The Evolution of World Englishes: From Unity to Diversity

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Debating the Anglosphere: History, Hegemony, Identity
Lecture UZH, October 25 2017

Today's lecture, part I

1. English in and around the world
2. English as a hyper-central language in the World Language System
3. Englishes and their models

DIVERSITY AND SPREAD

The anglosphere: a different view

"What do you think of this English? … It is a language that will do you good in England but, pass Dover, it is worth nothing… It doth not like me at all because it is a language confused, bespieced with many tongues." (John Florio, 1600)

The Queen's Dominions at the

McVITIE AND PRICES OATCAKES & TEA BISCUITS

Published by McVITIE and PRICE, BISCUIT Manufacturers EDINBURGH

WORLD
Showing British Empire in 1900.

END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The *English 2000* (British Council) report

- 70% of the world's scientists read in English
- 75% of the world's mail written in English
- 80% of the world's electronically stored information in English
- 20% of the world's population speak English
- Over one billion people actively learn English
- In Central and Eastern Europe some 50 million people learn English (9% of the population)

English in the world today

- Crystal (2008): Up to 2 billion speakers today
  - 1985: ca. 20% of the global population
  - 2010: ca. 35% of the global population
- Rapid shift in ratio of native vs. ESL/EFL speakers (currently estimated 1-3)

THE WORLD LANGUAGE SYSTEM

Please guess

- What do you think is more common?

a. Languages with more than 1'000'000 speakers?

b. Languages with less than 100 speakers?

Statistics

Population range	Living languages			Number of speakers		
	Count	Percent	Cumulative	Count	Percent	Cumulative
100,000,000 to 999,999,999	8	0.1	0.1%	2,301,423,372	40.20753	40.20753%
10,000,000 to 99,999,999	75	1.1	1.2%	2,246,597,929	39.24969	79.45723%
1,000,000 to 9,999,999	264	3.8	5.0%	825,681,046	14.42525	93.88247%
100,000 to 999,999	892	12.9	17.9%	283,651,418	4.95560	98.83807%
10,000 to 99,999	1,779	25.7	43.7%	58,442,338	1.02103	99.85910%
1,000 to 9,999	1,967	28.5	72.1%	7,594,224	0.13268	99.99177%
100 to 999	1,071	15.5	87.6%	457,022	0.00798	99.99976%
10 to 99	344	5.0	92.6%	13,163	0.00023	99.99999%
1 to 9	204	3.0	95.5%	698	0.00001	100.000009
Unknown	308	4.5	100.0%			
Totals	6,912	100.0		5,723,861,210	100.00000	

Source: Ethnologue.com

English and the ecology of world languages

- 0.1% of all the languages have more than 100 million speakers
- Ca. 5% of all the world's languages have more than one million speakers
- Some 25% of the world's languages have less than 1'000 speakers
- Ca. 8% of all the world's languages have less than 100 speakers

The correct answer is ...

a. Languages with more than 1'000'000 speakers?

