to what are believed to be the declining standards of English and its declining numbers of users. Is it true, for example, in India that standards of English are declining? Raja Rao is forthright in his response:

> Not at all. The English we use in India today is a much better English than it was some forty to fifty years ago. Then it was just Victorian English […] Most of the English I read in magazines in India today is very much better indeed. Some of it is worse, of course, as the standards of education have fallen. But English in India is so much more interesting and much freer than it used to be. (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock, 1992: 149)

And Anita Desai shares Rao's view:

> There's suddenly been a whole new crop of Indian writers, far more confident — confident about handling English, far more sure of themselves as writers, actually being able to earn a living as writers, which was all unheard of when I was starting off. (ibid: 172)[3]

And finally, there is often asked a delicate question concerning the post-colonial writers in English living in London (the Asians, Africans, and West Indians): Is there solidarity among these groups? Do they face discrimination? Buchi Emecheta does not mince words; her answer is:

> Yes and no. There's discrimination here too. When you come here, the Westerner will say, 'You are black.' Okay. And that, again, is bad. And the West Indian will say, 'You're African.' The Asian will say, 'You are African.' And so when they say 'black writer,' the Asians find that it suits them to be black when it pays. But when it's not, it suits them to be white. They are 'black' when they know there is something to gain and 'white' at other times. They are still on that borderline. There are always these factions. I think it's human. And writers explore these themes, always, because they are there. Many write from the totality of their lived experience. (Jussawalla and Dasenbrock, 1992: 96)

This is not all. The above are just some illustrative nuggets from the book. There are many more such nuggets, for example, on language and values (p. 261), on mixing (pp. 288–9), on translation (p. 145), on the flexibility of English (p. 171), on the politics of publication (p. 90), and on culture and language (p. 258).

Conclusion

On these and other topics, culture-specific or across cultures, the two interviewers probe the issues, raise questions, seek explanations and compare writers and their works in a sensitive and unobtrusive way: the two voices of the interviewers, one female and one male, complement each other well, very well indeed.

One might quibble about one or two points. First, the interviewers have made no attempt to raise readers' consciousness about language-oriented insights on world Englishes. Despite the existence of a substantial body of related linguistic research, the fifteen cited works in the introduction (p. 23) do not mention a single such work, though these are relevant to the topics discussed in the introduction.[4]

Second, it is claimed that Hindi, in India, is 'the only indigenous language that more than 10 percent of the population speaks, is still strongly resisted in non-Hindi speaking parts of the country' (p. 157). This statement tells only part of the story: the 'resistance' to Hindi (see Chapter 3) has two faces just like that of 'resistance' to English — a public face and a private face. In reality, Hindi and English are the two languages in which bilingualism in India is in fact increasing — both 'visible' and 'invisible' bilingualism. Actually, in the south of India the 'invisible' channels of learning and teaching Hindi are more active than the visible ones. It is only just recently that sociolinguists interested in language spread have begun to pay attention to this phenomenon (see Chapters 4 and 5 for further discussion). The report of the percentage of people who speak English is also not correct.

This collection of interviews has been 'an experience of learning to listen to and learning to learn from their different voices' (p. 22). I must confess that it has been the same experience for me too. This is the type of book one can share with colleagues interested in world Englishes — literature and language. This book can be used to bring the writers' voices to the classroom, to initiate discussion, to provide a writer's perspective, and to explain English as a medium for pluralism, which has been the theoretical and methodological focus of world Englishes (see B. Kachru, 1997b; Dasenbrock, 1987). In other words, it is an example of the kind of pedagogical contribution called for in Chapter 6.

Part IV
Predator

9

Killer or accessory to murder?

Introduction

The tenor of this chapter is partly indicative of the global gravity and the current tone of international debate on this topic of language death and decay. We are witnessing in South Asia, in East Asia, in Africa, and indeed across all the continents, escalating critical stages of endangerment, decay, and ultimately, the death of typologically and culturally diverse human languages.

All of these visions and warnings of impending linguistic doom are not necessarily seen as the inevitable outcome of natural processes in the evolving survival of the fittest languages. The causation is often seen as motivated, intentional, and even planned. A lexicon of violent, potent, and wilfully initiated terminology about what is called *linguicide* and *language death* is growing. We see terms such as *language suicide*, *language murder*, and *language genocide*, or *glottophagie* ('language eating') and *throwing away languages* used to articulate these crises and the contexts in which such extinction takes place. In this acrimonious debate this string of violent terminology is often used to refer to the English language, as the major medium that causes the extinction of languages by its global presence, its functional power, and its penetration in Asian and African and European societies. This debate has multiple positions and one position is that of Fennell (2001: 266) who believes that 'English is not a "killer" language in most instances, but it could definitely be called an "accessory to murder".'

The wave of doom

One might rightly ask: What are the indicators of these contexts of doom-in-progress? The signals are in the changing profiles and dynamics of the decreasing functions of a majority of the world's languages. The vanishing voices provide alarming signals that an overwhelming number of languages

across cultures now have no speaking voices or at most a handful of the last surviving speakers. Consider, for example:

a.   Alawa, in northern Australia, has only 17–20 fluent speakers left;
b.   Achumavi, in northern California, has just 10 elderly speakers;
c.   The very last speaker of Eyak, Marie Smith Jones, is now 81 years old;
d.   Jack Butler, the last native speaker of Jiwarli, died in 1986; and
e.   Manx, as a native language, became extinct in 1900 on the Isle of Manx.[1]

We are now busy in the futile effort of embalming the dead languages. This dance of doom of languages is now visible to different degrees in all the regions of the world. The estimated current figure for languages in the world is 6,000, and the doomsday prediction is that this century will witness the last words of over 50 percent of these languages. This language extinction will, of course, be proportionally shared by India's 387 languages,[2] Indonesia's 731 languages, Malaysia's 140 languages, and the Philippines's 172 languages (www.ethnologue.com).

India is home to the fourth largest number of languages in the world. The other three countries are: Papua New Guinea (850); Indonesia (650); and Nigeria (410). The major instruments of LANGUAGE LEVELLING are rapid and unplanned expansion of the metropolitan areas, and aggressive efforts to implement assimilative language policies and educational curricula. Perhaps the most powerful instrument is what Krauss (1992: 6) characterizes as 'cultural nerve gas', referring to 'electronic media bombardment'. This media has provided, Krauss adds, 'an incalculably lethal new weapon'. This lethal weapon is aimed at 'moribund' and 'endangered' languages (Krauss, 1992: 4). The 'moribund' languages, Krauss continues, 'are already doomed to extinction, like species lacking reproductive capacity'.

In South Asia, to give one example, we witness the gradual extinction of a host of languages (see Table 9.1). The following are some randomly chosen examples. In the literature a variety of typologies have been presented to chart the horoscope of languages on the death or endangerment list (e.g. see Calvet, 1974; Edwards, 1992; Fase, Jaspaert and Kroon, 1992; Fishman, 1991; Grenoble and Whaley, 1998). If these typologies are applied to Asia and specifically to the Indian subcontinent, India is very high on the list.

Table 9.1   Examples of endangered languages in South Asia

Language	Speakers
Bangladesh	
Mru	18,000
Phalura	8,000
Chak	6,000
Pankua	3,000
Khyang	2,000
Kumi	2,000
India	
Agariya	98
Aimol	108
Anal	11,074
Andamanese	17
Angika	473 or 502
Ao	101 or 302
Nepal	
Sherpa	140,000
Danuvar	28,000
Dhangar	20,000
Derai	7,000
Thakali	7,000
Kumal	1,000
Byangsi	1,000
Pakistan	
Brahui	1,400
Khwar	250
Wanetesi	80,000
Bashkarik	40,000
Bateri	30,000
Kati	5,000
Dameli	5,000
Gourarbati	1,000
Palasi	1,000

Obiturial terminology

The underlying manifestations of the metaphors and epithets of doom denote various stages of gradual functional curtailment and then ultimate demise of languages. This process, as Hale (1992: 1) reminds us, 'is not unrelated to the simultaneous loss of diversity in the zoological and botanical worlds'. There is naturally, therefore, international concern about this ongoing deterioration and devastation of linguistic ecology.

It is, however, true that some languages over time pass through yet another stage: the stage of, as it were, LINGUISTIC COMA — almost dead in the spoken interactional mode, but alive in the written mode. One thinks of, for example, Coptic Egyptian, Ge'ez, Latin, and Sanskrit, to name a few.

Hypotheses and rationalizations

The current concern and resultant debate on language endangerment and preservation centres around the following hypotheses.

First, the DARWINIAN EVOLUTIONARY HYPOTHESIS: that language survival is based on the functional viability of a language in a particular context, in a specific culture. It is not only the function that matters but 'that the weak must speak to the strong in the language of the strong' (Shorris, 2000: 38). That happened to the Native American languages in the USA; to the indigenous languages in Australia; and similarly, the languages mentioned above from the Indian subcontinent are all languages of the so-called Schedule Castes or the Scheduled Tribes.

Second, the REDUCTIONIST HYPOTHESIS of *the formal linguists:* Shorris (2000: 36) observes that Noam Chomsky has 'made it clear that the study of language itself does not require more than a few examples here and there. Two are sufficient, three a plethora, because the same structure [...] lies deep in the brain of every Homo sapiens.' Shorris asks: 'Is there a reductive and even murderous aspect hidden in Chomsky's view of language?' (p. 38).

This position of Chomsky and others has resulted in what Dixon considers one 'major myth in modern linguistics' (Dixon, 1997: 133). This myth has now divided linguists into the DESCRIPTIVISTS and the THEORETICIANS. This dichotomy has ultimately impacted university linguistics departments, and there is no attention paid to writing descriptive grammars of languages — living or dying. In most linguistics programmes in the West, says Dixon, linguists are generally trained without any training in field linguistics, which, Dixon comments is 'rather like a group of "surgeons", none of whom has ever actually performed an operation, giving courses on principles of surgery' (Dixon, 1997: 133). Perhaps Dixon has somewhat overdramatized the point, but he certainly has articulated a vital topic that is of concern to us all.

Third, the LINGUISTIC GENOCIDE HYPOTHESIS: that language endangerment and extinction is attributed to 'outright [linguistic] genocide' (Krauss, 1992: 6). The illustrative cases of such attempts of gradual linguistic genocide are, e.g. the Native American languages of the USA; the Aboriginal languages of Australia; and recent cases including Kurdish (Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak, 1994; Hassapour, 1992) and Korean during the Japanese occupation (1910–1945). The configuration of this doom, is that 'at the rate things are going —

the coming century will see either the death or the doom of 90% of mankind's languages' (Krauss, 1992: 7).

There still are no reliable figures about the number of languages facing extinction. This debate on linguistic ecology and research in this area is rather recent; it is indicative of a shift in the concern. The earlier debates primarily agonized over languages of wider communication in the colonial contexts (e.g. English, French, Spanish, Portuguese), and the questions related to national languages (e.g. the Hindi/Hindustani controversy) and their viability as languages of education and national integration, and their usefulness as communicative tools to unite subjects living in what are called the Towers of Babel in Asia and Africa. The studies by Western scientists, political pandits, missionaries, and educators constructed the contexts of colonized Asia and Africa as regions at the brink of Balkanization or disintegration, often engaged in language feuds, and culture wars. We were warned that these 'fissiparous' internal feuds would increase as the colonial control ended. What one needed, we were cautioned, was a language to unite us. This pragmatic warning and introspection led to extensive policies and efforts in what may be termed LANGUAGE LEVELLING. The post-colonial period has seen perhaps the most aggressive initiatives in bi- and multilingualism and in languages of wider communication and constitutionally endorsed language policies leading to language levelling. In such language policies, the underlying motive is to reconstruct identities, that of nationhood, culture, literature, and so on. Earlier extreme examples of language levelling have resulted in linguistic genocide as in the cases of Australia and the USA, as mentioned earlier.

The next step in this direction has involved efforts towards DIALECT LEVELLING. The cases in point are Singapore, China and the ongoing controversy in the United States, particularly about African-American English, now reincarnated as Ebonics. The motivations for such levelling are varied: one is that of a 'cultivated attitude' that monolingualism and monolingual organizations are desirable for society, education, and even for formulating linguistic theory (see B. Kachru, 1996c).

There are several examples of societal indicators towards a language levelling. In India, for example, the percentage of non-L1 Hindi speaker who are bilingual in Hindi increased from 38% in 1971 to almost 42.88% in 1981. This was an increase of almost 4.88%. If the same percentage of increase has continued for the next two decades, the figures are 47.76% for 1991 and 52.64% for 2001. Social scientists have yet to research what type of language shifts and ultimate language death is initiated by such multilingualism. Thus, the number of language policies made a choice between INCLUSION and EXCLUSION: the result of such policies is the two types of social groups, ADVANTAGED and DISADVANTAGED. This exclusion is caused by an official language, illiteracy, and an unshared medium of communication. These points

have been insightfully argued by Bamgboṣe (2000: 1), specifically with reference to the African context (regarding linguistic inequality in Papua New Guinea, see also Sankoff, 1977).

Culprits and killers

We have yet to answer this complex question: Who are the killers or what initiates ultimate language death? The police line-up of the culprits and killers has not come to any conclusion. It is not that the enemy is elusive, but that the context and motivations are varied. There are several historical reasons that have resulted in the present situation.

First, as mentioned above, there is a long tradition in which the Asian and African multilingual states have shown more concern in their language policies for language as a collective symbol of national identity and development than as a tool for the preservation of minority identities. At one level, these reasons are understandable. During the post-imperial period and in many cases even before that, the emphasis has been on articulating and consolidating political policies to control divisive tendencies — social, regional, and political. This was partly a reaction to the arbitrary carving out of territories by the colonial policies in Africa, South and East Asia, and South America. The outcome of such policies is that in the lifetime of most of us many of the languages will be reduced to mere statistics on the list of Asia's and other nations' dead and doomed languages.

Second, in the case of India, there are a significant number of languages that are at present fundamentally marginalized within India's states and at the federal level. It is argued that a major cause — perhaps unintended — of this loss of India's linguistic resources is the post-1947 language-related initiatives, taken at the federal and state levels (e.g. see R. S. Gupta, Abbi and Aggarval, 1995; B. Kachru, in press). One such major initiative is the Eighth Schedule of India's Constitution. The underlying assumptions of the much-discussed Eighth Schedule are, essentially, two: LANGUAGE REDUCTION and LANGUAGE HIERARCHY.

A variety of arguments have been given for the final recommendations in the Eighth Schedule. The much-prolonged debate and argumentation clearly shows that the recommendations for the REDUCTIONIST model are an answer to the traditional characterization of the subcontinent as a Tower of Babel and a land of 'linguistic confusion'. This debate ultimately resulted in the highly controversial selection of the 15 languages, out of a total estimated number that varies from 1653 to the current 380. The fifteen languages originally selected and ranked in terms of the numbers of their speakers were: Hindi, Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Sindhi,

Assamese, and Sanskrit. In 1992, three more languages — Konkani, Manipuri, and Gorkhali — were added to that original list, adding to 18 national languages. The list is increasing like the mythological monkey-God Hanumana's tale. In 2003 four more languages were added — Bodo, Dogri, Maithili, and Santali — under political pressure. In 2004, now India has 22 national languages.

This reductionism also has a hierarchical dimension, evident in the following selections and ranking:

a. international link language (English)
b. national link language (Hindi)
c. official languages (Hindi and English). A distinction is then made between an official language and associate official language (English).
d. regional languages (with the status of national languages)

For a detailed discussion and various perspectives, see R. S. Gupta, Abbi and Aggarval, 1995; Ram, 1983; Shah, 1968.

The leaking model

The Indian model, although not different from the model we see in other major multilingual societies such as Nigeria, South Africa, Indonesia, and Malaysia, is flawed — or 'leaking' — on several counts. These flaws include:

1. CONCEPTUALIZATION: The conceptual model for the initial deliberations and the final proposal was provided by the model of the former Soviet Union. The contextual relevance of the model to India's linguistic and sociocultural situation is questionable.
2. HIERARCHICAL IDENTIFICATION: The hierarchical ranking ultimately led to further language concerns, language conflicts, and ongoing regional and linguistic reconfigurations. The debate on language versus dialect distinctions and suppression of cultural identities due to the implementation of this model still has not abated.
3. FUNCTIONAL ISOLATION: The speakers of a variety of languages and dialects have criticized the model for insensitivity towards the functional range of viable languages and dialects. A consequence of this 'isolation' is the often violently articulated demand for language rights in several states.
4. MARGINALIZATION: This term is specifically used here for those states of the union which have been carved out on the basis of the speakers of a language. The irony of the situation is that the 'minority' language speakers comprise a larger percentage of the speakers of the language than the speakers of the 'recognized' state languages. The following tables are illustrative:

Table 9.2   Number of languages spoken in each Indian state

State	Number of Mother Tongues Reported	Percentage of Minority Language Speakers
Andhra Pradesh	73	14.03
Assam	62	42.86
Bihar	48	55.70
Gujarat	37	9.50
Jammu and Kashmir	42	45.58
Kerala	55	43.98
Madhya Pradesh	58	21.93
Madras	70	16.83
Maharashtra	187	23.45
Mysore	87	34.83
Orissa	12	17.69
Punjab	60	44.36
Rajasthan	13	43.51
Uttar Pradesh	41	14.61
W. Bengal	139	15.72

Table 9.3   Number of languages spoken in Union Territories

Union Territories	Percentage of Minority Language Speakers
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	78.20
Delhi	22.62
Himachal Pradesh	61.53
LM and A Islands	16.92
Manipur	35.54
Tripura	34.78
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	41.14
Goa, Daman and Diu	11.19
Pondicherry	11.71
NEFA	72.59
Nagaland	84.54
Sikkim	54.15

Table 9.4   Percentage of minority language speakers by states and Union Territories

Percentage of Minority Speakers	Number of States and Union Territories
Above 80%	1
Above 70%	2
Above 60%	1
Above 50%	2
Above 40%	5
Above 30%	3
Above 20%	3
Above 10%	2

In the constitutional control of language policies, the cardinal concepts seem to be that of selection and hierarchy. Whatever the merits of such strategies, these have been considered of questionable validity from the perspective of a nation's linguistic ecology and heritage, not only in India, but also in, for example, Singapore, South Africa, and Nigeria. The construction of imagined or justifiable national identities has resulted in several consequences in most societies in the North and South. A variety of questions related to the functional curtailment of languages and dialects and the resultant linguistic disenfranchisement of what are called minority populations have yet to be answered and researched. The deprivation of language is, after all, the loss of an important tool for articulating a cultural identity.

These results have provided considerable disintegrative ammunition and have initiated culture wars of various types in not only Asia and Africa, but also in the United States and now in the United Kingdom.

Killer English?

In this vibrant and often harsh debate for locating the 'killer' and the 'accessory', it is the often repeated *mantra* that we have found the 'killer language', and it is English. However, the jury is still out on this one. In this finger-pointing there is an assumption that the English language is the victor in this ongoing language war and is responsible for the untimely embalming of the world's other languages.

In answer to this finger pointing, there are at least two positions. First, that of Krauss (1996: 5) with which several Asian and African scholars concur. In his view:

> It would seem that English language dominance in the 'English-speaking world' has achieved and continues to achieve the highest documented rate of destruction, approaching now 90%. […] In comparison with Russian, in the Russian Republic, 'the total is more like 50%'. (Krauss, 1996: 5)

The second position is that of Graddol (1997). In his British Council sponsored book, *The Future of English?,* Graddol tells us a somewhat different story, suggesting that English is rarely the initiator of language loss as suggested by Krauss and others.

There is no paucity of literature in Asia and elsewhere which frequently uses aggressive and violent metaphors to represent the social penetration and overwhelming global functions of the English language. The symbolism of negativity and negative constructs of the 'interloper' language are equally potent and ideologically charged. The critiques and rhetoric of negativism are constructed around the themes such as *linguistic genocide, inequality, imperialism,*

Anglo-centricity, anti-nationalism, anti-native culture, rootless-ness, permissiveness, divisiveness, and *alienation.* All of these attitudes point to the stifling economic, ideological, and power-centred 'hegemonic' or 'dominant' presence of English language worldwide. But then there is a string of positive constructs presenting yet another dimension of the language that I have discussed in 'World Englishes: the Agony and Ecstasy' (see B. Kachru, 1996b).

There are indeed various negative constructs of English in various parts of Asia and elsewhere. Let me provide an observation from South Asia by a literary critic and academic, Ram Swarup Chaturvedi (1997–1998), who expresses a variety of concerns about the presence and uses of the English language in India, the integrity and creativity of those who write in this language, and their nativization (in Chaturvedi's case *Indianization*) of the language and the Indianization of the message. The acclaim and recognition of such writing in the West is viewed by Chaturvedi as a conspiracy involving lexicographers, as in the *Oxford Learners Dictionary*, who, in Chaturvedi's view, authenticate *apabhrashṭa* (distorted or substandard) uses of English by Indian users. The conspiracy is, however, much deeper, as Chaturvedi writes:

> Angrezī mẽ likhā sāhitya ab *bhārtiya sāhityā* kī mukhya *dhārā* ke rūp mẽ pradarshit kiyā jātā hai. (p. 19)

Which translates as: 'The literature written in English is presented as the major trend in Indian literature.'

Language attitudes

The decay and death of a language is an extended process that first is reflected in language attitude: that is, the attitude of the users of a language — its speech community — towards their language. The combination of attitude and types of functional range of language are certainly major causes of LANGUAGE SHIFT.

Let me provide an example from my 'mother tongue', Kashmiri. The Eighth Schedule of India's Constitution recognizes Kashmiri as one of the national languages. In numerical terms and in terms of its functional range, Kashmiri is a 'minority' language. In Kashmir and in diaspora, Kashmiri is spoken by around three million people — Hindus, Muslims, and a handful of Sikhs. The sociolinguistic profile of the language is rather complex, and I do not propose to discuss it in detail here. The creative writers in Kashmiri reflect this agony and, at the same time, the excitement in finally settling on Kashmiri as their medium of creativity. A majority of these writers first experimented with Urdu, Persian, Hindi, and English. Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur (1885–1952) considered Kashmiri a 'backward language', though he played the most important role in its literary revival.

This takes us back to the question of attitude towards a literary or cultivated language. The Kashmiris have traditionally given that status to Sanskrit and Persian and in recent years, to English. One earlier Kashmiri Persian poet, Lachman Raina (d. 1898), expresses this attitude in a *masnavī:*

> Writing verse in Kashmiri
> is groping in the dark.
> If you would shine as a candle-flame,
> write in Persian verse;
> you would merely waste your talent if
> you write in Kashmiri.
> For you would not the jasmine hide
> in a nettle bush,
> nor edible oil or spices waste
> on a dish of mallow wild.
> But times have changed and Persian is
> no longer read;
> and radish and loaf-sugar is
> relished alike.
>   (cited in B. Kachru, 1981b: 34–35)

In the 1940s, we notice a tone of reflection and agony on the status of Kashmiri. We see it in Mahjur's contemporary Zinda Kaul, 'Masterji'. In 1942, in his poem, '*Panany kath*' (About Ourselves), a sympathetic non-Kashmiri chides a Kashmiri observing:

> You are wasting time sitting at the shore,
> while other nations are taking to boats eager to cross over.

And the Kashmiri responds:

> We are like a house divided against itself, and have lost our mother tongue. Whither can such men go? The wise have said that food prepared by (disagreeing) partners goes to dogs (since each thinks it is the other's duty to watch it). (cited in B. Kachru, 1981b: 52)

Models for comparison of excellence in literary creativity provide yet another clue for expressing the attitudes towards a language. The lingering legacy of Persian cultural domination is evident in such comparisons: the Kashmiri poet, Mahmud Gāmī of Shahbad (d. 1855) was called the Nizami of Kashmir, and Wahab Pare (1846–1914) was favourably called the Firdausi (934–1020) of Kashmir; both notable poets in Persian. In this attitude, we have an expression of what Dorian terms 'socially disfavoured identities' (1993: 3). In this reflection is the agony and helplessness and not the 'praise' of the 'beloved language' that is so elegantly documented by Joshua Fishman in *In Praise of the Beloved Language* (1996).

Linguists and the war of words

This looming doom of linguistic heritage has now resulted in a war of words among professional linguists. And Krauss (1992: 7) appropriately asks, 'What are we linguists doing to prepare for this or to prevent this catastrophic destruction of the linguistic world?'

The response to the challenge that Krauss outlines have been of two major types. The profession is divided into the LINGUISTIC ACTIVISTS and the LINGUISTIC SCEPTICS. The linguistic activists believe that preservation and protection of languages is vital since languages:

- *contribute to cultural and intellectual pluralism* (Hale, 1992: 1). The Committee on Endangered Languages and their Preservation (1994) of the Linguistic Society of America says that:

  > The loss to humankind of genetic diversity in the linguistic world is […] arguably greater than even the loss of genetic diversity in the biological world, given that the structure of the human language represents a considerable testimony to human intellectual achievement.

- *provide perspectives on types of identities and culture constructs about self and society* (e.g. see Fishman, 1996);
- *open windows to the reflections of other cultures on life;* Crystal sums up this point:

  > When it comes to appreciating the power of the human language faculty, as a source of knowledge, insight, and wisdom, the traditional nomenclature — language, dialect, creole, pidgin, patois, vernacular, koine, lingo, etc. — ceases to be relevant; for any speech system, whether viewed by society as prestigious or humble, educated or ignorant, pleasant or ugly, is capable of telling us something we did not know before. (Crystal, 2000: 52);

- *provide crosslinguistic typological resources as systems for formal and functional enquiry and comparison.*

The arguments of the other group, the SCEPTICS, are in many respects contrary to the positions argued by, among others, Hale et al. (1992). Ladefoged (1992) and Newman (1998) for example, hold these contrary positions that they also share with 'many responsible linguists' (Ladefoged, 1992: 9). Ladefoged's short note is based on his experience in 'some of the African countries' and in India. Newman, on the other hand, adds several other perspectives — theoretical, pragmatic, and educational — to his detailed and most provocative discussion.

