18 English Varieties Outside of North America

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OVERVIEW

In this chapter, you will develop an understanding of how English came to be a world language historically and what types of English there are spoken around the world. Our objectives are to:

- **describe and compare models of English as a world language;**
- **understand how Englishes are differentiated from first, second, and foreign language varieties;**
- **introduce a typology of Englishes;** and
- **understand what linguistic, social, and sociolinguistic factors are at play.**

18.1 Introduction

The transport of English across the North Atlantic Ocean is generally referred to as the second crossing (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008): the first crossing referring to the implementation of the language in Ireland (across the Irish Sea), the second one in the Caribbean and in North America, and the third one the Southern Hemisphere. Countless English varieties have sprung up as a consequence, in various regions and with diverse contact histories: pidgins (such as Nigerian Pidgin English), creoles (Jamaican Creole English), new dialects (Australian English), varieties of English as a Second Language (**ESL**; Indian English), and various in-between forms that emerged via complex processes such as language and dialect contact. The present chapter briefly introduces some of the models of English as a world language that have been developed since the 1980s, outlines and discusses major variety types around the world, and briefly explores the roles and functions of English in a globalizing world.

18.2   Models of English as a World Language

English is not the only world language, yet its spread and growth in speaker numbers is unprecedented. It is estimated that there are up to two billion speakers of the English language worldwide (Crystal, 2008), roughly 370 million of whom are native speakers, around 500–600 million are second language (ESL) speakers, and somewhere between 600 million and one billion are foreign language (EFL) speakers. It is not the most widespread language in terms of speaker numbers (trailing behind Hindi, Mandarin, and Spanish, for instance), but it is the hundreds of millions of ESL and EFL speakers that lay the foundations for the global appeal of English. While this trend is not necessarily recent, it certainly has increased since the 1980s. Over the last 35 years there has been an exponential increase in speaker numbers, as a result of which the number of English speakers globally has increased from around 20 percent to around 32 percent of the world's population. In Nigeria (where English exists in various forms, with unclear boundaries), it is spreading rapidly, and it is estimated that in China there are approximately 400 million learners (Bolton & Graddol, 2012, p. 3). Whereas there is uncertainty as to precise speaker numbers and proficiency levels (which explains divergent estimates in the literature, see the discussion in Schneider, 2019), it is safe to say that the total number of native speakers of English around the world is now a minority (currently representing about 25 percent), a trend that will continue in the twenty-first century.

This distinction between first, second, and foreign language speakers has been encapsulated in one of the most influential models of English as a world language, namely Braj B. Kachru's (1985, 1986) suggestion that the world Englishes can be grouped into three concentric circles: an *Inner Circle*, i.e. countries where English has historical continuity and which thus represent the traditional bases of English (the UK, US, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, etc.), where the language is spoken natively, the *Outer Circle*, which includes countries where English is important for historical reasons and where it is spoken mostly as a second language (e.g. as the legacy of political expansion or colonization by the British Empire) and where it plays a part in the nation's institutions (ESL countries include India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Kenya, Singapore, etc.), and finally the *Expanding Circle*, which comprises those countries where English plays no historical or governmental role but where it is widely used as a foreign language or **lingua franca** and carries great prestige (EFL countries include China, Russia, Japan, and much of continental Europe, etc.). Kachru's model was (and remains) extremely influential and appealing for studies on varieties of English around the world. It emphasized that English was essentially a pluralistic, diverse, and heterogeneous language, not a monolithic one that rested on norms handed down from inner-circle varieties (British and American English, mostly), and that it also queried the alleged superiority of native speakers of English, an issue that becomes ever more important in view of increasing usage in ESL/EFL contexts as we will discuss below.