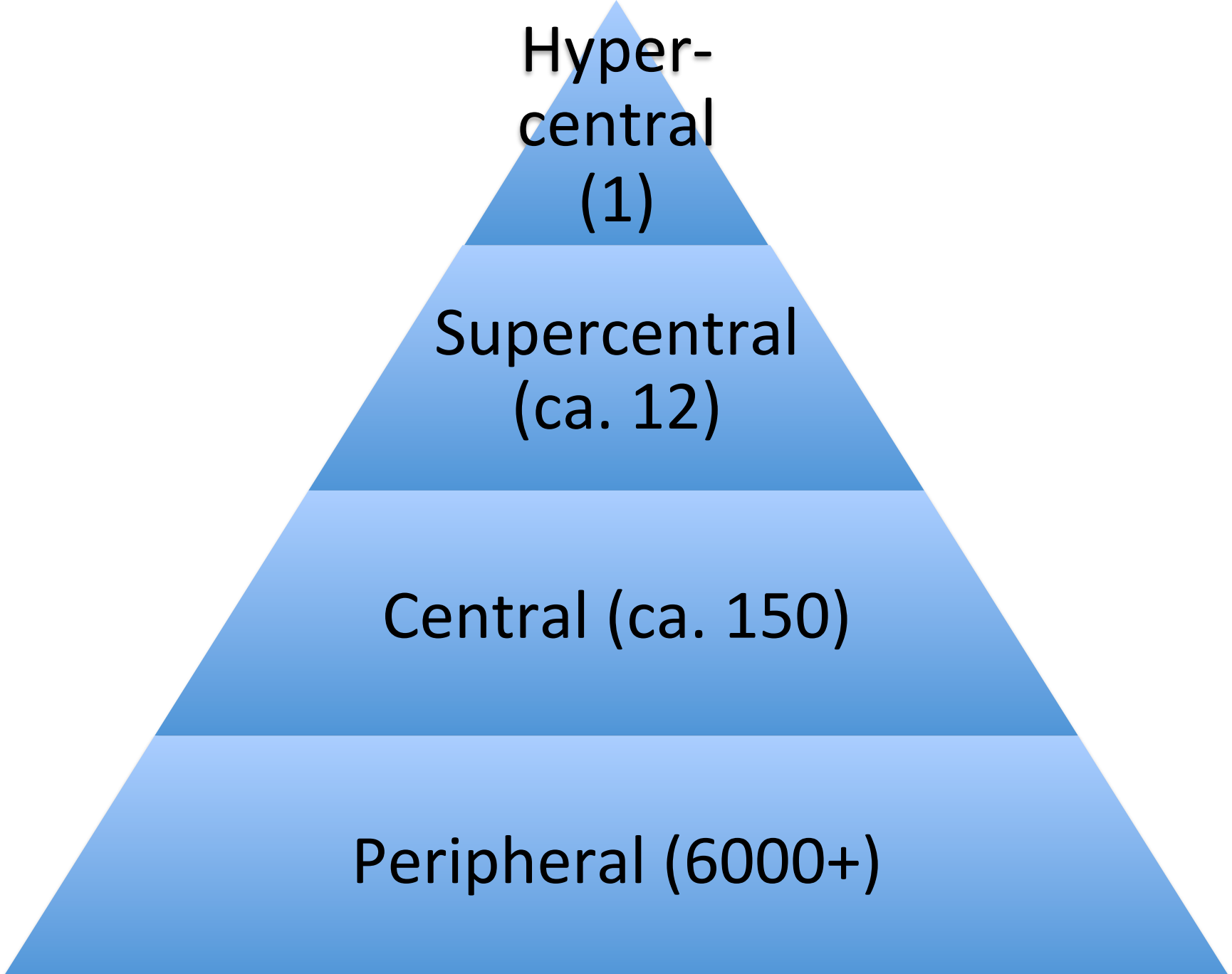**b.Languages with less than 100 speakers**

Hierarchy of languages

- **Hyper-central**
  - English
- **Super-central**
  - transnationally important, demographic weight and histories of imperialism, colonialism and migration (Arabic). Borderline: Swahili is transnationally important but lacks demographic weight, Japanese has demographic weight but limited transnational reach. ("about a dozen" languages – de Swaan 2010: 57)
- **Central**
  - typically standardised official languages of small and medium-sized nation states: "some 150 languages" (de Swaan 2010: 57)
- **Peripheral**
  - no demographic weight and institutional support.

de Swaan's (2001) World Language System

four hierarchical layers:

- **hyper-central language**
  - English, the hub of the world language system
- **super-central languages**
  - Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili
- **central languages**
  - Dutch, Finnish, Korean, Wolof, Quechua, etc.
- **peripheral languages**
  - 6,000+ others