In his contextualization of current shifts in 'the culture of linguistics' (1998: 14), Newman additionally raises several professional and ethical issues. He raises questions such as: what is the social responsibility of linguists as professionals? Are linguists to be the 'saviours' of the endangered languages? Newman's forthright answer is that he 'is troubled by the notion that we

[linguists] should spend half our time doing […] linguistic social work' (1998: 15). He sees a dichotomy between 'pure fundamental [linguistic] research' and 'linguistic social work', emphasizing that 'as scientists, we have to resist the ever-present pressure to justify our work on the grounds of immediate social relevance'. Though he suggests, that this is 'an unfashionable position in the late 1990s'. However, Newman is emphatic in his conviction that 'the correctness' of his position is rooted on two levels.

First, that language preservation entails inescapable 'practical and emotional pressures to become like a caring human being in the field', where, he adds, '[I]n many cases, languages are dying because communities are dying, and they are dying because they are poor and have been neglected, if not directly exploited.' In case a 'good-hearted' and 'well-meaning' linguist undertakes language preservation, s/he, Newman (1998: 15) warns us:

a. will increasingly acquire social and professional responsibilities that will compete for research time; and
b. will do less a job of basic documentation that one would have hoped for.

And to the sacrificial-linguistic goat who undertakes such a job, Newman assures that, 'we can all extend our admiration' (1998: 15).

Second, that there is no Buddhist path, a middle path (*madhyama mārga*), in claiming that 'the intertwining of language preservation as a social goal and language documentation as a scientific goal is, *if not beneficial, at least harmless*' (p. 15; emphasis added). And, recognizing this middle path, of social and professional responsibilities, Newman is emphatic that he thinks 'otherwise'. The three major reasons he gives for his thinking 'otherwise' are:

a. RESOURCE DEPLETION: That language preservation 'drains resources' from the 'important task of primary documentation' both in terms of personnel and funding (Newman: 1998: 15). The example Newman provides is from his own university (Indiana University at Bloomington, Indiana) where the American Indian Studies Institute has devoted less than a decade doing 'intensive work' on six American Indian languages. In summary, Newman feels that 'the time and energy of highly skilled and deeply committed field linguists are being dissipated' (p. 16). Why this cynicism? Because, concludes Newman, '[r]esources that could have been used for the basic linguistic description of a goodly number of endangered languages have been devoted to *what are in reality ethnic awareness/cultural heritage projects*' (p. 16; emphasis added).
b. SEX-APPEAL AND SEDUCTION: That an initiative in language preservation and revival 'as a socially relevant issue has more "sex appeal" than pure linguistics'. Furthermore, such an appeal 'is bound to seduce well-meaning scholars, especially when the appeal is accompanied by money' (p. 16).
c. EDUCATORS AND ACTIVISM: That activism regarding preservation of minority languages is a contentious political matter and a foreign

linguistics researcher can act essentially as an educator of the merits of language diversity, but has 'no right to intervene in domestic policy matters nor to undertake linguistic social work under the guise of scientific research' (p. 17).

The sceptics are not restricted to the linguistics profession. There is the non-linguistic question of 'free choice' or 'choice of society', as Harvard educator in philosophy, Michael Blake, sums up. In Blake's view, the deaths of languages:

> are losses that we suffer as a free people, when we decide what norms to adopt and to leave behind. There are reasons that these languages are dying out, that members of these communities have decided to assimilate, and those reasons have to be respected too. (*The New York Times*, 30 September 2000, p. 19)

Blake's view is, to a large extent, shared by the distinguished linguist Ladefoged, when he asked a speaker of Dahalo, a language spoken in rural Kenya, if his son spoke Dahalo. The response was, says Ladefoged:

> 'No,' he said. 'They can still hear it, but they cannot speak it. They speak only Swahili.' He was smiling when he said it and did not seem to regret it. He was proud that his sons had been to school, and knew things that he did not. (Ladefoged, 1992: 811)

Ladefoged concludes by asking, 'Who am I to say that he was wrong?' (for a response to Ladefoged's views, see Dorian, 1993).

The language quandary we see in Ladefoged and others, with reference to pragmatics, is in choosing between language maintenance and language choice, and is confronting us all in other contexts too, within the USA, South Asia, and elsewhere. It is the users of the languages who ultimately have to make the choices. These choices are related to the social constructs and attitudes towards a particular language, and the domains of their functions. We have situations — not uncommon — when identity with a particular language or dialect is socially and functionally associated with marginalized social status and functional domains. The users of such language varieties are naturally likely to escape from their linguistic reality and rehabilitate themselves in a linguistic world of altered identities and functions. And here one thinks of the speakers of languages and dialects that India's census reports mark specifically as varieties used by the Scheduled castes and Scheduled tribes. The varieties are thus contextualized and relate to what may be called the 'linguistic lames' of Indian society. In this case then, identification with such a language is a symbol of inequality.

The second case, different from above and increasingly evident due to

the international relocation of populations, is that of language decay and its ultimate death in diasporic contexts. A large number of languages in diaspora are gradually — but noticeably — passing through various phases of erosion. This is the result of the increasing intensity of language contact and convergence, and ultimately that results in language shift. Two examples of such diasporic shifts are the Armenian language, transplanted in the USA, and the Kashmiri speakers in India, Pakistan, and elsewhere. The Armenian language speakers in their diaspora in the USA have been characterized as the 'smouldering generation' (see Asadourian, 2000), and the Armenian culture revivalists have finally recognized that 'the slide to obliteration' of the culture and language cannot be checked. This frustration is obvious in the reflection of an Armenian history and culture specialist, Rev. Krikor Maksoudian, when he says:

> Each language has its own way of describing and ascertaining human experience. Each contains the temper of the tradition itself. None of them can be captured fully in translation. (*The New York Times*, 6 July 2000)

The Kashmiri language has now become the language of yet another 'smouldering generation', both in their own land and in diaspora. This minority language is spoken by 0.48% of India's population. There is genuine concern about the maintenance of such minority languages and their literatures. We have seen that the creativity in such languages often goes unrecognized and undiscovered (for Kashmiri, see Bhatt, 1989; Tickoo, 1993; B. Kachru, 2002).

What I have said about the Armenian and Kashmiri languages has been put into a broader context by Dixon, who rightly argues that:

> Each language still spoken is fundamental to the personal, social, and — a key term in the discourse of indigenous peoples — spiritual identity of its speakers. They know that without these languages they would be less than they are, and they are engaged in the most urgent struggles to protect their linguistic heritage. (Dixon, 1997: 144)

The rescue brigades

The rescuers of the ecology of languages, mentioned earlier belong to several groups. First, the language diversity and language rights activists who consider the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a model for Linguistic Human Rights. In 1996, their initiatives resulted in the draft of the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights that was submitted to UNESCO. This declaration considers the following to be inalienable personal rights, which may be exercised in any situation:

a. the right to the use of one's language both in private and in public; and
b. the right to maintain and develop one's own culture.

This declaration grants rights to *individuals, language groups*, and *language communities.*

These proposals, however, as the General Secretary of Amnesty International, Pierre Sane, has observed, 'are a little more than a paper promise.' Bamgboṣe has reservations about such a human rights' approach to language empowerment, not so much on 'the idealism of some of the proposal' (2000: 19) but on 'the fact that such declarations or charters remain just on paper and are not implemented by the signatories' (ibid.). (For details, see Capotorti, 1979; De Varennes, 1996; Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson and Rannut, 1994; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 1998.)

The second initiative is that of the professionals involved in language documentation and those in language preservation. One major international network active in this role is the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The third development is the contribution that information technology has made in consciousness-raising, documentation and preservation, and as an easily accessible information network. The following websites provide a partial list to illustrate the range and focus of what Pollar calls 'the world's dying languages, alive on the web' (2000):

1. Terralingua (www.terralingua.org): This is a non-profit international advocacy organization encouraging research and awareness about linguistic and biological diversity (President Luisa Maffi, see Maffi, 1996). The organization publishes a quarterly newsletter *Langscape*, and has links to language websites that establishes relationships in a wider context — linguistic and biological.
2. *Yamada Language Center*, University of Oregon, USA (babel.uoregon.edu/yamada/guides.html): A resource for learning over 115 lesser-known languages, e.g. Cherokee, Dakota, Gaelic, Hawaiian, Inuit, Iroquois. It also provides information on sign language.
3. *Typological Characteristics* of some endangered languages with audio examples are:
    a. *Iroquois:* (www.ohwejagehka.com/index.html)
    b. *Manx:* (www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/gaelg/goo)
4. *Idea: The International Dialects of English Archive, Department of Theatre and Film, the University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS* (www.ukans.edu/~idea). A repository of recordings created for performing artists in 1998, Director Paul Meier (pmeier@ukans.edu).
5. *Ethnologue:* Languages of the World (www.sil.org/ethnologue). This site was developed and is maintained by the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Dallas, Texas, USA.
6. *Creoles and Pidgins:* English/French/Portuguese, University of Stockholm.
7. *The House of the Small Languages* (www.burgaud.demon.nl/index.htm).
8. *Aboriginal Languages of Australia*, University of Melbourne (www.dnathan.com/VL/austlang.htm).

9. Kashmiri language (http://ikashmir.org/Languages); Kashmiri language resources/Mumbai and Bombay pages (http://theory.tifr.res.in/bombay/history/people/language/kashmiri.html).

Language reincarnation

In this debate of linguistic doom, and the ever increasing smell of death, there are cases of what may be called life after death, or language reincarnation: these reincarnations manifest themselves in the arrest of the processes of language attrition, and language shift, and in initiatives of language revival. I will provide a few examples of individual, organizational and government-supported 'breath of life' projects.

An often-cited case is that of the revival of Hebrew, not only in the state of Israel where it has acquired the status of the national language, but also in other parts of the world where Jewish minorities have settled (for details and references, see Nahir, 1983). Diana Ravitch, a Research Professor of Education at New York University, has extensively investigated the issues related to educational policies. An interviewer, Alexander Stille, observes that Ravitch is 'a frequent critic of progressive educational fads, but she has a strongly positive view of language revival.' In Ravitch's view, 'cultural revival is an important thing that people need to go through, as long as it is voluntary and the children also learn English, which they need to go to college'. And, further elucidating this point, Ravitch says: 'The language sustains their culture and their link with the past, which is an important aspect of who we are." The context for Ravitch's remark is, of course, the USA. However, her statements have broader implications, particularly when she concludes:

> I find the argument that we should do nothing to preserve languages and culture toxic. Otherwise, we are just left with mass culture, pop culture and the whims of the marketplace. (Stille, *The New York Times*, 30 September 2000, p. A-19)

The case of Sanskrit (the 'perfect language') provides another example. The 1981 census of India says that the language has 6,106 speakers (Bihar 1745; Uttar Pradesh 1166; Karnataka 882; Maharashtra 559). The breakdown of this total in terms of the speakers' bilinguality is:

bilinguals in Hindi: 2,823
bilinguals in Kannada: 667
bilinguals in Marathi: 283

(see Singh and Manoharan, 1993: 19)

Hock (1992) considers Sanskrit in Uttar Pradesh a 'dying' spoken language.

However, contrast this with the headline, 'The Living Word: Who Said Sanskrit Was a Dying Language? Not the People of the Karnataka Village' (David, 1997: 7). David presents a profile of Mathuru, a small village of about 1,200 people in Karnataka's Shimoga district. In this village, Sanskrit is not a dying prestige language. It has been reincarnated as a 'living' language of the market, where it is used in interactive contexts. The villagers are 'living in the Vedic era but with 20th century comforts like Radio and TV', says a woman in the village. The language has, as it were, come out of the past to acquire functional roles in the context of our times: in this village, a mailman is likely to greet a person with *idam bhavataye patram* ('This is your mail').

In the USA, several such efforts of language revival have been initiated, some of which have been rewarding and others, frustrating. The Wampanoag language, once used by the Mashpee tribe on Cape Cod, is being reincarnated essentially from the seventeenth-century documents. This language, which has not been used for 100 years, gave the state of Massachusetts state its name, and '… greeted the Pilgrims when they landed at Plymouth Rock …' observes Stille (*The New York Times*, 30 September 2000; p. A17). The language of the Miami Nation is going through the revival process from whatever documents there are. The last speaker died (in 1962) over four decades ago. The annual 'Breath of Life California Language Restoration Workshops' is actively trying to restore what are called 'dormant languages', as a euphemism for dead languages.

The Asian context

In deliberations on language in multilingual societies in Asia during the past decades, attention has been paid — and rightly so — to the assimilative and integrative dimensions of language in society. In Asia and Africa the focus has been on, for example,
- language in communication
- language and development
- language and the state
- language and the law
- language and public health

We have indeed made advances in our understanding of language convergence and the bi- and multilinguals' creativity, both in language and literature. There have been theoretical and pragmatic reasons that have reduced language preservation and language documentation to finger-wagging across disciplines and within disciplines. This is not only true of Asia but is an international situation.

Conclusion

We must admit that whatever has been achieved in international and national conferences, symposia, and conventions on this topic, and in various undertakings to embalm the dead and dying languages, there is still one urgent need. And Dixon (1997: 144) rightly reminds us of that. He says that linguists need to 'get out there and describe a language! My general impression is that a fair proportion of the people concerned about this issue do little besides talk; they are not even thinking about undertaking field work themselves' (Dixon, 1997: 144). And now who is the enemy? Newman answers this question rather candidly; Newman is a linguist, has been an academic administrator and has done commendable field work in Africa. And his answer is:

> Those of us who are concerned about the endangered languages question and would like to see something constructive done about it are up against a formidable enemy, and that enemy is the discipline of linguistics and the individuals who make it up. We can continue to talk about the matter — as surely will be done again and again at meeting after meeting — but given the odds against us, the chances of concrete results are pitifully small. (Newman: 1998: 19)

In the meantime, the often-asked question — whether English is a 'killer' of endangered languages — is difficult to answer. It is even premature to agree with Fennelt's emphatic statement quoted at the beginning of this chapter, that English could definitely be called an 'accessory to murder of world languages': the jury is still out on this.

It is, however, evident that as time passes, the English language has become an anointed medium and a linguistic seducer *par excellence*. Even Mahatma Gandhi changed his position about the presence of English in his vision of India. On 11 November 1917, when the British Raj was stable in India, Gandhi told his audience, '[W]e should hear only Hindi words, not English. I shall struggle all my life to bring this about.' But on 1 June 1921, just four years later, Gandhi wanted Indians 'to learn as much of English and other world languages as they like'. He rightly argued:

> I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I would have our young men and women with literary tastes to learn as much of English and other world languages as they like, and then expect them to give the benefits of their learning to India and to the world […]. But I would not have a single Indian to forget, neglect or be ashamed of his mother tongue, or to feel that he or she cannot think or express the best thoughts in his or her own vernacular. Mine is not a religion of the prison-house. (*Young India,* 1 June 1921)

This is what the visionary Gandhi said over twenty-seven years before India's independence. On 18 January 1948 (just thirteen days before his assassination, following the violent partition of the subcontinent), a tormented Gandhi said: '[T]he rule of the British will go because it was corrupt, *but the prevalence of English will never go*" (emphasis added).

The wise man of India was right. The question that is debated now, not only in India but globally, is: What is the price that countries, cultures, and the world's languages pay for the presence of such a seductive — and alluring — linguistic 'predator'? That the English language is both seductive and alluring, in functional terms, is evident in the global context. That English is a hunter in search of prey has yet to be empirically established.

Part V
Pedagogy

10

Contexts of pedagogy and identity

Introduction

In recent years there have been insightful initiatives in English pedagogy. These initiatives go beyond earlier essentially Western — British and North American — paradigms of methodology, teacher education, and models of acquisition. A variety of questions have been raised about the underlying constructs[1] of such earlier research and their assumptions; about the classroom practices;[2] about the status and appropriateness of the construction of a 'native speaker' model in the classroom and beyond;[3] and about the functional inadequacies of the tools of evaluation.[4] This articulate — and often acrimonious — debate that brings fresh insights and global and cross-cultural perspectives has yet not abated.

This chapter presents yet another dimension of this ongoing debate. It proposes a conceptual shift towards opening up the closed borders of Asian Englishes in Asia and beyond. The dynamic metaphor 'opening borders' is consistent with the conceptualization of world Englishes of which Asian Englishes form a major component — numerically and internationally. Asian Englishes thus are a resource and a key to crossing cultural, linguistic, ethnic, and social boundaries. At present no Asian language — not Chinese, not Japanese, not Hindi-Urdu — is moving in the direction of acquiring that role. This does not, however, mean that in the future that profile may not change. The Asian users of English, due to historical and attitudinal reasons, have not used the resources of English for 'opening up' the borders within Asia and beyond. A good example of this is provided by South Asia which continues to pass through various incarnations of identity crisis as discussed in Chapter 3. This crisis concerns language issues in general, which I shall not discuss here. I will primarily outline the constructs of the English language and their pedagogical implications.

In a perceptive study, a distinguished professor of English in India, Nagarajan (1981), observes that the current position of the English language

in India shares two characteristics with that of India's cows: reverence for them and indifference to their continuous decline. There is a reason for Nagarajan's invocation of the culturally sensitive cow: the Hindus consider the cow sacred and traditionally refer to it as *gomātā* ('mother cow') for its limitless generosity, bounty, and usefulness. In overwhelmingly agricultural India this attitude has been rationalized on several utilitarian grounds. The cow plays an important role in many Hindu rituals and ceremonies, symbolizing a provider and representing the earth and its living species. The cow thus has a role in this world (*ihlōka*) and in the world beyond (*paralōka*). And, in spite of this traditional reverence, says Najarajan, the cow is in decline in India, neglected and producing a steadily declining average yield of milk. The English language has been 'likewise steadily declining for a long while but we are resolved to let it neither die nor flourish' (1981: 663).

The analogy dramatizes one view of the position of English in India's educational policy, particularly its decline. I do not necessarily share this view, nor do many others who have witnessed the post-colonial uses of English, its liberation from earlier canons of creativity, and its increasing functions as an intranational and international language. In Chapter 8, I have mentioned how creative writers Raja Rao and Anita Desai answer the question concerning present standards of English. Rao finds India's English now 'much more interesting and much freer', and Desai considers the 'new crop of Indian writers, far more confident — confident about handling English' (cited in Jussawalla and Dasenbrock, 1992: 172).

There is, of course, another side to the South Asian attitude to English, this one represented by Indian journalist Tarun J. Tejpal in one of his reviews (1993). He characterizes 'Indo-Anglian' writers as 'writers who now sprout like toadstools after a spell of rain'. This tart observation is meaningful for at least two reasons: the term *Indo-Anglian writers* is intentionally used as a marker of distance in place of a contextually appropriate term, *Indian English writers.* The former term is hardly used now, and India's Sahitya Akademi (National Academy of Letters) recognizes the latter (see Naik, 1982). Tejpal has more to say — he believes that a novel of the Hindi writer Shrilal Shukla (*Opening Moves*) 'tells us more about India, in particular the Hindi heartland, than all the precious, hype-driven novels being churned out by Indo-Anglian writers' (Tejpal, 1993: 102).

This is not the place to discuss the veracity of Tejpal's statement, but his choice of terms such as *Indo-Anglian, hype-driven,* and *churned out* is symbolic and certainly reflects a particular attitude — one of distance and otherness. Nagarajan and Tejpal are not alone in taking this position, which is no different from the concern about the decline of the English language in other parts of the English-speaking world.[5]

The reverential tone in the comparison between the cow and the English language in Nagarajan's observation may be unique to India. Nevertheless,

the belief in what I elsewhere have termed 'the alchemy of English' and in what English can do for *ihlōka is* not restricted to India.[6] This attitude and its related belief are shared throughout the diaspora and by those who speak other varieties of the language. When I refer to 'alchemy', I am actually pointing to one among many unparalleled characteristics of the spread of English. There is no need to provide here strings of statistics to reiterate a well-established fact. Among English's diaspora varieties, the South Asian variety stands out for several reasons. South Asian English has a continuous tradition that goes back almost two centuries: the much-maligned and continuously discussed Minute of T. B. Macaulay was introduced in 1835 as discussed in Chapter 3.[7]

In this chapter I take a retrospective look at this variety of English, specifically as related to four concerns. This gives us a time span of almost 170 years since Macaulay's Minute officially institutionalized English in what is now Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan. The controversy associated with the Minute and its social, educational, and political complications have been a topic of numerous in-depth studies.

My first concern relates to the issue of a variety of a language and its identity. The issues of identity are not separable from another complex set of interrelated issues, however. The attitude towards a variety and its users and the perception of its social and functional usefulness. My second concern is about attitudes towards acculturation of a variety. What variables determine the types of identities of an acculturated variety? And what determines the attitudes towards and acceptance of such acculturation? In the case of world Englishes, we must consider an additional variable — the perspectives of the 'native' users of English in the Inner Circle and that of the users from the Outer Circle.[8] My third and major concern is to recapitulate various approaches used in the description and analysis of South Asian innovations in English, or to use a more appropriate term, its 'South Asianness'. I will also discuss briefly the theoretical, applied, and pragmatic implications of such approaches. All these issues are ultimately related to pedagogy. Finally, I will outline the current controversies and what I have termed 'linguistic schizophrenia' in South Asian English, as well as research directions in the field. This schizophrenia is also present in the debate on other Asian varieties of English as we have seen in earlier chapters.

First the issue of identities: the term *identity* is used here in more than one sense. The first is a regional sense, recognizing the uses and users of a variety as members of an identifiable speech fellowship in South Asia. The second sense is functional, recognizing the South Asian contexts and domains of use as sociolinguistically and functionally appropriate for acculturation of language. The third sense occurs in claiming in-group identity with other users, e.g. identifying oneself as a user of Indian, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, or Nepali English.[9]

It is generally claimed that the issue of identity in a second language primarily depends on how the speech fellowship using a particular variety of a language is perceived by those who use that language as their first language. In the case of English, then, the identity has traditionally depended on how a speech fellowship is perceived by the academic pandits in, say, the United Kingdom and the United States. The power of defining, then, rests with one particular group. The other users have thus been marked as *unequal* and generally continue to be perceived as such. The South Asians, like other colonized learners did not learn English as equals. A number of British missionaries and the earlier administrators considered English education to be a desirable vehicle for bringing spiritual, moral, and religious 'enlightenment' to the inhabitants of South Asia. On the other hand, a number of South Asians themselves considered English education to be an essential linguistic tool for developing in their own countries the scientific and technological prowess of the West.

Once the Anglicist versus Orientalist controversy was settled (as discussed in Chapter 3), it was like Caliban acquiring a new tongue. At the beginning the issue of the identity of such a variety was appropriate neither to the British nor to the subservient South Asian population. Any South Asian linguistic innovation was viewed as an acquisitional deficiency and thus a deviation from the British norm. The acquisitional deficiencies were not even discussed in any insightful way. Perhaps the only exception was the work of Hugo Schuchardt (1891), but then, Schuchardt was neither part of the British Raj nor a *native speaker* of English. Varieties such as Babu English or Bazaar English and code-mixing of various types continued to be seen in comic terms rather than within a functional perspective or as a language contact phenomenon. Earlier descriptions of South Asian English and other Asian Englishes must, therefore, be seen within that attitudinal context.

Approaches to South Asian English

An overview of the main approaches to South Asian English will help us to gain some idea about the current research, its major strands, and its divergence from the earlier approaches.

The Raj lexicographers

I will start with what may be termed the 'Raj lexicography'.[10] In retrospect many earlier lexicographical studies are insightful for their ethnographical and sociological information and asides. These studies were undertaken primarily by the administrators of the Raj with a pragmatic need to describe and learn

a network of terms so as to administer and understand a complex multilingual and culturally pluralistic society. These works are by and large neutral in terms of the exocentric norm, and whatever contrastive statements they contain are made essentially to highlight the nativized differences. Such works contain interesting observations about language acculturation and contact, ethnographic asides, vernacular registers used at the grass-roots level, and register development and register-specific lexicalization. The information given in these studies is also relevant for marking various phases of the acculturation of English.

Whitworth, to give one example, would have liked to produce, as he says, 'an Indian supplement to the English dictionary' (1885 [1976]: vii). I have discussed this in detail in Chapter 6, see "Codification and Standardization" (pp. 224–8).

The main post-Raj additions to South Asian English lexicography are Hawkins (1984) and Lewis (1991). Lewis (1991: v) attempts to 'fill in some measure certain *lacunae* in *Hobson-Jobson* in order to achieve a better balance between the words of the common sort and those in the learned registers of Indology, philosophy and the like.[11] (See also section on 'Codification and Standardization' in Chapter 11.)

