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ABSTRACT

        This collection of papers comprises proceedings from the 5th
English in South East Asia Conference, held in December 2000 at Curtin
University of Technology in Perth. The 19 papers include the following: (1)
"Global English and Local Language Policies" (Robert Phillipson); (2) "Hong
Kong Parents' Preference for English-Medium Education: Passive Victims of
Imperialism or Active Agents of Pragmatism?" (David Li); (3) "Implications of
the Recommendation that English Become the Second Official Language in
Japan" (Kayako Hashimoto); (4) "Culture and Identity in the English
Discourses of Mayalsians" (Azirah Mashim); (5) "Englishization and
Nativization Processes in the Context of Brunei Darussalam: Evidence for and
Against" (Hajaj Rosnah Haji Ramly, Noor Azam Haji Othman, and James
McLellan); (6) "Kissing Cousins? The Relationship between English and Tok
Pisin in Papua New Guinea" (Geoff Smith); (7) "Chaos in Aboriginal English
Discourse" (Farzad Sharifian); (8) "Language, Literature and Culture--and
Their Meeting Place in the Dictionary" (Susan Butler); (9) "Even Obituaries
Reflect Cultural Norms and Values" (Maya Khemlani David and Janet Y. Yong);
(10) "Recent Research into the Pronunciation of Singapore English" (Low Ee
Ling and David Deterding); (11) "Languages in Contact: Hong Kong English
Phonology and the Influence of Cantonese" (Tony Hung); (12) "Canon and
Pedagogy: The Role of American Colonial Education and Defining Standards for
Philippine Literature" (Isabel Pefianco Martin); (13) "ASEAN and Asian
Cultures and Models: Implications for The ELT Curriculum and for Teacher
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Perceptions and Practices: Teaching English as an International Language in
Chinese Universities" (Xy Zhichang); (15) "Reflective Discourse in Teacher
Education in Brunei Darussalam" (David Lochmohr Prescott); (16) "Alternative

English: Vernacular Oral Art among Aboriginal Youth" (Ian Malcom); (17) "A Study of the Language of Pre-School Malaysian Children" (Kow Yip Cheng); (18) "Communication Behaviours of EFL Learners in a Native English-Speaker Teacher's Class: A Case in Hong Kong" (Jasmine Luk); and (19) "Multilingual Practices in Rural Malaysia and Their Impact on English Language Learning in Rural Education" (Hazita Azman). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

Englishes in Asia

COMMUNICATION, IDENTITY, POWER & EDUCATION

EDITED BY ANDY KIRKPATRICK

2

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Communication, identity,
power and education

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Foreword

Andy Kirkpatrick
Perth, September 2001

This volume comprises selected proceedings from the 5th English in South East Asia Conference, which was held at Curtin University of Technology in Perth on 6-8 December 2000.

The English in South East Asia conference series was conceived as a vehicle for educators from the Asia Pacific region to meet annually to discuss matters of mutual interest concerning the development of regional varieties English, the role of these varieties in conjunction with or in opposition to native speaker varieties, and the implications of this for English language teaching within the region.

Previous conferences have been hosted by the University of Malaya, the University of Brunei, and the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Future conferences in the series are scheduled for Ateneo de Manila University and Hong Kong Baptist University.

The theme of the 2000 conference is reflected in the title of this volume and the papers address various aspects of the role of English and Englishes throughout the region. The volume begins with Robert Phillipson's paper on global English and local language policies. The paper relates conceptual haziness around 'English' and native speaker mythology to globalisation processes. A crucial need is to situate English in the wider linguistic ecology, globally and locally. Language policy, including the promotion of English, must be inspired by an equitable vision of how all languages can be permitted to flourish. Foreign experts are non-natives whose professionalism must build on deep knowledge of the culture in which they have chosen to work, which, among many other things, requires learning local languages. Phillipson's paper provides the framework within which many of the following papers operate. The authors are interested in exploring the relationship between 'Standard English', local varieties of English and the languages of the region.

David CS Li discusses issues that arise from the deceptively simple question, 'Why is there such a strong desire among Hong Kong parents for their children to be educated in English?' He argues that it is a mistake to see these people who are positively inclined to the learning of English as victims of the hegemony of the former colonial language; rather, Li argues, they are pragmatically-minded people acting in their own best interests.

Hashimoto extends the debate to Japan and argues that English in Japan is being used for Japanese purposes. In early 2000, the private advisory group for the then Japanese Prime-Minister recommended that English should be used as the second official language in order to cope with globalisation. However, at the same time, the Ministry of Education proposed a plan to revise the Fundamentals of Education Act in favour of the inclusion of nationalistic sentiment and practices. This policy re-positioning is also mirrored in public sentiment. Hashimoto concludes that this reflects continuity in Japanese attempts to preserve Japanese culture and that the role of English in Japan is to project 'Japaneseness' to the world.

Azirah Hashim also sees a role for English in preserving cultural identity. Forging a national identity without creating conflicts with the ethnic identities is a problem not only peculiar to Malaysia but also to many other countries. However, Malaysia can be considered to be a relatively successful multiracial society with relatively harmonious coexistence among ethnic groups. Language plays a complex role in relation to ethnic and national identity. The common experiences of the group influence the actual text and talk of the individuals. The examples of Malaysian English discourse that Hashim presents highlights the linguistic features which are important in establishing group identity, in this case, national identity, and yet preserving ethnic identities.

Ramli, Hazam and McLellan address the questions "How do the languages of the region influence English, linguistically or socio-culturally?" and "How does English influence the languages of the region, linguistically or socioculturally?" By analysing evidence from Brunei Darussalam, they argue that nativisation (of English) and Englishisation of other languages are two processes that operate simultaneously in multilingual contexts. They conclude that Bruneians, therefore, do not believe themselves to be victims of the dominant discourse of English as an International Language. On the contrary, Bruneians would claim that they have some control over English, but that English has no control whatsoever over them.

Similar mutual processes and complementary social roles are discussed by Smith in his account of the relationship between Tok Pisin and English in Papua New Guinea. What can be seen here appears to be an early stage of mutual influence between the two languages, which are still kept separate for most purposes. A situation is emerging in contemporary Papua New Guinea which has not been present in former periods of the history of Tok Pisin, namely the existence of a significant number of people fluent in both Tok Pisin and English. Fluency in Tok Pisin is seen both in the increasing numbers of first language speakers and in a native-like competence of many second language speakers as Tok Pisin gains a greater role in contemporary society. Fluency in English is a product of the continuing policy to use English as the medium of instruction in the majority of educational establishments right from the beginning of primary school.

Farzad Sharifian shows how a local variety of English can take on the cognitive and cultural preferences of its speakers. He first provides a brief description of

Australian Aboriginal English and argues that there is an intimate relationship between language and other cognitive faculties and that cognitive characteristics and preferences may be shaped by cultural skills and practices. He argues that the resultant perceived 'chaos' in Aboriginal English makes Aboriginal English unclear to non-Aboriginal speakers of English.

The links between language and culture are further explored in the next two papers. Susan Butler points out that the dictionary has a key role as a document of the language of a particular language community existing in a particular place at a particular time. From this point of view the dictionary documents our culture and has a vital nexus with our literature. Dictionaries of varieties of English serve to record the differences between English-language communities and can be instructive on cultural differences. Butler, drawing on examples from Singaporean and Malaysian English, Philippine English, Hong Kong English and Australian English, shows how the dictionary can be a conduit to a cultural understanding in the region.

David and Yong argue along similar lines in proposing that local varieties of English reflect local cultural norms. The value systems and norms of Malaysians, particularly Indians, are discussed by analysing a data base of obituaries which appeared in three English newspapers in Malaysia and obtained over a period of three months. The paper argues that outsiders to Malaysian cultural norms and value systems may not understand the significance of the discourse of these obituaries unless links are made between the textual discourse and local or cultural schemas. The data is analyzed by making connections between the textual discourse and local value systems.

The next two papers are by Low and Deterding and Hung and consider aspects of the phonology of Singapore and Hong Kong English respectively. Low and Deterding show that recent research has confirmed that most of the impressionistic reports of the pronunciation features of SgE can be validated by instrumental measurements. At the same time, they point out that some misconceptions have been found and this highlights the importance of instrumental work in phonetic research.

Hung's paper is based on the author's findings from his on-going research project on the interlanguage phonology of Hong Kong English (HKE). With the help of spectrographic analysis, he found that the typical HKE speaker operates with a considerably smaller set of vowel and consonant phonemes than in old varieties of English, such as British and American English, both in production and perception. In particular, the HKE vowel system is very similar to that of Cantonese, both in terms of the number of vowel contrasts, and the phonetic quality of the vowels themselves. Like Cantonese also, the consonant system of HKE is lacking in the voiced/voiceless distinction, such that the contrasts between pairs of consonants which are distinguished in old varieties of English by voicing are either neutralised or replaced by other phonemes.

The next series of papers consider how an imposed Standard English influences local educational practice. Isabel Martin provides a historical account of the way

English literature used to be taught in Philippine schools. In particular, she addresses questions such as: 'What specific strategies did the American colonizers use to create a new type of American?' She argues that the Anglo-American canon of literature imposed on the Filipinos from 1901 during the American colonial period would not have been as potent without a powerful partner, namely, colonial pedagogy. Together, canon and pedagogy produced a certain type of language and literature education that created standards for Philippine literature in both English and Tagalog. As a result of American colonial education, Philippine literature was relegated to the margins.

Kirkpatrick points out that English has become the *lingua franca* of ASEAN and between other countries in East Asia. Learners of English in the region are far more likely to need to use English with fellow non-native speakers from the region than with native speakers. He proposes that a new curriculum is therefore required that concentrates on ASEAN rather than 'Anglo' cultures. This development also has direct implications for the variety of English that should be taught and the type of language teachers that should be employed. Rather than spending resources on the importing of native speaker teachers to provide native speaker models, Kirkpatrick puts the case for the transfer of these resources to the training of local teachers who can provide their students with a relevant and attainable model of English.

Moving the discussion from ASEAN schools to Chinese universities, Xu suggests that the Chinese traditional attachment to Received Pronunciation (RP) or General American (GA) is being challenged. Changes in perceptions and practices in the teaching of English are therefore necessary so that students can acquire the ever-evolving English as an International Language (EIL), which reflects multi-cultures and multi-identities. For Xu, EIL is a world *lingua franca* and is becoming more and more complex and dynamic. It reflects multi-cultures and multi-identities. EIL has become more of a liberating concept than a mere tool for communication across national and cultural boundaries. It can liberate English teachers and students from their traditional ways of looking at English and the learning and teaching of English.

The ability of local varieties of English to reflect local cultural practice is further discussed by Prescott, but in the context of teacher education. In Brunei, English is able to fulfil a facilitative role, free of the socio-cultural and ideological constraints that are often linked with the local and regional languages. Prescott's study suggests that a way forward for teacher education in Brunei is the development of the instrumental, facilitative role of English as the discourse of reflective practice. Similar studies may help clarify the role English has to play in promoting the discourse of reflective practice.

It is the place of a specific variety of English within the education system that is the focus of Malcolm's paper. Malcolm stresses that the conflict between the forces for globalisation and for indigenisation is reflected in education, where policies favouring standard-English-based literacy are countered by policies which favour the linguistic and cultural rights of local cultures. In U.S.A., the Ebonics debate brought such conflict to a head in 1996-7. In Singapore, there is ongoing controversy over the

legitimacy of 'Singlish' as opposed to standard varieties based on international norms. In Australia, the inclusiveness of the National Policy on Languages (1987) was countered by subsequent moves towards prioritising literacy, which always means literacy in standard English. In this paper, Macolm provides evidence from Australian Aboriginal settings in support of claims that the indigenisation of English by Aboriginal people has resulted in the development of oral art forms which are sophisticated enough to claim recognition in the education system.

The volume's final three papers also focus on educational issues. Kow's study seeks to determine if the English used by a sample of Malaysian school children reflects local culture and what other factors may play a role in the development of the variety. She concludes that the language they use is indeed reflective of Malaysian culture and that the language of these children is used to convey, extend, create and recreate meaning.

Luk's paper looks at the in-class language use of Hong Kong learners of English. She presents and discusses evidence that Hong Kong Chinese students' communication behaviours reflect their local cultural and linguistic identities and power. By having at their disposal a local language not shared by the teacher, the students, though having only limited English proficiency, demonstrate a rich and dynamic variety of communication behaviours in making their voices heard. Luk argues that this demonstrates the inadequacy of a native English-speaker teacher who is culturally and linguistically less sophisticated than the students.

Finally, Azman, in the tradition of viewing literacy from a sociocultural perspective, proposes an explanation for the lagging literacy performance among rural students in Malaysia, especially in English Language. She shows that changes in historical, socio-political and socio-economic factors have impacted on multilingual and multiethnic rural communities in their perceptions of literacy and their local practices in Malaysia. These changes have brought upon the communities demands of new skills such as literacy in English and computers, while at the same time revealing how unprepared they are to meet these changes. Schools in rural communities thus must play a major role in changing the attitudes towards literacy among the rural population. The challenge lies in making these goals relevant to the immediate needs of the rural population. Azman urges us to remember that the unity of a nation depends not upon the singleness of the tongue or homogeneity of culture, but in the hearts of its citizens. Therefore, a multiethnic and multilingual country such as Malaysia must first demarginalise and then empower its citizens so that they can willingly internalise the same goals and work towards achieving them together, while harmoniously maintaining their individual differences and uniqueness.

In closing, I would like to acknowledge the editorial help provided by Dr Azirah Hashim, the University of Malaya, Dr Isabel Martin, Ateneo de Manila University, the Philippines, Dr Low Ee-Ling, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, and Dr Hajah Rosnah Haji Ramly of the Universiti Brunei Darussalam. To all, great thanks, both for your help and for the privilege of working with you.

1   Global English and local language policies

Robert Phillipson
Copenhagen Business School, Denmark

The paper relates conceptual haziness around "English" and native speaker mythology to globalisation processes. It draws on an ecology of language paradigm to situate English professionalism in a global vision of languages serving equitable purposes. There is a steady flow of studies from Europe, Asia and Africa documenting how current linguistic hierarchies serve to marginalise (speakers of) languages other than English. There is also a trickle of studies showing how ELT professionalism can serve more appropriate local purposes.

The twin poles of the title of my chapter, 'global English' and 'local language policies', suggest the tension between a *globalising* language and the paramount need to formulate and implement language policies that meet *local* cultural, linguistic, political and economic needs. I am addressing you in English, this globalising language, but I would claim that I am not using global English. Global English is an abstraction, a language in the minds of the prophets and cheer-leaders of globalisation, a hugely powerful myth that we need to locate, interpret and dissect. What I *am* using is a form of English that reflects multiple aspects of my past and present identities. I hesitate to call myself a *native speaker*, although English was the language I learned first, in Britain, and is still my most active language, even though I have spent almost my entire working life in countries where English is not the dominant local language. My reluctance has more to do with the fact that I am well aware that the mythology of the native speaker of English has been exported world-wide, to the point where a blind faith in the supposed attributes of the native speaker teacher species permeates much of the ideology of English learning in Asia. Many Asian scholars have shown how this has had pernicious effects[1]. The terms themselves — *native/non-native* — have been challenged by people working in theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics, and language pedagogy. In my view, this binary opposition is offensive because it is hierarchical and discriminatory in that the native is taken as the norm, and others are defined negatively, in terms of what they are not, in relation to this norm. Non-natives are abnormal, deviant in relation to certain

desired types of behaviour and knowledge — we are to the manner born, they are beyond the linguistic pale, in perpetuity. This contemporary variant of orientalism thus legitimates linguistic and cultural hierarchisation and imperialism. And like many factors contributing to linguistic hegemony, the hierarchy is often internalised unquestioningly, which serves to consolidate the power of speakers of the dominant variant of the language.

Learning a foreign or second language to a high level is a demanding, humbling process which can also be exhilarating and rewarding. It is difficult to see how anyone who has not been through this process successfully can choose to teach any language that is being learned as a foreign or second language. How can one otherwise develop insight into the intercultural familiarisation experience that is the bedrock of foreign language learning? The process is captured insightfully by a key iconoclastic intellectual, Ivan Illich (1973: 41).

> A language of which I know only the words and not the pauses is a continuous
> offence. It is as the caricature of a photographic negative. It takes more time
> and effort and delicacy to learn the silence of a people than to learn its sounds.

I sometimes wonder whether the politicians who regard an early start to English in the primary school as a panacea — a current fad in continental Europe — or who wish to accord English the status of second official language[2], as is being discussed in Korea and Japan, do so because they are scarred by achieving little in their own learning of a foreign language at school, or because of embarrassment at their own lack of competence in the high-prestige language. In other words, I am suggesting these bandwagons represent irrational solutions to a falsely diagnosed problem. Like the xenophobic English Only movement in the United States, what is proposed is 'a bad cure for an imaginary disease', as Gerald Nunberg (1997: 44) puts it. But that second or foreign language learning can be agonising is beautifully captured by Eva Hoffman, when she describes her traumatic experience as an immigrant to North America at the age of thirteen, when English was superimposed on Polish:

> The words I learn now don't stand for things in the same unquestioned way they
> did in my native tongue, 'River' in Polish was a vital sound, energised with the
> essence of riverhood, of my rivers, of my being immersed in rivers. 'River' in
> English is cold — a word without an aura. It has no accumulated associations
> for me, and it does not give off the radiating haze of connotation. It does not
> evoke.... English words don't hook up on anything... The words float in
> uncertain space. They come from a part of my brain in which labels may be
> manufactured but which has no connection to my instincts, quick reactions,
> knowledge... What has happened to me in this new world? I don't know. I don't
> see what I've seen, don't comprehend what's in front of me. I'm not filled with
> language anymore, and I have only a memory of fullness to anguish me with the
> knowledge that, in this dark and empty state, I don't really exist. (Hoffman
> 1989: 106-108).

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Such are the agonies of a subtractive language learning context, an experience which is, I fear, widespread. The agonies are existential for an immigrant child and for many children being educated in Africa through the medium of English. But those of us who use a second language constantly also know how demanding it is to communicate in less than fully fluent, idiomatic and effective ways. I live in Denmark, a country whose people have a high reputation as users of English as an L2. But there are countless anecdotes about their leaders creating unintended impressions in English. The Danish Prime Minister has been known to parry an awkward question at a press conference by stating that he does not have the 'ability' to answer the question, unintentionally making a disparaging remark about his own intellectual faculties, whereas he would have been home and dry if he had said he was not 'able' to answer the question, implying that reasons of state prevented him from doing so. The minute shift from the nominal form, *ability*, to an adjective, *able*, is symptomatic of how treacherous a language English is, like all languages. And as English is now spoken in so many different ways in all parts of the globe, pinning down what English is so that we can agree about what is under discussion, is a precondition for scholarly analysis of what is happening to the language, and what the language is being used for.

What then is global English? What, following Illich and Hoffman, are the silences and sounds of global English? If English is now a post-imperial, post-national language, as some claim, whose interests are served by its use, and what are the implications for learners of English as a second or foreign language? To answer such questions, we need to listen critically to those who plead the cause of global English. We need to address head-on the fallacious belief in the universality of a single language, symbolised and mediated by its native speakers, and all that goes with them in terms of expertise, teaching materials, curriculum development, development assistance, et al. We need to work for a more democratic linguistic world order in which the linguistic human rights of speakers of all languages are respected. The native speaker fallacy[3] is the linchpin connecting global English to local language policies. We therefore need to diagnose what types of inequality global English entails, and to identify local language policies at all levels, from the individual to the state and above, that represent a real alternative, policies for a healthy, vibrant language ecology.