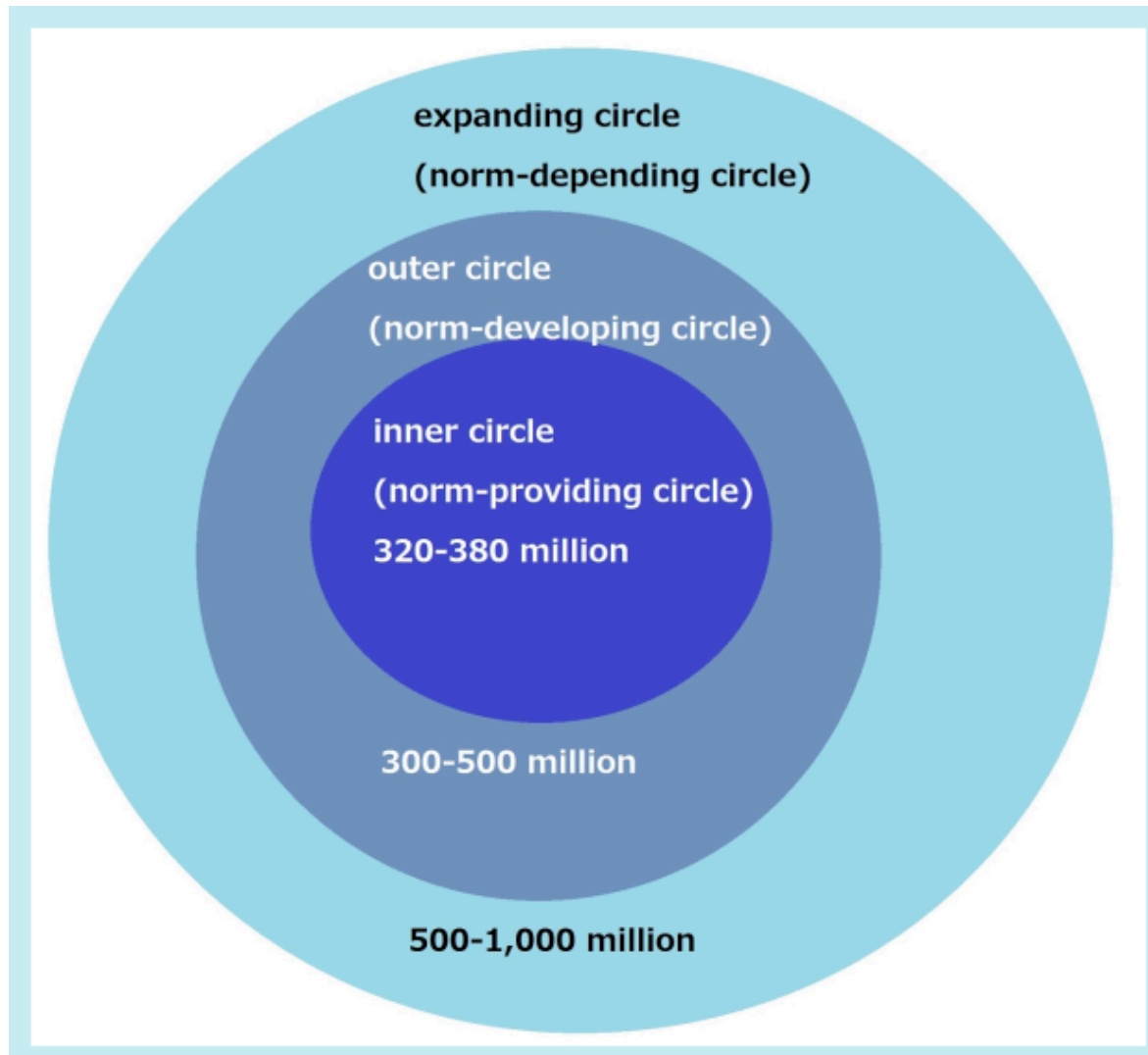Hyper-central (1)

Supercentral (ca. 12)

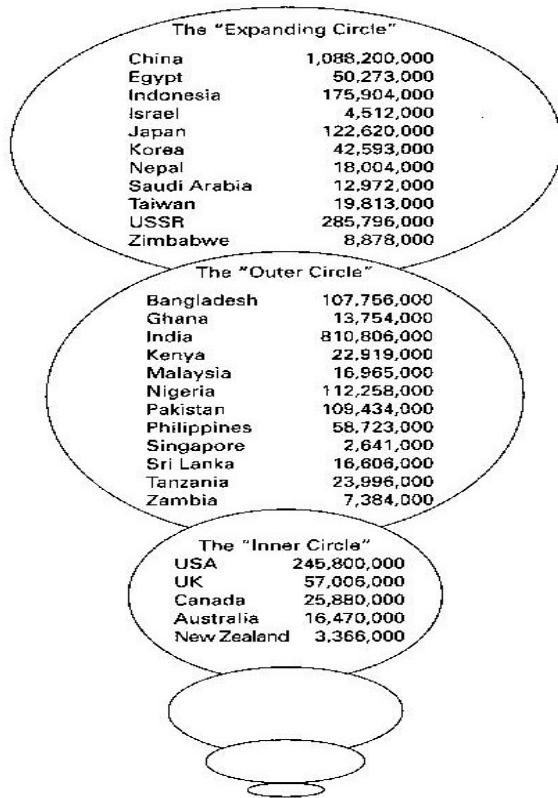Central (ca. 150)

Peripheral (6000+)

To consider

- the higher the level in the hierarchy, the smaller the number of languages
- single-hub system is historically recent: 20th century.
  - 1900?
  - 1800?
- English in the future?