The prescriptivists

The next group was the prescriptivists, who had an implied norm in mind. Although it has now been recognized that, in the context of English in India, the exocentric norm has had little or no pragmatic validity or educational success, the prescriptivist viewed with amusement any innovation — or typically localized language use — not consistent with the normative pattern. The studies that come to mind are Goffin (1934), Smith-Pearse (1934), and Whitworth (1907 [1982]). In spite of their rigid prescriptivism, these studies provide important data for language acquisition and language use. Such studies have several limitations, however:

- there is a conscious attempt to undervalue the South Asian sociolinguistic context and a consequent disregard for the contextual appropriateness of the innovations;
- the emphasis is on an external norm, preferred not only for spoken English but also for the organization of discourse, speech acts, and other culturally dependent aspects of language interaction; and
- the distinctions among 'error', 'deviation', and 'innovation' tend to be completely blurred, as is the users' language proficiency, since this approach misses how well individuals can communicate with one another even though they contravene norms appropriate to other contexts (see Chapter 6).[12]

The language teachers

The third approach focuses primarily on pedagogical aspects. These include a large body of textbooks used for teaching English in South Asia. The language textbooks are vital resources for imparting the social values of one group to another and for transmitting desired ideological and sociopolitical preferences.[13] It is only now that pedagogical materials are being analysed and scrutinized from ideological and power perspectives (e.g. see Moreau and Pfister, 1978; Levno and Pfister, 1980; Singh, 1987; Baik and Shim, 1994; Baik, 1995). In the case of South Asia the pedagogical materials are yet to be seriously analysed from this perspective, although as Singh (1987: 253) states in her pioneering study in this direction the English-language textbooks 'were clearly designed as mechanisms for inculcating, transmitting and updating the parameters of the relationship that the British had with Indian subjects during various stages of their empire'.

Singh takes this task on herself and presents an illuminating discussion of some examples selected from the following grammars: Nesfield (1895), Tipping (1933), Wren and Martin (1954) and Sidhu (1976). Nesfield's book, Singh insightfully observes, propagates 'the notion of British supremacy and imposes a view of history which justifies colonial conquest and rule' (1987: 254). Tipping's book appeared almost four decades after Nesfield's. The First World War had changed the political map of Europe, and by the 1930s various political and historical factors had produced new perceptions about the subcontinent and its identities. What we find, as Singh notes, is that 'the blatant Orientalism' à la Said (1979) 'has been replaced by an Orientalism that is simultaneously subtle, defensive and cracking' (1987: 256). Nesfield's subcontinent is a mere geographical identity. In Tipping, however, India and the Indians acquire an identity, and the examples used to illustrate grammatical points are contextualized within an Indian sociocultural context.

In Nesfield's examples (as cited in Singh, 1987: 254) the focus of attention is the empire, as in: *Clive founded the British Empire in India* (Nesfield, 1895: 180) and *A viceroy is one who rules for a king or queen* (p. 214). What we see in Nesfield's examples then, is that 'the student [...] comes to associate English with a rule far more pervasive than a grammatical one. By using the rules of the English language to teach that English was the language of rule, the book indoctrinated loyalty to the Crown' (Singh, 1987: 254). This was not true of Tipping in the 1930s. In Tipping a positive attitude towards the subcontinent and things belonging to the region emerges. Note the contrast in the following examples (as cited in Singh, 1987: 256): (1) *I bought a very good Benares bowl* (Tipping, 1933: 27); (2) *The Delhi carvers are very skillful workmen* (p. 27); (3) *India is a great Peninsula in Asia* (p. 390); and (4) *India is our land* (p. 390).

In Wren and Martin (1954) the story again changes, although Singh (1987: 257) claims that their grammar is 'roughly contemporaneous' with Tipping's

grammar. In this book one sees 'the dissolution of Empire' (Singh, 1987: 257). Indians perform a variety of functions, working as teachers, chairpersons, and government officials. The base of power and its strategies have been altered completely, and the language and the contexts in which it is used are slowly being liberated. And in Sidhu's book (1976) the empire has begun to strike back. To quote Singh again, 'India appears as a kind of colonizer of England' (1987: 258). One might say that in retributional terms the circle is completed, and this is well illustrated by the examples that Sidhu uses.

In grammar books from Nesfield to Sidhu we find an underlying ideological thread and political agenda. With each new grammar book the ideology changes (although the authors were perhaps not always conscious of this). On the other hand, there are other things that have perhaps not changed: the grammar books (and the textbooks in general) have yet to be scrutinized seriously in terms of their biases such as sexism, ethnic and religious insensitivity, class stratification, and historical distortions, to give just a few examples. These issues no doubt apply to other nations in this region, too. I am not aware of any large-scale follow-up of ideological studies of South Asian textbooks of the type we find in Singh's pioneering paper. The grammar and other textbooks for English in Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal have yet to be analysed from the ideological points of view and in terms of their biases of gender, class, and religion. There are several insightful studies of the type Singh (1987) pioneered for South Asia for some other regions of Anglophone Asia and beyond (e.g. for two Koreas, see Baik, 1994; Baik and Shim, 1995; for Japan, Kawano, 1987; also see Dendrinos, 1992; Y. Kachru, 1994a, Nicholls, 1994, 1995).

The descriptivists and contrastivists

A good specimen of the descriptivist-contrastivist genre is Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali (1979). The aim of their book is:

> to provide teachers and learners of English in India with information about the way in which certain forms and patterns of English used in India differ from the contemporary version of the native speaker model to which Indian English is closest, namely British Standard English. (Nihalani, Tongue and Hosali, 1979: 4)

Their position is clear in the following passage, when they claim 'it becomes necessary to provide aids for keeping Indian English in touch with British and American English, and enabling Indians to *recognize peculiarities in this usage*' (1979: vii; emphasis added).

This underlying contrastive attitude is apparent in the manuals used for teaching and learning English in South Asia. A good example of such a manual

is *English in Pakistan* (Zaidi, n.d.), The book has already gone through three editions, and in the latest edition Zaidi promises that 'if you go through all the chapters of this book with care, *your English will be as nearly like that of the Englishman as it is necessary to make it and as it is possible to make it*' (p. vi; emphasis added). Another Pakistani manual, *Exploring the World of English,* by Sayyid Saadat Ali Shah (1978), follows the same approach, as do numerous such manuals in India, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Nepal. The production and publication of this genre of manuals has not abated as there is a fast-increasing market for such guides.

The functionalists

The descriptivist and contrastivist approach has its drawbacks, which have led several linguists to question its appropriateness (e.g. see B. Kachru, 1983b and later; Mohanan, 1992). In the functionalist approach we begin to see a new direction, an approach insightful from several perspectives. The role of English is seen in relation to appropriate contexts of South Asia. Contextualization leads to various types of identities of the language. The functionalists do not form one cohesive group; they differ in various ways. The first group may be termed the 'feel-the-water-functionalists'. These were essentially specialists in English literature, and they were brought up, at least attitudinally, on a tradition of exocentric norms. Their observations are interesting as sociolinguistic asides and important as markers of a slow change in attitude towards local models of English. The names of three venerable scholars and teachers come to mind: Amar Nath Jha and Phiroz Edulji Dustoor of India, and H. A. Passé of Sri Lanka.

The second group of functionalists, particularly the creative writers and critics, initiated a debate on several issues related to the topic. Jussawalla (1985) has discussed aspects of this debate in detail, referring to a 'family feud' over the authenticity and identity of the Indian English writers. The debate among creative writers, their arguments pro and con, provided another supportive perspective for the 'nativization' of English in South Asia.[14] One of the earliest phases for localized identity in creative writing — as far as I know — is in Sochee Chunder Dutt (1845). Dutt, as cited in Sarma (1978: 329), 'translated Indian terms instead of their pure English equivalents to maintain the Indian local color as well as to add a distinct Indian flavor'. It was another Bengali, Lal Behari Dey, who made a very apologetic statement to his 'gentle reader' for his stylistic innovations (cited in Sarma, 1978: 330).

In Dey, then, we have the beginnings of stylistic innovations that later flowered in Raja Rao, Mulk Raj Anand, and Ahmed Ali to name just three writers of post-1930 era. And in current creative writing of (e.g. Salman Rushdie, Shashi Tharoor, Amitav Ghosh, Vikram Seth, Arundhati Roy, and

Allan Sealy) such creativity has become almost a marker of 'liberation' in Indian English writing.[15] Later on claims for stylistic identity ceased to be apologetic. What was implicit in Dey's tone became explicit in Raja Rao's 1938 credo and in identical observations by other writers. Rao's credo for Indian English creativity is the most succinct and well-articulated argument for stylistic identity as outlined in Chapters 6 and 7.[16]

As an aside it is appropriate to mention here that the debate on creativity and identity showed greater refinement, understanding, and sensitivity in literary circles than in linguistic circles. South Asian creative writers introduced a new dimension in stylistic experimentation. They showed a need for nativization of English and emphatically related the process of nativization to questions of identity and local contexts. The controversy generated a debate that has not yet abated. Rao's credo of 1938 is articulated by Anita Desai in 1983 — almost a half-century later — when she says:

> If a writer is Indian [...] his work will naturally be Indian in quality, in flavour, in its characteristics [...] it can hardly be anything else, even if he is writing in English. The English spoken and written in India has in any case become an Indian language. (cited in Ram, 1983: 32–3)

Why are linguists and language teachers indifferent to South Asian sociolinguistic realities insofar as the issues of identity are concerned? One can think of a host of reasons, all of which are bound up with the dominance of earlier linguistic and pedagogical paradigms that cultivated the acceptance of the theory and methodology imported from the United Kingdom and the United States. The most important reason is an uncritical acceptance of the structuralist and other approaches to language teaching after the 1950s, a hesitation to refine and modify the Western theoretical and methodological approaches on the basis of their appropriateness to South Asian pluralistic contexts — linguistic, ideological, and cultural.[17] The eventual rejection of Michael West's bilingual method for language teaching (introduced in pre-1947 Bengal) is just one example of such uncritical acceptance of imposed paradigms.[18]

The last group within functionalism introduced a sociolinguistic and pragmatic perspective to our understanding of South Asian English, and this brings me to a personal note. As is evident from preceding discussion, in the 1960s the approaches to the study of South Asian English had been either anecdotal or atheoretical. In the early 1960s I attempted to emphasize the relevance of sociolinguistic and functional contexts for understanding the forms and functions of English in South Asia. The aim was to focus not only on the innovations but also on the underlying context of innovations and their creative effects. This approach had several advantages that are discussed in B. Kachru (1965 and later): it helped to distinguish between acquisitional

deficiencies and contextually significant innovations; it made it possible to determine variables for varieties within major South Asian educated varieties; it provided an understanding of South Asian English as part of the South Asian linguistic repertoire; and above all, it viewed South Asian English within a socially realistic paradigm. This approach entailed shifting the focus from the monolingual's view of language to an understanding of language in culturally and linguistically plural contexts and in terms of the traditions of literary creativity and appropriate interactional contexts — in other words, to seek ways to describe and analyse the bi- or multilinguals' creativity, the strands of cultural pluralism in South Asian English, and the reasons for drift from the traditionally recognized canons of English. South Asia provides a paradigmatic example of such drift and efforts in linguistic 'liberalization'.[19]

The attitudes towards South Asian English marked a change as the process of institutionalization of this variety was slowly being described and recognized. The factors that contributed to the institutionalization include an unprecedented increase in the percentage of learners and users of English in the post-1947 period, in spite of predictions of declining use of English in various political regions of South Asia, the increasing role of the media and the significance of English in the media, an increase in literary creativity in English and its national and international recognition, and increased uses of English in South Asian, localized functions.

The Inner Circle and issues of identity

The issues of identity in South Asian English cannot be isolated from the attitudes of the Inner Circle countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom.[20] There have been several factors in the Inner Circle that have influenced the attitudes concerning the identity of South Asian English, for example, Clifford Prator's 1968 paper 'The British Heresy in TESL'. This paper written almost two generations ago provides an excellent example of the confusion between perception and reality. Prator tells us that during the 1960s the two linguistic powers — the United States and the United Kingdom — promoted diametrically opposed positions concerning the non-native diaspora varieties of English.

Prator's paper resulted in a controversy that still continues and has now been reincarnated in what has been termed 'the Quirk concern'. Quirk (1988, 1989) presents several arguments in support of resurrecting the Prator position.[21] The echoes of this position have come from other sources, too, and not necessarily from linguists. Consider, for example, the economic aspect of English from the British point of view as articulated by Richard Francis, director-general of the British Council. I cannot resist the temptation of presenting parts of Francis's speech. It appeared under the heading 'Britain Must Exploit ELT' in *The EFL Gazette* in June 1988:

> Speaking at the annual Collins dictionary lecture held at Strathclyde University, he [Francis] issued what amounted to a manifesto for the UK EFL industry. EFL, he said, is now worth £1 billion to the UK economy and is poised to grow even larger with the advent of the single European market in 1992. However, continued success depends on co-operation and quality control, he warned. (*The EFL Gazette* 1988: 1)

In what many saw as a veiled reference to British government policy, Mr Francis warned that complacency is threatening the position of UK ELT. It is essential that British ELT is promoted worldwide, he said, 'This work costs money but I believe it is ... an investment this country cannot afford not to make.'

The theme of the speech was 1992 and Mr Francis emphasized the opportunity offered by the advent of the single European market. Announcing that the Council has set up a study into the implications of 1992, he urged British ELT interests to work together to ensure that they maintain a controlling interest in Europe. 'If we are to keep control and to benefit from 1992 we need to plan now,' he said. Turning to the worldwide market, Mr Francis once again counterbalanced the opportunities offered by markets such as China with the threat that others may usurp what have traditionally been seen as British interests. Throughout his speech, Mr Francis warned that British ELT needs to stand united if the UK is not to lose out to its competitors — to the US, Australia, Canada and the European agencies. The Council is determined to promote British ELT but there is a crying need for a promotional forum, he said:

> By any standards the English language profession is a massive worldwide business, significant in itself and critical in the contribution it makes to other commercial and technological endeavours. We are fortunate to have a special position in this global market; but we must do better than we are doing to capitalise on that resource. (ibid: 1)

A number of agencies in the United States and Australia are adopting identical aggressive postures to derive economic benefits from the teaching, teacher training, textbook production, and development of resource materials for English studies and to do better than their competitors are doing 'to capitalise on that resource'. These postures, then, represent the economic dimensions of the underlying Prator and Quirk positions.

Research agendas

I now come to the question of the life and *near* death of English in South Asia. This raises a theoretical question: How valid is the 'life-cycle hypothesis' for English in diaspora? The life-cycle concept for Englishes outside the Inner

Circle posits four constituents: transportation, nativization, expansion in users and uses, and institutionalization. The concept 'implies that there is both a beginning and an end to the process and organism under study' (Moag, 1992: 247). In the case of English it is easy to document its beginning in South Asia — or in Anglophone Asia — but its end is not in sight, not in the near future.

I believe that the life-cycle hypothesis is valid only if we recognize the concept of language *reincarnation* along with the concept of the life-cycle of the transplanted Asian varieties. In South Asia English seems to be experiencing life after near death. The cases in point are Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Pakistan, where English is definitely, although slowly, acquiring important roles after various phases of declining importance. In India the 1965 Amendment of the Constitution provides an indefinite lease on life to English, but given the predominant attitude towards English in India and its increasing range and depth, I am not sure that constitutional security is needed. Bilingualism in English and its societal and literary functions are steadily increasing, to the surprise of the Cassandras of the 1960s.

The issues articulated in the pre-1960s only partially concern researchers in the 1980s. The change in attitude and in research focus came during the 1960s, and this change was well articulated in the international level in the 1970s — precisely, in 1978 — in two independently organized conferences that focused on English around the world. The new direction is reflected in two books that comprise a selection of papers presented at these two conferences (Smith, 1981; B. Kachru, 1982d [1992a]). The issues debated included the pragmatics of models of performance in English and the relevance of exocentric and endocentric models; the cline of intelligibility and cross-cultural communication; the processes and implications of nativization; the nativized culture-specific discourse strategies and their implications for world Englishes; and the stylistic and other strategies used in Asian Englishes and the motivations for such innovations. These and other issues were not discussed specifically with reference to South Asia, but the South Asian context was always present, directly or indirectly, in all the deliberations.

What we see, then, is that, following the 1960s, challenging new questions have been raised about the institutionalized diaspora varieties of English. And equally important, the old questions seek new answers within new paradigms of language function, language teaching, and literary creativity. The gains of the 1980s shifted the focus on some refreshing theoretical and methodological issues, for example, the structure in variation, the cline of varieties within a variety and their functional allocation, pragmatic motivations for transcreating discourse strategies, bilingual-bicultural exponents of the text, a well-articulated shift from the earlier traditional canons of English — cultural, sociological, and literary — and the relevance of nativization to the local sociolinguistic contexts.[22]

These are the highlights of the story in retrospect. This brief outline gives

us an overview of a gradual shift in the paradigms. As a consequence of this intense debate, new research areas have opened up, new interpretations have been given to data, and several earlier hypotheses have been challenged or abandoned. We are now going through a period of reassessment, re-evaluation, and questioning of the linguistic and literary issues about not only South Asian English but also other diaspora varieties (see B. Kachru, 1992b). I will recapitulate here some major points even at the risk of some redundancy.

The sacred cows of English

There is now a re-evaluation of traditionally accepted theoretical concepts such as speech community, native speaker, first language, and mother tongue with specific reference to the uses and users of world Englishes in non-Western, multilingual societies. Several researchers, for example, Ferguson (1982: vii; see also Paikeday, 1985; B. Kachru, 1988b), are questioning the emphasis on the concept of native speaker.

Reassessment of research paradigms

Many researchers are reassessing research paradigms in sociolinguistics and in second-language acquisition. Questions are being asked about the theoretical and empirical validity of concepts such as interlanguage, fossilization, error, and so on (e.g. see Lowenberg [1986a] and Sridhar and Sridhar [1986]). True, error analysis is almost dead in its place of birth, and it may not be thriving in South Asia, but it still is alive and well. The error analysis paradigm did not provide any insights for separating errors from innovations and in a serious sense constrained our understanding of the bilinguals' creativity in Anglophone Asia and beyond.

Discourse as unit of analysis

The unit of analysis has shifted from sentence to discourse. In studies focusing on the latter the aim is to pinpoint the features of contrastive discourse, especially in multilingual contexts.[23]

Nativized registers

Many researchers are investigating the formal and sociolinguistic perspectives of nativized registers, for example, the newspaper register.[24] Only a beginning

has been made in the study of nativized registers, however.[25] We still have no serious studies of the varieties of legal language used in South Asia from the *mufassil* (lower) court to the high courts or of the language interaction in various professions and relationships (e.g. doctor and patient, teacher and students, lawyer and client, or buyers and sellers).

English in interactional contexts

The recognition of the institutionalization of English has now resulted in studies of language in social contexts, particularly the study of selected speech acts.[26]

Indigenous paradigms

A conscious effort is being made towards understanding South Asian writing in English within the contexts of indigenous paradigms of literary creativity.[27]

Establishing new canons

Establishing new canons entails recognizing Asian creativity in English as distinct from the traditional recognized literary and cultural canon of English.[28]

Multidimensional view of intelligibility

The often-used concept of intelligibility has been further refined and elaborated with reference to what is termed interpretability and comprehensibility. This refinement was essential to rescue this pivotal concept from a unidimensional interpretation as suggested in, for example, Bansal (1969).[29]

The bilingual's creativity

Discussion and explanation of the bilingual's creativity have resulted in a welcome shift from anecdotal research on 'mixing' and 'switching' of South Asian languages with English. These two processes have now been studied within various sociolinguistic, stylistic, and psycholinguistic approaches. Various questions have been raised about bilinguals' creativity as distinct from monolinguals' creativity.[30]

Nativization versus Englishization

The Janus-like two faces of English are attracting increased attention: the *nativization* of English in South Asia and the *Englishization* of the languages of the region. Further research on these two topics should throw new light on language convergence and language change.[31]

Localization of pedagogical approaches

The pedagogical issues concerning the teaching of English are also slowly moving away from the imported methods and models. There is a greater attempt to seek locally appropriate answers to methodological and pedagogical questions. The Bangalore experiment initiated by N. S. Prabhu has received international attention, and even the concept of English for Special Purposes (ESP) is being re-examined with reference to local sociocultural contexts and the needs of English.[32]

Issues of identity

Finally, the issues of identity have been related to the wider context of language and ideology and the strategies of power (e.g. see Phillipson, 1992; B. Kachru, 1986a). One can provide a long list of publications, however; the most provocative studies include Kandiah (1971, 1984). Within the wider context of research on non-native varieties of English, the work of Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1985) and Phillipson (1992) certainly deserves to be mentioned.

Linguistic schizophrenia

The preceding case study of identity understandably presents only part of the story. It is difficult to capture all the dimensions of linguistic identity, its motivations and manifestations, for identity is multifaceted, constantly evolving, and almost never complete. Identity signals new meanings and provides fresh messages in various functions, that of ideology, nationalism, religion and social and religious network relationships, to mention just a few.

Conclusion

All these motivations determine the pragmatics of South Asian English and its identities, both of groups and of individuals. This complexity explains why one notices in South Asia — and in other varieties of world Englishes — more

than one linguistic face, a public face and a private face, a 'visible' language policy and an 'invisible' one.[33] One detects this linguistic schizophrenia in the policies of the governments of the region, in the institutional educational policies, and in the decision-making processes of parents concerning their children's choice of language(s) in schools. It is true that such decisions often appear contradictory — schizophrenic — and hypocritical, but if one analyses these decisions and linguistic choices concerning English, one sees that such choices are based on various types of pragmatic considerations: political, social, prestige, function, mobility, and so on. A good example of this conflict of identities is provided in the responses to language-related questionnaires for the census data (e.g. see B. Kachru, 1977). As I have shown, the literature presents a medley of conflicting attitudes about the presence of English in South Asia. I discuss here just three attitudes. The first is that of some creative writers, such as Raja Rao and Anita Desai in India and Alamgir Hashmi in Pakistan. The Pakistani writer and critic Hashmi asserts that in his country English is 'equally (if not more than equally) a Pakistani language' (Hashmi, 1989). In earlier studies I have discussed the views of several Indian, Pakistani, and Sri Lankan writers and columnists concerning this matter (e.g. see B. Kachru, 1982c: 31–57; 1994a and later).

A number of South Asian writers consider English as an additional linguistic tool in their multilingual repertoire, as Sanskrit and Persian were in various parts of the region or as Hindi and Urdu are in India and Pakistan now. There is another equally articulate group of South Asian writers, however, who express an intense feeling that they have been culturally and linguistically betrayed by those who write in English, who support English, and who have acquired national and international recognition as writers of English.

The pent-up linguistic nationalism and frustration towards a South Asian English writer are expressed in various ways. One such example is Waqas Ahmed Khwaja's reaction to Pakistani writer Bapsi Sidhwa's novel *An American Brat*. In a review of the book Khwaja observes:

> The Karachi-born, Lahore-bred and American-based Bapsi has obviously decided to cater to her wide-eyed American audience, churning out whatever will be enthusiastically lapped up by her publisher. And if this means selling her own country short, Bapsi does not seem to be losing any sleep over it. After all, nothing succeeds like success. So what if the Pakistan people are forced to eat crow in the bargain? (Khwaja, 1993: 97)

This reaction in Pakistan is not unique; one can adduce examples from India, too (e.g. see Jussawalla, 1985). There are articulate groups that consider the use of English as national betrayal. A number of scholars are also engaged in discussing the politics of the English text in post-colonial South Asia, the relevance of the English-medium education, and the appropriateness of the curriculum as taught in the English departments.[34] This is an encouraging sign indeed.

Part VI
Afterword

11
Present tense: Making sense of Anglophone Asia

Introduction

This afterword recapitulates the major threads of present formal, functional and ideational tensions of Anglophone Asia — a region which is now home to the world's largest English-using population. In literature a variety of constructs are used to 'interrogate' — or 'problematize' — the presence of English in Asia, its ideology, methodology and pedagogy. The terms *interrogation* and *problematization* have appropriately become cardinal terms in the lexicon of this ideological debate. And challenging questions are raised about the 'predatory' presence of English, and its relevance as a medium to articulate and represent 'Asian values', religious, and political agendas. The present situation, then, is one of serious linguistic and ideological tensions. It appears as if a new ideological grammar of Anglophone Asia is under construction.

Answers to the questions that are being raised are complex and indeed vary from one Asian region to another. However, for our realistic contextualization of Asia's Englishes and for making better sense of current theoretical, functional, and ideological issues, the sections that follow provide a backdrop for the increasing number of Asia watchers. These sections are either asides to what is discussed in previous chapters or bring yet other perspectives to the debates on Anglophone Asia.

The heart of the matter

There is no empirically reliable answer to the often-posed question: How many people use English in Anglophone Asia? The estimates for each Asian region depend on the attitudes towards English, the underlying ideological agenda of each state and the educational policy-makers of the state, and the individuals' language loyalties. The language census statistics — wherever these are available — need careful interpretation and, if possible, verification.

The heart of the matter is, however, that the current Asian profile of English users is overwhelming, and historically unparalleled. This is attested to by the most conservative estimate of English bilinguals in Anglophone Asia. If we include Australia (pop. 19.138 million) and New Zealand (3.778 million) in 'greater' Asia, the population of Greater Asia is 3.695 billion. This then adds up to be 60 percent of the world population 6.056 billion.[1]

The two largest countries in the Asian region are China (pop. 1,261,100,000) and India (pop. 1,014,000,000).[2] These two countries have over 533 million *English-knowing* (or *English-using*) bilinguals. One must, however, ask: What is meant by an *English-knowing* or *English-using* person (e.g. what level of competence? what level of intelligibility?). What, then, is the basis for the figure 533 million for China and India? The Chinese figure is based on a survey by Zhao and Campbell (1995: 377–90). The authors (1995: 381) used 'two different methods of calculation' to arrive at their projection, rejecting figures from the *China Population Statistics Yearbook* (1992), which gives English proficiency distribution in China as:

Table 11.1: China's English proficiency distribution

Level of Proficiency	Approach 1 (millions)	Approach II (millions)
Beginners (3 years)	310	160
Intermediate (6 years)	100	30
Advanced (8 years)	17	5
Total	427	195

They rightly adopted a more conservative approach which considers 'the number of English learner graduates from school since 1982', choosing 1982 since it was then that 'English began to count as a major subject in the national entrance exams'. Zhao and Campbell further explain:

> First, although the Cultural Revolution officially ended in 1976, it was not until 1979 that the decision for modernization and opening to the West was made during the Third Conference of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. After this conference, English was given a new status and was regarded as an essential tool for international trade, scientific and technological exchange, modernization and progress. Secondly, by 1979, three years after the official ending of the Cultural Revolution, most schools had enough time to prepare to reopen English classes. Thus 1979 can be viewed as a year when most schools started teaching English again. Accordingly the first junior high graduates who would have learned English during their three years of study graduated in 1982. (Zhao and Campbell, 1995: 381)

It is relevant to note that from 1982 to 1991 'more than 130 million people graduated from secondary schools; 4.5 million graduated from colleges. Assuming the same growth rate, 52 million more graduated in 1992, 1993,

and 1994. Based on this calculation, they conclude that China has around 200 million users' (1995: 380). In their paper, Zhao and Cambell provide a short answer to the question, 'What, then, are the majority of English speakers doing with English and why do they learn it in the first place?' (See, for a more detailed answer, relevant papers in Bolton and Tong, 2002; Bolton, 2002, 2003; see also Zhang, 2003.)