I shall address these issues by analysing the following in turn:
- English in globalisation
- English and inequality
- Global ELT professionalism?
- Appropriating English locally.

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English in globalisation

English is integral to the globalisation processes that characterise the contemporary post-cold-war phase of aggressive casino capitalism, economic restructuring, McDonaldisation and militarisation on all continents. English permeates the globalisation of the economy, finance, and politics, in commerce (the World Trade Organisation, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the common market of the European Union and comparable regional associations), military links (NATO, United Nations peace-keeping operations, the arms trade), and culture (Hollywood products, BBC World, CNN, MTV). There is a considerable literature on globalisation, and on English, but there is an alarming absence of literature that brings the two together. A multidisciplinary approach to the analysis of language and power is needed, drawing on a range of disciplines.

The huge literature on English includes excellent portrayals of the history of how and why the language expanded (Bailey 1991, Mühlhäusler 1996), and many descriptions of its diversity in different parts of the world. There are also radical-critical analyses by scholars in the South who challenge North professional orthodoxies. Dasgupta (1993), for instance, convincingly demonstrates that English is not in an organic relationship with Indian languages or the mass of Indian people; Parakrama (1995) explores the distinctiveness of Sri Lankan English and its distance from an Anglo norm. The extensive language policy literature in South Africa essentially deals with how English can be 'reduced to equality'[4] so that African languages and cultures can flourish.

These *cris de coeur* from globally peripheral cultures have affinities to critiques of linguistics for failing to address the role of language in societal reproduction. Bourdieu (1991) shows how linguists working in a Saussurean tradition cut themselves off from social reality when focussing on a standard language but simultaneously ignoring the processes of state formation that have led to 'a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language' (ibid.: 45). This process is now in creation at the global level, with English as the dominant language of the global economy, but there is little analysis of global English in this sense[5]. One useful linguistic starting-point is the work of Mufwene, who demonstrates (1997) that the concepts and terminology used in relation to English outside the neo-Europes[6], 'new Englishes', and creoles, involve biassed processes of hierarchisation of the 'legitimate and illegitimate offspring of English', and are fundamentally flawed and ethnocentric. When analysing English worldwide the bottom line is whose interests English serves, and whose interests scholarship on English serves[7].

Many claim that English is *the* world language. But to describe English in such terms ignores the fact that a majority of the world's citizens do not speak English, whether as a mother tongue or as a second or foreign language. Strong forces are at pains to create the impression that English serves all the world's citizens equally well, whereas this is manifestly not the case. Symptomatic of the wishful thinking of global

English is the publicity marketing *The International Herald Tribune* (earlier *New York Herald Tribune*). It describes itself as 'The world's daily newspaper. Since 1887.... The global village has a hometown newspaper... It's the newspaper the whole world reads'. Evidently the global village, another metaphor much used by the cheer-leaders of globalisation, is monolingual. There are in fact still some 6-7000 spoken languages in the world, and perhaps equally many sign languages, and hundreds of languages are used across national borders. The continuing existence of most languages is, however, threatened by market forces and the ideology and practice of monolingual nation-states (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000a).

The overall position of English in many countries has been explored in a large volume entitled *Post-imperial English: Status change in former British and American colonies, 1940-1990* (Fishman, Conrad and Rubal-Lopez eds.1996)[8]. The volume begins and ends with Fishman's attempt to bring work on the relationship between language(s) and economic, social and political indicators up to date in the light of a statistically-based study of a wealth of such data by one of his collaborators, Rubal-Lopez, and input from the 29 scholars from British and American 'spheres of influence' who contribute to this volume. Fishman speculates on English being 'reconceptualised, from being an imperialist tool to being a multinational tool... English may need to be re-examined precisely from the point of view of being post-imperial (as the title of our book implies, that is in the sense of not directly serving purely Anglo-American territorial, economic, or cultural expansion) without being post-capitalist in any way' (ibid.: 8). He also stresses the limitations of our instruments and concepts, but boldly tabulates the degree of 'anglification' in each state. His assessment that the 'socio-economic factors that are behind the spread of English are now indigenous in most countries of the world' and that the continued spread of English in former colonies is 'related more to their engagement in the modern world economy than to any efforts derived from their colonial masters' (ibid.: 639) seems to ignore the fact that 'engagement in the modern world' means a western-dominated globalisation agenda set by the transnational corporations and the IMF, and the US military intervening, with or without a mandate from the United Nations, whenever 'vital interests' are at risk. I therefore have difficulty in sharing Fishman's restrained optimism about linguistic power-sharing, unless there is a fundamental change of paradigm in language policy and in globalisation.

The export of English is market driven, as it always has been. The year 2001 has been declared 'European Year of Languages' by the European Union and the Council of Europe, the primary purpose being to strengthen foreign language learning. The British Council has seized on this as a means of strengthening the 'teaching and promotion of English language and British culture', with British students of foreign languages as ambassadors for UK higher education in their year abroad[9]. In the post-communist world, English was one of several panaceas that were explicitly and fraudulently marketed as the solution to the problems of the economy and civil society (explicitly by two British foreign ministers, Douglas Hurd and Malcolm

Rifkind). There is a major support scheme for English teaching in post-communist European countries[10]. The then British minister for education and employment, David Blunkett, echoed official statements of the last fifty years when stating in November 2000 that ... 'It makes good economic sense to use English fluency as a platform to underpin our economic competitiveness and to promote our culture overseas'[11]. The Korean government recently announced that 392 native English speakers will be recruited for middle and high schools next year, their purpose being to train Korean English teachers effectively and give students more chances to talk with native speakers in class[12]. Good luck to them, but that is not how foreign languages are learned effectively in western Europe.

A recent example of cultural globalisation aimed at strengthening English and British interests is the 'Blair Initiative', announced on 18 June 1999. This aims at increasing Britain's share of the global market in foreign students. The massive expansion of British, American and Australian universities into distance education, initially in such fields as accounting and business administration, is a related development. Such initiatives mean jobs for these universities and service industries, and are doubtless also seen as an investment in good will, in fostering favourable attitudes among potentially influential people. Universities must produce the post-colonial, post-national global citizens who will work for transnational corporations, finance houses, and supra-national bureaucracies. This 'Initiative' is somewhat intriguing and puzzling, when, according to the British government's own figures, one third of all children in Britain are growing up in poverty and derive little benefit from the education system.

My examples serve to demonstrate that the English language is securely anchored in broader social and economic developments. English is not a culturally neutral lingua franca. I am not suggesting that inter-cultural exchange of the kinds exemplified here is misguided and valueless: at the individual level it may be inspiring and eye-opening. Likewise I would never suggest that anyone in the modern world should not be as optimally functional in English as possible, nor that education systems should not aim at this. But we need to situate English in the overall multilingual ecology and in global and local linguistic hierarchies. For language specialists, this requires critically assessing how our professionalism is constituted and exercised.

In our contemporary world, 10-20% of the population are getting obscenely richer, the English-speaking haves that consume 80% of the available resources, whereas the remainder are being systematically impoverished, the non-English-speaking have-nots. Many decisions that affect the entire world's population are taken in English. Reference to English as a 'global' language has therefore much less to do with demography or geography than with decision-making in the contemporary global political and economic system. English is currently pre-eminent but may be challenged by Chinese, Arabic and other languages. The world system itself is fragile, turbulent and unsustainable. Our biodiversity and linguistic diversity are at risk.

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Many of the dimensions in the contemporary tension between a globally expansionist language and alternatives to it are illuminatingly brought together in two paradigms that were initially proposed by Yukio Tsuda, and which have been further elaborated in a more differentiated analysis by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas (2000a: 657), from which the following table comes:

Table 13 Diffusion of English and ecology of languages paradigms

The diffusion of English paradigm	Ecology of languages paradigm
1. monolingualism and linguistic genocide	1. multilingualism, and linguistic diversity
2. promotion of subtractive learning of dominant languages	2. promotion of additive foreign/second language learning
3. linguistic, cultural and media imperialism	3. equality in communication
4. Americanisation and homogenisation of world culture	4. maintenance and exchange of cultures
5. ideological globalisation and internationalisation	5. ideological localisation and exchange
6. capitalism, hierarchisation	6. economic democratisation
7. rationalisation based on science and technology	7. human rights perspective, holistic integrative values
8. modernisation and economic efficiency; quantitative growth	8. sustainability through promotion of diversity; qualitative growth
9. transnationalisation	9. protection of local production and national sovereignties
10. growing polarisation and gaps between haves and never-to-haves	10. redistribution of the world's material resources

Skutnabb-Kangas's book is a comprehensive survey of the entire field of language dominance, language rights, and language ecology that synthesises work in many disciplines. It can serve as a springboard for action to promote more democratic language policies. The *Diffusion of English paradigm* entails the promotion of one language (English) and one culture (the USA's) at the expense of others, by means of the interlocking of linguistic imperialism with a system of production and ideologies that attempt to justify an economically expansionist and exploitative world order. The *Ecology of Languages paradigm*, by contrast, builds on our linguistic and cultural diversity, attempts to ensure equality for speakers of all languages, and uses the human rights system as a counterweight to the 'free' market. To advance the cause of the Ecology of Language requires efforts at all levels from the local to the global. This means putting language policy higher up on political agendas.

The globe of *global English* is a crystal ball, with David Crystal as one of its most

articulate proponents, his book on this topic being, in my view, unscholarly, ethnocentric and triumphalist[13]. Global English represents special interests. In political and scholarly discourse, it is often a subtle form of special pleading, the advocacy of the privileged in an unjust world. It is the relatively privileged that Henry Widdowson refers to when he argues that 'international English' is essentially English for specific professional and academic purposes (Widdowson 1997: 143), and that this is what English learning should aim at, rather than social chat with native speakers. I agree with him on this, and that the problem is not the English language but the purposes to which the language is put. Where I disagree with him is in his reassuring belief that there is 'global approval' of the purposes to which English is put, and secondly that English 'no longer needs native speaker custodians' (ibid.: 144), meaning that for him the ownership of English has already significantly shifted away from the native speaker. Both these assumptions need to be challenged, not least if efforts to promote English as an Asian language are to succeed. English in this sense is recommended in a recent newspaper article by Andy Kirkpatrick (2000) and in this volume, English as a lingua franca for local Asian purposes and giving expression to local cultural values and needs, with the teaching of English equipping learners for such purposes. For this desirable goal to be achieved, much will have to change.

English and inequality

Like 'global English', the notion that English serves as a *neutral* lingua franca is a dangerous myth. Natives and non-natives do not perform on a level playing-field. The Danish Prime Minister will never be able to express himself as freely in English as Tony Blair. The invasion of English into local cultural space has led to governments in countries such as France and Poland legislating to restrict the use of English. In Scandinavian countries there is lively debate about whether the increased use of English in a number of key domains, in higher education and scientific writing, in the media and youth culture, and as the in-company language in corporations, represents a serious threat to local cultural values and to the dominant local languages which have hitherto, at least for the past couple of centuries, served for all such purposes. It is possible that a diglossic division of linguistic labour is emerging, with English occupying the high prestige slots and connoting success and hedonism, and local languages being confined to more provincial local purposes. Symptoms of this inequality are legion. Five snapshot examples can trace the contours of the problem:

- John Swales, who has spent a lifetime working on the characteristic genres of scientific English, describes English as *Tyrannosaurus Rex*, a language that gobbles up others and eliminates local cultural practices (1997).
- David Graddol cites a native speaker editor of a scientific journal who assumes blithely that language errors by a non-native may well be a symptom of shoddy scholarship: editors are manifestly gate-keepers of both language and content

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(1997: 38), which reinforces the prevalence of scientific paradigms favoured in the USA (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas 1999).

- Ulrich Ammon (2000) has assessed the extent to which German scholars are disadvantaged when obliged to write in English. He has collected a range of types of evidence of inequality, such as reports of matched guise experiments that indicate that, for instance in the medical world, texts in English are judged as superior to texts in Dutch and Scandinavian languages.

- The Swedish government recently commissioned a major survey of the position of Swedish in all key domains in Sweden, and of its use in European Union institutions. There is in fact clear evidence of English taking over from Swedish, and work is now under way to ensure that Swedish remains a 'complete' language[14]. Investigations of domain loss to English in all the Nordic languages are currently being commissioned[15].

- My impression is that even fluent users of English as a second language are becoming more aware of their unequal communication rights, and resentful of native speaker dominance, for instance at conferences[16].

The European Union is a test case for policies that respect linguistic diversity and for principles of equality both for the individual language user and for a range of languages[17]. In principle, the 11 'official' languages of the 15 member states have equal rights, but language policy, with the exception of certain minimal rights to translation (an essential service, as documents emanating from Brussels have the force of law in member states, overriding national legislation) and interpretation (particularly for Members of the European Parliament and senior politicians), unofficially accepts a hierarchy with French and English at the top (for instance, texts in the EU Commission in 1997 were initially drafted in English, 45.3% of input, and French, 40.4%, leaving very little space for other languages)[18]. The logistics of complex multilingual institutions will become much more complicated as the EU enlarges and new languages are added. Pragmatic factors, such as the number of interpreters' booths, the availability of translations of documents, and the competence in foreign languages generated in education systems, strengthen the use of English at the expense of other languages, including French.

Language policy is such a sensitive political issue that serious analysis of how the present system operates has never been undertaken, nor have efforts been made to work out how a reformed policy could ensure real equality of communication between speakers of different languages. A recent doctoral study in international law in the US (Feld 1998) concludes that French language protection measures (the Loi Toubon) are in conflict with the Maastricht treaty and the principles of a common market with the free movement of goods, services, labour etc. Corporate lawyers may therefore soon choose to challenge national language legislation on precisely these grounds. It is also conceivable that the EU will declare English (or perhaps a set of 'top' languages) as the sole supra-national language of the EU[19], but this is not imminent, and would flatly contradict the EU rhetoric that stresses the cultural richness and diversity of

Europe. The ongoing formation of the EU, its 'imagining', in Benedict Anderson's sense[20], is immensely complex, as it permeates all societal domains, but a novel post-national structure is in the making. The member states have transferred a fair measure of sovereignty to the supra-national level where policies are hammered out in partnership. All eleven languages are therefore now being used in new international contexts, hence are expanding their repertoires and contexts of use. But simultaneously there are hierarchisation processes at work that favour the dominant languages, both at the level of textual composition, which is strongly influenced by French bureaucratic rhetoric, and at the level of English in the EU consolidating the position it has acquired in many domains world-wide.

I will give you one final example of linguistic inequality and injustice. Masaki Oda has reported in some detail on the traumatic experience of a Japanese university student attending a language course in London (Oda 2000). When the Japanese student did not conform to the stereotype of how 'the Japanese' were supposed to behave, and questioned it, she was victimised by the school and subjected to humiliating treatment. The institution insisted on control over all aspects of the educational discourse, which was structurally biassed against the Japanese learner and her culture, disempowered her and invalidated her norms. Oda regards this as confirming a picture of mainstream TESOL 'imposing an ethnocentric ideology and inadvertently supporting the essentialising discourse that represents cultural groups as stable or homogeneous entities' (Spack 1997: 773). This 'can be explained in terms of the colonial construction of the Other.... Culture has become a category of fixity rather than an engagement with difference' (Pennycook 1998: 188-89). For Oda, this was a clear case of linguicism in an educational institution, discrimination on the basis of language and culture, and native/non-native hierarchisation. It seems to confirm the diagnosis of an American political scientist, Douglas Lummis, who went to work in Japan in 1961, and was appalled by the assumption of cultural superiority of native-speaker Americans. In an article entitled 'English conversation as ideology', he wrote that 'the world of English conversation is racist.... The expression 'native speaker' is in effect a code word for 'white'... their real role is not language teacher but living example of the American Way of Life'. He recommends that the Japanese should start thinking of English as

> the language of Asian and Third World solidarity. When English study is transformed from a form of toadying into a tool of liberation, all the famous 'special difficulties' which the Japanese are supposed to suffer from will probably vanish like the mist. Language schools which employ only Caucasians should be boycotted. Japanese who want to study English should form study groups with Southeast Asians, and together work out a new Asian version of English that reflects the style, culture, history, and politics of Asia. And then, if the Americans who come to Asia complain that they can't understand this new variety of English, they should be sent to language school.

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Global ELT professionalism?

English still plays a dominant role in many post-colonial contexts. In *Pakistan*, English acts 'by distancing people from most indigenous cultural norms' (Rahman 1999: 293[21]). In *India*, according to a large survey of the status, role and functions in India entitled 'Problematizing English in India', there is 'an increasing mystification and deification of English socially and pedagogically — it is essentially meant for a special group of people; it is taught (effectively) in prestigious public schools and other Indian languages are ignored and marginalised '(Agnihotri & Khanna 1997: 19). The study concludes with the words: 'What we need is a more radical paradigm shift in language planning in which English sustains rather than destroys the multilingual ethos of India' (ibid.: 144). The survey was funded by the British Council, reminding us that even if the British presence in English studies in India is small, it can none the less have a significant impact.

A survey of how English has been 'brokered' in India[22] concludes that when there is collaboration between British and Indian experts, 'the leadership, and the greater initiative and influence, come from the British "expert"' (Rajan 1992b: 140). British influence is great, even if the impact of the United States has led to far greater numbers of Indians undertaking postgraduate studies in the US, and a significant brain drain. Rajan writes: 'The connection between higher education in India and the western academy undeniably exists — it is not only historical and paradigmatic but is also a continuing relation of dependence and support in matters of scholarship and expertise, material aid, the training of personnel, the framing of syllabi, and pedagogical methods.' (ibid.: 141)

Throughout Europe there are strong local traditions of teaching English as a foreign language. In *Denmark*, where I live, the teaching of English has never relied on native speakers, though Americanisation has been omnipresent since 1945. In some southern European countries, such as *Greece* however, English Language Teaching (ELT) is heavily influenced by British linguistic and pedagogical practice:

> There is a systematic construction of reality whereby , by not knowing English, one is excluded from anything of social importance... Greek ELT practitioners persistently evaluate their proficiency in English against the English of the native speaker... This underlying contradiction of a 'culturally neutral' language used in a 'culturally appropriate way'... the claim that the native speaker is the ideal ELT practitioner construes Greek ELT practitioners as 'knowledge deficient'. The monolingualism legacy of ELT discourse ...positions Greek EFL teachers as 'information receivers' involved in a process of 'ideological becoming' in Bakhtinian terms and of selectively assimilating the [authoritative] word of the other. (Dendrinos 1999: 715-6)

A PhD thesis by a second Greek scholar (Vassiliki Mitsikopoulou, 1999) is also a sophisticated analysis of how the professionalism of the discourse of ELT is socially constructed in scholarly articles. It explores the cultural politics of the formation of

our professional identities, the way a habitus is naturalised in discourses that project practical applications from scientific knowledge that in fact reflects particular sociocultural interests. Drawing inspiration from Bourdieu, Foucault, Fairclough and critical applied linguistics, it explores how discourse technologists are constructed in a world characterised by unequal centre-periphery relations. It subtly unravels how those who are at the receiving end of British professional influence ought to resist incorporation.