Kachru's model also gave rise to debates as to whether (and to what extent) the lnner Circle (UK, US, New Zealand) should be *norm-providing*, since English was a first language, whereas the outer circle was *norm-developing* and the expanding circle

norm-dependent on standards set by native speakers. There was a lively and widely circulated debate on the role and function of ENL, ESL, and EFL countries, in the form of the Quirk-Kachru controversy, which started with Quirk's (1990) claim that there were parallels between non-native and non-standard varieties of English and that both needed access to a (native) standard variety: "no one should underestimate the problem of teaching English in such countries as India or Nigeria, where the English of the teachers themselves inevitably bears the stamp of locally acquired deviation from the standard language … It is neither liberal nor liberating to permit learners to settle for lower standards than the best" (Quirk 1990, p. 8–9). The insistence that ESL varieties are not aberrations or incorrect varieties of lnner-Circle standards is one of the major achievements of Kachru's approach.

On the downside, the circles model was criticized for not adequately considering the heterogeneity of speech groups in multilingual settings globally and for failing to focus on identity construction via language choices or language attitudes generally. Based on geographical and historical criteria, it could not account for perceptions of identity (e.g., Singapore) or linguistic diversity within varieties. McArthur (1987) and Görlach (1990) developed alternative models, both assuming that varieties of English were classified into first, second, and foreign speaker groups, though these last were not as influential. More recently, Schneider (2007) suggested a life-cycle model of post-colonial Englishes (PCEs) and shifted the focus on identity. His argument was that despite all obvious dissimilarities, a fundamentally uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent socio-linguistic and language-contact conditions, has operated in the individual instances of relocating and re-rooting the English language in another territory, and therefore it is possible to present the individual histories of PCEs as instantiations of the same underlying process (Schneider, 2007).

Englishes developing in heterogeneous multilingual contexts around the world thus undergo a developmental process that was fundamentally uniform. Conditions of language contact in the form of two intertwined strands (settler and indigenous) meant that the English language was relocated and re-rooted in a uniform process nested in identity formation, characterized by issues such as external history, including colonial ties, and identity expression (exogenous with the mother country, endogenous as a consequence of political independence). Five stages may overlap or occur simultaneously:

1. During foundation, an English variety arrives with first settler groups, existing alongside indigenous varieties. This gives rise to processes of dialect and initial language contact via speaker-to-speaker accommodation, pidginization, etc.
2. An exonormative stabilization phase sees continuing ties with the British Isles and the permanent establishment of a colony. There is a strong sense of identity construction towards the *homeland* and the settlers often consider themselves as an outpost of the Empire. There is an increase of (typically individual) bilingualism and some first awareness of social differentiation of co-existing local varieties.
3. The nativization stage is characterized by conflicting loyalties, as there are first calls for political independence when ties with the homeland weaken. There is a double

identity, as social differences in immigrant and indigenous population groups decrease, as well as some public discourse of linguistic independence, namely complaints about deteriorating usage of English in the colony against the *correct* ancestral variety in the mother country. The linguistic result is lexical borrowing in all domains, some incipient dialect focusing, and linguistic transfer of structures from indigenous languages.

4. The next stage, endonormative stabilization, is one of political independence, either via peaceful or violent means, which often goes hand in hand with cultural self-reliance and the establishment of a distinctive local identity. The speakers in the (former) colony view themselves as members of a young nation and as different from their country of origin. Local forms of English are adopted as an emblem of local identity and independence and there are typically opinions that the variety is homogeneous and free of variation (as in New Zealand, for instance).

5. The last stage, differentiation, operates in a context of political and socio-cultural self-dependence where "the focus of an individual's identity construction narrows down, from the national to the immediate community scale" (Schneider, 2007 p. 53). The strong sense of national identity fragments into smaller, sociolinguistically characteristic communities. Social and regional differences emerge, correlating with extra-linguistic parameters such as regionality, social class, ethnicity, etc., catalyzed by the strengthening of social networks and the emergence of permanent group membership.

Despite some criticism, Schneider's model has been applied to countless varieties of English around the world and is a major theoretical advance in the field.

PAUSE AND REFLECT 18.1

Identity is a key concept in Schneider's model. Drawing on your own experiences, reflect how identity can affect general views of language and how these can influence the development of new forms of English when other languages are also spoken.