The case of India is somewhat more complex than that of China. The figures for English-knowing Indians have often been manipulated — even in the census reports — depending on the assumptions of criteria of the person calculating. These figures range from 2 percent to 10 percent of India's educated population. The variation also depends on the region in which the survey is undertaken. In Chapter 2, I have said that 'my earlier figure of 60 million users of English in India is already out of date'. The changing dynamics of English and its diffusion as an additive language in multilingual India is consistently changing. As stated earlier, the survey commissioned by the prestigious *India Today* (18 August 1997, Delhi), claims that 'contrary to the [Indian] census myth that English is the language of a microscopic minority, the poll indicates that almost one in every three Indians claims to understand English, although less than 20 percent are confident of speaking it'.

India's population in 2000 was over one billion: India, according to *India Today* estimate, has over 333 million users of the language with varying competence in its uses, both in terms of functions and language proficiency. The issues related to competence in spoken and/or written modes of the language raise other interesting questions which I will not discuss here. The figures for other countries in the region are shown in Table 11.2 on p. 208.

Constructing constructs

In several chapters in this book the issues related to constructs of Asian Englishes have been discussed in detail. The constructs are essentially based on the process of *adoption* and *adaptation* or 'nativization'. This is a natural process in the context of language contact and is traditionally labelled 'convergence'. This process of nativization is evident in phonology, lexis, syntax, and in a variety of acculturated speech acts, discoursal strategies, and very effectively in literary creativity across Anglophone Asia. This dominant linguistic phenomenon, evident in all multilingual societies, has traditionally been overlooked in the uninsightful terminological mist of *interlanguage*, *fossilization*, and *deviation*. Selinker's warning in 1988 was very timely when, in relation to other issues, he said that 'people should beware of gurus from the west, especially the Far West. *At present we're too omniscient and self-centered as a discipline*' (1988b: 12; emphasis added).

It was, therefore, essential to emancipate — and liberate — Anglophone

Table 11.2 Asia's English-using populations

Country	Population	Total number of English users	Percentage of English users (%)
Bangladesh	135,656,790	3,100,000 C	2.28
Bhutan	2,094,176	60,000 C	2.86
China	1,261,100,000	200,000,000	16.00
Hong Kong	7,303,334	2,080,000 M L1: 125,000 L2: 1,860,000 C 1,985,000	28.48 27.17
Indonesia	231,326,092	6,000,000 G	2.6
India	1,000,000,000	333,000,000 K L1: 320,000 L2: 37,000,000 C 37,320,000	33.3 3.73
Japan	126.800,000		
Korea, South	47,500,000		
Korea, North	21,200,000		
Malaysia	19,948,000	L1 375,000 L2: 5, 984,000 C 6,359,000	31.87
Pakistan	140,497,000	16,000,000	11.38
Philippines	82,995,088	49,725,000 M L1: 15,000 L2: 36,400,000 C 36,415,000	65 43.87
Singapore	4,452,732	L1: 300,000 L2: 1,046,000 C	5.2
Sri Lanka	18,090,000	800,000 M L1: 10,000 L2 1,850,000 C 1,860,000	0.04 10.28
Taiwan	22,454,239		
Thailand	63,645,250		

'C' stands for Crystal, 'M' for McArthur, and 'G' for Global Search. The total numbers of English users for Japan, South Korea, North Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand were not available.

Source: US Bureau of the Census, International Data Base (2002).

(Total population is specified for each country. The estimated numbers of English-speaking population are based on the following sources: [1] *Global Search* [2] *English as a Global Language* by Crystal [1997] [3] *The Oxford Guide to World English* by Tom McArthur [2002].)

Asia from primarily 'learner-oriented' constructs. This entailed, then, theoretical and methodological reconsideration within two contextual and functional realities. First, in locating the bilingual's creativity with the pluralistic contexts — linguistic and cultural — in which actual linguistic interactions and innovations take place; and second, in making hybridity a cardinal point for the analysis and intelligibility of a text. (See Griffiths, 2003; B. Kachru, 2003; Lo, 2003; Pakir, 2003.)

These theoretical and methodological prerequisites are thus vital for constructs of canons and canonicities of post-imperial Englishes, both in terms

of the *madhyama* — the medium — and the *mantra* — the message. Edwin Thumboo, in discussing the altered contexts of creativity in post-imperial Englishes, succinctly conceptualizes it when he says:

> But language must serve, not overwhelm, if the Commonwealth writer is to succeed. Mastering it involves holding down and breaching a body of habitual English associations to secure that condition of verbal freedom cardinal to energetic, resourceful writing. *In a sense the language is remade, where necessary, by adjusting the interior landscape of words to explore and mediate the permutation of another culture and environment.* (Thumboo, 1976: ix; emphasis added)

The dominant constructs of Asian Englishes are essentially of four types. First, that of *functional nativeness,* as discussed in, for example, Chapters 2 and 3; second, that of distinct local canonicity (see Chapters 5 and 7); third, that of distinct *ideological* or *religious constructs.* A recent example of the religious construct is articulated by Datuk Khalid Yunus, the former Deputy Minister of Education, Malaysia, when he called on Muslim intellectuals '[...] *to use English to speak about Islam to non-Muslims*' (emphasis added). And fourth, that of English as a medium of bilinguals' creativity in Anglophone Asia, Africa and beyond (see Bolton, 2000, 2002; B. Kachru, 2003; Kit, 2003).

The issues raised, as Sankaran (2002) observes, specifically about *Ariels* (a volume honouring Edwin Thumboo) also apply to the ongoing debates on the alternate constructs of Asian Englishes, indeed, of world Englishes. These debates are:

> [...] deeply provocative, raising issues of fissures, fractures and dissonances in various kinds of discourses. [These are the issues with which] ... Thumboo has been grappling with all his life in his efforts to put Singapore, indeed Asia, on the world literary map. *Ariels* then, like Thumboo, tests borders, challenges constraints. But paradoxically, through this act of renewal, it [*Ariels*] seems to be hinting at a new 'order' that overlooks old rules but is keen to establish its own new pluralistic perspectives. (Sankaran, 2002: 459)

Sankaran, then, concludes that '[*t*]*herein lies the paradox of this and indeed all discursive enterprises, that they never escape the hegemony they set out to contest.*' (Sankaran, 2002: 459; emphasis added). This indeed is a fair assessment of the emerging situation.

Flogging a dead horse

In 1985, Paikeday published a paper and a 109-page book on a frequently-used term that '[...] in its linguistic sense represents an ideal, a convenient fiction, or a shibboleth rather than a reality like Dick or Jane' (Paikeday, 1985: x). It was a verbally violent attack on the concept 'native speaker' — 'a cardinal

tenet of our linguistic faith' (Paikeday, 1985: viii). The title of the paper is 'May I kill the native speaker?', followed by the book, *The Native Speaker Is Dead!* And with bravado of a mission accomplished, Paikeday declared that, 'I have no doubt that "native speaker" in the linguist's sense of arbiter of grammaticality and acceptability of language is quite dead' (1985: x). Perhaps the declaration 'quite dead' was somewhat premature. But, what Paikeday after his 'Socratic-style' exchange with over 33 linguists, lexicographers and educators proves is certainly worthy of note.[3]

In the section 'The speaker as a terminal case' (1985b: 58), Paikeday presents the following exchange:

> Prof. Chomsky: So then what is a language and who is a native speaker? Answer, a language is a system L-s, it is the steady state attained by the language organ. And everyone is a native speaker of the particular L-s that that person has "grown" in his/her mind/brain. In the real world, that is all there is to say.
>
> Prof. Cassidy: Sounds "terminal." This is total idiosyncrasy.
>
> Inquirer: I am not sure that language acquisition is a terminal case myself. *But the native speaker surely is!* [emphasis added]
>
> Prof. Ferguson: [Prof. Chomsky's] position is compatible with the view that there are as many L-s's as there are people who speak: every idiolect is a language with *one* native speaker. And if a person acquires two "skills" L-s1 and L-s2, then he or she is a native speaker of both.

A virulent debate on the concept *native-speaker* of Englishes continues (see Andreasson, 1994; Lowenberg, 2000; Nayar, 1998). However, it is obvious that the cross-cultural and localized functions of Englishes have now made the dichotomy of *native* versus *non-native* theoretically and functionally questionable: this dichotomy is also suspect for the underlying motives for its continued emphasis by the 'Empires' of English (see section 'The Cauldron of "Empires" ' on pp. 228–30).

In the real world of Englishes there are native speakers of specific world varieties of Englishes, for example, *Singaporean* English; *Chinese* English; *Indian* English; *Scottish* English; and *American* English. The 'empire' has to face the real-world — unparalleled — situation of world Englishes. We cannot simplify the situation by claims such as '[...] that speakers of other languages have both spread and changed English, *transforming it into World English*' (Brutt-Griffler, 2002: 198; emphasis added). (See section 'World Standard Standard English [WSSE]' on pp. 230–1.)

In earlier chapters (e.g. see Chapters 2, 5, 6 and 7) the issues related to identity and other constructs at various linguistic levels of Englishes in what is traditionally called, the 'non-native' contexts, have been discussed in more

detail. The present generation of creative writers, media persons, and other users of English in Anglophone Asia and beyond are emphasizing and articulating such identities succinctly. A recent example is that of K. R. Usha, Bangalore-based Indian English writer of the novel, *The Chosen*, who says it so well: 'whether you write in English or Kannada, the cultural experience you are communicating is Indian and, more specifically, regional [...] with more and more Indian writers in English, that language resonates with distinct regional flavours' (*India Today International*, 14 June 2003, p. 41). What this Indian writer is referring to is the bilingual's creativity crossing over the language boundaries and creating a text in which just the medium is English (see Chapter 7). The traditional 'codifier' of English — the 'native speaker' — is a 'non-native' speaker of this Indian variety of English. And this creativity entails abandoning the attitude of *monomodel* approach that, as suggested by Paikeday, is equal to 'a linguistic apartheid' (1985: 76).

The ongoing debate on this topic seems to be out of focus. In reality the debate has now pragmatic contexts and bilingual processes of creativity that are more complex than the agencies of 'empires' believe. Chapman and McArthur (1992: 682) caution us that:

> Some linguists, however, have in recent years argued that no one is 'born' into a language (as the etymology of the usage suggests) but acquires it from an environment that may in fact change in childhood, adolescence, or later, causing an individual to develop a second language into a medium as personal as the first (sometimes losing skills in the earlier 'mother tongue'). Whether such a *non-native* speaker is able to acquire the same command of the language as a native speaker is a much-debated question to which there is no simple answer. *Native* and *non-native* are not clear-cut homogeneous categories: each group comprises wide variations depending on such individual factors as regional or national origin, age of learning (for non-natives), degree of formal training, aspirations, and sense of identity. To avoid misleading associations with birth, birthright, and claims of ownership, some scholars consider that the term should be used with caution.

For various perspectives on this topic, see relevant sections in, for example, Brutt-Griffler (2002); Davies (1989, 1991, 1996, 2002); McArthur (1992); Medgyes (1994); Mohanan (1998); Singh (1998).

On getting the Three Circles Model backwards

This section is an attempt to drive some bees out of my bonnet about certain interpretations of the Three Circles Model of the spread of world Englishes.

One major example of such an interpretation is in Jennifer Jenkins' *World Englishes: A Resource Book for Students* (2003), in the series, Routledge English Language Introductions. In a section on 'Models and descriptions of the

spread of English' (pp. 15–21), Jenkins observes that 'the most influential model of the spread of English has undoubtedly been that of B. Kachru (1992b: 356) …'. This is followed by a caveat cautioning the reader that:

> Despite its major influence, with many scholars including Kachru himself still citing this model as the standard framework in the early twenty-first century, it is not without its problems. Some of these relate to recent changes in the use of English while others relate to any attempt at a three-way categorization of English uses and users. (p. 17)

Jenkins' concerns are set off in a bulleted list, and it is these concerns, or what Jenkins characterizes as 'most serious problems' (p. 17), that I shall briefly address below. But first, a preamble to contextualize the statement cited above. Jenkins says that she constructs the 'problems' on the basis of B. Kachru, *The Other Tongue* (1992b), from the chapter entitled 'Teaching World Englishes' (pp. 355–65). This chapter contains a paragraph of about 120 words which just introduces the Three Circles Model; 'for a detailed discussion' of the model, the chapter refers to B. Kachru (1985). On page 16 in her book, Jenkins says that 'the model was first published in 1988'. So it is not clear which paper Jenkins has in mind, since there is no listing of B. Kachru (1988) in the references provided in her book. It is, however, worth noting that in her earlier book, *The Phonology of English as an International Language: New Models, New Norms, New Goals* (2000), Jenkins clearly indicates her awareness of the 1985b Kachru paper when she refers to it as 'a much-cited paper [in which] Kachru discusses the sociolinguistic spread of the world's users of English' (p. 12).

It might be useful to contextualize here that 1985 paper in which the Three Circles first appeared in detail. The paper was initially presented at an international conference entitled 'Progress in English Studies' held in London, 17–21 September 1984, 'to celebrate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the British Council and its contribution to the field of English studies over fifty years'. A revised version was subsequently published in the volume *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures*, edited by Randolph Quirk and Henry G. Widdowson (1985b: 11–30).

Jenkins' eight concerns are contextualized below with reference to the 1985 paper, and also to some of my relevant earlier papers.

CONCERN 1: That '[t]he model is based on geography and genetics rather than on the way speakers identify with and use English. Some English users in the Outer Circle speak it as their first language (occasionally as their ONLY language), e.g. in Singapore. Meanwhile an increasing number of speakers in the Expanding Circle use English for a very wide range of purposes including social, with native speakers and even more frequently with other non-native speakers from both their own and different L1s, and both in their home country and abroad' (p. 17).

CONTEXT: The spread of English indeed has a geography and the language did 'travel' with the colonizers into regions which had physical realities, with living people, who had names and social, cultural and linguistic identities. The colonies provided locations in which the Raj established its control and implanted the English language. That there is, as Jenkins seems to interpret it, a 'genetic' implication in terms of characteristics that pass from one generation to another in this context is not clear to me.

I have used the term 'genetic' in a specific context in 1996 at a conference on 'English *Is* an Asian Language: The Philippine Context' (Manila, 2–3 August 1996). The paper was later published in selected papers of the conference edited by Bautista (1997) and an updated version is in Chapter 2 of this volume. It was for historical and functional reasons that I did not use 'English *Is* an Asian Language', and preferred 'English *as* an Asian Language'. One idea, as the paper emphatically says (1996 [1997], p. 1) was to 'alter the focus of our ongoing debate on this linguistic icon [the English language]. The English language is generally discussed as a language that is *in* Asia, but not *of* Asia.' (See Chapter 7.)

The paper then asks two epistemological questions: first, about the conditions a transplanted language must fulfil to become part of colonizees' linguistic repertoires; second, about recognition of the reincarnated Englishes as part of our local linguistic heritages. This, I believe, strengthens the multilingual foundations of Asian pluralistic societies. This approach entails recontextualizing distance-marking concepts such as 'non-native' so that we get out of the linguistic trap that has resulted in the attitudinally-loaded dichotomy — now pragmatically of doubtful validity — of *natives* versus *non-natives*.

The twofold distinction between 'the types of nativeness' in Asian Englishes — indeed, in other Englishes, too — suggests a distinction between genetic nativeness and functional nativeness. In genetic nativeness of languages, there is a historical and typological relationship, as there is among, for example, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, and Punjabi, which all belong to the Indo-Aryan language family. This relationship then marks these languages distinct from Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Kannada, which genetically belong to the Dravidian language family.

Speakers' identity with the use of English does not exclude the fascinating phenomenon of convergence between English and these languages. Contact and convergence are among the major processes for establishing linguistic, literary and sociolinguistic identities in world Englishes. *Functional nativeness*, as discussed in Chapter 2, is one of the most creative identity-marking processes in multilingual societies. In genetic terms, the English language is distinct from the Indo-Aryan languages, though its roots ultimately go back to the Indo-European family of languages to which it belongs. Dravidian languages, of course, do not share this Indo-European ancestry. The *functional nativeness* for

all speakers of English in South Asia is thus unrelated to *genetic nativeness* in the sense in which the term is understood in historical linguistics.

The degree of functional nativeness in terms of range and depth in a culture is an indicator of the dynamics of the English language and its changing profile. For example, in India, Singapore and China, the more the range and depth of functions of English increase, the more distinct — Indian, Singaporean and Chinese — identities the English language acquires. It is in this sense that Schneider (2003: 238) understands the use of these two terms when he says that 'Kachru (in Bautista, 1997; 4–5) has made a convincing point in distinguishing what he calls "genetic nativeness" from "functional nativeness" '. (See also Chapter 2 in this volume.)

CONCERN 2: That there is 'a grey area' between the Inner and Outer Circle countries: 'English may be the first language learnt by many people, and may be spoken in the home rather than purely for official purposes such as education, law and government' (p. 17).

CONTEXT: The dynamics of the Three Circles represents the historical context of the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, the functional allocations and the ideational constructs of the language. The concept *functional allocation* does include any conceivable range of purposes. In my view, the 'range of purposes' does not restrict functions of English 'purely for official purposes such as education, law, and government'.

CONCERN 3: 'That there is also an increasing grey area between the Outer and Expanding Circles. Approximately twenty countries are in transition from EFL to ESL status, including: Argentina, Belgium, Costa Rica, Denmark, Sudan, Switzerland ...' (p. 17).

CONTEXT: That there is no sharp divide between these Circles is indeed a sociolinguistic reality of English in them, as I recognized in the 1985 paper:

> The outer and expanding circles cannot be viewed as clearly demarcated from each other; they have several shared characteristics, and the status of English in the language policies of such countries changes from time to time. What is an ESL region at one time may become an EFL region at another time or vice versa. (B. Kachru, 1985b: 13–4)

The process may also be reversed from EFL to ESL: in post-independence Sri Lanka the status of English first changed to EFL and later to ESL, and the short history of Bangladesh English passed through the same stages of reincarnation. A number of states in India too (e.g. West Bengal, Maharashtra,

Bihar, Uttar Predesh) have changed their policies about the status of English in, for example, education and administration.

In my later papers this point has been further explained, illustrated, and related to the evolving identities of English (for example, see 1992a, 1993, 1995b, 1995d; and Chapters 6, 7 and 8 in this volume).

CONCERN 4: That 'many world English speakers grow up bilingual or multilingual, using different languages to fulfill different functions in their daily lives' (p. 17).

CONTEXT: In the 1985 paper I say that:

> The major features of this [Outer] circle are that (a) English is only one of two or more codes in the linguistic repertoire of such bilinguals or multilinguals, and (b) English has acquired an important status in the language policies of most of such multilingual nations. (B. Kachru, 1985b: 12–3)

CONCERN 5: That 'there is a difficulty in using the model to define speakers in terms of their proficiency in English […]. The fact that English is somebody's second or third language does not of itself imply their competence is less than that of a native speaker' (p. 17).

CONTEXT: In 1965 (revised in 1983b) I suggested the concept *cline of bilingualism* to rank bilinguals in terms of their proficiency in English. The three measuring points are the *zero point, the central point,* and *the ambilingual point.* The zero point marks a minimal bilingual in English (in India, for example, postmen, bus or train conductors, and 'bearers' in some restaurants). The *central point* indicates competence in one or more registers of English at the lower level of the vast administrative network, for example, what is characterized as 'babudom' in South Asia. This, as discussed in Chapter 3, has developed into what is termed 'Babu English'.

At the upper end of the cline, a 'standard' English-knowing bilingual is one who is intelligible not only to the native speakers of South Asian English, but also to the native speakers of other Asian, African and Inner Circle varieties of English. However, the characterization *intelligible* is used here in a wider sense to imply a capacity for effective use of the medium in various interactional contexts. In performing such acts, one does not have to be an *ambilingual*— a person with equal command of two or more languages. Thus, there is a scale of English-knowing bilinguals that runs from almost monolingualism at one end, through varying degrees of bilingualism, to absolute ambilingualism at the other end (see also B. Kachru, 1992b: 66).

CONCERN 6: That the model 'cannot account for English for Special Purposes (e.g. English for science and technology). Within such domains, English proficiency may be similar regardless of which particular circle speakers come from.' (p. 17)

CONTEXT: The terms 'domains' and 'similarity' in ESP are confusing since these terms are not defined. One wonders: domains of what type and similarities at what linguistic levels — e.g. lexical, phonological, syntactic, discoursal? One wonders whether the 'similarities' are shared across varieties of Englishes at all linguistic levels.

There are indeed some shared functional domains that cut across varieties of Englishes, but their formal characteristics, as is well documented in the literature, are variety-specific. In real-world interactional contexts, as J. R. Firth reminds us, the contextual meaning is 'the functional relation of the sentence to the process of context of situation in the context of culture' (1957: 195). In expressing this concern, Jenkins starts with the false assumption that 'within such domains, English proficiency may be similar regardless of which particular circle speakers come from' (p. 17).

This myth about formal 'similarities' in ESP — across varieties and Circles — is essentially promoted by the 'ELT Empire' and nurtured by English as a Second Language programmes in the USA and the UK. It is further supported by multinational corporations in collaboration with the British Council. This pragmatically unrealistic and sociolinguistically misconstrued concept has become a major export commodity to Anglophone Asia and Africa. I have discussed this in detail in an earlier paper (1986c [also in 1988a]), an updated version of which is in Chapter 6.

The emphatic claim that the domains within which 'English proficiency may be similar' is essentially a speculation, and does not alter the distinct histories and canonicities of world Englishes. In each Circle there have been — and continue to be — some people who claim such 'similar' proficiency in each variety of English, but those sparrows do not make linguistic summers. The *speculation* that 'regardless of which particular circle speakers come from' is presented by Jenkins as if it were a cross-cultural and cross-linguistic interactional *reality* of the functions of ESP in the Anglophone world.

CONCERN 7: That 'the model implies that the situation is uniform for all countries within a particular circle whereas this is not so. Even within the Inner Circle, countries differ in the amount of linguistic diversity they contain (e.g. there is far more diversity in the US than in the UK)' (p. 17).

CONTEXT: In the 1985 paper I emphasize:

> [T]hat in functional terms the institutionalized varieties have three characteristics: First, 'English functions in what may be considered traditionally 'un-English' contexts …; second, 'English has a wide spectrum of domains in which it is used in varying degrees of competence by members of society,

> both as an intranational and an international language … ; and third, 'English has developed nativized literary traditions in different genres ...' (B. Kachru, 1985b: 13)

In other words, English has an extended functional *range* in a variety of social, educational, administrative and literary domains. It also has acquired great *depth* in terms of users at different levels of society. As a result, there is significant variation within such institutionalized varieties. The point that there is increasing linguistic diversity — and resultant multilingualism — in the Inner Circle (e.g. the US and the UK) does not alter the earlier histories of the Inner Circle. That historical legacy and those attitudes continue to manifest in their constructs of the English language. The following statements are illustrative of such attitudes at various levels of society and in the organizations which control, support and expand the 'ELT Empire'.

In Chapter 2, I have cited an example of such linguistic narcissism — which I shall repeat here. Prince charles considers the American version of the English language 'very corrupting', and the English version as the 'proper' one. In his Royal style, the Prince advised the British Council that 'we must act now to ensure that English — and that, to my way of thinking, means English English — maintains its position as the world language well into the next century' (*Chicago Tribune*, 24 March 1995, section 1, p. 4).

The echo of this futuristic template 'for the promotion of the English language', as one of the 'Charter obligations' of the Council (1995: 88), is evident in Bowers' statement quoted in Chapter 2 ('Current strategies', p. 20).

The confrontational mantras of Prince Charles and that of the international network of the British Council continue to nurture discourses of discord. Their articulation of ethnocentric designs for locating English in the emerging linguistic world order conflicts with the functional realities and identities of world Englishes. The English medium indeed represents, as Bowers says, 'national values and heritage' (1995: 88). However, what the medium represents now includes global speech communities and their distinct and multiple cultural values and heritages: the architecture of the English language has thus been significantly reconstructed. The linguistic narcissism in the Inner Circle takes other more ideologically aggressive and violent forms. Sidney Greenbaum draws our attention to it in a perceptive paper entitled 'Whose English?', in which he quotes from 'a rousing speech' of Enoch Powell to the patriotic Royal Society of St. George in April 1988 (1990: 15). In the speech, Powell 'affirmed the permanent claim of the English to English' in these words:

> Others may speak and read English — more or less — but it is *our* language not theirs. It was made in England by the English and *it remains our distinctive property*, however widely it is learnt or used. [emphasis added] (Greenbaum 1990: 15)

Greenbaum further adds:

> Powell is a former member of the British Parliament, whose promising political career was destroyed by his vehement expression of views that were widely regarded as violently racist. In the context of a speech that refers to 'a gene pool of the English people', he intended to deny privileged status not only to speakers of English from other countries, but also to those who are descended from recent immigrants. At the same time he excluded the other indigenous nations of the United Kingdom (most of whom speak English as their mother tongue), since the Scots, the Welsh, and the Irish would fiercely resent being included among the English. (ibid.)