Similar issues are also being explored in post-communist Europe, which is the most recent region to have been exposed to the impact of western interests and to resent a patronising, asymmetrical relationship with the west, not least in ELT[23]:

> Until 1989 there was little serious danger of English-American cultural and linguistic imperialism in *Hungary* but today there are unmistakable signs of such penetration and voices of concern are heard from a growing number of Hungarians... Most ELT materials produced in and exported from the United Kingdom and the United States disregard the learners' L1, and in this respect we might question their professionalism... business interests override a fundamental professional interest, or: business shapes our profession in ways that we know are unprofessional. This puts us, both native and nonnative teachers of English into quite a schizophrenic position. The challenge that we are faced with is to keep the professionalism and get rid of the embarrassment.
> (Kontra 1997: 83, 87)

Whether a more symmetrical relationship can be developed is considered in a recent discussion in *ELT Journal* between Rod Bolitho, a British 'expert', and Péter Medgyes, the eminent Hungarian teacher trainer, who expresses worry that a dependency culture has been allowed to develop, and that the low professional status of teachers undermines efforts to renew English teaching (2000: 386). The most recent number of *TESOL Journal* also explores the qualifications and training of native speaker teachers, on the basis of an enquiry in Hungary and China (Barratt & Kontra 2000). Not surprisingly what is required is culturally appropriate training. Whether there can be genuine partnership in an 'aid' relationship when there is an imbalance between the parties in economic terms is debatable, but the potential for constructive, bi-directional collaboration between academics is substantial. This can only occur when professionalism is locally determined and collaborative, rather than assumed to exist in what masquerades as being universal or globally relevant, but which in fact represents special interests. Illich prophetically warned against this decades ago:

> Professional imperialism triumphs even where political and economic domination has been broken... The knowledge-capitalism of professional imperialism subjugates people more imperceptibly than and as effectively as international finance and weaponry... The possibility of a convivial society depends therefore on a new consensus about the destructiveness of imperialism at three levels: the pernicious spread of one nation beyond its boundaries; the omnipresent influence of multinational corporations; and the mushrooming of

professional monopolies over production. Politics for convivial reconstruction of society must especially face imperialism on this third level, where it takes the form of professionalism. (Illich 1973: 56-7)

Illich's 'convivial society' could be advanced through an Ecology of Languages paradigm. The professionalism he warns against permeates much ELT. The native speaker ideal is implemented in teaching materials that serve to flesh out native speaker norms in texts that project a culture-specific worldview. Martin Baik's PhD study analysed the cultural content of textbooks for English in the two Koreas (University of Illinois at Urbana, 1994, summarised in Baik & Shim 1995). It shows that in the case of *South Korea*, the textbooks are based on stereotyping: 'embellishment' and 'glamorisation' project western life-styles as 'objects of admiration and envy', all of which serves to 'dissimulate the cultural dominance of foreign nations, especially the United States and Britain', and to belittle other cultures. The conclusion is that 'In an age where foreign language learning has become a survival skill, it becomes virtually everybody's business to review the cultural message of language textbooks with a more critical eye' (ibid.).

Glenn Toh's PhD study (Curtin University of Technology, 1999) does just this. It scrutinises cultural bias, cultural and linguistic hierarchisation in 3 generations of English teaching textbooks in *Singapore*, and shows the inappropriacy of relying on native speaker models when Singaporean identity is to be strengthened. Through meticulous critical discourse analysis he shows that the language pedagogy of the textbooks has its origins in a western vision of the world and is irredeemably eurocentric, hence incompatible with the contemporary social realities of Singapore and the wider world. His study confirms the analysis in a recent survey article of English in Singapore by Makhan Tickoo: the language in education policy ensures that the language of school and government displaces the language of home and neighbourhood (Tickoo 1996: 444), official policy resulting in what he concludes is 'a debilitating dependence on native speaker models, a product of not just what Phillipson sees as the five fallacies in ELT, but of what Skutnabb-Kangas calls 'colonised consciousness' (ibid.: 449)[24]. He adds that this may have seriously harmful consequences for national identity, with excessive dependence on exonormative English possibly leading to constraints on the development of innovation and creativity (ibid.).

James Oladejo's study at Curtin University of Technology, reported on at the First English in Southeast Asia conference, analysed student attitudes to native and non-native teachers, and clearly demonstrated that naive unfounded assumptions about the superiority of the native speaker teacher had strong roots in the colonial past *and* current political and commercial relationships, and were ultimately grounded in the 'continued global technological, economic, and political dominance of English and its native speakers', which he regards as the contemporary form of 'linguistic imperialism proper' (Oladejo 1997: 178).

Similar gate-keeping applies in North America, where, for instance a PhD by a

woman of Pakistani origin concludes that 'only a White accent qualifies one to be a native speaker' in Canada (Amin 1999: 97). This is from a fascinating book, 'Non-native educators in English Language Teaching', which explores the diversity and complexity of the experience of those classified as non-native speakers globally (Braine 1999).

There is thus plenty of empirical evidence that the British and American variants of TESOL have taken over where colonial education left off, and are significant agents in the continuing maintenance of the dominance of English. Imperialism, linguistic, educational, or scientific — and these often interlock, not least in applied linguistics and ELT — involves an asymmetrical relationship, within a hierarchical structure which serves the interests of one party better than the others, meaning, at a more general level, an exploitative structure. The English 'haves' construct English as a global need. This is central to the mythology of global English.

Appropriating English locally

It would be presumptuous and misguided for me to now come up with a quick solution to a range of local English problems, but it is possible to identify a number of pointers and writers that can be helpful. The first need is to situate English in the wider linguistic ecology, globally and locally, and to see in what ways the logic of globalisation can be challenged, which of course it is being, continuously, by masses of NGO movements, by internet users of languages other than English, by critical scholars world-wide. Language policy, including the promotion of English, must be inspired by an equitable vision of how *all* languages can be permitted to flourish (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000a). If English is to be a force for democracy and human rights, much needs to change, in North countries as much as in the South, and in North-South relations. Language policy could and should play an important role in such a transition.

The language policy of post-apartheid *South Africa* is an ambitious attempt to valorise all local language, hence the recognition of 11 official languages in the Constitution, as well as a commitment to support the maintenance of many others. The language policy was elaborated after a long consultation process, which also clarified the principles that should guide language policy, namely that it is part of general social policy, that languages need to be seen as resources rather than a problem, that learning your language is a basic human right, that it is the duty of the state to promote all the languages within its borders, and to educate people to appreciate multilingualism and demonstrate tolerance and understanding of other cultures[25] (LANGTAG 1996). Implementing such a policy is, of course, hugely demanding, granted the legacy of apartheid, and not least the 'blatant hegemony' of English, which the policy seeks to combat.

Thiru Kandiah sees countries in the *postcolonial world* as trapped in a major contradiction. On the one hand, they need the 'indispensable global medium' for

pragmatic purposes, even for survival in the global economy. On the other, there is the fact that the medium is not culturally or ideologically neutral, far from it, so that its users run the 'apparently unavoidable risk of co-option, of acquiescing in the negation of their own understandings of reality and in the accompanying denial or even subversion of their own interests' (forthcoming: 21-22). These two elements form a dialectic, the one inevitably entailing the other. What is therefore needed in relation to English is 'interrogating its formulations of reality, intervening in its modes of understanding, holding off its normalising tendencies, challenging its hegemonic designs and divesting it of the co-optive power which would render it a reproducing discourse' (ibid.). Kandiah advocates authentic local projections of reality, and emancipatory action.

Suresh Canagarajah is also from *Sri Lanka*. His book (1999) on resisting linguistic imperialism is a path-breaking documentation of how English learning can function productively in ways that meet local needs. He anchors a detailed empirical study in a highly articulate theoretical perspective. The rich bottom-up language policy description and analysis shows how the classroom can serve genuinely emancipatory purposes.

Jennifer Jenkins' book on the phonology of English as an international language (2000, the title echoing Alastair Pennycook's book on the cultural politics of English as an international language, 1994) explores the notion of a common core that is present in many forms of spoken English, whether as an L1 or L2. Her purpose is to elaborate more realistic pedagogic goals for L2 learners of English than the rarefied version of a prestige variant of L1 English pronunciation. The focus is on accent *addition* rather than the elimination of foreign accent[26], a principle that has much in common with additive as opposed to subtractive learning of languages. It is extremely significant that someone working with a key constituent of a language, namely its phonology, relates this explicitly to ideological debates about the role of English, and makes an explicit effort to theorise the appropriation of various types of endo-normative Englishes that represent a counterweight to hegemonic Anglo-American dominated English (as uncritically endorsed, for instance by David Crystal, 1997, with his plea for a Global Standard Spoken English). Her book lays some of the foundations for a pedagogy of appropriation.

Her book therefore links up with Canagarajah's, one of the many strengths of which is to explore student resistance in a marginalised community, and elaborate critical pedagogy strategies that can productively build on Kandiah's dialectic, the tension between accommodation and resistance, as a way of contributing to a social struggle for empowerment[27].

> Appropriating English while maintaining their vernaculars makes periphery
> subjects linguistically competent for the culturally hybrid modern world they
> confront. The maintenance of polyvocality with a clear awareness of their own
> socio-ideological location empowers them to withstand the totalitarian
> tendencies — of local nationalist regimes and Western multinational agencies —

> enforced through uniformity of thought and communication. The simplest gestures of code-switching and linguistic appropriation in the pedagogical safe houses suggest the strategic ways by which discourses may be negotiated, intimating the resilient ability of human subjects to creatively fashion a voice for themselves from amidst the deafening channels of domination. (Canagarajah 1999: 197)

This is a far cry from the universe of development aid. The admirable collection of papers 'Language and development. Teachers in a changing world' (Kenny and Savage 1997) contains a fund of reflective analysis of the factors contributing to the triumphs and, more frequently, the failures of development aid projects. But what to me is most revealing is that the title of the book itself seems to assume that English is a panacea. 'Language' in fact refers exclusively to English. 'Teachers' are teachers of English. This invisibilisation of the rest of the relevant languages is a re-run of much colonial and post-colonial language-in-education policy, which, as is well known, has served European languages well and other languages much less well. It reflects investment being put into English, an infrastructure and ideology that discursively construct English as the handmaiden of globalisation, the universal medium.

The forces behind globalisation and the diffusion of English have massive resources to promote their cause, and have been successful in projecting a favourable image of themselves. Those who believe that *all* languages have value, and that use of one's mother tongue is a human right, need to be much more active in counteracting linguistic imperialism and creating favourable conditions for a viable, just Ecology of Languages. Perhaps both paradigms could be further elaborated so as to clarify for language pedagogy precisely what the subtractive spread of English[28] entails, and how it can be counteracted. Learners need to develop receptive competence in many Englishes, beginning, of course, with local variants. Foreign experts are non-natives whose professionalism must build on deep knowledge of the culture in which they have chosen to work, which, among many other things, requires learning local languages. There are many individuals, globally and locally, who *are* working to make English serve more equitable purposes, which means that we have cause for feeling confident in addressing the major challenges that we face professionally. This is precisely why conferences of this kind are so important.

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Notes

1   Questioning western dominance is a recurrent theme in Kachru's work, see, e.g., Kachru 1997.

2   The concept of an official language in supra-statal organisations dates from the early years of the League of Nations, when French and English were granted equal status, and in so doing established 'the fiction — that a text written in 'language' can be rendered into any number of 'languages' and that the resultant renderings are entirely equal as to meaning' (Tonkin 1996: 14). The same principle of textual equivalence applies in the European Union, with in theory the 'same' semantic content being expressed in the 11 official languages. Anyone familiar with translation processes and products knows that squaring the circle of conceptual, cultural and linguistic difference is a utopian ideal that is remote from how different realities operate. For instance the legal systems in each of the 15 member states of the European Union have evolved in uniquely distinct ways and texts can never mean precisely 'the same' in each language and culture. According to a EU translator, 'the "equal value" of all translations is a legal fiction necessary for multilingual EU legislation to work' (Pym 2000: 7). Many constitutions specify particular languages as official, meaning their use in government, the courts, obligatory education etc, but this role can scarcely be what is envisaged for English in Japan or Korea.

3   See Phillipson 1992, chapter 7:

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4   This phrase was first used in relation to Afrikaans by Neville Alexander, a key figure in South African language policy.

5   On shortcomings of this kind in Crystal 1997, see Phillipson 1999b. Graddol 1997 brings many fields together, but is also not firmly anchored in social theory.

6   This term relates to parts of the world occupied by Europeans, the Americas, Australasia, and South Africa.

7   Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the Kenyan novelist, and a key thinker in the study of linguistic oppression, encapsulates the issues vividly (1993: xvi, 35): 'A new world order that is no more than a global dominance of neo-colonial relations policed by a handful of Western nations... is a disaster for the peoples of the world and their cultures'.

8   I have reviewed the book in the journal *Language*, Phillipson 1999a.

9   Students of foreign languages in Britain spend a year abroad during their studies as 'language assistants' teaching English, for which they have minimal preparation. As part of the British Council's contribution to the European Year of Languages, 2200 of these assistants are being supported in a programme that aims to strengthen the 'teaching and promotion of English language and British culture'. Among the strategic objectives of this scheme is to 'create positive image of the UK (and use assistants as ambassadors for UK higher education)'. Reported on the mailing list of the British Association of Applied Linguistics, 3 November 2000.

10   Reported on the British Council's ELTECS electronic list and annual reports.

11   Quoted in the Guardian Weekly, 16-22 November, Supplement on Learning English.

12   Korea Times, 4 October 2000.

13   The final paragraphs of Crystal 1997 (139-140) speculate on whether English will eliminate all other languages, which he considers would be an intellectual disaster, whereas his alternative scenario, the global triumph of English, is: 'In 500 years' time, will it be the case that everyone will automatically be introduced to English as soon as they are born...?... It may be that English, in some shape or form, will find itself in the service of the world community for ever.' See my review article, Phillipson 1999b, and Phillipson 2000b.

14   The Swedish language board produced an action plan to strengthen Swedish in view of the threat from English. Their document drew on a lengthy consultation process and the work of sub-commissions on Swedish in school, Swedish in higher education and research, Swedish in the media and publishing, Swedish in the workplace and commerce, and Swedish and information technology. There has also been lively debate in the press, and the Swedish government has decided to start implementation. The action plan makes a series of very concrete recommendations for how Swedish can be strengthened so that it remains fully functional in Sweden and in EU institutions. The proposals cover a huge range of topics, consumer information, advisory services to improve clarity of texts, teacher education, the training of translators and interpreters, the availability of scientific information in Swedish as well as English, improving the teaching of Swedish as a second language, etc. It is also visionary: it assumes that Swedes need real competence in both Swedish and English as well as having access to other languages, it specifies many research and development needs, it stresses how competence in the national language and in foreign languages can strengthen democracy, it is constructive and forward-looking rather than restrictive and defensive. It suggests how domestic legislation and a more proactive policy in the EU can lead to a healthy multilingual balance and ensure that Swedish interests are maximally promoted. It is available on the internet in Swedish, and also in a Danish translation in Davidsen-Nielsen, Hansen & Jarvad 1999 (reviewed at some length in Phillipson 2001). See also Melander 2000.

15   Funds for this were approved at a meeting in Copenhagen on 24 November 2000 of the language policy committee of the Nordic Ministerial Council.

16   Ranko Bugarski, a Yugoslav/Serbian Professor of English and Linguistics, writes that 'as a non-native speaker who has used English almost daily for decades I tend to get increasingly reluctant to engage in protracted serious argument with native speakers over subtle non-professional — e.g. philosophical or political — issues ... I would not be surprised to learn that other people in my category have at times experienced a similar uneasiness' (1998). Bessie Dendrinos, Professor of English at the University of Athens, has expressed a comparable feeling, facility of communication in the mother tongue being of a different order (private communication).

17   There is a substantial literature on many aspects of European Union language policy. For general surveys see European Cultural Foundation 1999 and Wright 2000.

18   These figures are cited in Pym 2000.

19   Feld recommends precisely this (1998: 199): 'It is worthwhile to consider whether the EU should answer the call for uniformity on the issue of language business transactions and further protect itself against the potential onslaught of language regulation by each individual Member State. One potential action the EU might take would be to declare a common language in the EU market.'

20   See his pioneer work on the origins and nature of nationalism, 1983.

21   Rahman's alternative is: 'The use of indigenous languages may help to bring about modernization — it can hardly be resisted — without also bringing in Westernization' (Rahman 1999: 293).

22   'The BC's low-key approach in cultural diplomacy, less strident than propaganda, succeeds to a great extent in establishing goodwill and winning acceptance among Indians... The BC's commitment to English language propaganda ensures its entry into many spheres of Indian life, its interaction with government policy in language issues, as well as a modest influence on teaching in schools, colleges, and training institutions (Rajan 1992b: 154). Such activities are increasing, to judge by information on the British Council's ELTECS list.

23   Specifically there is resentment of the unequal relationship between North American researchers and their Hungarian 'partners'. See the special issue of *replika: Colonisation or partnership? Eastern Europe and western social sciences*, 1996. I am grateful to Miklós Kontra for drawing my attention to this.

24   The term derives from Franz Fanon's analysis of colonised and post-colonial societies.

25   See the articles by Alexander, Desai, and Heugh in Phillipson 2000a.

26   The idea of accent adding is borrowed from Olle Kjellin, Jenkins 2000: 209.

27   For several examples of this in bilingual education in a wide range of contexts, see the contributions to Phillipson 2000a, in particular those by Cummins, Peura, Taylor, and Wink & Wink.

28   Tove Skutnabb-Kangas was the first to propose changing the Diffusion of English paradigm into a Subtractive Spread of English paradigm. She has specific recommendations for teachers of English in Skutnabb-Kangas 2000b.

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2 Hong Kong parents' preference for English-medium education: passive victims of imperialism or active agents of pragmatism?

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This paper addresses the question: 'Why is there such a strong desire among Hong Kong parents for their children to be educated in English?'. Previous accounts point to 'English linguistic imperialism' (Phillipson 1992) and the hegemony of the cultural construct of English as a result of discourses of colonialism (Pennycook 1998). The paper will critically assess the extent to which these claims are applicable to Hong Kong, a former British colony from 1842 to 1997. It will do this by first examining the macro-political history of Hong Kong to show that it has been looked upon as a refuge and haven for successive waves of refugee-immigrants from mainland China. While some official documents show that linguistic imperialism similar to that in other former British colonies did exist in nineteenth-century Hong Kong, there is little evidence of the British trying to impose their way of life on the local people. British colonial rule in the twentieth century was generally regarded as benevolent, and the colonial government was in effect as good as practicable (Tsang 1997). The lack of identification with the mainland Chinese government after 1949, coupled with separate political, economic and cultural developments led to the emergence of 'Hong Kong identity' among the Hong Kong born generations. To enhance one's competitiveness in the job market as well as to prepare oneself for uncertainties in the political future of Hong Kong, English was looked upon as an important asset relative to the goal of 'upward and outward mobility' (So 1992). It is therefore misleading and inaccurate to see those Hongkongers who are positively inclined toward learning English as victims of the hegemony of this former colonial language; rather, they are pragmatically-minded people acting on their own best interests.

Introduction

"This is a Chinese city, a very Chinese city, with British characteristics."
(Last Governor Chris Patten's farewell speech, June 30, 1997. Cited in Vines
1998: 11)

I feel greatly honored to be here, to speak to you about a topic that has direct relevance to one of the main themes of this conference, and at the same time, a topic that has been on my mind for over two years, namely, to what extent does Prof. Robert Phillipson's notion of English linguistic imperialism in his (1992) book apply to Hong Kong, and to what extent are Chinese Hongkongers victims of the hegemony of English — an unwanted legacy left by the British to the people of Hong Kong — as Alastair Pennycook argues in his (1998) book *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. I found both monographs fascinating. But the more I think about these research questions, the more I feel that, while there is much truth in their claims, somehow, in the case of Hong Kong at least, the picture they portrayed is incomplete because there are a few crucial pieces missing in the puzzle. To track down the exact nature of this missing link was what motivated me in writing this paper.

The paper has two main objectives. First, it is a modest attempt to address two complementary research questions:

- To what extent does 'English linguistic imperialism' apply to Hong Kong? and
- To what extent are Chinese Hongkongers victims of the hegemony of English — an unwanted legacy left by the British colonizers to the people of Hong Kong?