18.3 A brief typology of English varieties outside of North America

The models discussed in 18.2 are essential for our understanding of both the timeline of English outside North America and the typology of all the varieties that have sprung up over the last 300 years. All three crossings gave rise to complex processes of contact-induced language change where English gained a foothold. Following Schreier, Hundt, & Schneider (2019), we can distinguish between forms of English that originated primarily via dialect contact, i.e. Englishes that formed mostly via interaction of social and regional varieties of British English. These underwent mechanisms of new-dialect formation, most notably mixing (so that the new dialect, or **koiné**, is not the equivalent of one particular input variety) and levelling (as a result of which differences between

the transplanted dialects are eradicated as some forms drop out; see Trudgill, 1986, 2004; Gordon et al., 2004). Whereas dialect contact (though dependent on sociodemographic factors such as speaker numbers in multilingual settings) is a driving force in the emergence of World Englishes, only few dialects are classified as contact dialects, simply because there nearly always is concomitant language contact (with indigenous or other colonizer varieties). Perhaps the closest candidate of a koiné is Falkland Islands English (though even here we find some traces of Argentine Spanish in the form of loanwords; Sudbury, 2001). Similarly, Australian and New Zealand English are primarily dialect contact-derived, yet there was (mostly lexical) admixture from Aboriginal and other immigrant languages (Australia) or Māori and more recently Pacific languages (New Zealand).

Language contact gave rise to other types of English forms. Extended, long-term interaction with typologically-distinct varieties saw the emergence of: trade jargons, which were created ad hoc for specific purposes such as negotiation and trade (e.g. Hong Kong); **pidgins**, that are slightly more complex lingua franca forms used by adult speakers for everyday conversation in multilingual settings (e.g. in the Caribbean or East Africa); or **creoles**, yet more complex varieties (morphologically and grammatically speaking) that are adopted as vernaculars for entire speech communities (e.g. in Guyana, Papua New Guinea, etc.). Primarily contactderived varieties are now spoken in those regions where there was colonial involvement for trade purposes (often via exploitation), along the equatorial belt (Caribbean, Africa, Pacific Ocean).

As discussed above, numerous second language varieties around the world constitute products of language contact in their own right: the **New Englishes**, spoken and used as stable national forms of the language in many countries around the world, notably in Asia and Africa (India, Singapore, Nigeria, etc.), with distinctive properties and functions. And finally, there are hundreds of millions of EFL speakers who learn the language for various reasons and speak with diverse levels of competence. As discussed above, these two groups represent the growing markets of English as a world language (Crystal, 2008). Table 18.1 lists the varieties of English around the world based on their contact histories.

TABLE 18.1 A Typology of World Englishes and Some Examples

	Processes involved	Varieties
Koiné	Primarily dialect contact	Newfoundland English, New Zealand English, Falkland Islands English
Pidgin	Language contact without nativization	Nigerian Pidgin
Creoles	Language contact with concomitant nativization	Hawai'ian Creole, Bislama
New Englishes	Language contact with extensive admixture	Indian English, Kenyan English
EFL varieties	English as a Foreign Language in countries without historical ties to the UK or the US	English in China, Finland, Russia, etc.

This typology can be applied to the models as discussed above.

Kachru's Inner-Circle varieties are usually formed via dialect contact processes (Trudgill, 1986), with superficial contributions from language contact (mostly via lexical borrowing, see Schneider, 2007).

> The Southern Hemisphere Englishes are new and distinctive varieties of the English language which arose as a result of dialect contact, dialect mixture, and new-dialect formation. The most important ingredients in the mixture that was to lead the development of these new forms of English were the dialects and accents of the language brought with them by native speakers of English. In Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and the Falklands, the contact was almost entirely between varieties of English from the British Isles (Trudgill, 2004, p. 13).

PAUSE AND REFLECT 18.2

The twenty-first century is said to be the Asian century (in contrast to the twentieth American century). There is a huge interest in learning English in various Asian settings. How do you think that the fact that tens of millions of Chinese are learning English as a foreign language will affect the development of the language in the next 50 years?