MODELS: PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES

Braj B. Kachru: an early model

expanding circle
(norm-depending circle)

outer circle
(norm-developing circle)

inner circle
(norm-providing circle)
320-380 million

300-500 million

500-1,000 million

Inner circle

The "Expanding Circle"

China	1,088,200,000
Egypt	50,273,000
Indonesia	175,904,000
Israel	4,512,000
Japan	122,620,000
Korea	42,593,000
Nepal	18,004,000
Saudi Arabia	12,972,000
Taiwan	19,813,000
USSR	285,796,000
Zimbabwe	8,878,000

The "Outer Circle"

Bangladesh	107,756,000
Ghana	13,754,000
India	810,806,000
Kenya	22,919,000
Malaysia	16,965,000
Nigeria	112,258,000
Pakistan	109,434,000
Philippines	58,723,000
Singapore	2,641,000
Sri Lanka	16,606,000
Tanzania	23,996,000
Zambia	7,384,000

The "Inner Circle"

USA	245,800,000
UK	57,006,000
Canada	25,880,000
Australia	16,470,000
New Zealand	3,366,000

UK, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand

„norm providing"

English-language standards determined by ENL speakers (Inner Circle)

Outer and expanding circles

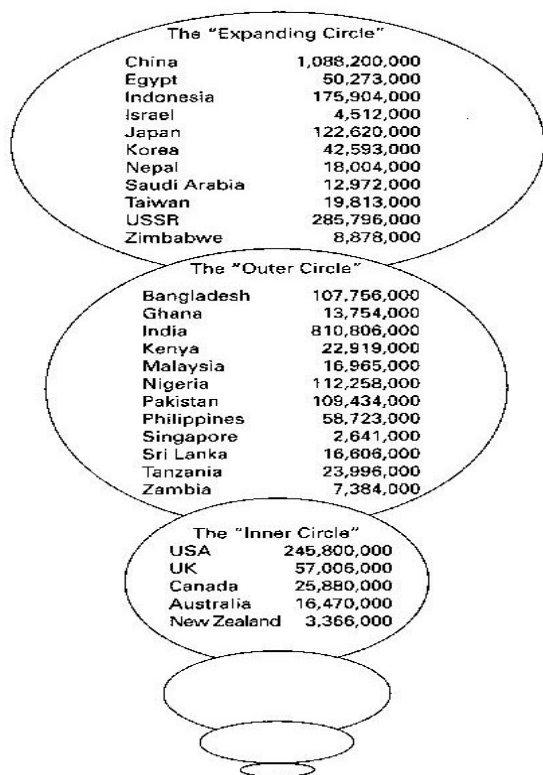Distinction between countries where...

... non-native English has official or historical importance (e.g., Pakistan and Uganda)
→ ESL in the outer circle

... those where it does not (e.g., Japan and Peru)
→ EFL in the expanding circle

Outer circle

The "Expanding Circle"

China	1,088,200,000
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Indonesia	175,904,000
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The "Inner Circle"

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→ESL countries: India, Bangladesh, Singapore, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Malaysia,…

norm-developing

Expanding Circle
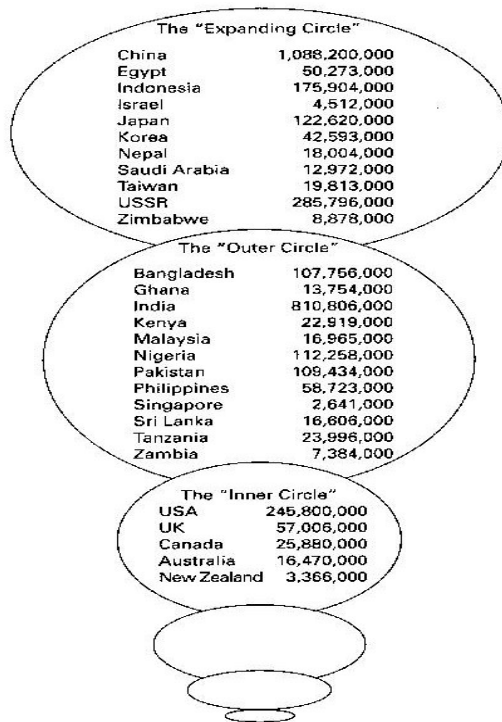
China, Egypt, Indonesia, Taiwan, Korea, Israel,…

EFL countries as „norm performing": standards from Inner (and Outer?) Circles

No official status → dependent on standards set by Inner Circle

To consider

- Immigration?
- grey areas
  - countries in transition from EFL to ESL status: Argentina, Belgium, Denmark…
- Leaving the circle
  - Malaysia, Tanzania
- Model implies uniformity of countries within one circle
  - criticism: even in Inner Circle differences there is a large amount of linguistic diversity
- Suresh Canagarajah: "The Circles are leaking"

Languages in contact

- territorial movements via migration (focus on the diaspora)
- speech community as locus of language, not a geographical territory
- language retention and maintenance via strong identity ties
- acquisition of English by whole speech communities via language shift

Mc Arthur's circle of World English

<u>Inner Circle:</u>
World Standard English
what are its features?
(Jenkins 2003: 20)

<u>Outer Circle:</u>
Band of regional varieties of English

standard forms   standardising forms

Evolution of New Englishes as a Cyclic Process

- Schneider (2003, 2007): Dynamic Model

- Research into New Englishes focused on individual varieties, features, and conditions of use

- Tendency to regard these varieties as individual linguistic entities, independent of each other and products of unique circumstances determined by geography

- Parallels?