And putting Powell's remarks in a wider British context, Greenbaum provides this analysis:

> Powell is a former professor of classics, and he must have given some thought to the relationship between language and national identity. His possessive attitude towards the English language is probably shared by most English people, and indeed by the other ethnic groups that are native to the British Isles. (ibid.)

Greenbaum's analysis is not far from the truth; as we have seen in the above remarks of Prince Charles and that of Bowers.

The issues related to the degree of linguistic diversity in the Inner Circle raise a variety of challenging questions. I will not go into that digression here. It is, however, debatable that 'there is far more diversity in the USA than in the UK', as Jenkins claims. The profile of linguistic diversity in the two countries is as follows. The USA has 329 'non-English' languages (1990 census data), and in the UK, the National Literacy Trust says:

> ... that more than 300 languages are spoken by children in London schools, making the capital the most linguistically diverse city in the world. Although English remains overwhelmingly the most common first language, for more than a third of children it is not the language they will speak or hear spoken at home. (see <arch/lostop3.html" www.literacytrust.org.uk/Research/lostop3.html>)

I have not included here the profiles of other major linguistically diverse cities in the UK.

CONCERN 8: That 'the term "Inner Circle" implies that speakers from the ENL countries are central ... , whereas their world-wide influence is in fact in decline' (p. 18). (Jenkins does remind the reader that 'Kachru did not intend the term "inner" to imply any sense of superiority' [p. 18].)

CONTEXT: The term 'inner' indeed does not indicate any 'superiority' but is intended to capture the historical source of the English language. The concept 'Concentric Circles' is, therefore, used to suggest the starting point in Britain for the stages of the diffusion of the language. In the spread of English, Britain, 'a right little, tight little island', as Thomas Dibdin (1771–1841) described it (cited by Algeo, 2004), carried the banner of the English language to what is now Anglophone Asia and Africa, and the rest is a long history.

That historical reality — and the source of English — need not be negated but has to be confronted in contextualizing the process of the spread of English and its implications. The earlier colonial designs and the resultant Imperial Raj directly impacted the Outer Circle countries (e.g. Nigeria, Kenya, India, Sri Lanka) with their distinct earlier linguistic and cultural histories, which are not necessarily the same as those of the Expanding Circle countries. The post-1950s period has created a specific dynamic and energy in the Outer Circle in terms of its identities, attitudes and creativity in the language. However, each Circle — including the Inner Circle — is reshaping itself within fast-changing sociolinguistic ecologies in which the English language has become a vital partner and a linguistic icon with a variety of *avataras*. The Concentric Circle representation, as stated earlier, embodies a long historical context within which the English language has evolved, expanded, converged and altered to form distinct identities. The triad then takes into consideration their histories, the colonial designs, the linguistic manipulations within each Circle, and the impact of colonial expansion and that of the Imperial Raj. The historical contexts of the Expanding Circle and the phases of the introduction of English are not necessarily shared with the Outer Circle. All the Circles, however, with their distinct histories and uses of the language, are integral parts of world Englishes.

What is shared across the Circles is the recognition that within each Circle the two-ton linguistic gorilla now dominating the linguistic ecology is the English language. In the Three Circles conceptualization, the emphasis is on 'the democratization of attitudes to English everywhere in the globe', as observed by McArthur (1993: 334). In his view:

> [T]his is a more dynamic model than the standard version, and allows for all manners of shadings and overlaps among the circles. Although 'inner' and 'outer' still suggest — inevitably — a historical priority and the attitudes that go with it, the metaphor of ripples in a pond suggests mobility and flux and implies that a history is in the making. (McArthur, 1993: 334)

The 'ripples', to follow McArthur's metaphor, are now evident across the proverbial Seven Seas, and indeed a new 'history is in the making' (1993: 334–5). And 'on reflection', McArthur warns us that:

> [I]t is unrealistic to suppose that one language medium could ever neutralize the diversities of the world — and on further reflection it is clear that the spread of English to date has never succeeded to neutralizing the diversities — and attendant tensions — of the peoples of Kachru's INNER circle. English currently reflects the background and attitudes of all the groups who have ever used it: the class tensions inside England; the ethnic tensions among English, Scots, Welsh and Irish (which are far from being resolved); the residual conflicts between Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Goy; the established rivalry between Britain and America; stresses between English and other languages, as for example with French in Canada and Spanish in the United States; race tensions between black and white in Africa, the Caribbean, the United States and the United Kingdom — and, at the end of the list but by no means insignificant, the built-in Eurocentric bias among the mainly white societies of the ENL nations, setting them apart from the other cultural blocks of Islam, Hinduism, Japan, and so forth. (1993: 335)

The Concentric Circles Model has initiated a provocative dialogue that is gratifying. Jenkins' 'concerns', however, are constructed primarily on misrepresentations of the model's characteristics, interpretations and implications.

Identity markers and location

I have argued earlier that identity markers for a variety of Asian Englishes, for example, the modifier *Singapore* in 'Singapore English' or *Indian* in 'Indian English', as opposed to the locational 'English *in* Singapore' or 'English *in* India', provide two distinctly different signals about the identity of the variety. The terms 'Singapore English' and 'Indian English' indicate underlying formal processes in terms of nativization and acculturation. In other words, these markers imply the institutionalization of the language, as is the case in the Outer Circle varieties of English (for details see B. Kachru, 1985b).

The nomenclatures used are not necessarily innocent. It would be contextually inappropriate, for example, to claim that there is *Indian* Russian or *Indian* German, because these two languages are functionally primarily restricted to communicating with the 'native speakers' of Russian and German and are used essentially by translators and interpreters. Russian and German in India have hardly any localized interactional uses. That, indeed, is not true of English and what applies to Indian English in terms of attitudes, functions, and identities, does not apply to Russian and German. English has a local name and habituation. When Sir Randolph Quirk claims that there are two types of English: English as a *native* language and English as a *foreign* language, he is obviously rejecting the sociolinguistic realities of a vast territory of world Englishes.[4]

The concept 'International English' is a mythical construct. It is the *medium* that has gained currency across cultures and languages: the messages (*mantras*) are essentially local, national, and regional (Singaporean, Indian, etc.). Therefore, the term 'international' appropriately applies to the medium and not to *mantras*.

Pidgins and creoles in the constellation

The constellation of pidgins and creoles are an organic part of the ecological contexts of Asian Englishes, as they are of other English-using speech communities. We see this range in Indian, Malaysian and Singaporean Englishes. This variational range is functionally determined and is inherent in a variety as an integral part of interactional contexts and identities. This linguistic device — of variety shift — has been effectively and creatively used in Singaporean English, Indian English and in Malaysian English, to give just three examples. There is now a considerable body of literature, for example, on South Asian CHEECHEE, BUTLER and BABU ENGLISHES (see Chapter 3), and BASILECT and BURGER Englishes for Singapore and Malaysia.

The recognition of 'acts of identity' entails that we recognize the functional and ideational role of the pidgins and creoles, and the manifestations of such varieties in lexis, syntax, discourse and literary creativity. In Chapter 2, this point has been discussed in some detail. In the post-1980s, within the framework of 'nativeness' in Asian Englishes, this issue has deservedly received some attention. Let me give an example from a singer and band leader from Nigeria, Fela Ransome-Kuti, who died in August 1997. He observes that, 'You cannot sing African music in proper English [...] broken English has been completely broken into the African way of talking, our rhythm, our intonation' (*The New York Times*, 4 August 1997). In Ransome-Kuti's view, in the contexts he has in mind, the 'broken' English is pragmatically the appropriate medium.

Life-cycle hypothesis and 'reincarnation'

In an earlier study, I have briefly discussed the complexities of the life-cycle and near death of the English language in South Asia (see B. Kachru, 1996e: 20). What is true of South Asia applies to other major Anglophone countries. The life-cycle concept posits four primary constituents: TRANSPORTATION, NATIVIZATION, EXPANSION in functions and users, and INSTITUTIONALIZATION. The concept of life-cycle 'implies that there is both a beginning and an end to the process and organism under study' (Moag, 1992: 246). This concept is

meaningful in Anglophone Asia, as elsewhere, only if we recognize that languages also undergo a process of *reincarnation*. In South Asia, as mentioned above, this reincarnation of English is already evident in, for example, Malaysia and Indonesia (see B. Kachru, 1996c; see also Chapter 10, p. 198).

Lingua franca, again!

The concept *lingua franca* is frequently used for English to convey its linguistic currency across cultures. The uses of the term, its definition, its ideological load, and its emphasis vary from user to user and from one period to another. A few rather recent uses of the term illustrate my point. Phillipson argues that:

> [...] such terms as 'global English', 'anglophone Africa', or reference to English as a 'universal lingua franca' conceal the fact that the use of English serves the interest of some much better than others. Its use includes some and excludes others. (Phillipson, 2000: 89)

While Phillipson emphasizes the construction of marginalization of the term, Ridge presents the pragmatic aspect of English as a *lingua franca:*

> The demand of the commercial and industrial sectors for English, the pattern of schooling through the medium of English, a predominantly English media sector, and the complexities of multilingual communities needing a lingua franca have all combined to strengthen the position of English. (Ridge, 2000: 155)

But, then, Ridge also cautions us that:

> [...] there is a real danger that English will not only be *dominant* but *dominating* in its effects, and the *dominating* English will be an attenuated *lingua franca* version. (Ridge, 2000: 170; emphasis in the original)

And introducing yet another dimension to the debate, Seidlhofer (2001: 133–58) enthusiastically makes a case for closing 'a conceptual gap' which, she believes, is due to 'very little empirical work' on 'the most extensive contemporary use of English world wide, namely English as a lingua franca, largely among "non-native speakers" '. Seidlhofer suggests that:

> [t]o remedy this situation, a research agenda is proposed which accords lingua franca English a central place in description alongside with English as a native language, and a new corpus project is described which constitutes a first step in this process. (Seidlhofer, 2001: 133)

This concept is suggested as 'an alternative model for the teaching of English as a lingua franca.' (ibid: 133).

The proposal suggests that '[i]f it becomes possible to call an instance of English "English as a lingua franca", analogous to, say, "Nigerian English", and "English English" this acts as a powerful signal that they are different "territories" deserving mutual respect, and with their own "legislation" ' (p. 152).

In this context, it is worth noting, as McArthur rightly points out, that:

> the current condition of the English language worldwide is both straightforward and convoluted. It is straightforward in that English is now widely agreed to be the global lingua franca; it is convoluted in that the term lingua franca has traditionally referred to low-level makeshift languages, whereas English is a vast complex whose 'innumerable clearly distinguishable varieties' [Burchfield, 1986] range from high social and scientific registers through to some of the most maligned basilects on earth. What then does 'lingua franca' mean when used by such commentators with regard to English? (McArthur, 2001: 1)

I will not go into a major digression to discuss the conceptual and hierarchical issues raised in this proposal. I will instead recapitulate below how the term *lingua franca* evolved and review its functional and other implications in a historical context:

> The term *lingua franca* in its original sense does not characterize current intranational and international diffusion and functions of English across cultures and languages [...] First, historically, the term was restricted in its application to an intermediary or contact language (*Vermittlungssprache*), used primarily by the Arabs, and later, also the Turks, with travellers from Western Europe, by prisoners of war, and by the Crusaders. In this narrow sense, the term referred to the jargon of the maritime contacts in the Levant, spoken by the Arabs when in contact with the Europeans. Second, in a broader sense, the term was used to mean language of commerce: It is in this sense that Italian was said to be the lingua franca of the commerce in the Adriatic sea. The term *lingua franca*, from Arabic *lisan-al-farang*, originally meant the Italian language. Third, lingua francas are considered without much individual variation. This criterion, again, does not apply to English. Fourth, in a very minor sense can current uses, attitudes toward, and identities with English be compared with lingua francas such as Swahili in East Africa, Hausa in West Africa, Hindustani in South Asia, Pidgin in the west Pacific, and Sabir in the Mediterranean port. (B. Kachru, 1996b: 906–7)

The centuries-old debate on the location and constructs of English in Asia and Africa has taught us:

> in such constructs there is a mixture of actual and imagined realities. The history of the Asian region is not a story of dichotomies: It is a chronicle of hybridities — some linguistic resources providing harmonious and robust blends and others less so, but all coexisting.

> The region [South and East Asia] even attempted to create new hybrid linguistic codes, for example, 'Engmalchin', a synthetic code of communication with 'English as a base with importations from Mandarin and Malay'. (B. Kachru, 2003: 67)

But Thumboo warns us that:

> The linguistic problems of a multi-racial society are never easy to resolve. Moreover, the idea of a synthesis of cultures through 'Engmalchin' was hardly feasible because cultures, especially those with a long history, have a hard core, conservative and self-protecting and not likely to yield. (Thumboo, 1976: xvi)

The other example is India's Hindustani, a demotic variety of Hindi and Urdu once advocated by M. K. Gandhi as the country's national language.

However, having said this, all of us have fallen often into terminological traps, particularly in the use of language-related terms — whether locally constructed or imported — and have used various loaded terms, including *lingua franca*. That, indeed, does not reduce the theoretical, functional, attitudinal and hierarchical limitations and connotations of the term and construct lingua franca. For detailed discussion and references, see Schuchardt (1891); Röll (1967); Kahane and Kahane (1976); McArthur (1998); and Modiano (1999b).

Codification and standardization

The main arms of codification and standardization continue to be of four major types, discussed below.

The first arm is that of LEXICOGRAPHERS: there is a long tradition of lexicographical research on Asian Englishes primarily by what I have termed the *Raj lexicographers* (see B. Kachru, see 1996e: 12–13, see also 1983b: 165–89 and forthcoming). These compilations are primarily of interest for ethnographic and sociological asides. In the case of South Asia, one can find insightful information on language contact in such works, especially on the borrowing of Asian lexical items in Asian Englishes. These compilations thus provided earlier linguistic resources for administration of the Raj. A path-breaking compilation in this genre is *Hobson-Jobson: A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical, and discoursive* (1886 [1903]). The compilers of the first edition were Col.

Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell. The two compilers, contrasting their work with earlier such attempts, rightly emphasize that such compilations were:

> [...] intended to deal with all that class of words which, not in general pertaining to the technicalities of administration, recur constantly in the daily intercourse of English in India, either as expressing ideas really not provided for by our mother-tongue, or supposed by the speakers (often quite erroneously) to express something not capable of just denotation by any English term. (Yule and Burnell, 1886 [1903]: xv–xvi) [5]

Salman Rushdie (1991: 81–3) appropriately considers *Hobson-Jobson* 'the legendary dictionary' which bears 'eloquent testimony to the unparalleled intermingling that took place between English and the languages of India [...]' (p. 81). In Rushdie's view:

> The chief interest of *Hobson-Jobson*, though, lies not so much in its etymologies for words still in use, but in the richness of what one must call the Anglo-Indian language whose memorial it is, that language which was in regular use just forty years ago and which is now as dead as dodo. (Rushdie, 1991: 81–2)

The examples Rushdie provides are:

> In Anglo-Indian a *jam* was a Gujarati chief, a *sneaker* was 'a large cup (or small basin) with a saucer and cover', a *guinea-pig* was a midshipman on an India-bound boat, an *owl* was a disease, *Macheen* was not a spelling mistake but a name, abbreviated from 'Maha-Cheen', for 'great China' [from Hindi *mahā*]. Even a commonplace word like *cheese* was transformed. The Hindi *chiz*, meaning a thing, gave the English word a new, slangy sense of 'anything good, first-rate in quality, genuine, pleasant or advantageous', as, we are told, in the phrase, 'these cheroots are the real cheese'. (Rushdie, 1991: 82)

In conclusion, Rushdie celebrates this monumental lexicographical enterprise with these words: 'To spend a few days with *Hobson-Jobson* is, almost, to regret the passing of the intimate connection that made this linguistic *kedgeree* possible' (Rushdie, 1991: 83). But then, there is typical Rushdiean twist:

> [...] one remembers what sort of connection it was, and is moved to remark — as Rhett Bulter once said to Scarlett O'Hara — 'Frankly, my dear, I don't give a small cooper coin weighing one tolah, eight mashas and seven surkhs, being the fortieth part of a rupee.' Or, to put it more concisely, a *dam.* (Rushdie, 1991: 83)

The earlier practitioners of lexicography did not have an easy time. Zgusta (1971: 15), in his translation of a Latin verse by J. J. Scaliger, reminds us that 'the worst criminals should neither be executed nor sentenced to forced

labour, but should be condemned to compile dictionaries, because all the tortures are included in their work'. In South Asian English lexicography, the main post-Raj period lexicographers are Hawkins (1976) and Lewis (1991). Lewis (1991: v) makes an attempt, as he says, to '[...] fill in some measure certain *lacunae* in *Hobson-Jobson* in order to achieve a better balance between the words of the common sort and those in the learned registers of ideology, philosophy, and the like' (see also Baumgardner, 1993; Muthiah, 1991).

There are several other relatively recent compilations that provide additional data on South Asian lexicography: Baumgardner (1993), Muthiah (1991), and Benson (2002) for Hong Kong 'words and their variation and context'; see also B. Kachru (1976, 1980, and forthcoming); Kandiah (1981); McArthur (1987); Butler (1996a) for various other South Asian contexts.[6]

A word of warning is warranted here: in the lexicography of Asian Englishes compilers still continue the tradition of what may be termed 'colonial pragmatism and functional needs'. In establishing identities of Englishes it is imperative that in lexicographical research a distinction be made between the items that are culturally and functionally ETIC and those that are EMIC. A distinction is also to be made between listed citations that carry 'slanted information' due to influence of the impact of the 'grid of lexicographers' dominant culture or other agendas. In Kahane and Kahane (1992) it is elegantly shown how:

> the word, [...] may change its aspect from lexicographer to lexicographer. In the hands of Andriotis it [dictionary] represents heritage; to Isidore the etymologist, it marks man's grasp of the world; to Du Cange, the medieval historian, it turns into history; to the authors of the *Crusca Vocabolario*, its use is sanctioned by the Tuscan masters of the belles-lettres; to the French Academy, it represents the language of the *honnete homme*, the gentleman; to the French Encyclopedist, it opens the eyes to things to come; to Mistral, it proves the regional survival. (Kahane and Kahane, 1992: 21)

This, then, takes us to the issues related to critical paradigms and relevance of culture and ideology to the lexicography of Asian Englishes. Kahane and Kahane (1992: 20) rightly caution us that one has to be aware of how much lexical information is 'slanted' due to lexicographer's own culture and is therefore a 'mirror of its time'. This 'slant' is evident in the Raj lexicography that is essentially culturally slanted, and often ideologically loaded. Again, Kahane and Kahane (1992) refer to this point, though not in the context of lexicography of Asian Englishes:

> [E]ven the small sample of the lexical outlines [...] reflects the attitudes of a society, as expressed in the *word*, toward the dominant problems of the ever-changing here and now. His [lexicographer's] milieu provides the specific motivations which guide the lexicographer. (Kahane and Kahane, 1992: 20)

An example of what the Kahanes say is given in Malakhovskij (1972, cited in Zgusta, 1988: 162): 'the treatment of political and social terminology in large monolingual dictionaries of English, whose compilers are said to show their class adherence: e.g., *Webster's Second* explains "unemployment" by the synonyms "idleness, inactivity". '

The Raj lexicographers indeed provide a profusion of illustrations of cultural and ideological 'slant'. Lewis (1991) rightly observes about Yule and Burnell (1886 [1985]) that:

> *Hobson-Jobson*, otherwise a master-work of mellow, witty and leisurely scholarship, is sadly lacking, for example, in references to the words arising from interests in the main religions of India: Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Islam and Zor astrianism, which have provided English with a useful word-bank of widely accepted conceptual and descriptive terms in the linguistic confluence or *doab* of Anglo-India. (Lewis, 1991: 4)

The list of words that Lewis (1991: 4) provides that Yule and Burnell 'could with advantage have included' are *atman* (1785), *karma* (1828), *kismet* (1849), *mahatma* (1855), *rishi* (1766), and *vedanta* (1788). Lewis, however, notes that 'a large number of learned words appeared on the Anglo-Indian scene later than the publication of *Hobson-Jobson* in 1886, though the second and third editions of 1902 and 1986 also failed to mention them. All of those quoted appear in *OED*' (1991: 41).

As an aside, it should be mentioned here that several words 'arising from interests in main religions of India' do appear in *Hobson-Jobson*' (1985 edition; I have not checked the earlier editions): *Avatar* 'an incarnation on earth of a divine Being'; *Brahmo Samaj* 'assembly of Brahmists'; *Nirvana* 'technical term in the philosophy of the Buddhists for the condition to which they aspire as the crown and goal of virtue, viz. the cessation of sentient existence'; *Sunyasee* 'a Hindu religious mendicant'; *Yaishnava* 'relating to Vishnu; applied to sectaries who especially worship him'; *Veda* 'the Sacred Books of Brahmins'.

Lewis (1991) provides an insightful perspective on cultural and ideological 'bias' in *Hobson-Jobson*, 'Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases'. In 1885 Whitworth attempted to compile 'an Indian supplement to the English dictionary' (p. vii). This supplement had a broader agenda:

> an Anglo-Indian dictionary should contain all those words which English people in their relations with India have found it necessary or convenient to add to their own vernacular, and should also give any special significations which pure English words have acquired in India; or briefly, it should be an Indian supplement to the English dictionary. (Whitworth, 1885 [1976]: vii)

The main post-Raj lexicographers who have taken steps to follow the vision of Whiteworth include, for South Asia, Hawkins (1976 and 1984) and Lewis (1991). A partial list of such attempts for other regions of Asia include: Bautista

(1997) for the Philippines; Bolton (2002) and Benson (2002) for Hong Kong; and Pakir (1992) for Singaporean English.

The second arm of codification is the PRESCRIPTIVISTS, who provide idealized conceptualizations of a norm. In such conceptualizations, socioculturally determined 'innovations' in multilingual contexts tend to be categorized as 'errors' and deviations.[7] The third arm is that of LANGUAGE TEACHERS whose curriculum materials and pedagogical resources are not always related to the pragmatic interactional contexts (e.g. see B. Kachru, 1996e). There are several agencies that are motivated by ideological and economic considerations who use instructional materials to control various types of norms. This also applies to the codified manuals of ESP and genre analysis (see Canagarajah, 1993a and later, especially 1999; B. Kachru, 1988a and later). The fourth arm is the cultivated LANGUAGE ATTITUDES of learners, teachers, and the educational policy planners (see sections on the Descriptivists and Contrastivists and the Functionalists in B. Kachru, 1996d).

The cauldron of 'empires'

The cauldron of 'empires' of the English language continues to be in an agitated state: the words 'empire(s)' and 'expert(s)' have acquired extended collocations in a variety of domains, and the 'managers' of the language are constructing answers for types of challenges not confronted before. In 1990, Phillipson circulated a mimeographed version of his 'English Language Teaching and Imperialism' which, as Phillipson says:

> [...] looks specifically at the ideology transmitted with, in and through the English language, and the role of language specialists in the cultural export of English. It attempts to gauge the contribution of applied linguists and English Language Teaching 'experts' in helping to legitimate the contemporary capitalist world order. (Phillipson, 1990: 4)

And, then, 'putting things metaphorically', Phillipson enumerates that 'whereas once Britannia ruled the waves, now its is English which rules them. The British empire has given way to the empire of English' (1990: 4). Phillipson's 1990 study is an attempt 'to contribute to an understanding of in what way English rules, who makes the rules, and what role the English teaching profession plays in facilitating mastery of the rule of English'.

What originally was a limited circulation volume appeared as slightly expanded and revised version in 1992 with the title *Linguistic Imperialism*. In this volume, the lines quoted above appear with slight modification as:

> It [the book] looks specifically at the ideology transmitted with, in, and through the English language, and the role of language specialists in the cultural export of English.

> To put things more metaphorically, whereas once Britannia ruled the waves, now it is English which rules them. The British empire has given way to the empire of English. This book attempts to contribute to an understanding of the ways in which English rules, who makes the rules, and what role the English teaching profession plays in promoting the 'rules' of English and the rule of English. (Phillipson, 1992: 1)

Phillipson's much-discussed book opened the proverbial Pandora's box for the 'managers' of the 'empires'. The book was expectedly received with acclaim, cynicism, criticism, and Phillipson was even 'jabbed at'. Phillipson tells us that 'my wife and fellow critical scholar,' Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, warned him that he would need to 'develop a thick skin'. It was Joshua Fishman who wisely advised him that 'it is preferable to be demonised rather than ignored'. Phillipson by now is 'fairly used to being jabbed at' (cited in Phillipson, 2003: 324).