Second, the findings to these two questions will be used to assess the degree of universality of the theory of English linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 1992) and the continued hegemony of English in postcolonial Hong Kong (Pennycook 1998). Implications will then be drawn regarding the theoretical adequacy of linguistic imperialism as a general account of the spread of English worldwide. It will be argued that the theory is inadequate to the extent that the demand side of the story — the reasons and motivations for learning English — is left out of the picture. It is hoped that a better understanding of these reasons and motivations will shed light on the learners' 'love-hate complex', or, the concomitant psychological attachment to, as well as detachment from, English.

English Linguistic Imperialism and the Hegemony of English in the Postcolonial Era

Recently, there have been a great deal of critical reflections and research on the theories and practices of ELT. Central to these reflections is the theory of linguistic imperialism put forward by Robert Phillipson (1992, 1994, 1997, 1998). Imperialism is propelled by exploitation, penetration, fragmentation, and marginalization. It takes different forms, for example, economic, political, military, cultural and social. Linguistic imperialism, which is subsumed under cultural imperialism, is the most

powerful and salient because it "permeates all other types of imperialism, since language is the means used to mediate and express them" (Phillipson 1992: 65). From the ideological point of view, English linguistic imperialism is one example of linguicism, a notion which is based on Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson (1986) and defined as:

> ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate,
> and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and
> immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language
> (Phillipson 1992: 47; cf. Skutnabb-Kangas 1988: 13).

The thrust of Phillipson's (1992) argument is that in the postcolonial era — in the last phase of English linguistic imperialism — the ex-colonizers need not be physically present in the Periphery countries, for there is a group of indigenous English-educated elite who identify totally with the ex-colonizers' Anglocentric beliefs and values, typically through studying in a 'Centre' country, and, out of their own vested interests willingly serve as agents assisting in the domination of English in their home countries at the expense of the natural use and development of the indigenous language(s). The Centre countries, especially UK and USA, exercise imperialist control and power using 'ideas' — in place of 'sticks' and 'carrots' as in the earlier phases of colonialism — by dictating the norms of 'standard' English to which all learners of English in Periphery countries must adhere.

To explain why the people in former colonies do not put up a fight to stop the continued domination of English, Phillipson (1992) draws on the Gramscian notion of 'hegemony', which prevails in the third and last stage of imperialism called "neo-neo-colonialism". In his own words:

> The sophistication of the arguments grows on a scale advancing from the use of
> force to the use of carrots to the use of ideas. At one stage, the colonial power
> could use coercion when selling one of its products, English. When the
> counterpart became slightly more equal, and brute force could no longer be
> applied or was no longer an ethically acceptable alternative, carrots were more
> suitable. But the ideal way to make people do what you want is of course to
> make them want it themselves, and to make them believe that it is good for
> them. This simplifies the role of the 'seller', who then can appear as 'helping' or
> 'giving aid', rather than 'forcing' or 'bargaining with' the victim. (Phillipson
> 1992: 286)

An implicit assumption of a hegemonic view and analysis of the global spread of English is that people in the Periphery countries have been brain-washed, to the extent of uncritically accepting an ideology imposed upon them. Their craving and demand for English is seen as an act of mindless submission to a 'false consciousness', rather than an autonomous, informed decision in their own best interests. Such an assumption has been criticized as simplistic (Bisong 1995). How valid is the Gramscian notion of hegemony in explaining Chinese Hongkongers' strong desire to learn English is a question that we will come back to later.

Another scholar, Alastair Pennycook, holds a largely similar view but takes a slightly different slant in his (1998) book on the discourses of colonialism using Hong Kong as one major focus of illustration. Perhaps the strongest claim he makes is that the hegemonic role of English — itself a cultural construct, a tool as much as a product of colonialism — is alive and well today. One does not have to go very far to look for it; it is in ELT classrooms, manifested in the choice of medium of instruction, textbook and teaching material, teaching methods, preferred teacher-student interaction patterns, and all assumptions underlying who are the best qualified to teach English on the basis of the native/non-native distinction. All these ideologically charged practices, mind-sets and values, or 'cultural constructs of colonialism' as Pennycook calls them, continue to prevail today as a result of allegedly research-based expert opinions of applied linguists from Centre countries, who are virtually neo-colonialists in disguise. Like Phillipson (1992), Pennycook (1998) maintains that the experts' views are in turn informed by earlier 'academic' studies of indigenous cultures conducted by colonialists — colonial studies which did much to create and reinforce a 'Self vs. Other' distinction. In Pennycook's own words:

> The history of the ties between ELT and colonialism has produced images of the Self and Other, understandings of English and of other languages and cultures that still play a major role in how English language teaching is constructed and practised: from the native speaker/non-native speaker dichotomy to the images constructed around English as a global language and the assumptions about learners' cultures, much of ELT echoes with the cultural constructions of colonialism. (Pennycook 1998: 19)

Pennycook refuses to accept any suggested benefits that colonialism might bring, on the grounds that such views "downplay the background of colonial exploitation, disdain and racism and stress instead a history of colonial benevolence, stability and docility" (Pennycook 1998: 103). The two historical aspects that constitute the focus of his "more complex treatment of colonialism" (p. 102) are:

- the damage brought about by the opium trade was much greater than what British historians were willing to acknowledge; and
- the political stability in Hong Kong and the docility of its colonial subjects are historical myths.

His observation about the damage of opium to the Chinese nation and people is well taken. On the other hand, his analysis of social movements presented as evidence of the indigenous population's resistance against colonial rule is not entirely accurate — a problem which is probably related to the selection of literature that informs his theory. Pennycook (1998) purposely excluded two types of literature within its purview. First, colonial history written by British historians which he considered biased and unrepresentative of what 'really' happened to the people in the colony, which in his view manifests most clearly in the micro-politics of everyday life (see Chapter 4, 'Opium and Riots: English and Chinese'; see also pp. 25f for examples of "the interaction of the personal and the colonial"); second, historical narratives and

socio-political analyses largely occasioned by Hong Kong's political transition in 1997. The main reason he gives for ignoring these two types of literature is that such historical narratives tend to reproduce a British view of colonial history.

I found Pennycook's (1998) omission of the 'grand historical narratives' somewhat unfortunate, for in a case like Hong Kong, a lot of valuable insights regarding the colonial subjects' behaviours, beliefs, attitudes and values vis-à-vis the colonial government would be missed if the macro-political situation is not taken into account. In effect, I am arguing that Pennycook (1998) has not gone deep enough to achieve the goal of "gaining a more complex grasp of the past" (p. 126). The complexification of history — in the direction of unpacking how macro-political history influences micro-political behaviours, beliefs, attitudes and values — is what I intend to do in this paper, in order to address the two main research questions stated earlier.

British rule in Hong Kong: benevolent government

Before going into the colonial history of Hong Kong, let us look at a few facts about Hong Kong at the dawn of a new millennium:[1]

- Just over 400 square miles, 'Greater Hong Kong' (Hong Kong island, Kowloon peninsula, New Territories, plus over 230 outlying islands) is home to over 6.7 million people, of which over 98 percent are ethnic Chinese. Most of the daily necessities have to be imported.

- "At retrocession [on July 1, 1997] Hong Kong will have a level of prosperity greater than that of most independent countries... Hong Kong currently stands as Asia's leading financial centre, and has the world's busiest container port. It is at present China's major gateway to the economies of the Asia-Pacific and beyond that to the global economy." (Brown & Foot 1997: 2-3)

- For decades, most Hong Kong Chinese parents have preferred their children to be educated in English; this preference has barely changed in the postcolonial era.

Of interest to us are two questions: Why is English so strongly embraced by Hong Kong Chinese parents? How do we explain their receptiveness to English and, to a large extent, their general preference for their children to be educated in English? I hope to be able to show that an important key for explaining Hongkongers' craving for English is to be found in the socio-political history of the colony. There is general consensus among historians, Hong Kong Chinese as well as western, that there is little evidence of the colonial government attempting to impose the British way of life on Hong Kong Chinese colonial subjects. This observation is crucial in bringing home a second, more crucial argument, which is of immediate relevance to the main theme of this conference concerning the power of English, namely, that there is little evidence of the British colonial government attempting — in a wholesale and systematic manner — to impose English on Hong Kong society, or to supplant the language functions of Cantonese/Chinese in the domains where they prevailed.

In what follows, where possible, I will let the voices of these authors speak for themselves by quoting their words verbatim. Heeding Pennycook's concern, I was particularly careful not to fall into the trap of reproducing views that glorify British colonial rule in Hong Kong gratuitously. Instead, I made a point of looking for, and cross-checking, every single claim made by British historians — by reading into colonial histories written by Hong Kong Chinese historians, both in English and in Chinese.

Of course, invoking history as evidence begs a number of questions such as 'which history?', and 'whose version of it'? Michel Foucault (1980), (Rabinow 1984) has demonstrated that the authoritativeness and orthodoxy of knowledge is far from being ideologically neutral. Rather, both are manifestations of power, which is created, instituted and transmitted largely through discourse. One revealing example is Tulviste & Wertsch's (1994) study of how, as a result of major upheavals in the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s, the historical narratives of Estonia underwent radical reorganization from official structural versions to unofficial (or folk), personal narrative versions (cf. Scollon & Scollon 1999: 58; see also Ahonen 1997, Scollon 1999). Hence there is a good reason to believe that whoever writes history is likely to be defending the interests of the group the historian belongs to, and presenting and analyzing events from the point of view of that group. In other words, it would be illusory to expect historical narratives to be entirely objective and bias-free. It is not surprising, therefore, that an 'official history' of Hong Kong — in English or in Chinese — written by mainland scholars provides a rather different, ideologically loaded perspective and analysis of historical events, leading naturally to a very different set of observations and conclusions. The colonial history of Hong Kong written by mainland scholars tends to emphasize British oppression, the cruelty and inhumane nature of the penal code in the nineteenth century, discriminatory measures against Chinese inhabitants, trade union movement and social riots, organized trading and exporting of Chinese coolies, etc. (e.g. Yuan 1987, Liu 1997, Yang et al. 1997). In short, little or nothing positive is said about British rule (but see Yu & Liu 1994).

It is not always an easy task to decide whether a certain viewpoint is credible and sufficiently substantiated by evidence. One must therefore exercise maximum caution in the selection of viewpoints. For the purpose of this study, the viewpoints are essentially based on those presented in the works of Hong Kong Chinese and European historians and social scientists, both in English and in Chinese. This is justified by two main reasons: (a) unlike the mainland scholars who were either entrusted or personally inspired to do the task of producing a politically correct history of Hong Kong, the European and Hong Kong Chinese scholars cited are comparatively free from ideological constraints; and (b) unlike the mainland authors, most of the European and Hong Kong authors have lived in Hong Kong at some time, and so I believe their accounts and analyses are more likely to reflect the collective concerns and experiences of Hongkongers.[2]

A survey of the colonial history of Hong Kong from 1842 to 1997 shows that there

is remarkable consensus, on the part of both Hong Kong Chinese and western scholars, that Hong Kong was untypical of other colonies. Most of them agree that Hong Kong's long, partly dramatic decolonization process defies the general pattern elsewhere, of how colonial rule progressively yielded to indigenous, often more enlightened, governments. One article opens with the following remarks:

> Hong Kong confronts historians of decolonization with an embarrassing puzzle: the deviant that breaks all the rules; the colonial recidivist demanding more oppression.... Hong Kong's political history makes nonsense of the decolonising process as it is usually imagined. (Darwin 1997:16)

Two pages further, the author contrasts the decolonization process of Hong Kong with that of other colonies in Africa and Asia as follows:

> Here indeed is a colony where colonial status still seems to be embraced with enthusiasm. In conventional accounts of the colonial period in Africa and Asia, colonial rule passes, after the initial shock of conquest, through a golden era of acquiescence and collaboration before entering an age of increasing turbulence and eventual breakdown. Hong Kong's history since 1898 almost exactly reverses this progression. The *Sturm und Drang* of its history in the first half of this century gave way to a high noon of colonial stability (by Hong Kong's standards) from 1950 until the 1990s. (Darwin 1997: 18)

A few other titles of articles and monographs suggest that Hong Kong's decolonization process is indeed "sui generis", a conspicuous exception to "the colonial disengagement syndrome" (Darwin 1997: 17f). A short illustrated history of Hong Kong goes by the title 'Hong Kong: The colony that never was' (Birch 1991). Likewise, the Hong Kong Chinese historian Steve Tsang wrote an article that bears the title, 'Government and politics in Hong Kong: A colonial paradox' (Tsang, 1997a). The 'paradox of British imperial rule', as Tsang calls it, lies in the fact that, despite the Crown Colony being dominated by an autocratic government vested with near-absolute power, by the early 1980s the colonial administration in Hong Kong delivered "as good a government as practicable" in the political tradition of China. Tsang argues that "the mainstay of the Chinese political tradition is Confucianism as modified over the ages" (p. 63). According to *The Analects*, good government should be entrusted to gentlemen-officials headed by a sage-king, whose mission is to uphold and promote the five virtues and suppress the four evils. The five Confucian virtues were for the gentleman-officials:

- to bring to the people benefits instead of drudgery;
- to work for the people without complaint;
- to pursue the right cause and not succumb to advancing self-interest;
- to promote prosperity without becoming arrogant; and
- to maintain dignity and authority without being harsh.

(Tsang 1997a: 63)

Tsang goes on to point out that such an ideal government never existed in the history of China. In the colonial administration of Hong Kong, however, the Chinese residents found most of these Confucian merits, whereby colonial officials could be likened to upright Confucian gentlemen-officials, acting paternally but benevolently for the interests of the people. In Tsang's own words:

> The irony of British imperial rule is that, while it was originally devised with relatively little regard to what the local Chinese population wanted, it did in time come to meet all the basic requirements of 'as good a government as possible' in the Chinese political tradition. This was achieved not by the method prescribed by Confucius and his disciples over two millennia, namely the setting up of a government composed of Confucian gentlemen-officials. The British did not set out to fulfil this Chinese aspiration. Nevertheless, after a century and a half the administration they set up would meet the basic conditions for such a government, viz., efficiency, fairness, honesty, benevolent paternalism, and non-intrusion into the lives of ordinary people. (Tsang 1997a: 66)

Tsang hails this as "an achievement which hardly any Chinese government has achieved at least since the days of Confucius (c.551-479 BC)" (Tsang 1997a: 62). A very similar view is expressed by a Hong Kong Chinese columnist, Tsang Ki-fan, cited in Stephen Vines's (1998) analysis of 'The imperial legacy':

> despite the lack of democracy, Britain presided over 'the only Chinese society that, for a brief span of less than a hundred years, lived through an ideal never realised at any time in the history of Chinese societies'. (Cited in Vines 1998: 67)

But to understand why British rule was found attractive and generally appreciated by most Hong Kong Chinese throughout the colonial era, one must turn to history for a fuller explanation. For our purposes, the following sub-themes will be discussed in some detail:

- Who were/are Chinese Hongkongers?
- What was the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized?
- How and under what circumstances did Hongkongers develop a 'Hong Kong identity'?

Let us begin with the first sub-theme: Who were the colonial subjects of Hong Kong? How did the 'barren rock' in 1842 with barely several thousand inhabitants emerge as a densely populated metropolis of over 6.5 million people at the end of the colonial era, and one of the most important international financial centres in the world? If Hongkongers did not originate from Hong Kong, where did they come from and why did they come to settle here? To answer these questions, we need to look at population movements in two periods: 1840s to 1940s, and 1950s to the present.

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Chinese Hongkongers (1840s — 1940s)

When the British first arrived, the indigenous population was made up of several thousand, mainly fishermen, farmers, stone-cutters and some pirates as well. During the first hundred years of its colonial history, Hong Kong was mainly inhabited by ethnic Chinese who came from the Mainland for economic reasons, especially as traders, while others came to try their luck at the local job market, working as coolies for example; still others went overseas via the port of Hong Kong, which by the end of the nineteenth century had already developed into one of the most important ports in the world (Endacott 1973: 274; Yee 1999: 15f). The vast majority of Chinese and foreigners there were "temporarily resident traders and artisans and not settlers" (Endacott 1973: 121). In terms of ethnic background, at no time in the recorded history of Hong Kong were the Chinese outnumbered. From the point of view of ethnic composition, therefore, Hong Kong has always been a predominantly Chinese city.

The rapid expansion of the Hong Kong population was largely the result of successive waves of refugees fleeing political instability, social unrest and natural disasters in the Mainland. Up until 1949, Hong Kong's colonial history coincided with an extended period of political turmoil in China. In addition to political upheaval which made life already very difficult in the Mainland, the Chinese residing in South China had to cope with natural disasters such as flooding. As Welsh points out, refugees came "from all parts of China to this British colony in search of security and prosperity" (Welsh 1993: 5, cf. Lam 1978, Lau & Kuan 1988).

In contrast to seemingly endless socio-political crises up to 1949, colonial Hong Kong was looked upon as a haven which afforded the refugees the needed shelter and security, and the much hoped-for prosperity. Albert Yee (1999a) suggests that the mainlanders' eagerness to move to colonial Hong Kong may be accounted for by the 'Chinese Stepping-stone Syndrome', which certainly applies to many generations of Chinese who went overseas — mostly to Southeast Asia and Anglophone countries such as Canada, USA, UK and Australia — after leading a transitory existence in Hong Kong (cf. Hook 1993).

Further, at the turn of the century, colonial Hong Kong was looked upon as a political refuge as well as a source of inspiration by the reform-minded Chinese, including the founder of the First Republic, Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It was a place where much could be learned about a workable model of a modern, more enlightened and democratically based government. As John Darwin puts it, in the early 1900s, Hong Kong was "a safe haven where ideologies could be refined and conspiracies hatched; a convenient base for the real business of capturing South China [from the Qing dynasty] and beyond" (Darwin 1997: 24f). A very similar view is expressed approvingly in the pro-PRC outline history of Hong Kong: "Hong Kong was once an important place for bourgeois revolutionaries to disseminate revolution" (Liu 1997: 85).

In sum, in the first hundred years in the colonial history of Hong Kong, life under

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the protection of the British flag was seen by many Chinese in South China as an attractive alternative to the plight that they otherwise would have had to face in the Mainland. The political and socio-economic circumstances under which the refugees fled to Hong Kong help account for the reason why Hong Kong Chinese tended to be receptive to colonial rule under the British. As we will see, this historical detail is crucial when analyzing how English was received by the colonial subjects in Hong Kong, notably in the domains of business and education.

Chinese Hongkongers (1950s — present)

The year 1950 was important in that free traffic between Hong Kong and the Mainland was blocked. Until 1950, Chinese were free to enter and exit Hong Kong without any restriction. Border control, however, had to be introduced shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China, when tens of thousands of refugees rushed to Hong Kong either fleeing political prosecution or having no wish to live under a communist regime. This was by far the most dramatic influx of refugees in the history of Hong Kong, which exerted tremendous pressures on public utility services such as medical care and housing. By 1956, within six years the total population of Hong Kong nearly quadrupled to about 2.5 million, thus turning the colonial enclave into "a territory full of anti-communist refugees" (Darwin 1997: 29). The closure of the border was important in one sense: Unlike those Chinese who came and went at will, hitherto those who came to Hong Kong to stay were to become permanent residents — unless they had the means and the desire to emigrate elsewhere. As we will see, this development was crucial for the gradual emergence of a 'Hong Kong identity' in the 1970s.