Parallels: Strands of communicative perspective

- Sociopolitical relationships and communicative strands between communities, not nations:

  - Settler perspective (**STL strand**)
    - Continuous transmission
  - Indigenous population perspective (**IDG strand**)
    - **Second language acquisition** on an individual and a community basis
    - **Bilingualism**
    - (perhaps later) **Language shift**

- convergence between two competing but complementary perspectives

A five-stage model

1. Foundation
2. Exonormative stabilization
3. Nativization
4. Endonormative stabilization
5. Differentiation

- linguistic accommodation
- The developmental strands become more closely intertwined and come to approximate each other
- Phases driven by reconstruction of group identities of all participating communities

PART II

My language, my identity: Negotiating language use in the Fiji-Indian diaspora in Zealand
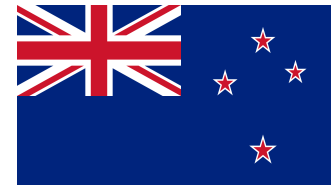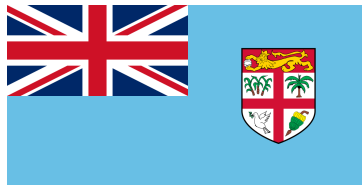
Diaspora

Word goes back to Greek, meaning 'scattering, dispersion'

→ Communities/population: scattered, dispersed

→ Originally used to refer to the Jewish people who were living outside Israel

"In extended use. Any group of people who have spread or become dispersed beyond their traditional homeland or point of origin; the dispersion or spread of a group of people in this way; an instance of this. Also: the countries and places inhabited by such a group, regarded collectively."

(OED online, s.v. *diaspora* n. 2.)

Diaspora

"Among academics, transnational intellectuals and 'community leaders' alike, 'diaspora' has become a loose reference conflating categories such as immigrants, guest-workers, ethnic and 'racial' minorities, refugees, expatriates, guest-workers, ethnic and 'racial' minorities, refugees, expatriates and travellers. The current overuse and under-theorization of the notion of 'diaspora' threatens the term's descriptive usefulness."

(Vertovec 2000:141)

Diaspora

Different kinds of diaspora communities

- 'victim diaspora' (evicted communities)
- 'mobilized diaspora' (trade, labour)

→Extension to any kind of spatially 'dispersed' community; risk of making term useless

Three defining criteria

- Dispersion
- Homeland Orientation
- Boundary-Maintenance

Brubaker (2005)

Friesen (2014: 122) > (forceful) dispersion and homeland orientation

Diaspora, homeland and representation of 'Indian identity'

"…ways in which the **diaspora** has developed to **define** and represent **Indian identities** … include **cultural manifestations** such as film, theatre, and literature, …" Friesen (2014: 128)

➢ Language(s)/language varieties also a cultural manifestation that serve to maintain transnational ties

"… the homeland will continue to exert its influence on the social relations of a people to diaspora, either because they 'transport' aspects of the homeland to their diasporic destination/s or because they continue to cultivate ties with it, or both." (Falzon 2003: 664)

Diaspora…

" … a distinctive 'community', held together by a distinctive, active solidarity, as well as by relatively dense social relationships, that cut across state boundaries and link members of the diaspora in different states to **a single 'transnational community'**."