It was again in the 1990s that Susan Butler, while launching one of the Macquarie dictionary projects, initiated the discussion on 'English *Is* an Asian language' in a series of conferences in the Philippines (Bautista, 1997), in Thailand (Newbrook, 1999), and in Malaysia (Said and Ng, 2002). These conferences focussed on one major component of 'the English language industry' — the dictionary industry. The term 'English Language Industry', as McArthur (2001: 1) points out, is used by the *EL Gazette, the BBC English Magazine*, and *The Guardian Weekly*. This industry represents, explains McArthur:

> [...] the largest body of language practitioners the world has ever known. This 'industry' comprises all the teachers, administrators, agents, publishers, academics, and others involved in selling a distinctive 'product' on a global scale. Both the EL industry and the EL media are among the many interest groups with far more to gain from the fact or concept of a single (or at most dual) world standard than a growing medley of territorial 'brands', regardless the patriotic or other positions that individuals within those varied groups might support. (McArthur, 2001: 1)

What McArthur has so eloquently pointed out is the crux of the problem why the functional and pragmatic realities about the Asian Englishes — and world Englishes — have become major points of contention. The industry 'can not be entirely comfortable', adds McArthur, to hear the claims that:

> [...] two 'traditional' Standard English*es* co-exist with many other English*es* in the UK, the US, and elsewhere, as part of a 'world English' or within a range of 'world Englishes', and further Standard Englishes have begun to assert themselves more potently than before, in for example Australia (AusSE), Canada (CanSE) and the Philippines (PhilSE). (McArthur, 2001: 1)

In historical terms the cauldron has been agitated for a long time with language wars that go back at least to the seventeenth century (see Mitchell, 2001). One of the first manifestations of this attitude for conquering territories for the US within the 'ELT empire' is Prator (1968; for a response to Prator, see Kachru, 1976). The 'empires' have other agents who are equally 'uncomfortable' partners in the cauldron, as has extensively been discussed in literature.

World Standard Spoken English (WSSE) and the real world

The conceptualization of World Standard English (spoken and/or written) is not new. The relatively recent albatross of this concept is the BASIC ENGLISH of C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards (1923; see also Allerton, 2002); This is an acronym for 'British, American, Scientific, International, Commercial' — that covers an overwhelming functional range and is reminiscent of Sir Randolph Quirk's (1981) NUCLEAR ENGLISH. Crystal argues that:

> Even if the new Englishes did become increasingly different, as years went by, the consequences for world English would not necessarily be fatal [...] A new form of English — let us think of it as 'World Standard Spoken English (WSSE)' — would almost certainly arise. *Indeed, the foundation for such a development is already being laid around us.* (Crystal, 1997: 136–7; emphasis added)

In Crystal's 1997 book, *English as a Global Language*, the proposal for WSSE is made in a style meant for a specific readership. The suggestion for the book had come from US English, the largest organization campaigning for English to be made the official language of the USA. Originally, this volume was written for private circulation among members of the organization, and there was an edition printed by US English and circulated in the USA. The volume was targeted for a specific readership — that of the US English membership.

I find the use of 'standard' in Crystal's conceptualization somewhat elusive. This takes us back to the age-old and much-discussed question of who will set the standard? What arms are to be used for implementing and controlling the standards? I recall the insightful observation Crystal made in 1985 at the 50th Anniversary Celebration of the British Council in the elegant Senate Hall of London University about Sir Randolph Quirk's position on the question of standards for English. On this issue, Crystal said, 'What concerns me, however, is the way in which all discussion of standards ceases very quickly to be a linguistic discussion, and becomes instead an issue of social identity, and I miss this perspective in his [Quirk's] paper' (1985a: 9–10).

And now I encounter the same problem with Crystal's recent proposal. What I miss is the issues of identity, creativity, and contextually constructed

canonicity of Asian Englishes — and world Englishes — in his proposed construct of World Standard Spoken English (see also McArthur, 2001).

Futurology and the crystal ball

In current futuristic speculations about world Englishes, the tendency generally is to isolate the earlier and ongoing historical contexts of the presence of the English language in Anglophone Asia and Africa. This indeed covers the crystal ball with mist for those whose favourite pastime is gazing into it.

The aspirations and efforts for standardization and globalization of a specific variety of English — British or American — during the colonial and post-colonial periods have largely remained a mirage. What we witness is that monolithic labels as modifiers of the English language have only marginal pragmatic, linguistic and functional validity, for example, the label 'international lingua franca'. The use of such terms indicates continued efforts to sustain and propagate this mythology of a lingua franca, for example, by the ELT profession, multinational corporations, and international publishers of pedagogical materials. The motivations for sustaining this mythology are not merely economic but ideological too, as has been extensively discussed in literature. In this well-coordinated and motivated drive, multiple agencies of various governments are also involved.

One might then ask: What sociolinguistic indicators for the future are there in the crystal ball? The earlier speculations are that technological advances in communication and increasing diffusion of English across cultures with globalization — however this elusive concept is defined — would contribute towards stabilization and standardization of global English. What the crystal ball, however, indicates is that the predicted *global standardization* is not evident. There is evidence, however, that the global uses of English are certainly increasing with unprecedented speed, as are the innovative and culture-specific varieties of world Englishes. The main 'feeders' of this innovation and the culture-specific evolution of English come from the multilingual contexts in which world Englishes are used and the conscious — or unconscious — efforts of these users in adapting the medium for constructing their identities. We see formal and functional evidence of such uses of the medium across a variety of genres in which insightful empirical studies have been done with extensive illustrations across Anglophone Asia and beyond. A partial list of such genres with selected references is given below:

1. ADVERTISING: e.g. Bhatt (1996); Bhatia (1992, 2001) on global advertising; Hilgendorf and Martin (2001) for an update on France and Germany; Martin (1998, 2002) for France; Jung (2001) for Korea; Laurel (2003) for Southeast Asia; Loveday (1996) and Stanlaw (2004) for Japan. See also B. Kachru (1997a) and Piller (2001) for further references.

2. INTERNET AND EMAIL: Baron (1998b, 1999); Collot and Belmore (1996); Crystal (2001); Gains (1998); Gao (2001); Gao and Hsu (2001); Hale (1996); Li (2000); Moran and Hawisher (1998); Sproull and Kiester (1986);

3. CROSS-CULTURAL SPEECH ACTS: for references see Y. Kachru (2001 and earlier);

4. MEDIA AND ENGLISHIZATION: Pakir (2001); Baik (2001); Hsu (2001);

5. BILINGUALS' CREATIVITY: see B. Kachru (1997c); Bolton (2002);

6. POPULAR AND YOUTH CULTURE: see, for example, Lee (2002 and 2004); Moody (2000); Moody and Matsumoto (2003); Nair (2003); Stanlaw (2004); Widdicombe and Wooffitt (1995).

I do not propose to draw a balance sheet of English in Anglophone Asia and beyond — its deficits and rewards. However, linguistically speaking, one cannot make serious claims that the English language has any intrinsic qualities over other languages of the world — though there is no paucity of such claims. A language acquires its value from what it can do for its users, and its spread is accelerated by the power that is behind it: political, economic, ideological, religious and so on. The spread of Persian, for example, in South Asia is a case in point. It is indeed well documented that the diffusion and unparalleled functional range and depth of English include historical events, extensive colonization by the English-speaking countries, and the uses of the language in the domains of power, prestige and literary creativity. What accelerated its diffusion during the post-imperial period is the mathetic functions in which the English medium continues to play an unprecedented role.

The linguistic crystal ball has not always been a reliable indicator for the language pandits. In spite of the warnings about the doom of the English language in the post-colonial era, Anglophone Asia has innovated the use of this medium essentially on its own terms — projecting their multiple pluralistic identities across the Seven Seas. There is some truth in the ironic statement, often heard in Anglophone Asia, that the West colonized Asia and the Asians colonized their language. The spread of English and its current status is no indicator of karmic destiny. The crystal ball is still misty, but it is possible that the world scene may yet show the impressive diffusion and power of other languages. The possible candidates are Chinese (especially Mandarin), Arabic, Hindi-Urdu, and Spanish. The late visionary linguist Charles Ferguson cautioned us about that in 1981:

> We cannot know what the future will bring. At some point the spread of English may be halted, and some other language may spread to take its place. Or newly emerging patterns of communication may eliminate the need for such a single global language. But for the present the spread of English continues, with no sign of diminishing (although its use may contract in certain areas), and two trends are gaining strength. *English is less and less*

> regarded as a European language, and its development is less and less determined by the usage of its native speakers. (Ferguson, 1981: xvi; emphasis added)

The diasporic communities — Chinese, South Asian, and others — are already altering the linguistic and cultural ecology of the Inner Circle. The language watchers are busy speculating about what turn the future will take, particularly in the USA, UK, and Australia. The vehemence of serious cultural and linguistic wars has not yet abated.

Asian voices in repositories of knowledge

The central debate in the language wars concerns the validity of information represented in the repositories of knowledge (e.g. encyclopedias, professional journals, and pedagogical materials) that define and direct the fields related to English studies. The debate, then, is about the constructs, speculations, descriptions, definitions, and evaluations that form the core of such sources of knowledge. In other words, the debate is about the validity of channels of knowledge, the agencies that manage the knowledge and indeed, about representation in such resources of knowledge — the architects and the underlying motivations of such agencies. Writing off these concerns as paranoia of 'the Other' does not provide an answer. Legitimate and vital questions need to be answered, particularly in light of the changing profile of Englishes and their users. Such questions include: How representative are professional constructs of world Englishes communities? Who has the power of representation? Who defines what is the *centre* and what are the *margins*? Who has the power to provide pragmatic and methodological validity to the generalizations that are represented by the constructs?

It is only now that concerned scholars have begun to ask these questions and provide critiques of discourses that ignore or seek to delegitimize these attitudes. One such critique is that of Margie Berns and her fifteen co-authors that resulted in an insightful and provocative exchange of ideas with Robert Phillipson. The paper, '(Re)experiencing hegemony: The linguistic imperialism of Robert Phillipson' (1998), is an outcome of a graduate seminar in world Englishes taught by Berns. The seminar had cross-cultural representation 'from rural and urban environments in Brazil, Greece, Hong Kong, Japan and Singapore as well as diverse linguistic and cultural regions of the USA: Alaska, Arkansas, Kentucky, Michigan, New Jersey, Oklahoma, Texas, and Washington' (p. 272). It was a reasonable representation from the Three Circles of English looking at the 'authorial voice' of Phillipson's *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992).

The 'authorial voice' in the book is then discussed in terms of *credibility, style, tone,* and *terminology.* The reactions of the students to Phillipson's discourse

range from 'aggressive' or, colloquially speaking, 'in your face' (p. 274), to 'condescending and patronizing' (p. 276). What the seminar participants learned from their collective study of Phillipson's construct of the discourse of imperialism is instructive. They tell us that:

> We learned that hegemony can occur on a smaller scale, as when the reader of a book begins to believe what the writer believes, or when the reader internalizes what the writer proposes even though such acceptance of the writer's ideas and beliefs may not objectively be in the reader's interest. Our reading of *Linguistic Imperialism* is such a case. (p. 280)

In their view, Phillipson's construct provides 'a hegemonic narrative' (p. 281) which was, in fact, unconvincing: 'We were not converted, only provoked (and not in the way he probably intended) and he lost us as an audience'.

The approach of Berns et al. highlights the necessity of including the 'representations of the margins' (p. 277). Such representation provides, methodologically, a powerful 'reality check' for — or reinterpretation of — constructs in applied linguistics that the profession holds sacred. This collective (re)interpretive discourse of Berns and her fifteen co-authors, and the following exchange between Phillipson and the authors, provided a stimulus for my anatomy of two resources of knowledge that have been published in recent years: one a 758-page volume entitled the *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* edited by Colin Baker and Sylvia Prys Jones (1998) and the other, *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, edited by Robert B. Kaplan (2002).

First, the Baker and Jones encyclopedia: the idea of initiating such a project was considered 'an internationally significant event' (p. vii). This significance is enhanced by its scope as 'around two-thirds of the world's population are bilingual' (p. vii). The volume is intended for international readership with a laudable goal: 'to share *different perspectives* the *views* of language minorities and language majorities *faithfully*, and to *represent* different political agendas' (p. viii; emphasis added). These 'international' goals are then discussed in four major sections and appendices. The sections include a total of over 130 sub-sections. And 'for those who wish to dig deeper a Bibliography of over 2000 entries is provided [...]' (p. viii). This volume then is an ambitious source of knowledge for one of the most vibrant issues in contemporary societies in practically every part of the world.

What I present below is actually not an anatomy of this tome of knowledge, but just a biopsy of some major conceptual threads that constitute the architectural design of the volume. The following questions, as stated above, demand answers:

a.   Who are the ARCHITECTS of such resources of knowledge?
b.   Whose VOICES are articulated?
c.   Who has the REPRESENTATIONAL power?
d.   Who has the INTERPRETIVE power?
e.   What are the sources for AUTHENTICATION?
f.   What are the criteria of REPRESENTATION?

One might use the above profile to ask how representative this particular source of knowledge is of the bilingual world that comprises over four billion people (two-thirds of the world population) out of a total population of over six billion.

In other words, who is assigned the representational power of defining the African and Asian bilingual worlds, their visions and voices, and the constructs of their societies? Another vital question here is: What representational power is in the hands of African and Asian scholars of multilingualism? What representation is given to the scholars from the regions with a long tradition of bilingualism and multilingualism, who have devoted their careers to the study of these topics in their countries in the fields of education, language policies and planning, literary creativity, and social interaction?

The architects of this particular volume work at different levels, as editors, consulting editors, and as contributors or experts. It is they who have *the representational* and *interpretive* power. They determine the *authentication* and *appropriateness* of the sources on which analyses are made and a speech community is constructed and defined. They determine the methodological and conceptual frameworks. Table 11.3 provides a profile of the architects:

Table 11.3: The architects of knowledge

Editors	2, both from UK
Consulting Editors	16: None from Africa/1 Japanese
Experts ('Who gave their expertise with particular topics, queries or requests')	Over 94% non-African/non-Asian
Experts (Organizations)	All non-African/non-Asian
Authors (A significant number cited for Further Reading)	580: an overwhelming proportion non-Asian/non-African
Bibliography (over 2,000 items)	90% non-African/non-Asian

This profile gives us some indication of the underlying voices that represent, interpret and authenticate the knowledge embodied in this international resource on bilingualism.

Second, the Kaplan volume, *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics,* again provides a telling example of the power of (re)interpreting knowledge, in this case specifically about applied linguistics. The editorial group, says the Preface:

> spent quite a bit of time debating whether critical (applied) linguistics/critical pedagogy/critical discourse analysis should be included; on the grounds that critical applied linguistics rejects all theories of language, expresses "skepticism about all metanarratives" (Lyotard, 1984), and rejects traditional applied linguistics as an enterprise because it has allegedly never been neutral and has, rather, been hegemonic (Rampton, 1997), the editorial group decided not to include the cluster of 'critical' activities. (Kaplan, 1998: vi)

The contributors 'are drawn from diverse backgrounds', and '45 percent are drawn from countries other than the United States'. These 'diverse backgrounds' include those of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Hungary, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom (p. vi). Furthermore, it is emphasized that 'the approach is intentionally conservative', and that 'this volume is not just a compilation of thirty-nine unrelated articles; it is [...] a comprehensive overview of the field of applied linguistics at the beginning of the third millennium' (p. x).

In the (re)interpretation of applied linguistics, two major questions are: What is it that motivates the non-recognition of the world beyond *our* world by negating their voices and representational power? And, why is there such resistance to sharing the power of interpretation and authentication? Perhaps an answer to the first question is in the detailed treatment of the politics of recognition, as outlined by Charles Taylor (1992) and others. Taylor's concerns are, of course, somewhat different, but his observation on the consequences of 'misrecognition' are worth noting. In Taylor's view, misrecognition 'can inflict a grievous wound, saddling its victim with a crippling self-hatred. *Due recognition is not just a courtesy we owe people. It is a vital human need'* (1992: 26; emphasis added). Henry Widdowson (1994: 389) has warned us that 'we need to be cautious about the designs we have on other people's worlds when we are busy designing our own'. The second question opens up the much-discussed can of worms about power, politics and control.

The victimology of English and Asia's response

In understanding the multiple facets of the presence of English in Anglophone Asia, a familiarity with the increasing genre of the 'victimology' of English provides yet other interdisciplinary perspectives. The concerns of this victimology are indeed expressed in other Asian, African and European languages, too. In this language war, the victims' list of concerns include perspectives regarding, for example:

1. *History* of the introduction of English language in Anglophone Asia (e.g. for South Asia, see Cohn, 1985; Ram, 1983; see also Chapter 3);
2. *Motivations for introduction of English literature in Anglophone Asian universities* (e.g. Vishwanathan, 1987, 1989; see Nagarajan's critique of Vishwanathan's *Masks of Conquest,* in *Jodhpur Studies in English,* Vol. 6, 1995).

It is argued by Vishwanathan (1995), among others, that English literature was used as a potent literary tool for social control of the subjected people by the empire 'to teach Indians a distaste for their own literature and to make them look down upon themselves', (cited in Sharma and Sharma, 1998: 16–7). Vishwanathan's view is not necessarily accepted by all, and in a broader context of what English literature did for the literary renaissance of, for example, the South Asian literatures, is vehemently rejected. In his critique of Vishwanathan, Nagarajan cautions us that 'an uncritical acceptance of the thesis of "*Orientalism*" may result in the Indian spiritual baby being thrown out with the dirty orientalist water' (cited in Sharma and Sharma, p. 17, 1998). And Chatterji (1963: 5), the acclaimed historical linguist, places the contribution of English in a broader perspective of India's literary renaissance when he says: 'Contact with the European spirit through English literature brought in a real Indian renaissance, and gave a new course to literature in modern Indian languages.'

3. *Politics* (e.g. Pennycook, 1994 and later; see also the symposium on Phillipson [1993] in *World Englishes* 12: 3; 365–73, Bhatt, 2001);
4. *Hegemony* (e.g. Phillipson, 1992 and later; for a critique of Phillipson, see also Alatis and Straehle, 1997; Tsuda, 1994b and later; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Berns et al., 1998);
5. *Heresy* (e.g. Prator, 1968; for a critique of Prator see B. Kachru, 1976);
6. *Standards and codification* (see Quirk, 1985b and later; see also B. Kachru, 1985 and later);
7. *Marginalization* (for references see B. Kachru, 1996b; Pennycook, 1994; Canagarajah, 1999);
8. '*Academic Terrorism*' (see Batsleer et al., 1985: 23; cited in Wilentz, 1992b: 261):

> [...] the whole construct of canon formation was developed "in the establishment of curriculum for imperial domination. For 'English literature' was born, as a school and college subject, not in England but in the mission schools and training colleges of Africa and India" (Batsleer et al., 1985: 23). This "academic terrorism", as they call it, clearly defines literary canons "not just as selections but as hierarchies [...] Beneath the disinterested procedures of literary judgment and discrimination can be discerned the outlines of other, harsher words: exclusion, subjugation, dispossession" (29–30). In relation to the Caribbean, add "colonization and imperialism."

For various perspectives on canon and canon formation, see also Guillory, 1987; JanMohamed, 1987; Kachru, 1995c; Spivak, 1988; Wilentz, 1992b; Harlow, 1987; Ngũgĩ, 1984; Woodcock, 1986).

9. *Experts and their discourse:* In a detailed paper, Bhatt (2002: 74–109) 'examines' what he calls, 'expert' discourse which consists of 'complexes of signs and practices that organize and legitimize social existence and social reproduction — to demonstrate the ideological processes involved in the manufacture of Standard English ideology and its continual duplication as necessitated by the three axiomatic conceptions of the English-sacred imagined community' (cf. Anderson, 1991).

    This, then, guarantees that 'Standard English' is accepted by all members as inevitable and the speakers of this standard accepted as uncontested authorities of English language use' (Bhatt, 2002: 74).

'A different ... uh, kettle of fish'

The first use of the construct 'a kettle of fish' for users of the 'nativized' varieties of English was by Luke Prodromou (2003: 42–8), attempting to explain the 'paradox of idiomaticity in native and non-native uses of English'. In a lone cautionary concluding note to his paper, Prodromou tells the reader that:

> In referring to the creative bending of the rules of idiomaticity and the non-native speaker, I am not referring to Joseph Conrad-type creativity, Booker prize-winners like Salman Rushdie, or Nobel prize-winners like V.S. Naipaul. I am referring to creativity with a small 'c' in the context of English as a Lingua Franca. (Prodromou, 2003: 47)

And, almost in exasperation, Prodromou concludes that 'English as a Second Language and *nativized varieties of English are a different ... uh, kettle of fish'*. The range of meanings of 'a kettle of fish' include 'a mess, muddle, or awkward state of affairs ...'[8] and 'an undesirable situation, usually one caused by somebody's negligence or incompetence'.[9]

Prodromou's exasperation about creativity is shared by many traditional pandits of the English language and the ELT profession. He is not alone in holding these views. In his generalization Prodromou excludes the 'Booker prize-winners like Salman Rushdie', but that consideration was not shown by the British Council officer who suggested to Rushdie that, '[a]s a Commonwealth writer, [...] you probably find, don't you, that there's a kind of liberty, certain advantages, in occupying, as you do, a position on the *periphery*' (Rushdie, 1991: 61; emphasis added), quoted earlier on page 149.

One must emphasize here that in the contexts of language contact, language convergence, and indeed, in bilingual's creativity, nativization is a

normal process, and is well-documented in multilingual societies as discussed in several previous chapters.

Barking up the wrong tree

The 'English Conversation Ideology' (*Eikaiwa*) is not Anglophone Asia's only continued effort to bark up the wrong tree in order to avoid confronting the functional and pragmatic realities in imparting English education (see Chapter 4). The result of this ostrich-like attitude is that a Brahminic caste hierarchy is sustained — and encouraged — in most of Anglophone Asia. The following relatively recent cases come to mind.

A clearer case of barking up the wrong tree is that of Singapore government's Speak Good English Movement (SGEM), launched on 29 April 2000. The genesis of the 'good English' debate in Singapore began with the birth of the city-state — of around 4 million people — which has a distinct vernacular English termed 'Singlish' (also called Colloquial Singapore English, or CSE).[10] The 'good English' debate, as Ling and Brown (2003: 18–9) remind us, goes back to 26 July 1999,[11] when Singapore's Ministry of Education 'recognized the inadequacies of [the] Communicative Approach to language teaching' and proposed immediate educational reforms which included a 'decrease' in the use of Singlish. Singlish, says Rubdy (2001: 348), 'was categorically defined as English corrupted by Singaporeans'. And contrary to sociolinguistic research on the linguistic continuum of varieties of English in Singapore, it was claimed that 'Singlish is not English [...] Singlish is broken, ungrammatical English sprinkled with words and phrases from local dialects and Malay which English speakers outside Singapore have difficulty in understanding' (ibid.).

The proposed reforms thus revived the earlier debate about Singlish versus English in much more passionate and divisive manner. Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong used the opportunity of his 1999 National Day Rally speech to emphasize that:

> If we carry on using Singlish, the logical final outcome is that we, too, will develop our own type of pidgin English, spoken only by 3 million Singaporeans, which the rest of the world will find quaint but incomprehensible. We are already there. Do we want to go all the way? (*The Straits Times*, 23 August 1999).

What the present Prime Minister said was more passionately endorsed by Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who served for 31 years Singapore's first Prime Minister. In his view, 'Singlish is a handicap we would not want to wish on Singaporeans'.

The language police had thus cautioned that the gloves were off and a language war had been launched. The arms of control had unleashed a

campaign against language varieties, and the use of varieties as markers of identity and solidarity. The people's 'version' of their language was under attack. Rubdy (2001) cites an appropriate comment from *The Financial Times*, London (6 July 2000) that contextualizes Singlish succinctly as follows:

> In a country that only came into being with independence in 1965 and consists of three ethnic groups — Chinese, Malays and Indians — Singlish is an important unifying force. It draws its roots from several Chinese dialects, Malay, Tamil and English. Academics have studied it. Books have been written about it. And many Singaporeans consider it the only cultural trait uniquely Singaporean. (Rubdy, 2001: 345)

Why, then, has Singapore renewed the onslaught on Singlish, and, indeed, on well-recognized variation and 'diversity' in English in the city-state? A variety of attitudinal assumptions come to mind.

The first assumption is negation of the FUNCTIONAL SPACE of the variational range — and the continuum — of English(es) in Singapore. It is this continuum that determines variety shift (or choice) in terms of contexts, participants and the intended linguistic bonds the interlocutors desire to establish. This linguistic reality of Singapore is neither unique nor does it cause 'functional lameness' in choosing an appropriate variety of Singaporean English. This linguistic phenomenon is evident — and much discussed in literature — in Singapore, as it is in other Anglophone Asian countries, for example, Malaysia, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Hong Kong.

The second assumption is ignoring the IDEATIONAL CONSTRUCT of the appropriate choice from the lectal range of Singaporean Englishes. Rubdy (2001: 345) appropriately observes that 'Singlish is increasingly being foregrounded in the consciousness of English speakers in Singapore with some show of pride and "a new confidence" in its value.' This point, as Rubdy points out, has been earlier emphasized by, among others, Anne Pakir (1994b: 79) who, Rubdy summarizes, 'even suggests that the major goal of unity in diversity envisioned for Singapore is likely to be realized through informal Singapore English rather than the formal types of English which the visible planners seek to promote' (Rubdy, 2001: 353, fn. 5). The rejection of the ideational construct is evident in the following Editorial comment of *The Straits Times* (27 July 1999):

> In one of those curious expressions of cultural politics, Singaporeans fluent in English find it fashionable sometimes to speak Singlish in order to affirm their solidarity with the linguistic working class. However, this fraternity plays upon but does not resolve, the real problems faced by those who are stuck with English. That is why, just as the Education Ministry is addressing part of the problem by sharpening its focus on English, the media need to prevent Singlish from being legitimized as an acceptable alternative to English. (*The Straits Times*, 27 July 1999; cited in Rubdy, 2001: 346)

The media in Singapore is thus provoked and encouraged to join the ranks of the language police 'to prevent Singlish from being legitimized'. The use of Singlish is interpreted as a 'curious expression of cultural politics' to 'affirm solidarity with the linguistic working class'. This is complete misreading of the functional status of Singlish at various level of Singapore society, and the intended purpose of its ecological relevance in the interactional contexts.