From the 1950s onwards, therefore, Hong Kong and China parted ways politically and developed in very different routes socio-economically. Subsequent socio-economic developments have shown that, the initial social burden of a huge number of impoverished immigrants turned out to be a blessing, and the scene was set for an economic miracle which was to lift Hong Kong to new horizons and prosperity in the 1970s. One major factor which made this possible was "a remarkable fusion of Chinese and British cultural values interacting with one another" as well as "a symbiosis of Western business organization and Chinese entrepreneurial spirit" (Birch 1991: 22). In short:

> Hong Kong was afforded an unusual opportunity to exploit the traditional
> Chinese virtues of industry, thrift and resilience during the paralysing early
> years of the People's Republic of China after 1949. (Birch 1991: 22)

More specifically, Hong Kong's economic success is jointly attributed to the entrepreneurs from Shanghai, who brought with them capital and talents to Hong Kong, as well as a huge, hard-working labour force:

> Two essential human factors behind business success are entrepreneurial flair

and labour. Hong Kong's industrial expansion was made possible by a pool of workers who put in long hours for little pay in cotton factories not unlike the 'dark satanic mills' of the Industrial Revolution. (Birch 1991: 95)

Relationship between the colonizers and the colonized

There is general consensus among scholars that throughout the colonial history of Hong Kong, with the exception of those engaged in trading activities and a small number of bilingual brokers, the Chinese and non-Chinese communities lived side by side, but neither made any active attempt to mix with the other socially. Endacott (1973), for example, observes that in the early colonial period, "there was no social mixing, and each community went its separate way in pursuit of the objects that had brought it to Hong Kong" (p. 70), and that "both Europeans and Chinese were content to be governed provided there was a minimum of government consistent with security of life and property and opportunity for commercial enterprise. Benthamite *laissez-faire* suited the Chinese as well as the free-trade western merchants" (p. 121).

The Hong Kong Chinese view of their relationship with the British is nicely captured in a comment by Mr. Leung Chun-ying, an Executive Councillor of the SAR government today, who is quoted as saying that:

> The entire relationship between Hong Kong and Britain existed as a matter of expediency.... We have coexisted but we have kept each other at arm's length.
> (Cited in Vines 1998: 71; cf. Lau & Kuan 1988: 23)

The parallel coexistence of two speech communities with minimal inter-group interaction between them has been described by Luke & Richards (1982) as 'enclosure', which continued to characterize the English- and Cantonese-speaking communities in the 1980s, as well as in the postcolonial era (Li 1999).

Unlike other British colonies such as India, therefore, there is little evidence of the colonial government in Hong Kong trying to impose the British way of life on the local population. Steve Tsang (1997a) attributes the colonial government's relative lack of initiative to impose British cultural values and social practices to their preoccupation with commerce:

> Given the commercial motives behind the British occupation of Hong Kong, the colonial government did not attempt to spread civilization or convert the Chinese to a British way of life (Tsang 1997a: 65).

Hence, in terms of the imposition of a British way of life as part of the overall purpose, or agenda, of colonial rule, Hong Kong differed significantly from other British colonies such as India. From the Chinese point of view, a non-intrusive government was one reason why they found Hong Kong so attractive.

Further, from the 1920s onwards until Chris Patten, most governors were enlightened 'old China hands' (Vines 1998: 8) who had worked in the Foreign Office and who had at least some knowledge of Chinese history and culture (e.g. David

Wilson, the 27th governor from 1987 to 1992, had a doctorate degree in Chinese history), if not in addition being Sinophiles. Quite a few governors (e.g. Cecil Clementi, Alexander Grantham, Edward Youde, David Wilson) were students of the Chinese language before they took up the governorship (Shen 1994), and many of them were conversant in Mandarin and literate in written Chinese. It is therefore not surprising that many governors in colonial Hong Kong were able, and often willing, to see things from the Chinese perspective.

There were, to be sure, recorded instances of discrimination and racism against the Chinese population, especially in the nineteenth century, as shown for example in legal discrimination and intimidation in early colonial rule (Munn 1999, Ngo 1999b). In the 20th century, however, overall "most of these measures were passive discrimination... rather than active measures that interfered with the lives of the ordinary Chinese" (Tsang 1997a: 66), and so the pros of living under British rule far outweighed the cons. In sum, a benevolent, non-intrusive government and a politically stable shelter offering security and promising prosperity were among the main reasons why people in South China were willing to come and live in the British colony. Lau & Kuan (1988: 20, *passim*) describe the colonial subjects as "a self-select group who voluntarily subscribe to colonial rule". Similarly, Vines (1998) points out that:

> What is unique about Hong Kong is that most of its population, unlike other
> people living under colonial rule, volunteered to forsake being ruled by their
> own people in favour of living under a foreign flag. (Vines 1998: 71)

Such a trend, in fact, may be traced back to early colonial rule. In the summary of the socio-economic conditions between the tumultuous years 1848-1865, for example, Endacott (1973) observes that the colonial government was surprised by "the phenomenal influx of the Chinese and their willingness to live under the British flag, for which event British administration was quite unprepared" (Endacott 1973: 121).

1997 and Hong Kong identity

As mentioned, 1950 was an important year, in that border controls were introduced by the colonial government in an attempt to stamp the tide of refugees rushing into Hong Kong. This policy was accompanied by another measure, namely, the issuing of Hong Kong identity cards, generally known as 'HKID' or 'ID cards', to legitimate residents as a valid proof of their right of abode in Hong Kong. Those who needed to travel back to the Mainland were required by law to apply for a 'Certificate of Identity', more popularly known as 'CI', without which their re-entry into Hong Kong would be denied. Both the ID card and the CI took on significant symbolic value, in that they accentuated a 'them' (mainlanders) vs. 'us' (Hongkongers) distinction, which was not as clearly marked prior to the closing of the borders in 1950.[3]

The transformation from a broadly defined 'Chinese national residing in Hong

Kong' to a legally enforced 'Hong Kong resident' status, thenceforth, gave Chinese Hongkongers a new, regional or local identity, in addition to an ethnic identity which they shared with their compatriots in the Mainland. As is pointed out by Ma & Fung (1999: 500), ever since the social and cultural severance of the colony from the Mainland, the general identity of 'Hong Kong people' slowly took shape in the 1960s and 1970s. As Hong Kong and the PRC embarked upon very different routes politically, socio-economically and culturally, Chinese Hongkongers found their ethnic identity gradually overtaken by an ever-expanding and increasingly marked and assertive 'Hong Kong identity'. Brown & Foot (1997) attribute this awakening to the coming of age of the locally educated, 'post-war baby-boom' generation:

> In the 1970s, a distinctively Hong Kong identity came into existence. Compared with their forbears, this generation was better educated and more 'worldly', and with increasing sophistication was becoming more acutely aware of the anachronistic aspects of Hong Kong's Crown Colony system. (Brown & Foot 1997: 6)

Ma & Fung (1999) rightly point out that this 'Hong Kong identity' was subconsciously formed and reinforced by local social practices and westernized cultural values, coupled with the stigmatization of mainlanders in Hong Kong popular media:

> The popular media, freed from nationalistic imperatives, served as a primary site of social integration and identity formation. The [Hong Kong] media absorbed Western values, transformed Chinese cultural particulars, articulated local experiences, and crystallized images of a distinct Hong Kong way of life. This newly found identity was largely constructed by foregrounding the cultural differences between Hong Kongers and the mainland Chinese. Accordingly, in the mass media, mainlanders were stigmatized as 'uncivilized' outsiders and a ready-made cultural contrast against which modern, cosmopolitan Hong Kongers could define themselves. Since most Hong Kongers are ethnic Chinese, the Sino-Hong Kong cultural differentiation, or the 'othering' of mainland Chinese, was a significant process from which the distinctive local Hong Kong identity emerged. (Ma & Fung 1999: 500)

It was therefore a quasi-systematic dichotomy of 'other' vs. 'us' as portrayed in popular media which helped reinforce an opposition between mainland Chinese and Hong Kong Chinese, and which in turn fueled the gradual emergence of a distinct Hong Kong identity. Ma & Fung (1999) go on to argue that by the 1980s, an ambivalent and sometimes contradictory Sino-Hong Kong identity has emerged:

> Hong Kong people identify with traditional Chinese culture in an abstract and detached sense, but, on the other hand, they discriminate against the particular cultural practices which are affiliated with the Communist regime in the mainland. Hong Kong people's identity therefore has mainly emerged as a distinctive identity vis-à-vis mainland citizens, ... is affiliated with a territory, a way of life and a general identification of a commonly accepted set of values,

... lacks a strong nationalistic component and does not have a clear political affiliation with the sovereign state. (Ma & Fung 1999: 500-01)

Increasingly it became clear to the locally born and bred Chinese Hongkongers that, while they were ethnic Chinese, they were very different from the Chinese north of Lo Wu who lived under a communist regime. Anna Wu, a former legislative councillor during the final years of British colonial rule, gives a revealing account of the nature and sources of this confused allegiance and identity:

People like me had been pulled in different directions throughout our lives. There had been the colonial British influence, the impact of the Cultural Revolution, and the repercussions of that; and then, there were our parents, who kept on telling us what they did in China, why they had run away and, then, their plans to leave once again.... (Cited in Flowerdew 1998: 78)

According to Choi (1990), the fervour and nationalistically-coloured sentiments manifested in the student movements of the 1970s may be seen as a soul-searching exercise on the part of the better-educated post-war generations — a quest for cultural identity triggered by political developments in mainland China.

One of the dictums in the study of history is: 'The evils that men do live after them'. In the colonial history of Hong Kong, the worst evil bequeathed by the colonizers has a name, or more precisely, the magic number and year 1997. It was an evil to the extent that several generations of Chinese Hongkongers lived in fear and anxiety from the moment that Sino-British negotiations over the political future of Hong Kong were made public during the early 1980s. One clear indicator of such fear and anxiety was that in the early 1990s, it was estimated that over half a million Hongkongers — about 10 percent of the total population — voted with their feet by emigrating overseas, notably to Anglophone countries (Flowerdew 1998: 79-80, Hook 1993).

Why fear and anxiety? Because, to put it in a nutshell, unlike other colonies which ultimately became independent at the end of the decolonization process, Hong Kong was to be reabsorbed into "the feared communist party-state" (Tsang 1997b: 160). As Ma & Fung (1999) have pointed out:

While the people of Hong Kong acknowledge the sovereignty of China over Hong Kong, there is strong resistance, in emotional terms, to the process of re-nationalization (Ma & Fung 1999: 523).

Independence being out of the question after June 1997 (Lau & Kuan 1988: 19f), Chinese Hongkongers could not help worrying about the imminent loss of the Hong Kong way of life, which is characterized above all by a *laissez-faire* capitalist economic system, freedom of speech, and the rule of law — which were made possible by a benevolent, non-intrusive colonial government under the British flag. It is in this sense that Tsang (1997a) speaks of "the ultimate irony":

It is ironic that after the early 1980s when the British government of Hong Kong had lived up to the requirements of the Chinese political tradition, it took only a few years to find itself at risk of falling short of local public expectations....

The people of Hong Kong increasingly wanted democracy. (Tsang 1997a: 78)

That fear and anxiety was mixed with anguish and despair in June, 1989. You might recall the shocking news that hit the world in the early morning of June 5, 1989 in Beijing, when the People's Liberation Army opened fire on student demonstrators and unarmed civilians — the last, and sad, episode of the student movement which, for about two months, generated more than a glimpse of hope among Chinese, both in the Mainland and overseas. Before this tragic incident occurred, Chinese Hongkongers had openly expressed solidarity with the student movement, sending in all kinds of support and aid, both material and spiritual, to Beijing.

Upon hearing and seeing news of the Tiananmen incident which led to bloodshed, numerous deaths and casualties, therefore, half a million Hongkongers took to the street to condemn the killing of innocent students and civilians and to protest against the use of brute force to end a surprisingly peaceful student movement. Apart from general sympathy with the students' demands, most Hongkongers also felt very insecure vis-à-vis the PRC's impending resumption of sovereignty. One of the banners put up in the demonstration was 'Today Beijing, Tomorrow Hong Kong', vividly capturing a popular apprehension that what happened in Beijing might well be repeated in postcolonial Hong Kong, and that ironically until then it was the British flag which would offer them protection against similar abuse. As Tsang puts it:

> There was widespread belief that 'as long as freedom, human rights, and democracy cannot be guaranteed in the PRC, they cannot be protected in Hong Kong after 1997'. (Tsang 1997b: 160).

For Chinese Hongkongers, two of the direct consequences of the Tiananmen incident were: loss of confidence in a political future free from ideological influence from the north, and an identity problem. As Tsang (1997b) remarks, "when a peaceful demonstration in Beijing ended in a savage tragedy, it forced the people of Hong Kong to confront the problem of who they really were" (p. 163). Being ethnic Chinese, Hongkongers felt that they shared much of the same cultural heritage and traditions as their mainland compatriots, but after several decades of socio-economic and cultural development completely independent of that in the Mainland, Chinese Hongkongers had "very little sense of identity with the Chinese political system, nor with the life-style of the world's largest nation" (Vines 1998: x). The divide between ethnicity and socio-cultural identity results in what Tsang (1997b) calls "dual identity" which, however, was fuzzy.[4]

The 'dual self-claim identity' (Ma & Fung 1999: 504) of Hongkonger and Chinese was borne out by research. In several survey studies before the political transition (e.g. Lau 1997; Wong 1996), it was found that Chinese Hongkongers tended to claim themselves to be both Hongkongers and Chinese, although a majority tended to prefer the former. These survey results suggest that, despite the resumption of Chinese sovereignty, many Chinese Hongkongers have little sense of pride of their new status as citizens of a Special Administrative Region of China (Scollon & Scollon 1999);

instead, they continue to be assertive of their Hong Kong identity, which is made possible by the central government's pledge, and delivery of the promise, of 'one country, two systems'.

The colonial history of Hong Kong: a summary

Let us briefly summarize what we have learned from the colonial history of Hong Kong. As a colony, Hong Kong was not intended for British settlement; from the outset it was meant to be an outpost of the British Empire at the door step of China in the middle of the Far East, for the sole purpose of facilitating, or reinforcing, trade and commerce between Britain and the region. Owing to political instability, for over a century until the 1940s, colonial Hong Kong was looked upon as a haven by successive waves of refugees fleeing political turmoil, social unrest and natural disasters in their hometowns. At the same time, for better-off merchants in the Mainland, colonial Hong Kong was seen as a place of business opportunities, promising security, more freedom, even some prospect of economic prosperity. Others saw Hong Kong as a springboard for emigration overseas to destinations far and wide, from neighbouring countries in Southeast Asia to such remote places as the Gold Mountains in North America and Australia.

For those who stayed, they were reasonably pleased to be left alone politically and socio-economically. Social inequalities such as racist legislation did exist, but in so far as the majority of the Chinese residents were allowed to go about their own lives and businesses while staying at arm's length from the colonizers, the shelter and security afforded by the British flag was an attractive alternative to a miserable existence in the Mainland. In a more positive light, trading and commerce generated business and job opportunities, while personal rights were assured, in name if not always in deed, by the relatively well-enforced rule of law, in front of which all people, western or Chinese, appeared to be treated equally.

From the point of view of administration, far from imposing their own culture and social practices on the local people, the colonial government was perceived as superior to the Chinese governments of Imperial, Nationalist or Communist China.

While colonization backed by gunboats and military might is among the ugliest chapters in the history of humankind, it is my conviction that the research question, whether or not a former colony has fallen victim to English linguistic imperialism, cannot be adequately tackled without examining the historical circumstances under which colonization and decolonization took place. In this regard, I hope to have demonstrated that Hong Kong is an untypical case, one which does not conform to the usual pattern of colonization and decolonization elsewhere, especially in Africa.

Parents' preference for English-medium education for their children: passive victims of imperialism or active agents of pragmatism?

In light of the lesson learned from history, let us now consider the question, whether Chinese Hongkongers who openly embrace English are passive victims of linguistic imperialism and the worldwide hegemony of English, or active agents of pragmatism in pursuit of a better life.

It has been pointed out by many that English is very much embraced by Hong Kong Chinese (e.g. Pennycook 1994, 1998; Lin 1996, Li 1999). This is especially clearly reflected in the parents' choice of English-medium schools as opposed to Chinese-medium schools — a choice which became increasingly marked since the 1950s. Daniel So (1992: 76f) attributes the success of Anglo-Chinese schools in this period to three inter-related factors:

- the development of Hong Kong into an international manufacturing and financial centre;
- the emergence of English as the language of wider communication for business and academic purposes internationally; and
- the demand for highly educated labour following significant progress made in science and technology after the Second World War.

These are some of the forces, according to So (1992), which help explain a corresponding decline in popularity of Chinese Middle Schools after 1949, forces "that are much more powerful than government language policy" (p. 76). Other forces that So (1992) alludes to have their source in the outcome of the political and military rivalry between the Nationalists and the Communists: "the ascendancy of the anti-intellectual, totalitarian Beijing regime created an extremely negative environment for the local Chinese Middle Schools" (ibid.).

The parental preference for English-medium education for their children has since prevailed in Hong Kong. The socio-economic concerns and motivations behind Hongkongers' will and desire to be educated in English are summarized succinctly by So (1990) as follows:

> In short, a successful English-medium education has become the principal determinant of upward and outward mobility for the people of Hong Kong. Many, if not most, aspire to both. (So 1992: 78)

The applicability of the Gramscian notion of hegemony to Hongkongers' preference for English-medium education

Scholars who support the theory of 'English linguistic imperialism' tend to invoke the Gramscian notion of hegemony to account for the parents' penchant for English. Isn't it common sense that teaching and learning takes place most efficiently and effectively in one's mother tongue? Don't the Chinese parents in Hong Kong realize that to be educated in Cantonese, their mother tongue, is maximally beneficial to their children, both cognitively and humanistically? How, then, do we make sense of this apparently illogical yet most popular desire of Hong Kong Chinese parents for their children to be educated in an alien tongue, a practice which seems to act against their children's best interests? The explanation, they would argue, is that Hong Kong parents have consciously or subconsciously internalized the colonizers' preferred norms, values and beliefs, to the extent of willingly consenting to their imposition of these. Social control of this kind is consensual rather than coercive, and for that matter more subtle and sophisticated, as Ransome (1992) explains:

> Gramsci uses the concept 'hegemony' to describe the various modes of social control available to the dominant social group. He distinguishes between coercive control which is manifest through direct force or the threat of force, and consensual control which arises when individuals 'willingly' or 'voluntarily' assimilate the world-view or hegemony of the dominant group; an assimilation which allows that group to be hegemonic. (Ransome 1992: 150)

Consensual control, according to Antonio Gramsci's "new orthodoxy in Marxism" (Ransome 1992: 2), is achieved and perpetuated largely through non-economic institutions in the superstructure, such as parliamentary, legal and educational systems, mass media and the church. Whoever is in control of these superstructural institutions will be in a position to exercise hegemony over the less powerful social groups.

The choice of the Gramscian notion of hegemony in the critique of English linguistic imperialism is in line with the general trend in contemporary critical social studies in the western world. Indeed, it has been pointed out that "an understanding of Gramsci's life and work has become indispensable to anyone who wishes to participate in the analysis and critique of contemporary society" (Ransome 1992: 5). In the critique of imperialism in colonial settings, adherents of English linguistic imperialism argue that the colonial government exercises hegemony through "physical force or coercion combined with intellectual, moral and cultural persuasion or consent"(Ransome 1992: 135). Since English is imposed by decree in the superstructure, especially the public domains of government, education and law, over time, by virtue of its spread and use in these functional domains English takes on added values that it did not have prior to its imposition in the colonial society. This is essentially how, according to this view, the colonial subjects would voluntarily consent, or even choose, to be educated in English in place of their mother tongue,

often without realizing that in so doing, they have fallen victim to English linguistic imperialism. This is arguably what happened in many former colonies, notably in Africa (Phillipson 1992). It is my contention, however, that the case of Hong Kong was different.