(Brubaker, 2005: 6)

The Fiji Indian Diaspora(s)

Historical background

http://www.fijigirmit.org/

indentured labourers (*girmityas*)

< *girmit* 'agreement'

1879 – 1916

approx. 60,965 immigrants

from 1900 onwards: free settlers arrive

late 1980s – 2014: political turmoil

→ out-migration of Fiji Indians

Reason for out-migration

"After more than a century, Indo-Fijians still struggle for political equality in the land of their birth. The deeply felt but often unacknowledged need of the human soul to belong, to have a place of one's own, to be rooted, is denied them. How long, they ask, should a people live in a place before they are allowed to call it home? 'From Immigration to Emigration'; that may in time come to be the epitaph of Fiji's Indo-Fijian community."
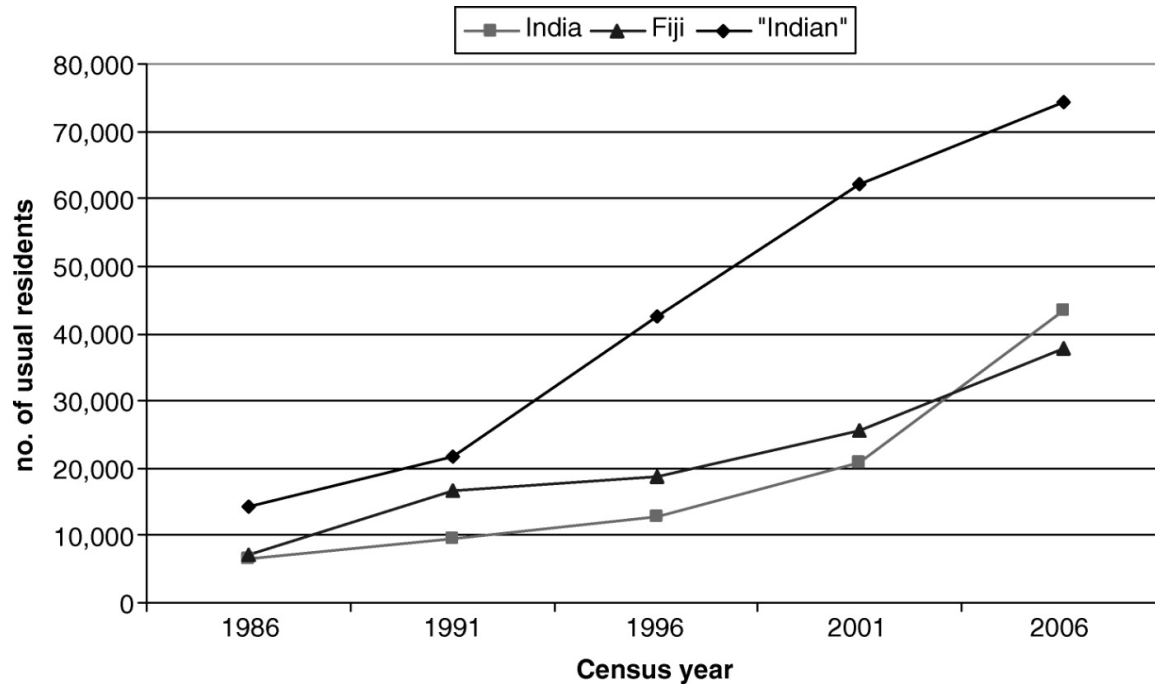
Lal (2006: 382)

(Fiji) Indians in New Zealand

Figure 1: Census-enumerated residents of New Zealand born in India or Fiji or self-identified as 'Indian', 1986-2006 (from Friesen 2014: 125)

Language(s) in the Diaspora(s)

Fiji Hindi "nativized immigrant koiné" (Siegel, 1987:187)

> non-standard

> low prestige ('broken' Hindi)

diglossia

"Despite the provision for mother tongue instruction, which technically should mean FH [Fiji Hindi], Indo-Fijian children are mainly taught in SH [Shudh Hindi] for the first three years. SH is used by the media, on most formal occasions and at religious gatherings. This continued preference for SH has meant FH has a low status in the community […]."

<div align="right">(Shameem, 1995: 22)</div>

Role of English for Indians in Fiji

"The Indians are conscious of the privileged position of the Fijians especially with regard to land and see in the acquisition of English, a means of advancement, at least a secure job and possibly employment overseas." (Geraghty, 1984: 70)

English is an institutionalised second-language variety (ESL)

- Borrowings from Hindi (*dhania, haldi; roti, samosa; agarbatti; babu, bhaiya*)
- Nouns (e.g. *a lot of slangs, staffs, furnitures, tins of biscuit*)
- Determiners (e.g. *plenty money; I met them in Civic Centre*)
- Adjectives (e.g. *fully air-condition - An experienced of 5 years; most tattiest, more healthier*)
- Verbs (e.g. *pain, attention; cope up with; throw* for 'throw out'; copula deletion)

Tent & Mugler (2004)

Patterns continue to be used in the secondary diaspora

(1) a. our children were studying at Ø university of Otago

b. coup is Ø only big problem; just because of the coup people left
otherwise Fiji was Ø very nice place; otherwise Fiji was a very
nice place (first-generation male, in his 70s)

(2) a. most of our curriculum was based on Ø New Zealand and
Australian system

b. so it was Ø all-Indian community (first-generation male, in his 40s)

(3) … it's *a lot* difficult   (secondary diaspora, 1st-generation Indo-Fijian male, in his 40s)

Degree modifier – a case of substrate influence?