The Outer-Circle varieties comprise the New Englishes, which have developed as second language varieties in institutional settings (e.g., India) in contexts of bi- and multilingualism, with language learning as key factors. They constitute the expanding circle that hosts foreign language varieties. This is reflected in the World Englishes research canon. The last four decades have seen continuous work in re-rooting and indigenization of local Englishes throughout the world (see for instance Blommaert's (2010) work on the sociolinguistics of globalization or Mair's (2013) adaptation of de Swaan's World Language System to English). The opposite forces of centripetal and centrifugal forces find reflection in the tension between world Englishes as separate individual unities (as discussed above) and notions of *international English*, *global English*, and *world standard English* (a concept incorporated into Görlach's model, for instance, or endorsed by Chambers (2000, p. 285): "in less than a century 'Global English, a supranational standard' will be a reality"). Opposite trends of localization and internationalization as for instance in claims as to "Americanization" in various places will certainly continue to shape the future of World Englishes.

18.4 The Status of English in the World

English grew to the status of a global language via the succession of three consecutive stages, each promoting the spread of English in different ways. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Great Britain was the stalwart of colonialism, exporting its language to the colonies. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the economic

and industrial revolution led to the export of manufactured goods and technical inno-vation. Finally, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the position of English was secured by the emerging economy, military power, and global appeal of entertainment in the US: "The geo-historical answer shows how English reached the position of pre-eminence … The socio-cultural answer explains why it remains so" (Crystal, 2009, p. 29). English was the vehicle of all three phases and thus the language linked to innovation and prosperity.

Another bonus was that English came to be associated with ethnical neutrality as well, since local tensions between heteroglossic population groups (groups that speak different varieties of the same language) favored the adoption of English for administra-tive and official purposes. To give but two examples from English in Africa and India: the so-called "scramble for Africa", in many ways one of the most disastrous coloni-zation activities, was officially regulated at the Berlin conference in 1884–1885. The European superpowers subdivided the African continent amongst themselves and set up new political boundaries of colonies, drawing boundaries on maps and thus estab-lishing new nation states, disregarding their ethnic composition. In Nigeria, one of the most populous countries in Africa, an estimated 500 smaller languages co-exist with several large regional languages (e.g., Yoruba, Igbo, Hausa) that are regionally distrib-uted, with strong ethnic rivalries between ethnolinguistic groups who are demarcated along linguistic lines (see discussion in Schneider, 2019). Nigerian English serves as the country's official language and guarantees cultural and linguistic unity (mediated and replaced by Nigerian Pidgin in informal situations, which many speakers perceive as English, however).

After Indian independence in 1947, the first intention of the political leaders was to remove the formal colonial power's language, as it was regarded as a symbol of colonial oppression. The language policy called for a *three-language formula*, with Hindi (the pre-dominant language of northern India, the political center of power, a southern regional language (Tamil or Malayalam), and English as a linking tool for a transition period. Hindi speakers, however, lacked interest in learning a southern (Dravidian) language, while southern Indians, especially in Tamil Nadu, strongly resisted Hindi dominance. English, therefore, originally envisaged as a compromise language for a transitional period only, has since grown in importance and spread. Currently, Indian English is one of the most strongly growing varieties of English around the world and exerts influence on neighboring varieties, potentially serving as a local hub for neighboring varieties (Hundt, 2013).

Last but not least, English is and remains the language of economy, science, and global education. This also affects the function and status of different varieties of English in various domains. Leitner (2009, p. 18–19) estimates that the share of English in the global book market is 28 percent, and that more than 90 percent of all social science publications are in English, even in fields where an English-speaking reader-ship is not necessarily the prime target (in which case it is 76 percent of all social sci-ence publications (Ammon, 2015, p. 580) and 53 percent of philosophical publications

(Ammon , 2015, p. 594) are estimated to be in English). English has also been adopted in transnational contexts and international organizations, and it is the official or working language of many international organizations or large companies with a national base and international business activities (Novartis in Switzerland, Siemens in Germany, for instance; see Schneider, 2019). Importantly, English is the lingua franca in commerce, politics, science, the media, higher education, tourism, in fact most international domains of life, where speakers are in need of a globalizing and international medium of interaction, thus feeding into and bolstering Kachru's expanding circle of English and increasing the total number of speakers around the world. As a result, the overall balance of varieties of English outside North America keeps shifting, with ESL/EFL speakers predominating now and increasing in years to come. This will challenge the impact of inner-circle varieties (mostly British and American English) and deeply affect the global configuration of English in the twenty-first century.