Language-in-education policy in colonial Hong Kong: beyond linguistic imperialism and symbolic domination

There has been some research into the question to what extent the notion, English linguistic imperialism, and a closely related concept, symbolic domination (Bourdieu 1991), apply to colonial Hong Kong. My colleague Angel Lin (1996), for example, is eager to dispel what she considers to be a widely held myth that English is the most important factor contributing to Hong Kong's economic success story. Largely because of this myth, she argues, English is perversely but unjustly regarded by practically everyone in Hong Kong as symbolic capital, often to the lamentable extent of "subordinating all educational goals to the dominant goal of mastering a foreign language" (p. 58). One of the main reasons behind the socially constructed and legitimated prestige associated with English was partly the result of the colonial government's "social selection policies" (Lin 1996: 54f) whereby, other things being equal, school-leavers with a high level of English proficiency were awarded higher pay, while those with little or no knowledge of English would find it very difficult to stand out from a crowd of competitors. The access to English, however, was and continues to be very unevenly distributed, such that children from middle- and upper-middle class families have the material resources and other support (e.g. engaging a private tutor) needed to acquire English relatively at ease, whereas children from socio-economically underprivileged families who do not have such resources and support are bound to be disadvantaged (Lin 1996). The result is that, unlike children from better-off families, the children from worse-off families tend to be those who fail to acquire enough English to pursue higher education or a career of their own choice. One undesirable social consequence of such unfair competition is the self-perpetuation of social class boundaries, which is arguably a form of socio-economic injustice. This observation led Lin to criticize the government's dual-streaming medium-of-instruction policy, whereby about 30 percent of Primary Six pupils would be given the 'right' to progress to Form One in an English-medium school, whereas the rest would be assigned to Chinese-medium schools (see Luke ed. 1992; Boyle 1995, 1997a; Li 1999 and So 2000 for more details).

I am largely in agreement with Lin regarding the sociolinguistic analysis of the problems in the teaching and learning of English in the classroom, as well as the research direction in which to explore new, pedagogically sound classroom instruction methods in ELT. It remains unclear to me, however, to what extent Hong Kong parents' preference for English-medium education for their children — as well as many of the

schoolchildren's own preference as shown in TV news reports and documentaries — is a negative choice, that is, a decision made against their own will.

There is some indication that the desire to learn English is a positive choice. Boyle (1997b), for example, examines Phillipson's (1992) theoretical constructs of linguistic imperialism and supplements this analysis with insights drawn from Kachru's (1992a, 1992b) work on the autonomy and creativity of new varieties of English in former British colonies. Boyle's analytical instrument, or "root ideas" (1997b: 171), is summarized in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Sources of Boyle's analytical instrument

Phillipson (1992)	Kachru (1992a, 1992b)	Boyle (1997b)
early-colonial period: the 'Stick' stage	language displacement	compulsion
neo-colonial period: the 'Carrot' stage	language accommodation	manipulation and clever compromise
neo-neo-colonial period: the 'Idea' stage	language varieties purification	covert control

Boyle (1997b) then outlines the landmark events in the colonial history of Hong Kong before analyzing to what extent the root ideas of linguistic imperialism apply to colonial Hong Kong appropriately. He found no evidence of compulsion to impose English, for "Hong Kong Chinese have always *wanted* English" (p.176), which has been highly valued for its 'commercial usefulness' and 'social prestige'. On the other hand, he found some evidence of manipulation, as shown in the Expatriate English Teachers Scheme and the streaming policy. As for covert control, Boyle found it difficult to judge. This analysis led Boyle to conclude that the notion of linguistic imperialism is only partially appropriate for Hong Kong.

Boyle is critical of the fact that parents are not given any choice. He cites Bisong's (1995: 125) observation of the role of English in Nigeria, where Phillipson's claim regarding the parents' choice of medium of instruction for their children is criticized as overly simplistic:

> The parent sends the child to the English-medium school precisely because she wants her child to grow up multilingual. She is also not unmindful of the advantages that might accrue from the acquisition of competence in English.... Arguments that carry the implication that the users of this language (English) do not know what is in their best interest should not be seen simply as patronising. They reveal a monolingual failure to grasp the complex nature of a multilingual and multicultural society. (Bisong 1995: 125, 131)

Was there evidence in English linguistic imperialism in colonial Hong Kong? The answer is definitely yes. There is no question about the "selfish motives of the British

in managing schools in Hong Kong in the 19th century" (Liu 1997: 157, cf. Fu 1975, 1979, Yu & Liu 1994), and there is clear evidence showing that the teaching of English was intimately tied to the imperial interests of the British Empire, as shown in the Hong Kong Education Commission Report dated1902:

> In imperial interests it is desirable to offer instruction in the English language and Western knowledge to all young Chinese who are willing to study them, even though they are not residents of the colony, provided that the instruction can be furnished at a reasonable cost.

> The majority of the 900 boys at Queen's College belong to this class. *After having studied Chinese in their own schools on the mainland, they are attracted to the Colony by the facilities it gives for the study of English.* No distinction is made between them and the sons of Chinese residents of Hongkong, and it is recommended that this policy remain unaltered. The additional expense to the Colony is trifling, and the gain to British interests in China by the spread of English and of friendly sentiments towards our Empire should well repay the cost. (Cited in Liu 1997: 156f, emphasis added)

An even more revealing example may be found in a speech given at Central School in 1880 by the Governor John Pope Hennessy (1877-83), who, while an enlightened and most humanitarian official with great respect for Chinese people and culture compared with his predecessors (Endacott 1973, Shen 1994), was strongly pro-English in his educational policy. Hennessy was cited as saying:

> It has been the ambition of nearly every man who preceded me in the Government of this Colony, and it has been the policy of all Secretaries of State who have written to my predecessors and myself ... that Hong Kong should be made an Anglo-Chinese Colony, where her Majesty should have thousands upon thousands of Chinese subjects, with a thorough knowledge of the English language ... amenable to English law and appreciating the British constitution, loyal to their QUEEN, and a strength to this distant part of her Majesty's Empire. Our educational scheme will accomplish a practical result if it assists in achieving that. (Cited in Fu 1979: 5)

It can be seen that the substance of Hennessy's speech extracted here is very similar in purpose and tenor to Lord Macaulay's 'filtration policy' expressed in the Minute on Indian Education in 1834:

> The great objective of the British government ought to be the propagation of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone. (Cited in Fu 1975: 38)

> [The purpose of teaching English to Indians was] to educate a class of Indians who could function as interpreters between the British colonial power and the millions of Indians they governed, 'a class of persons Indian in blood and colour,

but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect'. (Cited in Phillipson 1992: 110)

There is thus no question that English linguistic imperialism did occur in colonial Hong Kong, especially in the same period when it was found rampant elsewhere in other African and Asian colonies. Within its purview, however, English linguistic imperialism focuses almost exclusively on the colonizers' intentions (promoting imperial interests of the empire, to be sure), using primarily the discourses they produced as evidence, while giving little attention to the reasons behind the colonial subjects' demand for English, or trying to explain it away as a result of the Gramscian notion of hegemony (Ransome 1992) or symbolic domination (Bourdieu 1991). It is my contention that such an approach covers only half the story. A theory so conceived has validity only in so far as it bears on the supply of English, for it has left out an important piece in the puzzle: the demand side of the story.

Chinese Hongkongers' attitude toward English: a love-hate complex

There is some indication that English is a popular commodity which is very much in demand in Periphery countries. As is well-known, supply and demand are interdependent market mechanisms working hand in hand to determine the extent of success, or the lack of it, in the marketing of a commodity. That supply alone cannot assure market success of the language of a defunct empire, seems fairly obvious, as is evidenced in the fate of such colonial languages as Portuguese in Macau, Japanese in Korea, and Russian in many of the former republics of the Soviet Union, notably Estonia (Fonzari 1999). The point I want to make is that there is no way that an elite who have mastered the colonial language can hope to create, and sustain, a strong desire among the ex-colonial subjects to learn that language willingly, if there is no incentive for them to learn it. Conversely, if the language of the colonizers continues to be in demand in the postcolonial period, there must be some material or instrumental reasons why the ex-colonial subjects want to learn it.

We have seen that the English language has been regarded by successive generations of Chinese Hongkongers as a value-adding commodity. The instrumental role of English is largely confirmed by a number of language attitude surveys since the 1980s (see e.g. Pierson 1937, Pennington & Yue 1994, Hyland 1998). Independent of these observations, recent classroom research has also confirmed Hong Kong pupils' resistance to learning English and tremendous learning difficulties due largely to the relative insignificance of English in their life world and thus a lack of access to that symbolic capital called English (Lin 1996, 1997a,b, 1999a,b; Kwan 2000). How do we reconcile the two? Are they incompatible with each other? I think the available evidence points to a complex and fuzzy 'love-hate' psychological disposition, which helps explain seemingly paradoxical behaviours vis-à-vis the learning of English:

Everyone knows English is very useful, but since the efforts invested in learning it are not proportional to the gains (unlike the learning of mathematical formulas such as Pythagoras Theorem), when the time comes for school work, most Hong Kong Chinese students tend to place English near the bottom of their priority list. There are of course other educational problems, ranging from the lack of support in the domains of home and friendship, the quality of instruction, class size (38 to 40 being the norm), to the teacher's heavy workload. Putting all this together, what we have is a vicious circle: Students' English proficiency is poor because they spend too little time on it, and English as a school subject is among the lowest priorities among pupils and students because they are not good at it, and so forth. There are English-medium programmes on the radio and TV, but students rarely show interest in these.

The theory of English linguistic imperialism, while not necessarily a conspiracy theory (Phillipson 1992), invites us to focus on negative aspects of English and to impute all personal malaise arising from the learning of English as a second or foreign language to the global spread of English. However valid this theory is in context-specific colonial or postcolonial settings, I think it is inadequate for Hong Kong because it leaves out one crucial element in the 'love-hate' complex — the desire to learn and master English. English may be hated by many Hongkongers who are powerless to succumb to the will of their parent or some significant other in the family to learn English — a language which plays a negligible social role in their daily lives (Hyland 1997). But coupled with this sense of largely other-driven compulsion is a self-awareness that English as a world language, if satisfactorily mastered, is a key that has the potential to open many doors, especially in terms of opportunities for higher education and career advancement: in a word, "upward and outward mobility" (So 1992: 78). This self-awareness is deep in the psyche of Hong Kong Chinese, a psyche which transcends boundaries across generations and socio-economic classes. This is why Hong Kong parents are so eager to see their children grow up developing communicative competence in (standard) English, which is also a high-priority objective of the Hong Kong government's educational policy, both before and after the political transition. The key question, which is also the source of much controversy and social tension in public discourse, centres around the optimal means through which such a high-priority educational objective can be achieved in an ecologically unfavorable English language learning environment like Hong Kong (Mühlhäusler 1994, 1996).

Let me elaborate on the 'love-hate' complex a little more with the help of a couple of similes. The starting point of Hong Kong's colonial history was inalienably related to opium. To my mind, to characterize the role and the spread of English in former British colonies as linguistic imperialism, is like assigning to the language a number of disreputable attributes associated with the notorious opium trade. Accordingly, like opium, English is portrayed as:
- externally imposed;
- addictive, in the sense that the more you know and feel at home with using

English, the more you feel convinced that it is indispensable, to the point where you believe you should use only English "when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life such as education, philosophy, literature, government, the administration of justice etc." (G. Ansre 1979: 12-13; cited in Phillipson 1992: 56; see also Boyle 1997b: 170);

- coveted by 'addicts' (the English-speaking elite) but not welcomed by the society at large; and
- enfeebling: in the sense that the learning of English brings about all kinds of psychological problems and discomfort.

There is arguably some truth in all of these, both in colonial and postcolonial Hong Kong. But the point is, these are not the only attributes, for there exist other positive attributes which would make English comparable to a very different Asian herb: ginseng. Thus, like ginseng, English:

- comes at a certain cost, for not everyone has the material support and resources needed to learn it well;
- appears in different varieties and forms;
- can be quite 'bitter', that is, when it is learned and used; and
- is enabling, in that it helps the learner to access (in a broad sense) more information, cutting-edge technology and state-of-the-art know-how, and to reach out to much wider audiences beyond a single country's national boundaries than in any other language.

Of course, no analogy is perfect; there are clear limits as to how far the analogies can be stretched. With these analogies, I simply wish to make the point that foregrounding only the negative attributes of the role and spread of English in former British and American colonies accounts for only half of the picture — the supply side of the story. To appreciate and capture the complexities involved in the spread of English more fully, one needs to take into account how English is used and, above all, how it is received by non-native speakers in context-specific settings. In the case of colonial Hong Kong, the picture is incomplete without looking at the demand for English, which can be traced all the way back to the earliest colonial period.

Is the vitality of Cantonese threatened by the global spread of English?

One of the clearest indicators of English linguistic imperialism in former British or American colonies is that the vitality of local languages is under threat. In Hong Kong, however, there is little evidence of the vitality of Cantonese — the regional vernacular and mother tongue of over 6 million inhabitants — being threatened by the presence of English. As Li (1999) remarks, for the overwhelming majority of Chinese Hongkongers:

Cantonese is the dominant language of the home and informal communication

with friends and peers, of the market place, of electronic media and all forms of entertainment, including films and pop songs, the latter being more commonly known as 'Canto pop'. Speakers of other mutually unintelligible Chinese varieties such as Chiuchow, Hakka, and Szeyap belong to the minority, for whom Cantonese serves as a lingua franca. (Li 1999: 70)

In Chinese-medium schools, Cantonese is used as a medium of instruction. Even classical Chinese texts and poetry are taught and recited in this vernacular. One interesting thing is that, since Cantonese is not taught as a school subject in school, it is widely believed to be just a dialect, has low prestige (compared with Mandarin), with no grammar, and is incapable of being written down (Li 2000b). This folk perception, while linguistically naïve, is what informs and shapes popular views regarding the utilities, functions and status of Cantonese in Hong Kong. Indeed, it has been reported that some foreigners who are interested in learning Chinese were advised by Hongkongers not to learn Cantonese, because they should learn 'real' Chinese, meaning the national spoken language Mandarin (Putonghua) and standard written Chinese (Bauer 2000).

Well before the political transition, some scholars expressed concern about the possible adoption of Mandarin as the medium of instruction in school. Three years after the handover, this possibility remains open (Bauer 2000, Whelpton 1999). To the extent that Cantonese is likely to be replaced by Mandarin as the language of instruction in the education domain, it may be argued that Cantonese is under threat — a threat which has its source not in English, but in Mandarin.

As for the issue of language norms and standards, since English is rarely used as an exclusive means of communication among Hong Kong Chinese, it is difficult to persuade Chinese Hongkongers that their typical English accent (Bolton & Kwok 1990, Hung 2000) should be regarded as an acceptable benchmark and taught or promoted in ELT classes. Determining which aspects of Hong Kong accent are acceptable, however, is not the toughest part of the localization of norms and standards; a much thornier issue lies in lexicogrammar and syntax (consider, e.g., whether it is desirable to regard the pseudo-tough movement structure, as in 'I am difficult to learn English', as acceptable on the basis of its recurrence and resilience in students' homework, Li & Chan 1999). These are some of the problems that advocates of endonormative standards have to come to grips with. Meanwhile, the absence of a sound sociological basis for using English among Hong Kong Chinese (except in Cantonese-English mixed code), is the main reservation against calling into existence 'Hong Kong English' (Li 2000a,c).

Conclusion and theoretical implications

The macro-political history of colonial Hong Kong provides important clues to help interpret the nature of Chinese Hongkongers' craving and demand for English, despite all the cognitive difficulties and psychological discomfort engendered in the learning process. A theory which focuses exclusively on the hegemony and the spread of English in Periphery countries only accounts for half the reality at best — the supply side of the story. There is no doubt that English in the postcolonial era is promoted and seen by many as a commodity. Like other commodities, its vitality depends heavily on the market mechanism of supply and demand. To the extent that the demand side of the story is left out of the picture, and the complex reasons behind the learners' strong craving for learning English are explained away by the Gramscian notion of hegemony, the theory inevitably sounds monolithic and reductionist. In effect, accusing the Centre countries and all the ELT practitioners in their professional roles for assisting in the perpetuation of the hegemony of English within their superstructural institutions, fails to do justice to their contributions in meeting a global demand for English. This, I think, is the main reason why some readers of Phillipson (1992) feel offended. This is also why the disclaimer, that conspiracy theory is not what is intended (Phillipson 1992: 63), has fallen largely on deaf ears.

One implication of this study is that two things need to be considered in the process of assessing the extent to which the notion of linguistic imperialism applies or not: diachronically, how the macro-political history of the former colony in question impacts on the indigenous population's attitudes toward English; and synchronically, how the macro-linguistic context shapes the language needs of the local population. In the case of postcolonial Hong Kong, the shift from a manufacturing-based economy to a service-industry and knowledge-based economy (e.g. information technology, tele-communications, transport, import/export, hotels, restaurants, insurance, retail trade and real estate services) has generated a stronger demand for English than ever, especially in hospitality industries. Even taxi-drivers have been urged to develop a better knowledge of English through the government-funded 'English in Workplace Scheme' in order to better understand English-speaking tourists' needs. And, given that the pillars of Hong Kong's economy are trading, commerce and finance, it is the government's responsibility to ensure a continuous supply of competent bilinguals (ideally trilinguals) with sound communication skills in English needed by various business sectors. The government's efforts in promoting English-medium education are therefore justified, and may be accounted for by the society's future needs. Whether or not the dual medium-of-instruction streaming policy implemented as from September, 1998, is the most effective and optimum means towards that goal is an open question still being debated (see, e.g., Li 1999, Poon, 2000, So 2000). To make a blanket statement, however, that the value assigned to English in the postcolonial era is the result of the hegemony and symbolic domination of this former colonial language, would be to ignore a good part of the

sociolinguistic complexities in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, notably the way English helps many to achieve upward and outward mobility.

From the point of view of methodology and selection of data, I think it would be surprising indeed if one looked into historical documents of the Empire and found no evidence of imperialism — the dominant ethos of the time — including linguistic imperialism and policies governing the use and spread of English in former colonies (cf. Fishman 1993, Canagarajah 1995). What is debatable is the kinds of additional claims that one could make based on these observations. There is some truth in the claim that the cultural constructs contributing to the hegemony of English continue to prevail in ELT materials and other teaching-related practices (Pennycook 1998). To redress this anomaly, it would seem a sensible line of action to draw on the insights of critical pedagogy (e.g. Freire 1998, Giroux, 1997, Kanpol 1999, McLaren 1995) and revamp the ELT teaching materials and other classroom practices with a view to empowering students by reflecting on and dispensing with the unwanted cultural baggage of English, or balancing these with local cultural values, such as including the L1 rules of speaking in the English syllabus (Li 1998). On the other hand, the claim — that ELT practitioners, however well-intentioned and altruistic they may be, are destined to assist in the perpetuation of the hegemony of English — seems self-defeating, all the more so when ELT professionals implicated in the theory of English linguistic imperialism are not given any concrete suggestions as to how they could help themselves deflect from their allegedly hegemonic ELT practices and roles (Berns et al. 1998, 1999).

To sum up: in response to the question, 'Why is it that Hong Kong parents tend to favour English-medium schools?', I hope to have shown that Hong Kong parents are not passive victims but pragmatically-minded active agents acting in their best interests. Whether or not their general preference for their children to be educated in English is a wise move depends in part on the amount of support for English in the family. In any case, that decision is a pragmatic one, driven largely by an aspiration for social mobility. This is made possible by the fact that English helps one access more information and people — through higher education, on the job, in cyber space and international encounters. In writing, English has greater potential to help one reach out to wider audiences compared with other languages. In this light, rather than a tool of hegemony, English may be looked upon as a resource to enhance the learners' linguistic repertoire, which in turn has good potential for enriching their quality of life through higher education and professional development.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. See Flowerdew (1998: xiiv) for more details of Hong Kong's economic achievements.