It is, therefore, not surprising that Rubdy (2001: 355, Appendix) found 'conflicting views of the readership towards Singlish' in the letters to the editor section of *The Straits Times*. Some captions of the published letters read as follows:

1. AGAINST THE USE OF SINGLISH

   Proper English, Use it or lose it; Using Singlish has a high opportunity cost; Forget Singlish. Use English; No Singlish please, we're Singaporeans

2. FAVOURING THE RETENTION OF SINGLISH

   Don't break Singlish bond; Don't heap blame on Singlish-speaking PCK; Let's speak up for Singlish; No shame for using Singlish; Singlish is part of bonding process here.

The Singlish versus English controversy, however, is not recent. In Singapore, as in other parts of Anglophone world, this controversy still continues. In such situations, the first dubious administrative initiative to calm the rival groups is to appoint a committee to study the matter. One such initiative was taken by Singapore in 1977 'over the falling standards of English' (see Brown, 2003: 16; for details, see also Pakir, 1993; Bokhorst-Heng, 1998). However, even in the 1980s the voices for functional pragmatism regarding Singlish-versus-English issue were not absent. Two readers' letters published in *The Straits Times,* one in 1982, and the other in 1983 (cited in Brown, 2003: 17) about this attitudinally-loaded issue, provide good examples:

(a) It is about time the arbiters of our Singapore lifestyle realise that while good writing requires a certain amount of formality and literary convention, the charm and vitality of colloquial speech depends completely on spontaneity and a total lack of self-consciousness. (13 August 1982)

(b) The basilect (or most informal variety of English Spoken in Singapore) is distinctly and delightfully Singaporean. We don't have to apologise for it and we should be free to use it [...] let the basilect stay, but let's also have a wide enough repertoire to 'switch' to higher 'lect' if need be [...]. (cited from Bokhost-Heng, 1998, in Brown, 2003: 17)

The Singaporean media has not quite exhausted the debate on the explosive topics of accents and varieties. The question about 'fake accents' looms large in this debate. Koh Buck Song (*The Straits Times,* 29 July 1996) has 'a theory'

about fake accents and *geh angmos* ('Asian who try to be like Caucasians'). Song divides them into two classes. First, *Tongue Twisters*, those 'who have been abroad or not at all and yet speak with fake accents ... [they] voluntarily — though perhaps not fully consciously — adopt modes of behaviour from an admired foreign culture'. Second, *Untwisted Tongues*, those who 'stay true to upbringing because they are confident of who they are'.

Song provides examples of his 'theory' and concludes that '[t]he trouble is, some would rather become something else' (Life at Large section, p. 4). He puts it in historical context by adding that during the British colonial period in Singapore, '[...] it was a loyal subject's aspiration to master Queen's English'. And now, 'fake American accents emerge because new, willing subjects succumb to a new imperialism of US pop culture'. His concern is that 'aimless opening of Americans will continue, raising issues of cultural identity, self-confidence and media power'. It is this concern that is articulated by the general public to Song's 'theory' in *The Straits Times*, for example, under captions such as 'The fake accents undercut our national pride' (10 August 1996), and 'Singaporean accent can give us an identity' (10 August 1992). The 'fake accents' debate in Singapore, as in other parts of Asia, has not ceased.

In India, Sagarika Ghosh, a journalist, wonders: 'What is this new language that the Indian youth are speaking?' And the answer is:

> It has been described as "the Call Centre Drawl." Call centers, [...] are new giant telephone exchanges where thousands of young girls and boys are taught to speak in American accents so that they may answer telephone calls from American credit card holders pretending they are "Jack" and "Jill" instead of Thomas Kutty or Harminder Kaur. For American companies answering credit card inquiries in India costs far less than paying for an American operator sitting in American soil. (*The Indian Express*, North American edition, 13 June 2003, p. 13)

And Ghosh comments that: '[t]here can be no possible argument against call centres' for they provide job opportunities. However, her concern is that '[...] it would be sad if the Call Centre Drawl became the only hallmark of future Indian westernization. After all, there's a lot more to learn from the language of Mark Twain than simply a bizarre accent' (*The Indian Express,* ibid.).

It was in 1971 that Malaysian educator and creative writer Lloyd Fernando observed that:

> Already in spoken forms, significant variations have taken place giving rise to incipient dialectal forms of English to parallel dialects in America, the West Indies, and West Africa. People have humorously pointed out to "Japlish" (English spoken by Japanese but referring principally to pronunciation), "Taglish" in the Philippines, Malayan English in Malaysia and Singlish in Singapore, the last two kinds containing characteristic departures from grammar and liberal borrowings from Tagalog, Malay, and Chinese. (Fernando, 1986: 206–7)

And, Fernando's following observation realistically explains the ongoing controversy about Singlish and English within a larger context of language dynamics and innovation:

> Some of the varieties of spoken English in Asia, it seems to me, qualify as dialects, and that they do flourish is a symptom of the demotic vigour of English in Asia. It is of course a linguistic commonplace that the standard form of a language and its dialect forms coexist; and the development of localized spoken forms, if judiciously tolerated, could permit vigorous native speech room for innovation. (Fernando, 1986: 206)

The third assumption is of STRUCTURAL DEFICIENCY in Singlish, which reflects in the use of terms such as 'broken' and 'grammarless' for this variety. This assumption reminds us of the controversial debate in the USA about African-American English (AAE, Ebonics), its structure, its identity with African-Americans and its relevance in the educational system. The arguments presented against AAE have been rebutted by, among others, by William Labov in his extremely well-argued papers, including 'The study of Nonstandard English' (1970) and 'The logic of nonstandard English' (1972) which have had immense impact on educators in the USA and beyond. In literature equally thoughtful and sociolinguistically appropriate, similiar arguments have been made about the syntactic, phonological, lexical and discoursal features of Singlish.[12]

The final assumption concerns the 'inadequacy' of the Communicative Approach to language teaching expressed by the Ministry of Education of Singapore. The debate about short-lived methodological models has a long history. These methods include the Direct Method, the Structural Method (the Institute of Education, London, variety in Britain, and the English Language Institute at the University of Michigan variety in the USA), the Functional Method, and various incarnations of LSP (Language for Special Purposes) and genre analysis.

The Asian scholars from Southeast and South Asia have expressed their cynicism about such 'imported' models of English language teaching from a variety of perspectives. The following two excerpts are illustrative. The first is from Lloyd Fernando, who told us in 1971 that:

> Asians trained in scientific disciplines — and even in language teaching — in Western universities come back spouting a technical jargon serving to reinforce the pernicious idea that English (or any other language) may be taught for so-called "functional" purposes only. They speak in machine-metaphors derived from American Structural Linguists. "When we apply the concept of standardization to language," says one, for example, "we stress their tool-like character." Thus the biblical statement, "And God said: Let there be light, and there was light" is rendered by a modern systems engineer as, "In

response to a verbal stimulus for luminosity, initiated by the Master Control, a complete spectrum of visible radiation occurred." (Fernando, 1986: 205)

Fernando cautions his Asian compatriots that 'our promising young Asian academics and students will become parties to this kind of *linguistic vandalism* unless they are taught to rely on more individual resources of common sense and a truer appreciation of the vitality of the English language' (1986: 205–6; emphasis added). It is appropriate to add here that Fernando was Head of the Department of English at the University of Malaysia (1967–1978) and is a distinguished creative writer.

The second excerpt is by C. D. Narasimhaiah from India, founding editor of *Literary Criterion*, Professor of English, University of Mysore (1950–1979), and Principal, Maharaja's College, Mysore (1957–1962). Narasimhaiah presents three extracts from 'Preparatory General English Course for Colleges (Physical Sciences) prepared by the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad in 1963'. One of the three lessons on 'Pressure' reads:

> Hydrogen is inflammable and strict precaution must be taken to minimise the danger of an explosion, which would occur if the hydrogen got ignited through some carelessness. If the balloon ascends too rapidly, an aperture at the top can be uncovered for a time, and some of the hydrogen can be liberated from the balloon. If the balloon descends, some of the load, e.g., some sand, may be ejected. So it is possible to maintain a steady height. Making a successful landing is a delicate operation; obviously most of the hydrogen originally enclosed in the balloon must be liberated, but the basket must not come into collision with the ground. (cited in Narasimhaiah, 1991: 161)

And commenting on the above text, Narasimaihah adds:

> I was very nearly reminded of that young lady from school who said to the old woman: 'Take an egg, make a perforation at the base and a corresponding one at the apex. Apply the lips to the aperture and by forcibly inhaling the breath the shell will be exhausted of its contents'. And the old woman who heard this remarked: 'It all speaks how folks do things nowadays. In our days we used to take an egg, make a hole, and suck it.' (cited in Narasimaihah, 1991: 161)

The major argument of Fernando and Narasimhaiah — and of other literary scholars and educators — is against those who have encouraged a dichotomy between English language and literature. In his provocative style, Narasimhaiah swipes at India's regional language 'fanatics' and the British Council:

> [o]ur boys and girls are told by British Council experts in English Teaching to read their own literatures if they seek literary graces or humanizing qualities

> rather than look for them in English. This is poor tribute to English literature as to British scholarship. I am constrained to remark that this specialist has not known any literature, not even his own. It would be interesting to investigate the nature and extent of his literary background in his own language, for if he had cultivated a sensitivity to the evocative power of words in his own language, hundred to one, he would not have preached disaffection to the Indian for the emotive use of words in a foreign language. (Narasimhaiah, 1991: 164)

The second case of barking up the wrong tree concerning the issues of discrimination is that of racism and a search for 'the genuine Englishmen'. A recent example from Hong Kong provides an example of this attitude and controversy: Spencer Douglas, a worker for NET (the Native English-Speaking Teachers), has drawn attention to the charge of 'ethnic bias' and 'racism'. This attitude appears to be yet another manifestation of the 'English Conversation Ideology', as discussed in Chapter 4. Katherine Forestier and Polly Hui (*South China Morning Post*, 20 July 2002) refer to the case of a school (Madame Chan Wai Chow Memorial School) which 'did not want any one of Chinese or Indian descent, even if their parents had been born and raised in England'. What the school wanted, says the report, is 'a genuine Englishman to be our NET [Native English-Speaking Teacher].' Further, they argue, 'what's the point for the Education Department spending so much on recruiting from overseas? It can spend much less by recruiting Hong Kong people who speak fluent English.'

Spencer Douglas further adds, according to Forestier and Hall, that this incident is illustrative of the 'many demands made by principals that NETs should be native English-speaking white people'. Another school was much more direct in emphasizing '[d]on't send us a dark-faced man because they would scare our pupils'. And yet other schools were even more specific: 'Don't send us any Indians' or 'no coloured'. Two schools specifically wanted NETs 'with blonde hair or blue eyes'. The authorities of the education department, of course, denied the charge and stressed that they 'are not racists'. In an interview, the English panel chair, Ms Cheng said:

> We are looking for teachers whose mother tongue is English, but we had never specified that the NETs must be white people. Since the course focuses on oral English we wanted the students to learn a genuine English accent. This is also our commitment to parents. (ibid.)

The native versus non-native dilemma continues to dominate the academic and pedagogical discourses in Anglophone East Asia, particularly in Singapore, Hong Kong, Korea and Japan, to provide just four examples. There are also examples of evident change in this attitude of discrimination and indifference to language ecology.

In the Philippines, for example, there is now a gradual recognition of

'functional nativeness' (see Chapter 2) of the English language after passing through an extended phase of exhausting linguistic agony identical to what Singapore and Hong Kong continue to express. Isagani R. Cruz (*Starweek,* 11 August 1996) of Manila summarizes well the present Philippine attitude when he says that 'if you use a language [English] in all sorts of ways at all sorts of times and for all sorts of reasons, it must be your language'. Reflecting on his statement in a wider context, Cruz explains:

> English is no longer considered just one language [...] Instead English is now more precisely referred to as "Englishes" by linguists and as "english" (uncapitalized) by literary theorists. There is no such thing as "international English" [...]. Instead, there are "world Englshes" which basically means that there are a lot of different kinds of English, none of which may be said to be better than the others. (Cruz, 1996)

The 'moral lesson' Cruz derives from the above statement is that:

> [Y]ou do not have to be ashamed of pronouncing the word "precedent" with the accent on the second syllable, because if you pronounce it the Amercian way (accent on the first syllable), no Filipino will understand you. Another way of putting that lesson is this: when in the Philippines, speak and write Philippine English, but when in the United States, speak and write American English. I am tempted to add that when in London, look first at where exactly you are, because in that city, as George Bernard Shaw correctly observed early in our century, every street speaks a different kind of English! (ibid.)

This rather slow process of attitudinal STABILIZATION towards a variety of English and linguistic reality in multilingual Anglophone Asia is now clearly evident in South Asia, as discussed in Chapter 3. This attitude is evident in the media and the discussions about the presence of English. The impact of this convergence has multiple dimensions — deep and lasting. Mehrotra (2003: 7) points out that a 'no less profound consequence of colonial education was the transformation it brought about in the literature of the Indian languages'. In Chapter 3, I have briefly discussed the impact of English in the 1840s and later. Sisir Kumar Das (1991) points out that:

> A majority of the writers associated with the journals either knew English or were exposed to the English language, and this conditioned their world-view and literary style to a great extent. Most of them [...] did not write with literary pretensions; but all of them, consciously or unconsciously, took part in a great experiment which brought about a real break-through in Indian literature. (Das, 1991: 106)

The development of the genre of prose was of 'historic importance' for, as Das emphasizes, a consciousness and 'awareness' of a string of social issues

that include, 'a rational view as opposed to a theocentric universe, a spirit of enquiry, a desire to examine one's past heritage [...]'. (See also Narasimhaiah, Iyengar, Gokak and other scholars' views in B. Kachru, 2003.)

In the subcontinent the song of celebration of the English language has been sung with accompanying equal disdain for the colonizers, and their language and its colonial *mantras*. That linguistic love-hate relationship has not, however, suppressed the acceptance that:

> One consequence of the changes taking place in Indian society under colonialism was that Indians had mastered the colonizer's language (as the colonizers had mastered theirs) and, going one step further, had by the 1820s begun to adopt it as their chosen medium of expression. These pioneering works of poetry, fiction, drama, travel, and belles-letters are little read today except by specialists, but when they were published they were, by the mere fact of being in English, audacious acts of mimicry and self-assertion. (Mehrotra, 2003: 6; see also Fisher, 2002)

In his monumental work Das (1991) sums up the earlier impact of Indian English writers with immense acclaim:

> The Indian English writings, then, in their initial stage were so intimately related with the contemporary Indian aspiration and were so much a part of the Indian semiology that they could justifiably be claimed as yet another component of the Indian literature. Despite their little literary merit they gave a new dimension to Indian literature in transition. (Das, 1991: 80)

The *nativization* of Indian English, and the distinction between *medium* and *mantra*, skilfully pioneered by Raja Rao (see Chapter 7) and Mulk Raj Anand, was elevated to yet another level after Salman Rushdie's *Midnight's Children* (1981). In 1983 Rushdie rightly asserts that:

> English literature has its Indian branch. By this I mean the literature of the English language. There is no incompatibility here. If history creates complexities, let us not try to simplify them. [...] So English is an Indian literary language, and by now, thanks to writers like [Rabindranath] Tagore, [G.V.] Desani, [Nirad C.] Chaudhuri, Mulk Raj Anand, Raja Rao, Anita Desai, it has quite a pedigree. (Rushdie, 1991: 85)

And Rushdie goes beyond that by referring to the pluricentricity of the language — its 'eclecticism' — that world Englishes embodies: 'Eclecticism, the ability to take from the world what seems fitting and to leave the rest, has always been a hallmark of the Indian tradition, and today it is at the centre of the best work being done both in the visual arts and in literature' (ibid.). Rushdie also echoes the concerns of many across the Anglophone world in recognizing the constraining identity of what is called 'Commonwealth

literature' when he warns us that: 'Yet eclecticism is not really a nice word in the lexicon of "Commonwealth literature." So the reality of the mixed tradition is replaced by the fantasy of purity' (1991: 67–8). It is the debate on various manifestations of concerns for 'purity' that underlies current debate — 'purity' as constructed and defined by what may be called the 'pure English brigade'.

One of the legacies of Rushdie's *Midnight's Children*, as Mee points out, 'was a vibrant model for rewriting English in dialogue with those [Indian regional] languages' (2003: 320). That debate then led to several perspectives. On the one hand, as Mee points out, Anita Desai's claim that it was after 'Salman Rushdie came along that Indian writers finally felt capable of using the spoken language, spoken English, the way it's spoken on Indian streets by ordinary people' (cited in Mee, 2003: 320). Mee then provides yet another perspective:

> However, Desai's account is not quite accurate. Contemporary novelists rarely attempt street-wise realism. More often they bring different languages into comic collusion, testing the limits of communication between them, clebrating India's lingusitic diversity, and taking over the English language to meet the requirements of an Indian context, a perspective which receives perhaps its most explicit statement on the often-quoted opening page of Upamanyu Chatterjee's *English, August* (1988): 'Amazing mix ... Hazaar fucked. Urdu and American ...' I'm sure nowhere else could language be mixed and spoken with such ease.' Nevertheless this kind of reshaping of the language is not entirely without its anxieties. (Mee, 2003: 320)

That South Asian scholars have come to a stage where the debate is beyond externally imposed 'purity' and is articulating 'anxieties' of the type discussed above, thereby demonstrating that the paradigms of nativization have acquired a legitimacy, and awareness of contextual, pragmatic relevance.

One other recent example — if indeed one is needed — is un-self-consciousness about the use of hybridization, mixing of languages, in Indian media. (In several earlier chapters this process has been discussed and illustrated.) This example is from *India Today* (12 May 2003, p. 11):

> He [Digvijay Singh, then Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, an Indian State] has produced another possible pundit-confounding winner by asking his ministers to hold *yagnas* and *bhagwat paths* in their constituencies. His cabinet of 50 is busy locating sites and *sadhus* to organise week-long *Chandi Devi yagnas* ranging from *Laksh* and *Sahastra* to *Shat yagnas*. Home Minister Mahendra Baudh is organising the *Sahastra Chandi yagna* at Datia, PCC office-bearers arranged for *Laksh Chandi* in Bhopal, and another *yagna* is on at Begumganj near Bina. Every holy man from Bharati's brother Swami Lodhi and Avdeshanand to Kamalkishore Nagar is busy with congressman and their *puja path.*

The 'exporting' of Anglophone Englishes to other regions is yet another indicator of attitudinal stability and security of the users of the varieties of Asian Englishes. India, for example, took this initiative in the 1970s at the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad, under the Directorship of the late Ramesh Mohan. In the 1990s, Pramod Talegiri, the then Director, further strengthened the earlier initiative. Referring to the initiatives, Talegeri observes: 'An interesting world scenario is developing where a businessman from Malawi may communicate with his counterpart in Kyrgyzstan through Indian English, which he might have learnt in Hyderabad' (*The Guardian Weekly,* October 2001).

India is already 'exporting' English to Vietnam. The initiative in Hanoi was taken on the request from the Vietnamese government and India provided 'in-country training by sending individual teachers to Hanoi, who set up classrooms in the Indian embassy there' (Usha Rai, ibid.). Hanoi is just one example of such Indian initiatives. Talegeri rightly puts the Hanoi initiative into a broader context of world Englishes when he claims that:

> We are legitimising the process of Indian ownership of English and demystifying the aura of exaggerated superiority of British English among Indians themselves. English is no longer British, and it no longer belongs to the high cultural gentry alone. Any person can use it as an instrument for communication. Being able to communicate in English is like being able to ride a bicycle. (*The Guardian Weekly*, October 2001)

Talegiri's vision for government-sponsored centres for English beyond India is enthusiastically shared by a distinguished Indian English novelist and writer of *English, August* (1988), Upamanyu Chatterji (*sic*). Chatterjee, a senior official in India's Ministry of Human Development, is right in commenting that he does not understand why 'there should be so much fuss about CIEFL teaching English in Vietnam or elsewhere'. Chatterjee speculates that '[i]f Indian English courses are gaining popularity, it could be because they are not as expensive as those being run by the British Council.' The monetary consideration is perhaps one of the reasons, but there are other reasons too. The other reasons, according to Zambian academic administrator and researcher Maurice M. Chishimba, are that the South Asian teachers blend with the class without threatening colour contrasts; their accents are not too different, and above all, they complete the terms of their contract without problems and too many demands (personal conversation).

The Indian initiative has now gone beyond 'writing and talking back' in what was the colonial *madhyma*. By crossing the borders in using English as an 'export' commodity, India is demonstrating confidence in marketing the medium. This confidence has been articulated, practised and marketed in other ways, too. One thinks of creativity in fiction, poetry, the media in English, trained technologists, medical professionals in the diaspora of the post-1950s

in English-using countries in the West and beyond. This English-knowing diaspora of Asians and Africans is an answer to the mythology of 'nativeness' that has been elevated to a cardinal status in English language pedagogy. This status has evolved in linguistic apartheid and racism, a topic extensively discussed in literature.

The English language is now serving two purposes as an 'export' commodity in Anglophone Asia. The region has awakened to the reality that the time is ripe now to seek rewards in dollars and cents by 'commodification' of the English language. This is evident in the presence of the voices of Asians and Africans in literary creativity, and as IT specialists, technologists and educators around the globe. There indeed is much more to it for the watchers of world Englishes: the initiatives of the CIEFL [Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages] and the Philippines bring to English pedagogy pragmatic and functional realism. These initiatives in world Englishes in real classroom contexts provide exposure to Asian and African varieties of English and their uses. That is the real world of interactions for the users of Englishes in their contribution to cross-cultural communication and understanding. It is a laudable reward beyond counting of dollars and cents.

Shared strands of ongoing debates

In the post-British imperium period of Anglophone Asia, two major strands have dominated the debates regarding the English language. These strands reflect questions about the location of English, its future in educational policies and planning, its use as the medium of creativity, and models for pedagogy. And, indeed, English as a 'killer' language.

In each Asian country the emphasis is determined by the local complexities and the history of English in the region. However, the focus of broader conceptual debates are shared and many underlying similarities are evident. The basic issues discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 about South Asia and Japan respectively, echo in other parts of Asia, too.

The first shared theme across the region is that of celebration of the induction of the English language in the subcontinent. A forceful plea for this induction, for example, was initiated by the often-discussed letter of Raja Rammohan Roy to Lord Amherst (see Chapter 3, pp. 35–36) for investing funds in imparting English education instead of Sanskrit and Arabic. Lord Macaulay's Minute of 1835, discussed in Chapter 3, is the final realization of Roy's earlier suggestion to the Raj. The implementation and celebration of those earlier initiatives continue even now, in what was the Raj's territory and beyond. The second theme that continues to be debated within a variety of frameworks — and with differing ideological emphases — provides retrospective narratives of the social, cultural, linguistic and ideational

aftermath of centuries of English education in Anglophone Asia. Some of these debates provide flashbacks of the Orientalist arguments against 'superficial' Macaulay's induction of the empire's language into the subcontinent's language families.

These two themes, one of celebration of English by 'Macaulay's children', the other pro-'nativism' and 'nativist' constructs, are reincarnated within various political, social, and educational hypotheses and underlying agendas, either 'problematizing' or 'deproblematizing' arguments supporting one or the other position (for a stimulating discussion of 'nativism' and 'nativist' positions, see Paranjape, 1997). It is appropriate to remind ourselves that in South Asia, languages — not just English — have historically been used as divisive weapons of far-reaching social, religious and political changes. The following such cases, for example, have been well-documented in literature:

a. the preference of Pali over Sanskrit in Buddhism and the reaction of the Brahmins in India;
b. the motivations for introduction of English literature in Anglophone Asian universities and the Hindi, Urdu, Hindustani controversy and the partition of India;
c. the acrimonious debate about the choice of independent India's national language(s) and the minorities (e.g. see Srivastava, 1970);
d. the post-independence reorganization of the linguistic states of India;
e. the choice of medium of instruction in various regions at various levels of education;
f. the role of language in separation of what was East Bengal from Pakistan and the establishment of an independent Bangladesh in 1972; and
g. the ongoing strife in Sri Lanka and the role of underlying linguistic issues.

I will briefly discuss below one historic debate in post-colonial India related to English versus Indian languages in early childhood education and the attitudes towards English articulated in the debate.

It was actually in 1968 — four decades after the publication of Raja Rao's credo of creativity, discussed in Chapter 7, that India's judge of the High Court of Judicature, Bombay (now Mumbai), V. M. Tarkunde, wrote that:

> By our good fortune English has been the common language of higher education throughout India. Whatever might have been the defects and inequities of foreign rule, it was during the British regime that India was welded into a nation. It is generally acknowledged that three factors aided this development — an integrated civil administration, a uniform judicial system and a common language of higher education. The English language not only provided the necessary link between the educated sections of the people from different parts of the country but opened before them the portals of a vast and growing store-house of modern knowledge and persuaded many of them to appreciate the basic values of contemporary civilization. (cited in Shah, 1968: v)

And yet another 'advantage' that Tarkunde emphasizes is that:

> It was in association with English that regional languages in India began to grow in richness and maturity. The Marathi language, for instance, developed more in the last 100 years of British rule than it did during several previous centuries. This is certainly true of Bengali also and probably all other indigenous languages. (Shah, ibid.)

Furthermore, mourning the then prevailing — verbal and physical — language wars in his country, Tarkunde adds: '… we did not deserve this good fortune. A narrow nationalist sentiment, which was generated during the struggle of independence, led a growing number of people to look upon English as a foreign language' (ibid.). Tarkunde cautions his nation that '[n]ationalist sentiment has blinded many of us' to this 'simple truth'. And the simple truth is: 'whereas a nation may have a language, *a language has no nationality*. Like any other acquisition in the field of knowledge, *the English language belongs to those who know it and like it*' (emphasis added) (Tarkunde, 1968: vi).