SUMMARY

In this chapter, we have studied varieties of English outside of North America. We began by looking at Kachru's suggestion that the world Englishes can be grouped into three concentric circles: an inner circle, outer circle, and expanding circle. The chapter then discussed how some varieties of English can be differentiated from native- and foreign language varieties. Finally, the chapter offered a brief typology of Englishes outside of North America and ended by reporting on how English grew to the status of a global language via the succession of three consecutive stages that were influenced by linguistic, social, and sociolinguistic factors.

EXERCISES

18.1 Look at the exchange below between two Malaysian business women (adapted from Crystal, 2003, p. 166–167). Identify out sentences or phrases that resemble standard (British or North American) English and those that have grammatical and lexical input from languages other than English. Describe some features that can be associated with second language varieties of English.

CHANDRA: Lee Lian, you were saying you wanted to go shopping, nak pergi tak?
LEE LIAN: Okay, okay, at about twelve, can or not?
CHANDRA: Can lah, no problem one! My case going to be adjourned anyway.
LEE LIAN: What you looking for? Furnitures or kitchenwares? You were saying, that day, you wanted to beli some barang-barang for your new house.
CHANDRA: Yes lah! Might as well go window-shopping a bit at least. No chance to ronda otherwise. My husband, he got no patience one!
LEE LIAN: You mean you actually think husbands got all that patience ah? No chance man! Yes or not?
CHANDRA: Betul juga. No chance at all! But if anything to do with their stuff – golf or snooker or whatever, then dia pun boleh sabar one.
LEE LIAN: Yes lah, what to do? It still is a man's world, in that sense! Anyway, we better go now – so late already – wait traffic jam, then real susah!

18.2 Gordon (1998, p. 65–66) has collected historical observations of New Zealand English: "a dialect, and … not a defensible one, is becoming fixed in the Dominion" (dated 1910); "faulty methods of production … have uglified the young colonial's voice" (dated 1910); "Well educated New Zealanders speak of hospiddles, … and I repeat that this is just slovenly and without excuse" (dated 1945). What can such a *complaint tradition* tell us about the evolution of colonial Englishes?

18.3 Below you will find two versions of the Lord's Prayer, one in Hawai'ian Pidgin and one in Papua New Guinean Tok Pisin. Try to interpret some of the meaning. Can you find words that seem to be derived from English? Note that the grammar is very different from standard English grammar.

Papua New Guinea (Tok Pisin)

Papa bilong mipela Yu stap long heven. Nem bilong yu i mas i stap holi. Kingdom bilong yu i mas i kam. Strongim mipela long bihainim laik bilong yu long graun, olsem ol i bihainim long heven. Givim mipela kaikai inap long tude. Pogivim rong bilong mipela, olsem mipela i pogivim ol arapela i mekim rong long mipela. Sambai long mipela long taim bilong traim. Na rausim olgeta samting nogut long mipela. Kingdom na strong na glori, em i bilong yu tasol oltaim oltaim. Tru.

Hawai'i (Hawai'ian Pidgin)

God, you our Fadda. You stay inside da sky. We like all da peopo know fo shua how you stay, An dat you stay good an spesho, An we like dem give you plenny respeck. We like you come King fo everybody now. We like everybody make jalike you like, Ova hea inside da world, Jalike da angel guys up inside da sky make jalike you like. Give us da food we need fo today an every day. Hemmo our shame, an let us go Fo all da kine bad stuff we do to you, Jalike us guys let da odda guys go awready, And we no stay huhu wit dem Fo all da kine bad stuff dey do to us. No let us get chance fo do bad kine stuff, But take us outa dea, so da Bad Guy no can hurt us. Cuz you our King. You get da real power, An you stay awesome foeva. Dass it!

18.4 Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–1859) was a legal advisor to the Supreme Council of India in Calcutta. In 1834, he famously published an Education Minute, in which he one in postulated that the goal of western education in India was to "form 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 tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect." Discuss how this practice would have affected the development of English in India.

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