2. There does exist a 'counter-narrative' written mostly by Hong Kong Chinese social scientists (see, e.g., Ngo, ed., 1999a). The themes and critical arguments brought up in the 'revisiting' of colonialism by Ngo and his colleagues include: favoritism toward Chinese who collaborated with the colonial regime, rural politics, legal discrimination and intimidation in early colonial rule, social movements as a result of lack of political representation. These, however, do not amount to an effective refutation of the prevailing view that the colonial governance of Hong Kong was in the main benevolent.

3. It should be noted that the closing of the borders did not quite stop the flow of immigrants eager to enter Hong Kong; it merely forced mainlanders to come illegally. To this day, illegal immigration and the trafficking of humans through various means continue to make news stories, so much so that English newspapers in Hong Kong have adopted an abbreviated term 'II' to stand for 'illegal immigrant', which is especially commonly used in news headlines.

4. For more detailed discussion of the political and social impact of the Tiananmen incident, see Flowerdew (1998), Chapter 5, 'Tiananmen and After'.

3 Implications of the recommendation that English become the second official language in Japan

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Since Japan has never been colonised and has always possessed a common language (the national language), it has a unique position in terms of introducing foreign languages. This creates a specific local response to the worldwide phenomenon of English imperialism. However, events early in 2000 created a new context that has forced various players to reposition themselves internally as a result of an increased vulnerability to external forces. In early 2000, the private advisory group for the then Japanese prime minister recommended that English should be used as the second official language in order to cope with globalisation. Reflecting this, the plan to introduce English at primary school level is now in the final stage of development. However, at the same time, the Ministry of Education has proposed a plan to revise the Fundamentals of Education Act in favour of the inclusion of nationalistic sentiment and practices. The policy repositioning is also mirrored in public sentiment. Recently, the Tokyo governor identified "foreigners" as a dangerous and unwelcome existence in Japanese society in his speech delivered at a ceremony to encourage the self-defence force. Despite this apparent increase in rhetorical conflict, it appears that fundamental values and beliefs within Japanese culture are working to create continuity in the overall policy framework. This paper will document the manner in which these forces for continuity are still shaping even the most recent and extreme conflicts.

Introduction

The fact that Japan has never been colonised and has always possessed a common language has influenced the way it has introduced foreign languages to both society at large and to the school curriculum. Its lack of experience of being colonised has created a specific response to the worldwide phenomenon of English imperialism in the era of western globalisation. However, events in Japan in early 2000 have presented a new context that has provided various players with the opportunity to reposition themselves internally as a result of an increased sensitivity to external forces. One of the events is a recommendation by a private advisory group for a former Prime Minister that English should become the second official language in Japan. In this paper, I analyse the controversial recommendation and its implications, examining how it reflects particular elements of English language policies in Japan.

While globalisation was a key concept of the 1990s in western societies, Japan was embracing a similar, but different term, internationalisation. As McCormack (1996) points out, Japanese internationalisation is accompanied by a continued Japanese insistence that its economic success demonstrates the unique qualities of the Japanese way, which is based on specific aspects of Japan's postwar history and specific views of the roles of Japanese citizens in the international community. In other words, the domestic motivations for the promotion of internationalisation were different from the goal or agenda of western globalisation. While Japanese internationalisation is based on the recognition of Japan and the rest of the world as distinct entities, globalisation is a process of producing a unified and integrated common culture in western society (Featherstone 1996). However, there is a different view whereby globalisation is seen as not a new process but rather as an extension of a long history of colonialism (Shohat and Stam 1996). This view indicates the existence of power struggles between those in the centre of the unified culture and those who would be marginalised by the apparently unifying force of globalisation.

The view that globalisation is an extension of colonialism relates to arguments about English imperialism. Phillipson (1992) points out that the teaching of English cannot be politically neutral. Pennycook (1994) further argues that there has been a consistent but hidden cultural politics of English associated with the spread and maintenance of the language regardless of the various rhetorics of justification of the necessity of English teaching, such as colonialism, third-world development aid and internationalisation. The view linking globalisation, colonialism and English imperialism provides a perspective from which to examine Japanese policies for the teaching of English in order to explore whether teaching English is a product of a certain mechanism to maintain specific aspects of Japaneseness.

In at least the last twenty years, the teaching of English as a foreign language has been seen as an essential element of Japan's internationalisation.[1] As I have argued elsewhere, in Japanese education policies, English has been identified as a device to develop abilities and qualities that will enable Japanese citizens to earn the trust of the international community. However, at the same time, the respect for

Japanese traditions and culture is portrayed as part of the development of qualities that will earn such international trust. In other words, the promotion of internationalisation aims to re-educate Japanese citizens to re-assert to the world outside their collective identity as Japanese, and the teaching of English as a foreign language has been structured for that purpose (Hashimoto 2000).

Snapshots of Japan in early 2000

In July 2000, I visited the Tokyo and Osaka areas of Japan. The purpose of the trip was to collect data for research on several incidents that had occurred in early 2000. I wanted to examine the connections among those incidents and the implications of my previous findings about Japan's policies for English teaching, internationalisation and Japanese identity.

In January 2000, in response to the 1999 Polls, which showed that constitutional reform was supported by a majority of Japanese citizens, the government set up constitutional research committees. In the same month, a report by The Plan for the 21st Century Japan discussion group was released. The report proposed several innovative ideas, such as English becoming the second official language and changing the immigration law to increase the intake of migrants. Also in January, the then Prime Minister, Obuchi, delivered a speech on his administrative policies including some of the report's ideas as long-term goals, but he did not use the expression "English as the second official language". In February, the Education Minister announced that an inquiry into the post-war educational reforms would be requested, including a review of the Fundamentals of Education Act. One of the reasons for the review was that the Act did not include sufficient statements on Japanese history, tradition and moral education (*Asahi Shinbun* 2000: February 18, evening paper). In the same month, just before the graduation season, it was revealed that some prefectural boards of education had pressured schools to use the *hinomaru*, the national flag, and the *kimigayo*, the national anthem, at graduation ceremonies (*Asahi Shinbun* 2000: February 22, morning paper).[2]

On April 7, Prime Minister Mori, who succeeded Obuchi after he collapsed because of illness, delivered his inaugural address to the Diet. It contained various nationalistic views but made no mention of the major role of English in Japanese society as had been emphasised by Obuchi. On April 9, the Tokyo Governor, Ishihara, gave a formal address to the Ground Self-Defence Force, stating that they would be requested to keep Tokyo under control if riots were initiated by *sangokujin* (literally third nationals, but extensively used to indicate foreigners) who might take advantage of any disorder resulting from an event such as an earthquake. On April 19, in response to a request from a non-government party for the withdrawal of his speech and an apology to the people concerned, the governor issued a statement to the party admitting that he had used an inappropriate expression (*Asahi Shinbun* 2000: April 20, morning paper).

In July, one of the major dairy product companies, Yuki-jirushi (Snow Brand), caused mass poisoning as a result of a failure in quality control in the hot and humid summer of Osaka, and one of the major department stores, Sogo, filed for bankruptcy because of a massive debt caused by the expansion of its venture business in the 1980s. While I was in Japan, TV stations were running numerous programs about these incidents focusing on the inadequate systems of food safety, management style, quality control, and unemployment etc.. All of these programs seemed to reflect people's lack of confidence in society and in themselves. They seemed to indicate that "the systems that served as engines for Japan's prosperity are becoming obsolete" (Daily Yomiuri Outline, 2000, July 29,). The snapshots as described above present a picture of Japanese society in confusion while trying to recover its confidence as a nation. I will now examine each of these snapshots in greater depth.

Report: Plan for the 21st Century Japan

In March 1999, the then Prime Minister Obuchi set up a private advisory body to discuss policies for the nation of abundance and dignity, reflecting Obuchi's belief that he had not had opportunities to present his own political vision after he was appointed as the Prime Minister in 1998 (*Asahi Shinbun* 2000: January 19, morning paper). The discussion group consisted of experts from academic and business sectors and altogether forty-nine people were invited to join the group. When the report *Plan for the 21st Century Japan* was released, media reports indicated that it reflected requests mostly from the business sector (*Asahi Shinbun* 2000: January 19, morning paper). The report listed nine key issues: education, international communication ability, social security, suffrage, financial reconstruction, non profit sectors, the administration of justice, immigration policy, and foreign affairs.

The proposal of English as the second official language is in the section entitled International Communication Ability:

> In both the rapid globalisation and information-orientation movements, we should be a pioneer at a worldwide level. For this purpose, in addition to being able to use information technology, it is essential to have ability in practical English. When we say English, we do not mean simply one foreign language but rather English as the international common language. It is an essential tool for obtaining information globally, sending messages, dealing with business and being involved in activities internationally. Needless to say, our mother tongue Japanese is the base for the inheritance of Japanese culture and tradition, but people should be also encouraged to learn other languages. However, to master English as the international common language means to acquire the most basic ability to access and understand the world.... In the long term, using English as the second official language should be considered, but it requires discussion among citizens. As the first step, we must make all efforts to make English a practical language of Japanese citizens. This is not merely an issue of foreign

language education. It should be tackled as a strategic task of Japan. (*Asahi Shinbun* 2000: February 25, morning paper) [3]

According to the report, the idea of English as the second official language came from the necessity to communicate outside Japan in order to not be left out of the international community. Giving English the status of an official language seemed to be designed to increase pressure on people to master the language. Yamamoto, who is the Director of the Centre of Japanese International Exchanges and the secretary of the discussion group, thinks that the proposal reflects some urgent issues which Japan is facing and therefore it is inevitable that English will be used to introduce Japan's proud culture to the world (*Asahi Shinbun* 2000: February 25, morning paper).

Another member of the discussion group, a journalist Funabashi (2000), explains that not only a limited number of members of the elite but also ordinary Japanese citizens should be able to use English if Japan wants to protect its national interests in the international community. He argues that national power depends on how well each Japanese citizen can employ English in order to access the Internet to communicate with the world. He considers that the current teaching of English as preparation for university entrance examinations is one of the obstacles to achieving these aims since the teaching of English lacks the perspective of English as a communication tool. According to Funabashi, the lack of the perspective of English as a communication tool comes from an understanding that Japanese society is a society which suppresses the power of language. Funabashi believes that the current language policy does not encourage people to maintain their facility in languages other than Japanese. He asserts that the change from monolingualism to multilingualism is crucial in order to facilitate communication with foreigners in Japan, and in order to provide a comfortable destination for migrants.

English as the second official language

Since the report *Plan for the 21st Century Japan* was released, the term, 'the second official language', has stirred reactions in Japanese society. There have been numerous arguments and discussions in various sectors. First of all, there is no clear definition of 'official language' in the report. It only mentions a requirement that bilingual publications should be produced by public organisations (Asahi Shinbun 2000: January 19, morning paper). Tanaka (2000) points out the absence of a definition of the 'first official language', and argues that it comes from the assumption that Japanese is the national language, although this has never been legally defined. Usually, the need to define official languages occurs in a multilingual environment, and the status of 'official language' functions to guarantee the fundamental human right of people who use the language as a native tongue. However, in Japan, the majority of Japanese do not need to use English in daily life and English is not a community language. Therefore, Tanaka argues that the second official language is in reality the official language with which to communicate with the international community.

The ambiguous definition or the lack of definition of the second official language reflects the ambiguous purpose of learning English. Oohara (2000) thinks that the Japanese economy has flourished while using a Japanese style of communication in the Japanese language. As a result, most Japanese do not feel the absolute necessity of mastering English. Comparing the situation in Japan with the case of *Singlish* in Singapore, she argues that *Janglish* is not the English of Japanese people because whenever Japanese people describe their English as Janglish it is used as an excuse for their incompetence in English.

The ambiguous nature of the status of official languages in contrast to the dominant nature of the national language in Japan is also related to the way of seeing relationships between English and Japanese citizens. In other words, there is a tendency to expect something more than a communication tool from the use of English, which parallels the view of the relationships between the national language, Japanese, and Japanese citizens. For example, Fukuda (2000), an academic and commentator, thinks that even if the English of Japanese politicians is improved, the lack of opinions in their speech remains a problem in international arena. His view that what matters is not how to say but what to say is widely shared (Asahi Shinbun 2000: February 25, morning paper).[4] The emphasis on meaningfulness rather than superficial fluency in speaking English certainly reflects the inferiority complex in use of the language. However, it should be noted that in the recent social confusion, the Japanese way of communication has been questioned even in meaningfulness.

A Japanese linguist, Ono (2000), who agrees that, among people whose professions require a high command of English, politicians are the people who most lack it, further argues that the recent decrease in Japanese language competency of Japanese citizens should be looked at within a framework of global literacy. He thinks that, because the ability to develop logical arguments is cultivated in the process of mastering the native language, global literacy can be achieved only with a strong command of the national language.

The issue of national identity and English as an official language is not restricted to Japan. In other countries, it can also be linked to a view of internal politics. In Korea, Boku, who is a writer and a columnist, proposed the idea of English as an official language in 1998 in the middle of Korea's economic crisis (Ko 2000). According to Ko, Boku's original idea was to abolish the ethnic language and use English as the first language in order to survive in the era of globalisation, but Boku temporarily suggested having both the ethnic language and English as official languages of Korea. The idea divided the nation and the majority of people opposed the idea of English as the official language. The argument became active again after the appearance of the report *Plan for the 21st Century Japan* and after the issue was supported by a major newspaper. Ko argues that in the background there is a political attempt by people who are in power and fluent in English and who wish to maintain the division between South and North Korea. Ko suspects that, by isolating ordinary citizens who cannot

speak English and by attempting to dominate the right to use English, those people are trying to enhance their power.

In a similar vein, Inoue (2000), a sociolinguist, argues that the political implications of the use of English as the official language should be carefully looked at because there is the potential to divide Japanese citizens into two groups; those who are good at English and those who are not.[5] Inoue thinks that the fact that the second official language was proposed in isolation from any discussion of Japanese identity indicates that the discussion group assumed the inseparable unity of Japanese language, nation and citizens, which would not be threatened even if English became the second official language. Reflecting a worldwide phenomenon whereby political conflicts have been triggered in the course of eliminating local cultures and languages, he believes that the maintenance of Japanese is important for political stability in Japan.

Change in communication style

People who welcomed the recommendation found value in its attempt to change the situation surrounding English teaching in Japan. Takenaka (2000), an academic researching economic policies, values the report for its radical ideas, which challenge conventional attitudes towards any type of reforms. He considers that the report reflects the serious problems which Japan faces. The external element is the fear of being left behind in international competition, and the internal element is the lack of faith in the current curricula for the teaching of English as a foreign language to youth.

Most Japanese seem to share the view that the teaching of English, particularly the teaching of communication skills, has been a failure. The idea of English as the second official language is an attempt to change that situation. As Funabashi (2000) argues, in the background to the report there is an expectation that communication in English will change the ways Japanese people communicate and these changes in ways of communicating will make Japan more competitive in the international community. In other words, to give English the status of the second official language means to create an artificial necessity for the use of English in Japanese society in order to force people to adopt new ways of communicating. On the other hand, people who are opposed to the idea of English as the second official language, argue that not all Japanese have to learn English. They think that the current problem will be solved if those in the political and business sectors work hard to achieve a high proficiency in the language, and that ultimately English having the status of the second official language in Japan will threaten Japanese identity. In their view, the current way of using Japanese to communicate is an essential element of Japanese identity.

The complex ways of relating to the power of English can be observed in the emotional struggles with foreignness. Funabashi (2000), who criticises the lack of

discipline of communication in both the national language and foreign languages in Japan, points out an emotional reason for favouring "Japan that can say No". This phrase is the title of a 1991 book, which was written by Ishihara, who is now the Governor of Tokyo, urging Japanese people to say "no" to the USA because, with its economic power, Japan has overcome the earlier subordinate relationship with the USA. Funabashi argues that the desire to say "no" comes from an inferiority complex in relation to English competency because being able to choose to say "yes" or "no" according to situations is an essential element of communication. Certainly, it is not a coincidence that Ishihara, who urged Japan to say "no" to the USA ten years ago, now says "no" to foreigners living in Japan. Both statements indicate a desire to assert to the world the enduring distinctiveness of Japanese ways of life.

Sangokujin (third nationals)

Immediately after Ishihara's speech was delivered on April 9th, the media reported numerous comments including both complaints and expressions of support from various sectors inside and outside Japan. The section of the speech where the sangokujin expression appears is as follows:

> ...I cannot help but feel that Japan has been pulled apart in the last fifty years since we lost the war.... Probably the Whites didn't like the fact that among non-white races only the Japanese have managed to establish a splendid modern state. Therefore, America thought Japan dangerous and tried to pull Japan apart. Such an attempt is symbolised in the Constitution. I think nobody can deny that the consequences are apparent now.... In today's Tokyo, many sangokujin and foreigners who migrated illegally have repeatedly committed vicious crimes. The crime pattern in Tokyo is now different from the one in the past. Under such a condition, I can imagine that huge riots will happen if any disaster occurs. This is a reality. In order to cope with such situations, police forces might not be sufficient. If it is the case, I would like to request your service not only to rescue people in Tokyo but also to maintain order. I expect that you will pursue the task as your big mission.... *(Asahi Shinbun* 2000: April 12, morning paper)[6]

First of all, the word *sangokujin*, a reduced form of *dai sangoku jin* (literally meaning 'the third country people'), has a historical background. Most members of Japanese younger generations who did not experience World War II have never heard of the word. Originally, it was a politically neutral word, which described people who did not belong to either Japan or the Allied Powers at the time of the end of World War II. Those people were Koreans and Taiwanese who were freed from the colonial rule of Japan (Satou 2000: 9). Since the late 1940s, the word has lost its neutrality and had been used to describe people living in Japan who are not officially recognised as Japanese citizens.

The speech has been criticised in three points. One is that it was addressed to the defence force, which Ishihara called military. This indicates his readiness to rely on the defence force in order to solve political problems. Secondly, it ignores a historical fact, and thirdly it projects an image that all Koreans and foreigners living in Japan are criminals and therefore dangerous. On April 19th, Ishihara issued a statement in response to the request from a non-government party for a withdrawal of his speech and an apology to the people concerned. His decision was reported as a political decision to avoid a conflict with the political party. (*Asahi Shinbun* 2000: April 20, morning paper). He said:

> I used the expression *sangokujin* for foreigners who have illegally migrated. However, this expression had been used as a discriminatory word, which was different from the meaning I intended. Therefore, it is regrettable to unintentionally hurt Koreans and other foreigners living in Japan. Since I did not have any intension to hurt foreigners in general, I will not use such inappropriate expressions that will cause misunderstanding. From now on, I would like to promote human rights policies in order to get rid of discriminatory ideas toward Koreans and other foreigners living in Japan.[7]

Ishihara's statement was received by the party as a withdrawal of his speech and an apology, and no further action was taken. Ishihara's statement of apology refers only to the expression *sangokujin* but not to the content of his speech. Nevertheless, Ishihara was not asked to take formal responsibility by resigning from office. This reflects a fact that his view is based on official reports about crimes committed by foreigners and the attitudes expressed are shared by the majority of Japanese citizens.

Nakashima (2000) analyses the White Papers and reports produced by the Metropolitan Police Department and concludes that the Ishihara's claim that "many *sangokujin* and foreigners who migrated illegally have repeatedly committed vicious crimes" is not true. Nakashima argues that the nature of crimes committed by foreigners were not properly analysed and addressed. Therefore, he argues that Ishihara's speech was not accidentally delivered by a careless politician, but instead a well-crafted attempt to stir up Japanese citizens emotionally in their political despair by leading them to exclude foreigners. This explains why a part of his speech referring to the purpose of the American occupation of Japan after World War II has not been questioned.