In the 1960s what Tarkunde said was, of course, a minority view. This view was not necessarily accepted by the leaders of India's independence movement, Mohandass K. Gandhi (1869–1948) and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964).[13] Shah's (1968) book provides various perspectives on language in education focusing on 'The controversy sparked off by the Union Education Minister, Dr. Triguna Sen's Lok Sabha [Lower House of Parliament] statement of July 19, 1967 on the medium of education [which is] one of the most memorable in post-Independence India' (p. xi). In his letter of resignation, M.C. Chagla, the then Minister of Education, wrote to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi:

> There is one tenet which I have considered to be basic to my political philosophy, such as I have, and that is *the maintenance of the unity of India which should override all other considerations.* (Shah, 1968: p. 121; emphasis added)

A decade earlier, on 25 November 1958, Chagla's concern had been answered in the concluding meeting of India's Parliamentary Committee on official languages where, as we learnt later, linguistic pragmatism had finally prevailed. I have referred to this important meeting in an earlier paper (see B. Kachru, 2003: 55–72):

> At that meeting, Prime Minister Nehru's right-hand man, the then Home Minister of India and an articulate fighter for the cause of Hindi, Govind Vallabh Pant, voted for the continuation of English, thus delaying the switchover from English to Hindi. The agitated Purshotamdas Tandon, a respected politician and leader of the Hindi group, reacted with accusations that Pant was a traitor. Pant's response was: '*I place India's unity before Hindi*' (Nayar 1969: 30–1; emphasis added). As Nayar records the incident in detail:

Tandon had lost control over himself because the Committee had rejected by one vote his proposal to frame a firm proposal for the switchover from English to Hindi by January 26, 1965, the date mentioned in the Constitution [...] Tandon had expected Pant to vote for him to equalize the number of votes [...]' (Nayar, 1969: 30–1)

But for Pant, India's unity was more important than Hindi, and English won. But it would be wrong to consider this a "triumph" of English over other languages. For policy-makers like Pant, English was a linguistic instrument of *India's* triumph, layering the language with yet another identity. The issue was not who had planted English on India's troubled shores, but how pragmatically to make the best use of this almost uninvited linguistic guest in modern India's diverse linguistic, cultural, and ethnic context. Such policy decisions, as we know, have by no means ended the love-hate relations with the language in Anglophone Asia and beyond. (B. Karchu, 2003: 68)

In Chapter 3 (p. 68), I quoted Swapan Dasgupta's expression of frustration with India's 'silly battles over English'. In his incisive summary of post-Independence attitudes and conflicts in India, Dasgupta observes that in the late 1960s some Indian leaders of different social and political beliefs were united in wanting to unseat English from the Indian linguistic scene. These included the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leader and later Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee and the late socialist leader Ram Manohar Lohia, both articulate promoters of chants like *Angrezi hatao and Hindi lao* ('Remove English and bring Hindi'). On the other side, as Dasgupta says, C. N. Annadurai 'catapulted to power on the emotive promise of resisting Hindi imperialism' in the south of India (2000: 17). The linguistic scene in West Bengal, ruled by leftist groups of multiple hues, was not much different — there was opposition to Hindi and initiatives were being taken to curtail the hours for teaching English in the schools. Dasgupta characterizes these educational policies as 'linguistic exclusionism' that initiated 'a new demonology' around English:

In the first flush of post-colonial existence, empowerment meant the glorification of provincial impulses [...] partly to facilitate democratic participation but essentially to nurture cultural pride. At the same time, a new demonology was created around the use of English. (ibid.)

These 'provincial impulses' continue to be exploited whenever language issues are discussed. However, as has been extensively argued in literature, the attempts at 'easing out Albion's legacy and replacing it with indigenous alternatives [resulted in] somewhat comic consequences' (Dasgupta, 2000: 17).

I shall not go into the details of post-1960s language policies here; these are briefly outlined in Chapter 3. However, I will cite below what Dasgupta

tells us about his perceptions of the current and future roles of the English language in India:

> Socially, proficiency in English created new hierarchies but culturally and economically it kept alive India's links with the world at a time when insularity and self-sufficiency were the prevailing buzzwords. Unlike China that comforted itself with the pedagogy of the oppressed, there was always a significant minority in India that kept the positive legacy of the Empire intact. Yet, it was a difficult exercise. The English-speaking elite was the butt of ridicule and the object of populist derision. English was somehow thought to be at odds with India and a hurdle in the path of social justice.

But today, Dasgupta continues:

> [...] the tables have been turned. The familiarity with English has become India's great selling point in the international market, its great advantage over China. More important, this is being formally acknowledged by yesterday's populists. Last month [November, 2000], in a quiet move, the Gujarat Government made the teaching of English compulsory from class V. It is encouraging special English classes for adults to facilitate the growth of information technology in the state. Last year [1999], the West Bengal Government reintroduced English from class III after 22 wasted years. The pressure to change came from below, from the market. If only this realization had come earlier, India would have been a much better place. (*India Today International,* 11 December 2000, p. 17)

The title of Dasgupta's column, "At peace with Angrezi [English]", aptly sums up the present state of the English language in India. What Dasgupta says of India is true of all South Asian countries, and indeed of the whole of Asia.

Conclusion

In the previous section, on shared strands of ongoing debates, two themes (the 'celebratory' and the 'nativist') were identified as essentially defining and determining current ideological fronts of English in Anglophone Asia. It is, however, in recent decades — particularly in the post-1970s — that socially and contextually provocative issues have attracted some scholarly attention from language and literature specialists and educators. These issues include:

a. the demythologization of the conventional sacred cows models of English for describing and conceptualizing the users and uses of English, particularly beyond the Inner Circle. (The attitudes toward the 'loose

canons' in the Inner Circle, however, are being redefined with refreshing interpretations);

b. the study of *multilingual* Englishes, and their impact on language contact and convergence;

c. the bilingual's creativity in practically all genres and styles of Anglophone Asian Englishes, and their functional authentication;

d. a reality check of the depth and range of varieties of English at various social and economic levels;

e. the representation (or non-representation) of the Asian voices in construction of Asia's language profiles in resources of knowledge such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, handbooks and other sources of reference;

f. the validity of tests and test construction and the agencies that have acquired position and status for construction, standardization, and implementation of such tests; and

g. the role of 'experts' and 'gatekeepers' in determining standards and providing educational resources (see, e.g., McArthur, 2001; and Bhatt, 2002 for a discussion and relevant references see also B. Kachru, 1997b).

The coda of the linguistic tensions discussed above is that we now have constructs of Asian Englishes — as of other Englishes — essentially with three attitudes: the 'kettle of fish' attitude mentioned above; the guilt-ridden 'victimology' attitude of the 'owners' of the language, and their continued strains of what may be termed 'penance' for imposing the language on the political, social, ideological and economic 'colonizees' by their colonial ancestors; and, finally, the age-old attitude based on genealogies of traditional linguistically pluralistic societies that are assimilative, absorbing and increasingly hybridized. These genealogies are not unique to Anglophone Asia, nor to Asian Englishes. These pluralistic streaks are evident and extensively discussed in relation to the presence of Arabic, Chinese, Dutch, French, Japanese, Persian, Portuguese, Sanskrit, and Spanish, to give just a few examples, in Asia. The Asianization of Englishes is yet another cross-linguistic and cross-cultural manifestation of an identical linguistic phenomenon.

In the Asian, and indeed in world contexts, the modifier and noun relationship as in 'English language' has contextually, pragmatically, functionally, and ideationally altered substantially. Now the appropriate modifier-noun relationship is Asian Englishes, not *Asian English*, and world Englishes, not *world English,* or *global English,* or *international English.* This contextually appropriate hybridization and adaptation has been the fate of most human languages, particularly those that have crossed their historical boundaries and were planted in other linguistic and cultural ecologies. The English language, as any other present or earlier transplanted language, is facing its ecological karma, and is woven into the nativized webs of language

structure and its functional appropriateness. The late James H. Sledd has summed up this linguistic reality in functionally most pragmatic terms when he reminds us that:

> If English, rightly or wrongly, is to remain preeminent among world languages, it has to be various. It exists in the minds of its multifarious users, and its varieties mark differences among people and their multifarious purposes. Variation in English remains, and has indeed increased, despite centuries of effort to stamp it out. Its longevity results from its utility. (Sledd, 1993: 275)

That indeed is the heart of the matter.

Notes

CHAPTER 2

1. For a detailed discussion specifically on India as a linguistic area, see, for example, Emeneau (1956) and Masica (1976); as a sociolinguistic area, see, for example, D'souza (1992) and Mukherji (1963), and as a literary area, see, for example, B. Kachru (1992d: 149–159).
2. For references, see Bailey and Görlach (1982).
3. See Thumboo (1992) and B. Kachru (1987a; 1995a).
4. See B. Kachru (1986c) and later.
5. This 'controversy' has received wide attention in literature on world Englishes and ELT.
6. See, for example, B. Kachru (1992c).
7. See 'Selling English by the Pound', *Times*, 24 October 1989, p. 14, cited by Romaine (1992: 254).

CHAPTER 3

1. For references see Aggarwal (1982) and Ramaiah (1988).
2. Most of these studies are in the form of dissertations and theses submitted to various universities in South Asia, particularly the Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages, Hyderabad; Shivaji University, Kolhapur; Delhi University, Delhi; Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; University of Poona, Pune; Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu; and Osmania University, Hyderabad, to name the major centres of such research (for specific references, see two useful bibliographical resources, Aggarwal, 1982; Ramaiah, 1988).
3. There were two attitudes towards lexicalization from South Asian languages: one of disapproval of such borrowing, and the other of considering such borrowing vital for the administration of the Raj. Regardless of these diametrically opposite views, the South Asian lexicalization of English continued to increase.

CHAPTER 4

1. In recent years, this aspect of Japanese English has been discussed in a variety of studies. In *World Englishes* over a dozen studies have appeared. See also Tanaka

and Tanaka (1995) and Loveday (1996). In her paper Kubota (1997, manuscript) includes several studies. A majority of these studies are written in Japanese and are not available in English. These include: Erikawa (1995), Ishino (1996), Kabashima (1980), Kinoshita (1990), Koike and Tanaka (1995), Kubota (1992, 1994), Lummis (1973, 1976), Mizuno (1993), Morioka (1963), Nakamura (1989, 1991, 1992), Oishi (1990, 1993), Saisho (1975), Santos (1992), Sugimoto and Ross (1980), Tsuda (1994c), Watanabe (1995), Yoshino (1992) and Stanlaw (2004).

2. This distinction was first made by Anne Pakir with reference to Singapore.

3. For references see Stanlaw (1992 [1982], 2004); Hoffer and Honna (1988); Hayashi and Hayashi (1995); Ike (1995: 134–6).

4. World population: 6,371,211,184 (May 29, 2004) (Source: US Census Bureau World pop clock: www.census.gov/cgi_bin/ipc/popclockw). US population: 280,562,489 (4.4%); UK population: 59,778,002 (0.93%). (Source: World population statistics: www.mongabay.com/igapo/world_statistics_by_pop.htm).

5. These fifteen universities were chosen for a very simple reason: their catalogues/bulletins were available in the Hamilton Library of the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Hawaii.

CHAPTER 5

1. See particularly Fishman et al. (1977); Bailey and Görlach (1982); B. Kachru (1982d and 1986a); Mazrui (1975); Lowenberg (1988). Phillipson (1992 [1995]) and later, and Pennycook (1995) and later.

2. Personal communication, April 1988.

3. It should be noted that there are, however, some exceptions, e.g. Halliday (1973; 1978); Hymes (1974); Labov (1973).

4. For an excellent example, see *Hobson-Jobson* by Yule and Burnell (1886), and B. Kachru (1983 b). See also Chapters 5 and 6.

5. For a review of the major issues and relevant references, see Hock (1986). The earlier paradigm of contact linguistics is presented in Weinreich (1953).

6. I am grateful to Rosa Shim for this and other observations on Korean.

7. There is now a considerable body of literature across languages exploring the sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic, literary and other motivations for such mixing, specifically with English and South Asian languages (see B. Kachru, 1983b: 193–207; Bhatia and Ritchie, 1989).

8. The attitude towards English in Europe has significantly changed since 1957. The new trends are well documented by the studies of Suzanne Hilgendorf and others.

9. For further discussion and references, see Asmah (1982) and Lowenberg (1984).

10. For Nigerian Pidgin see Dwyer (n.d.) and Schneider (1966).

CHAPTER 6

1. In three randomly selected catalogues of publishers for 1985, I found the following titles advertised: Cambridge University Press, *English for Science and Technology,* L. Trimble; Pergamon Institute of English, *Bank on Your English* (M Pote et al.); *English for Negotiating* (J. Brims); *Developing Reading Skills in ESP* (includes volumes on biological sciences, physics, or medicine, telecommunications); *Seaspeak* (includes a Reference Manual, Training Manual, Teacher's Guide and Workbook, Self-Study Course); *The Language of Seafaring* (P. Strevens); *English*

for Maritime Studies (T. Blakey); *English for Harbor Personnel* (E. Joycey); *English for Aeronautical Engineers* (C. Sionis); *Hotel English* (P. Binham et al.); *Restaurant English* (P. Binham et al.); *English for International Conferences* (A. Fitzpatrick); Prentice-Hall, *English for Adult Competency* (A. Kelner et al.); *Basic Adult Survival English* (R. Walsh); *Headlines* (P. Karant); *English for Academic Uses* (J. Adams et al.); *Scitech* (Karl Drobnic et al.); *English in Context: Reading and Comprehension for Science and Technology* (J. Saslow); *Computer Notions* (L. Rossi); *The Computer Book* (M. Abdulazia); *Language From Nine to Five: Developing Business Communication Skills* (K. Rietmann). I did not have the courage to open the more ambitious catalogues of, e.g., Macmillan and the Regent Publishers.

2. See, for example, B. Kachru and Quirk (1981) and B. Kachru (1985a).
3. For various viewpoints on this question see B. Kachru (1976, 1985a, 1985b), Prator (1968), Quirk (1985), and Smith (1981, 1983).
4. There is no need to labour the point that no language or variety of a language is intrinsically deficient. The attitudinal and functional acceptability of a language is an external matter, educational or social. The formal reasons which may contribute to such acceptance relate to the lexical stock of a language or variety, and to its register range and style range. It is true that these factors contribute to the 'intellectualization' of a language and its functional efficiency in various contexts. The larger such 'resources' of a language or a variety, the greater is its effectiveness as a language for 'specific purposes'. There are, of course, other factors too which determine acceptability: academies, teacher trainers, academic administrators, the media and social pressure.
5. For references to such studies see bibliographies in Bailey and Görlach (1982), B. Kachru (1982d, 1983a), and Smith (1981). See also McArthur (1993) and later.
6. In recent years there has been extensive theoretical and empirical research on this topic. For a detailed discussion and references see B. Kachru (1983a), the chapter entitled 'On mixing'; see also Chapter 5.
7. For a detailed discussion of legal English see Mellinkoff (1963), also see V. Bhatia (1983 and later) for the characteristics of legal texts.
8. As has been shown in, for example, Chishimba (1983), Lowenberg (1984), Nelson (1984, 1985), Magura (1984), Bolton (2000, 2002), and Thumboo (2001).
9. See B. Kachru (1983b, 1986b), Smith (1987), and Thumboo (1985).
10. Consider, for instance, the creative writing of Singapore writers, Kripal Singh, Arthur Yap and Cathrine Lim, or Sri Lankan writer Punyakante Wijenaike, or Indian writer Raja Rao.
11. A number of other issues emerge which have been discussed in, for example, B. Kachru (1983a, 1985a, 1985b), Y. Kachru (1985a, 1985b); Smith (1981, 1987).

CHAPTER 7

1. I have used the New Directions paperback edition of *Kanthapura* published in 1967. The book was first published by George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London, in 1938. Rao's 'Author's Foreword' is dated 1937.
2. For a detailed discussion see, for example, B. Kachru (1991a; 1996c).
3. See, for example, Padoux (1990: 372). For further analysis of literature on this topic, see also Alper (1989); Gonda (1963); and Padoux (1988).

4. For a detailed discussion of English as a medium of plural canons, see B. Kachru (1995b).
5. See B. Kachru (1995b).
6. For other perspectives see also Dissanayake (1985); B. Kachru (1985b), Thumboo (1985, 1992).
7. See Jussawalla and Dasenbrock (1992: 144).
8. William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*. Caliban, Act 1, sc. 2.
9. Interview published in *India Currents* (June 1993 7.3: 20).
10. Cited in Srivastava (1980: 106).
11. Cited in Srivastava (1980: 105–6).
12. Cited in Altieri (1990: 22).
13. See Amitav Kumar's review of *The God of Small Things* (Arundhati Roy) and *The Calcutta Chromosome* (Amitav Ghosh) in *The Nation* 265.9 (New York, 29 September 1998: 36–8) with the caption 'Rushdie's children'.

CHAPTER 8

1. *Interviews with Writers of the Post-Colonial World*. Conducted and edited by Feroza Jussawalla and Reed Way Dasenbrock. Jackson and London: University Press of Mississippi, 1992.
2. For an extensive discussion on this topic in India, see Jussawalla (1985).
3. Note also a recent observation on this point by Vikram Seth. When asked 'what do you think of the publishing scene in India and of the emerging Indian writers who write in English?' Seth's response was:

> I think it is very good that Indian publishing has become so diverse and so rich. It's partly the publishing phenomenon and partly the writing phenomenon. Many Indians have become quite unselfconscious about the use of English. It doesn't have colonial association for them. They use it as freely as their own language. (*India Currents*, June 1993; Vol. 7, No. 3: 20)

4. For a state-of-the-art survey of such research, see B. Kachru (1992c).

CHAPTER 9

1. The last speaker of Manx, a Celtic language, died in 1974.
2. The figures are from Singh and Manoharan (1993).

CHAPTER 10

1. For example, see Foley et al. (1998); B. Kachru (1997b) for selected resources up to 1996; see also Canagarajah (1999); Pennycook (1998a; 1998b).
2. See, for example, Agnihotri and Khanna (1997); Canagarajah (2002); Hall and Eggington (2000); Y. Kachru (1994b); Kamaravadivelu (2001); Pennycook (1989); Sridhar and Sridhar (1986); and Tollefson (2002).
3. See, for example, B. Kachru (1997b) for detailed discussion of relevant issues and references.

4. See Lowenberg (1992) and later.
5. For example, in the United States and the United Kingdom. There is a large body of literature on this topic presenting various perspectives. One perspective that may be of interest to readers of this chapter is that of Bailey (1990; see also Bailey, 1996).
6. See B. Kachru (1986b).
7. See, for example, T. Ram (1983) and B. Kachru (1983a, 1994a) for discussion and references.
8. The spread of English is represented in terms of Three Concentric Circles, which is outlined in Chapter 2 in this volume with reference to Asian Englishes (pp. 13–16). See also B. Kachru (1985b).
9. This is a very sensitive issue, and as yet no objective way to get reliable data on 'self-identification' has been determined. Since the variety-specific identificational terms have normally conveyed a meaning of substandard, unacceptable, and so on, one finds that the terms are generally used for another speaker of Indian, Pakistani, or Sri Lankan English and rarely for self-identification. It is only in recent years that the terms *Indian, Pakistani,* or *Sri Lankan* have been used to refer to local creative writing in English (see B. Kachru, 1986b; Baumgardner, 1995).
10. See B. Kachru (1983a: 165–89) for further discussion of this topic. See also relevant sections in Chapters 2 and 11 in this volume.
11. Two recent publications include more data on this topic: Baumgardner (1993) and Muthiah (1991).
12. One might add here that these attitudes in Goffin, Smith-Pearse, and Whitworth did not end after the 1930s; the attitudes still continue, often within the new paradigms of language acquisition and methodology of language teaching (see B. Kachru, 1996b).
13. In recent years considerable attention has been devoted to the ideological aspects of textbooks, including those in English. I believe that the first serious study drawing attention to selected grammar textbooks used in India from 1895 to 1976 is Singh (1987). In the 1990s a number of researchers are analysing English textbooks used in Canada, North and South Korea, and the United States; see, for example, Nicholls (1994), Baik and Shim (1994) and Y. Kachru (1994a) respectively. For general interest and references, see also Dendrinos (1992) and *Asia in American Textbooks* (1976), which is an evaluation based on a study conducted by the Asia Society with support from the Ford Foundation.
14. For references and discussion see B. Kachru (1983a).
15. See, for example, relevant sections in B. Kachru (1982a [1992a], 1983a, 1986b).
16. See, for example, Tharoor (1989).
17. See also B. Kachru (1988c) and Kandiah (1991).
18. An answer to this question is much more complex than that. I have briefly discussed some reasons in B. Kachru (1996b).
19. I believe it is time now that local South Asian scholars revisit Michael West's writing and re-evaluate the appropriateness of his insights to the South Asian educational context, particularly that of teaching English. I am specifically thinking of his following two books: *Bilingualism (with Special Reference to Bengal)* (1926) and *Language in Education* (1929). West also supervised production of a variety of textbooks and other resources for language teachers. I am particularly referring to West's views on language teaching in bilingual contexts. His position on bilingualism and its implications, however, raise a host of questions.

20. Several dimensions of this approach to the study of English in Anglophone Asia and Africa are discussed in, for example, Smith (1981, 1987), B. Kachru (1982a [1992a], 1983a, 1986b, 1992c), and several issues of the journal *World Englishes* (1984).
21. For a discussion of various perspectives on the Quirk concern and views on the use of standards and models, see the valuable collection edited by Tickoo (1991).
22. For further discussion see B. Kachru (1986b, 1992b).
23. See, for example, Y. Kachru (1991), Valentine (1991, 1992), and Pandharipande (1992).
24. See, for example, Sheorey (1971), Labru (1984), Dubey (1989, 1991) for India; Baumgardner (1987) for Pakistan; Verma (1988) for Nepal.
25. See, for example, Dwivedi (1970–1971) for English in Indian administration.
26. See relevant chapters in K. K. Sridhar (1989b), Valentine (1991, 1992), and Y. Kachru (1991).
27. There still is a paucity of research on this topic. One important exception is the writings of C. D. Narasimhaiah, particularly his articles in *Literary Criterion* (Mysore). See also Devy (1993).
28. See, for example, Kandiah (1984, 1991) for Sri Lanka; Dissanayake (1985) for South Asia; and Thumboo (1985 and 1992) and B. Kachru (1986b, 1992a) for creativity in Outer Circle writing in general.
29. See, for example, Shaw (1981), Smith (1981), and Nelson (1982); for a detailed bibliography on this topic up to 1984 see Smith and Nelson (1985).
30. See, for example, B. Kachru (1983b: 193–207; 1986b, Chapter 10), Sridhar and Sridhar (1980), Desai (1982), Shantha (1977), Bhatia and Ritchie (1989).
31. See the detailed bibliography in B. Kachru (1997b).
32. Prabhu (1987) refers to this project in his book. For a critique of ESP, see B. Kachru (1988b)and Chapter 6 in this volume. See also Tickoo (1988).
33. The terms *visible* and *invisible* were first used by Anne Pakir in this context. These terms capture well the channels used for the spread of bilingualism in English.
34. See, for example, Joshi (1991) and Rajan (1992). In recent years several useful sources of bibliographical resources on South Asian English have been made available. These include the following: Aggarwal (1982), Ramaiah (1988), and Singh, Verma, and Joshi (1981); Rahman (1991a, 1991b), Hashmi (1993), and Baumgardner (1993) are useful for Pakistan. There are extensive bibliographies in Cheshire (1991) and B. Kachru (1983b, 1986a, 1994a).

CHAPTER 11

1. Figures based on the Population Database of World Population Prospects, UN Population Division (2000) on the web.
2. Based on US Census Bureau report (2003).
3. The linguists, lexicographers, educators and others who provided 'comments on the various aspects of the question of "native speaker" ' (Paikeday, 1985: xi) included, among others, Richard W. Bailey, John B. Caroll, Frederic G. Cassidy, J. K. Chambers, Paul Christophersen, A. O. Cowrie, David Crystal, L. W. Forguson, Victoria A. Fromkin, Paul L. Garvin, J. Edward Gates, A. C. Gimpson, H. A. Gleason, David B. Guralnik, M. A. K. Halliday, Patrick Hanks, William

Labov, Ravin I. McDavid, William T. McLeod, William V. Quine, Randolph Quirk, Lise Winer, and H. Bosley Woolf.

4. Quirk observes, 'I am not aware of there being any institutionalized non-native varieties,' see B. Kachru (1991a).
5. For a detailed discussion of earlier such attempts, see B. Kachru (1976) and (1983b).
6. See Pakir (1992).
7. There is a long tradition of such prescriptivist materials that date back to 1930 (see for South Asia, Goffin, 1934; Smith-Pearse, 1934; Whitworth, 1907). This genre is still flourishing in various parts of Anglophone Asia.
8. See *The Macquarie Dictionary*, second edition (1991).
9. See *Encarta: World English Dictionary* (1999).
10. For a description of Colloquial English there is a rich body of studies, for references and discussion, see Ling and Brown (2003); Brown (1992, 2003); Pakir (1993 and later).
11. Rubdy (2001: 348) says that 'the official launch of the Speak Good English movement (SGEM) took place on 29 April 2000'.
12. See Ling and Brown (2003: 113–7) for 'Further reading and websites'.
13. For further examples of pro-English and anti-English positions, see Shah (1968), especially the views of Frank Anthony; Nirad C. Chaudhuri, K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, C. D. Deshmukh, and Part IV for the views of the press, the professions and the public.

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