–   Hindi has a related lexical item

–   बहुत (*bahut*)

मैं बहुत अच्छा हूँ

I *maĩ bahut acchā hũ.*

PN   very   well   am   (I'm very well. (*male speaker*))

–   Substrate influence > refunctionalisation of *a lot* as a generally applicable degree adverb in IndE (Jeff Siegel, p.c.)

Data and methodology

Recordings

✦ Fieldwork in Wellington, New Zealand (2007/08)

1st generation	10s	20s	30s	40s	50s	60s	older	Total
male	-	2	1	2	2	4	1	12
female	2	4	1	2	5	2	-	16
2nd generation	10s	10s	30s	40s	50s	60s	older	
male	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
female	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Total	10	6	2	4	7	7	1	37

Table 1: Social background (age and gender) of informants

Methodology

hermeneutic approach

identify discursive/narrative strategies that are used to construct identities

"Topic-oriented interviews are excellent processes through which important concepts like 'nation' are being 'co-constructed' during an ongoing discussion" (Wodak et al. 1999: 3).

"Narrative identity allows various, different, partly contradictory circumstances and experiences to be integrated into a coherent temporal structure, thus making it possible to sketch a person's identity against the background of a dynamic constancy model which does justice to the coherence of human life." Wodak et al. (1999: 14)

My language, my identity

Language use

- First generation: Fiji

- First generation: New Zealand

- Second generation: New Zealand

- The role of the heritage language in New Zealand

Language use: First generation in Fiji

… when we were little/ in classroom we were told to speak in English all the time…

…

… so that we could learn English/ but these days we see that it is not the way/ but that's how we all learnt English there/ otherwise we will not pick English/ we just spoke in English and if we didn't learn English the teacher would punish it uh punish us and say write hundred times "I must speak in Hi-- English" and all that <laughs>/

(first-generation female, in her 50s)

Language use: First generation in Fiji

yeah in school] when I was at school um … / but what used to happen is if you spoke in your vernacular language / that is in fifties and sixties uh / then you were fined / or punished / so we were not supposed to speaking in vernacular

(first-generation male, in his 60s)

Speaking English in Fiji – in New Zealand

*It was actually a bit difficult to speak in English because **our English experience was mostly educational**/ that's only listening to the teachers and uh um books and writing/ uh it was- it was very education-oriented it was not a social uh co– language/ uh so in that way it was difficult- it wa-- it was difficult initially …* (first-generation female, in her 40s)

Language use: First generation in New Zealand

… if my son is home I would say eighty percent would be English/ if my wife and I are alone here I would say eighty percent is in Fiji Hindi/ yeah maybe ninety percent or sometimes hundred percent yeah/ it's Fiji Hindi/ or when we have our own people- Fiji Indian people at home for dinner and what not all the conversation is in Fiji Hindi/ occasionally there'll be English words thrown here and there but mostly it's Fiji Hindi for that's what we're comfortable with/ that's our language

(first-generation male, in his 60s)

Language use: First generation in New Zealand

Language use at the dinner of the Fiji Hindi Association

You'd be hearing Fiji Hindi be spoken everywhere/ yeah but uh because we also have a lot of uh Pakehas who go to that function with their boyfriends or girlfriends or wives or husbands uh in our own family we have got a Pakeha family um we try to the official part give it in English/ uh we- I normally um as a president I speak uh at those functions and I start with Hindi but then I switch to English because I do know that people don't understand Hindi/ a lot of people don't you know who are not from Fiji/ and we get others like s-- we have got people Thailand or Singapore or Malaysia who also come to that function and they do not understand so we have to speak English for them/

(first-generation male, in his 60s)

Language use: First generation in New Zealand

Fiji Hindi as a marker of solidarity

I do inquire whether the person is from Fiji/ then I would start speaking in Hindi// I think/ with another Fiji Indian I'm more comfortable speaking in Hindi// I think/ it's more about it's probably more about like/ you trying to be at the same level as the other person// so you want to converse/ rather than/ well/ I think when you speak in English to somebody who is from Fiji// you sort of feel that you're trying to/ not be too friendly// […] it gets you closer// that's my feeling// (first-generation male, in his 40s)

Language use: Code-switching in New Zealand

we- well when we speak we do speak a mixture of Hindi and English.

… and we do switch without knowing, like we don't consciously do it. we just switch. but um when we do have kids eventually that is something we'll have to sort of make a point of talking in Hindi. uh [so that they pick it up. (first-generation female, in her 20s)

something I sort of noticed like because like people started using more and more English in between. English words. Like it's easier to say- speak in Hindi and say "ah thanks" or "please" rather than say it Hindi cause people started mixing English with you know everyday words.

… I was talking in Hindi and then all of a sudden you know used English words. So and that's something I've noticed that's-- it's happening more and more now. (first-generation male, in his 30s)

Language use: Host community language > home

*Because ... it's- it's mostly like most of the time I'm at work. We just talk in English speak English. And- and when I switch over. Like when I come home it's- and the girls do the same at school. So **it's easier** some- some of the words -**it's easier to say it in English because everyone knows**. And since my girls they were born here. When we went back to Fiji they were finding it difficult to understand some of the words they- like the way they spoke in Fiji. So it's- it's yeah it's- they've sort of slowly learnt as well.* (first-generation male, in his 30s)

Language use: Second generation in New Zealand

Scenario 1:

*When I'm talking to my parents I- s-- **most of the time we**- most of the time we actually **speak in English**. But when we have like visitors we speak in like **Indian** in- with my nanas and stuff* (second-generation female, in her 10s)

Language use: Second generation in New Zealand

Scenario 2:

English I- I use at school , um when I'm speaking to anyone for the first time I use English. **at home it's always Hind***i, and like when there's visitors and things I always assume they speak Hindi and I speak it to them until they give me the "oh I don't speak it".* (second-generation male, in his 10s)

Earlier in the interview, informant commented on formal character of his Hindi

when they're speaking Hindi [Fiji Indians in Fiji] they're like really relaxed and like it's almost second nature to them, and um when we speak it we're like kinda slightly more formal and things like that, so we kind of find it a bit weird trying to speak like really relaxed words and stuff like that. (second-generation male, in his 10s)

Language use: Second generation in New Zealand

*[at school] when we're talking with our friends and stuff **we'd sometimes switch to Hindi**. … I know that there's **some schools** that you're not allowed to speak in Hindi cause they **try and**- and **force** like **the English**.* (second-generation female, in her 10s)

Role of the heritage language in New Zealand

I want them [my children] to know] Fiji Hindi because I think English is something that they can pick up anyways. (first-generation female in her 20s)

Role of the heritage language in New Zealand

English vs. Hindi as home language

Because I- I remember like when the girls were a bit younger they- they used to say like "Ah all our friends do this" I said "Well that's fine you can do that at school." But we're still Indians you know we don't wanna lose touch with our base our religion and all that. (first-generation male, in his 30s)

Claim to speaking Hindi as an identity marker

*–they have like a different perception of us// like you're not really an Indian/ because you're from Fiji// which/ I've gotten into some fights/ <laughs> because of that/ 'cause there was a girl on my bus/ who was from India/ who was born there and she lived in New Zealand now// and uhm she tried to tell me that I wasn't really Indian// […] uhm so she tried to tell me that I wasn't Indian// and then I told her that **I could speak my language/ and I could read it and everything/ so I must be//** and my parents are both Indian// and my grandparents are Indian// and like I'm fully Indian blooded and everything// and she still tried to tell me that I wasn't/ just because I was from Fiji//* (second-generation female, in her 10s)

Conclusion

Language use and identity construction

First-generation Fiji Indians

– grew up with Fiji Hindi as their first language and English as the language of instruction at school

– predominantly use Fiji Hindi amongst themselves but often English with their children

– switch to English in 'mixed' groups

– are conscious of their 'educational' English

– recognize the importance of Hindi as part of their identity (culture, religion), with the added complication that Fiji Hindi is *not* the language of the central religious text (the *Ramayan*)

Language use and identity construction

Second-generation Fiji Indians

- grew up with Fiji Hindi as their parents' language but use it to varying degrees themselves

- occasionally use Hindi among second-generation peers, but English dominates

- often attend(ed) Hindi school (target: standard Hindi, literacy)

- show varying degrees of making (Fiji) Hindi an integral part of identity construction (depending on perceived proficiency)

Diaspora…

" … a distinctive 'community', held together by a distinctive, active solidarity, as well as by relatively dense social relationships, that cut across state boundaries and link members of the diaspora in different states to **a single 'transnational community'**."   (Brubaker, 2005: 6)

→ Internally complex transnational community

Acknowledgements

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Thank you!

धन्यवाद!

Dhanyavada