Most of the protests and complaints in response to Ishihara's speech are about the references to the *sangokujin* and foreigners. These people include not only Koreans and Chinese living in Japan but also other nationals who are working in Japan to overcome the shortage of manual workers in Japan. There is an interesting twist in the rhetoric in Ishihara's speech. He blames the USA for its racism in its attempt to pull apart Japan and identifies this attempt as a fundamental cause of problems of today's Japan, and then he blames minority ethnic groups and foreign labourers for their non-Japaneseness and identifies them as a threat to Japanese society.

Given that Ishihara has been seen as a political leader with a strong personal style, including the way of communicating with the public, the influence of his views on the public is significant. This kind of xenophobia, oriented both internally and externally, is not unusual in times of domestic crisis. If Ishihara's speech represents the fear of being pushed by foreign power, the recommendation for English to become the second official language seems to represent an attempt to survive together with such power, which is part of the tide of western globalisation. It is clear that proponents of a wider use of English in Japan see English as a device to achieve wider cultural change within Japanese society. Ishihara's views reflect a particular, but narrow and negative way of responding to this desire for cultural reform.

Conclusion

Given that for at least the last twenty years the importance of oral communication has been emphasised in foreign language curricula in both secondary and tertiary education, and from 2001 English will be introduced to primary education as part of special activities in order to expose children to the language from an early stage, it can be argued that the discussion group found the need for a radical change in approaches to English language education. Clearly pushed by the business sector, which sees the urgency of acquiring language skills as essential for national survival, the group attempted to change the way Japanese people communicate in English. As the report says, it should be discussed among citizens whether English is given a status of the second official language of Japan. However, the notion of the need for change in the ways of communicating with the world is very interesting for its attempt to alter an aspect of Japanese culture by using a foreign language as a tool. Even though the idea is not based on a clear understanding of the world history of English colonialism, it indicates a new way involving language in shaping cultural identity. Resistance to the idea reflects continuity in Japanese attempts to preserve Japanese culture and to use English to project Japaneseness to the world.

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Notes

1   In the Japanese education system, English is a compulsory subject in lower secondary schools (three years) and a major foreign language subject in upper secondary schools (three years). At tertiary level, English is often a compulsory general subject for two years. From 2001, English has been introduced to primary education as a special activity.

2   The bill, which declared that the *hinomaru* and the *kimigayo* were respectively Japan's national flag and anthem, was passed in 1999.

3   Translated into English by the author.

4   See a comment by the writer, Hisashi Inoue.

5   When the first foreign minister Mori in the Meiji era attempted to introduce English as an official language, the proposal was not approved for the same reason. See Kato's (2000) article.

6   Translated into English by the author.

7   Translated into English by the author.   79

4   Culture and identity in the English discourses of Malaysians

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In a country where many ethnic groups, each with their own identity, come together to form a nation, there has to be some compromise in order that the needs and aspirations of the individual ethnic identities give way to the national identity. At the same time, it is important that the differences are considered a strength and that being a Malaysian does not make one less culturally a Malay, Chinese or Indian. This paper looks at the English discourses of Malaysians to determine the accommodation and compromise that have taken place from a linguistic perspective. Examples taken from written and spoken discourse, such as newspaper articles, advertisements and conversations are used to illustrate both the culture and identity of Malaysians and of the different ethnic groups in the country.

Introduction

There are many countries with multiracial and multicultural populations as a result of migration for commercial, political or other reasons. Malaysia is a multiracial country which has arisen from events and developments which have occurred over the last four or five hundred years and accelerated in the last century. Where many ethnic groups, each with their own identity, come together to form a nation, there has to be some compromise in order that the needs and aspirations of the individual ethnic identities give way to the national identity in order that the greater society can exist. Conflicts occur when issues of identity at the ethnic level are in conflict with those at the national level.

This chapter looks at the English discourses of Malaysians to determine the accommodation and compromise that have taken place from a linguistic perspective. It begins first by giving a background to the emergence of the different ethnic groups in Malaysia and some opinions given by various people about what it means to be a *bangsa Malaysia* (a Malaysian race). It continues with an examination of the

discourses of Malaysians, both written and spoken, and a discussion of the features that reveal the culture and identity of Malaysians as a whole and also of the different ethnic groups.

There are many definitions of both "culture" and "identity" and a few are given here. Le Vive (in Ting Toomey and Korzenny 1993:20) describes culture as an "inherited system of ideas that structures the subjective experience of individuals". Geertz (1973) (in Ting Toomey and Korzenny 1993: 20) views culture as shared ways of life, with sharing on both the concrete level (eg as artifacts) and the cognitive level (eg language, symbols). Both views emphasise that culture is a shared, consensual perspective within a social group, although members may not share that perspective equally or in every facet of experience.

Holliday (1999:237) provides two paradigms of culture. The large culture paradigm refers to ethnic, national and international entities. "In contrast, a small culture paradigm attaches "culture" to small social groupings or activities wherever there is cohesive behaviour and thus avoids culturalist ethnic, national or international stereotyping".

In this paper, the focus will be on national and ethnic culture although social groupings may often not have any significant ethnic or national qualities.

Identity, whether it is on an individual, social or institutional level, is something that is dynamic. It is something that we are constantly building and negotiating all our lives through our interaction with others. "Whereas some basic principles may remain more or less identical over a relatively long period of time, the more specific social representations, such as attitudes, may adapt strategically to social and political change" (Van Dijk 1998:121). Identity is also multi-faceted: we switch into different roles at different times in different situations and settings, and each of those contexts may require a shift into different identities for the people involved. This shift can be displayed through the language that we use. The language we use can indicate the variety that we speak, the accent and the grammatical variations.

Gudykunst, Ting-Toomey and Chua (1988:93), following Tajfel, provide the following definitions of social identity. Social identity is "that part of an individual's self-concept that derives from his (or her) knowledge of his (or her) membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance to that membership" . Social identity is based on shared social beliefs (Doise and Sinclair 1973) and social representations (Hewstone, Jaspars and Lalljee 1982).

Identity here is restricted to "a shared core of social self-definition". By this, we mean "a set of social representations that members consider typical for their group". "The social practices, symbols, settings or forms of organisation that are typical for a group and with which members identify, would in that case be the contextually variable manifestations of social identity" (Van Dijk 1993:124).

People construct their social identity by categorising themselves (or are categorised by others) as belonging to a social group through particular types of representation. This paper will look at how speakers' choice of linguistic code or variety plays an important role ir establishing their group identity.

Background and history

The rise of nationalism which led to the independence of Malaysia in 1957 brought with it the emphasis on Malay as an element of national identity. English was given the status of official language for ten years after independence and after that, it became the second language of the country. It was the language of educational instruction until the seventies and is still used in many domains today.

Malaysia is a multi-racial and multi-religious country with three dominant ethnic groups, Malays, Chinese and Indians. More than 60% are ethnic Malays or belong to the indigenous races, less that 30% Chinese and about 10% Indians. Each ethnic group has its own culture, which includes its practices, beliefs and attitude, a set of social representations that the members of the group consider to be typical for their group. There is also the overall Malaysian identity that encompasses all ethnic groups which also has its own set of values, beliefs and practices.

This chapter will attempt to determine how identity is constructed in the discourses of Malaysians, observing the fact that the people involved have changing social practices and experiences: for example, the economic achievement of the Malays has increased, the educational experience has changed vastly and there has been cultural interchange within Malaysia and between Malaysia and other nations.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Malaya was fairly homogeneous in terms of ethnic groups. The majority of the people were Malays living in small villages. In the interior were the aboriginal people and there were small Chinese communities in Malacca and Penang and small communities of Indians who had settled down in Malaysia. The Malays spoke different dialects in different geographical locations but they were by and large monolingual. Even the Chinese people in Malacca (the Babas) spoke a dialect of Malay (Ozog 1993:61).

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a massive influx of Chinese into Malaysia to work mainly in the tin mines. Homogeneity gave way to heterogeneity. These Chinese immigrants, however, had little to do with the Malays. They resided in urban areas and small tin mining towns. The development of rubber brought about the recruitment of labour from India who were mainly Tamil or Malayalan speakers. There were other Indians who came to work as clerks and shopkeepers and so another language was added to the existing ones. Interaction between the communities was mainly found in commerce and trade and a society with some bilingual ability arose.

The British introduced English medium schools, attended mainly by Chinese and Indians due to their location in towns. Malays were largely excluded because they lived in villages and because they held the view that these schools were Christian schools which aimed to convert people to Christianity. However, the British did open a school in Kuala Kangsar for sons of the elite Malays, many of whom formed the backbone of the civil service after independence.

After the war, Malaysia, being relatively unified, was ready for independence. There were two difficulties — the place of the Chinese and Indians and their

languages and the place of English (Ozog 1993:65). The Chinese wanted citizenship but the rise in Chinese nationalism and the rise of communism led to an increase in Malay nationalism and the call by the Malay nationalists that Malay be recognised as the sole national language. The Razak report of 1956 promoted Malay as the national language and put forward that there should be a gradual change to Malay as the medium of instruction in primary schools. To ensure harmony, Chinese and Tamil schools were also allowed and English was permitted to be used as a medium in secondary schools. The importance of bilingualism both as a tool for national unity and also as a means of ensuring national development was present at the time of independence (Ozog 1993:65).

The history of the nation indicates that there have been fluctuations in the economy and politics in the period from independence until now. There was a recession in the eighties and political upheaval in the late eighties. The nineties saw the rapid changes associated with the boom period followed by the regional economic down turn of the late nineties. Amongst the ethnic groups, the economic success of the seventies until the nineties coincided with the creation of a Malay business class. Malays became more urban and more involved in business, which had long been the domain of the other races. The change which took place for the Malays who moved from the villages to the towns and capital city was mainly government driven. Traditional values had to undergo change — what was normal in villages like cooperation and coexistence were not so conducive or relevant to the capitalist economy. Ability to compete with others became more important and wealth and possession came to be seen as a reflection of status.

Places of work and living were no longer homogeneous but a mixture of different communities. Children of the different ethnic groups started going to the same schools. A Malaysian identity slowly started emerging from this convergence of the different ethnic groups.

The Malaysian identity

The national identity for all ethnic groups is Malaysian but within that are the different ethnic and cultural identities, Malays, Chinese, Indians and others. The different groups still see themselves as belonging to different groupings due to differences of origin, religion, culture and other factors. Although no culture is composed of exactly the same individuals, each culture contains similar pervading traits recognisable to all members. Being multi-religious, we have Islam as the religion of the Malays, while many of the Chinese are Buddhists, most Indians are Hindus and a number are of Chinese and Indians are Christians. Each ethnic group appears to have its own core values and beliefs but there are also values and beliefs which are similar in all the cultures, such as the ethics of family life and a respect for the hierarchical order of society.

On Independence Day 2000, reporters from *The New Straits Times (NST)* asked a

number of Malaysians of different ethnic groups questions on what they thought of *bangsa Malaysia* (a Malaysian race), a term which has appeared recently. Some of the answers which relate to similarities and differences among the different ethnic groups are given here.

About *bangsa Malaysia*

"There are competing "definitions" of *bangsa Malaysia* among the different ethnic groups. A Malay may see *bangsa Malaysia* as Malay-based, or Malay as being definitive. A Chinese may see it differently, so also our compatriots in Sabah and Sarawak. But I think that is to be expected; from their different positions they are in, they will come up with different conceptions of it. But *bangsa Malaysia* is evolving through the live-in experiences of the people, because various ethnic groups share common experiences and they also feel that their destiny is intertwined. We should allow it to evolve naturally and intervention from the top should not distort this natural process."

"I do not see this need at a national level to define a *bangsa*. That's sociological suicide."

"I define *bangsa Malaysia* simply as a nation whose people are multi-religious, multi-cultural, multi-lingual."

How they see themselves

"I never say I'm Indian. I mean, I don't even know what that means. I'm completely detribalised. I am actually a middle-class liberal."

"I'm Chinese yes, but I'm Malaysian first. China is not my home. I can't imagine living anywhere else."

"My son is studying in a Chinese school. He is fluent in Chinese and Malay and his third language is English. Among his friends are many Chinese, Malays and Indians, and he sometimes speaks a different language with each of them, depending on the circumstances."

"In 20 years' time, I imagine him to be a youth with cultural resources from his parents, his friends and the school. He has got the three languages of the people of Malaysia, though unfortunately not those of Sabah and Sarawak."

"I think we will socialise him in the direction of being a new Malaysian , in the sense that he respects the others and integrates with them."

About impediments to unity

"There are deeper divisions within communities than there are between them. Divisions of class, wealth, opportunity, education. There's a yawning chasm, for example, between wealthy Malays and poor Malays."

"We are building on the integration that has already happened. A friend, who

has just moved to Singapore to work, walked into the office in a *baju kurung* and everyone was shocked to see her. But in Malaysia, if a Chinese or an Indian were to wear *baju kurung*, it's natural. We don't even see that as a difference anymore."

About 25 years in the future

"Differences will remain. They may even increase. I'd like to explore the possibilities inherent in accepting our differences, and seeking common ground."

"The demographics of the races will change. Will this question still be relevant then?"

"While tendencies towards ethnic and religious exclusion exist, I think a fairly large number of young Malaysians will embody the characteristics of Malaysians, and not just those of only one ethnic community. I'm quite optimistic about this."

This last statement is observed in the exhortations often made to the public such as that found in the following article. In this newspaper article from *The Sun*, November 25, 2000 with the heading 'Malaysia is my country, says 'emotional' Samy', the President of the Malaysian Indian Congress, reflects the feelings of belonging and unification.

The Sun, Sunday 25 November 2000

Malaysia is my country, says 'emotional' Samy

Kulim, Fri.: An emotional MIC president Datuk Seri S. Samy Vellu, campaigning hard among Chinese voters in Taman Selasih last night, said India has no place in his life.

"I can't go back to India because it is not my country. Malaysia is. It is here I will serve, and one day die," said Samy Vellu.

He was stressing a point. For the Chinese and Indians, Malaysia is their home, and they have to learn to live in harmony with the Malays.

"They must live in harmony for at least 500 years, and only the BN can guarantee this will happen, for the benefit of generations to come.

"Every time I visit India, they give me a 30-day visa because I am Malaysian," Samy Vellu said, as the 200 people cheered.

"I have been to China five times at the invitation of my counterparts, but I still have to come back to my country," he said.

"Although I am president of MIC, problems affecting the Chinese community are also close to my heart," said Samy Vellu, citing his involvement in the "pig-compensation" issue during the JE epidemic.

"The government was thinking of giving only RM50 per culled pig but I asked

for a minimum of RM120, saying that a big number of pig farmers have five to six children to feed in a family.

"Finally, it was fixed at RM105," he explained.

He then took a swipe at Kelantan-ruled PAS for being insensitive to the plight of night business operators who were forced to shut down.

However, there are also instances that show a community resisting any changes that may erode their cultural identity. One such case is the recent government proposal that children of all ethnic groups at primary school level be placed in schools which are Chinese or Tamil schools. The reason for this is to promote racial integration. Currently, there are a number of national-type schools which use either Chinese or Tamil as the medium of instruction. In these proposed vision schools, the children could all still learn in Malay, Chinese or Tamil depending on their ethnic background but at the same time eat and play together. Most of the Tamil schools agreed to participate. However, the Chinese education movement has opted out of the plan fearing that their cultural identity would be eroded.

Language, discourse and identity

The English used in Malaysia reflects the experiences of the people living in the country and can be considered different from others in that it has emerged to suit the culture and the identity of the people. People live and interact across the different languages or across varieties of the same language. In multilingual Malaysia, where a considerably large portion of the people are bilingual, code-switching is a common feature of spoken communication. Many, especially in the urban areas, are bilingual in Malay and English or multilingual in Chinese/Tamil-Malay-English, the result of the national education policy which stipulates that the main medium of instruction of education is Malay with English as a compulsory taught second language. Codeswitching includes the insertion of words, phrases or whole sentences from one language into another. It enables the speakers to change footing within the same conversation. For example, in a conversation between two Malays who use English regularly, there is often a switch from one language to another, and if both are from the same state and share a common dialect, then they often resort to using this dialect to show solidarity or intimacy. A colleague from the state of Kedah said that when she converses with another Malay from Kedah, they sometimes revert to the regional dialect whilst joking and that there is often codeswitching between English and the regional dialect of Malay.

Lexical borrowing, the use of special words which exist in Malaysian society and perhaps not in others, is found in Malaysian discourse. The borrowing of words from one's native language appears to be one of the most obvious ways in which ethnic identity is marked in Malaysian English. One example is the use of Malay words for food, as can be seen in the extracts from Malay students' essays written in English and

the newspaper articles below. These words are often untranslatable into English and may be from the material domain, on social rituals or ceremonies, religion and institutions, or about intangible items, values, ideals and attitudes. They are used in the English discourse to authenticate the item or event which is unfamiliar to the western world.

Extracts from essays by Malay students

Our favourite food is *nasi dagang*. The other foods are *nasi minyak, nasi kerabu* and others.

You can see many *keropok* makers in my hometown.

Keropok lekor is quite different from other keropok.

Sometimes when public holiday comes, for example, *Nuzul Quran* public holiday, we always make foods and drinks and put it at the mosque and we eat it together after the prayers.

Other words used are: *wau, gasing*

Nasi dagang, nasi minyak and *nasi kerabu* are different types of rice dishes popular in certain states in Malaysia. *Keropok* is a commonly found fish or prawn savoury and *keropok lekor* a type of *keropok* available in the state of Kelantan. *Nuzul Quran* is a Quran reading competition held once a year and is a major event for some Malays. *Wau* and *gasing* are traditional games which are played mainly in Kelantan.

Extracts from newspaper articles

Article, *New Straits Times (NST)*

No *ceramah* here!

"Stay away from our village!"

That warning was made by Kampung Jalan Kebun villagers in Klang to the organiser of a proposed political *ceramah* this Sunday...

Article, *NST*

Johor Baru, Fri-To mark the first Festival of Lights of the new millenium, Eden Garden Hotel Johor Baru has for the first time come up with a *"kolam"*.

Measuring six metres by six meters, the *kolam* was placed at an open area just outside the hotel's Palm Bistro...

Article, *NST*

Penang, Fri-The decision on whether to allow *ceramah* in mosques or *surau* is the prerogative of the respective State Governments, Datuk Seri Abdullah Ahmad Badawi said today...

Saturday Notes, *NST*

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> ...The point is, of late, civil servants seemed to be getting a lot of flak. The corruption cases as highlighted under the Road Transport Department's *lesen terbang* is one...

As has been mentioned, lexical borrowing is often used for items or events with religious or cultural significance. *Ceramah* is a religious talk to educate people about religion, *surau* is a place where Malays pray and *kolam* is an Indian art decoration. *Lesen terbang* directly translated is "flying licence" refers to licences which are obtained illegally.

The following article refers to the Malay tradition of *rumah terbuka* (open house). This is the open hospitality found in the kampung or villages and adopted by Malays in the cities as well. The open house is found during Hari Raya, the Muslim festival after Ramadhan and it means that the house is open to all to visit and usually plenty of food is served. It is considered a uniquely Malaysian tradition, now found also amongst the Chinese and Indian households during Chinese New Year and Deepavali. It has extended to not only festivals but also to occasions such as this, Independence day.

Jalur Gemilang is the official name for the Malaysian flag. It means " a glorious range of values" and is often found in advertisements to depict the equal status of the states and the federal government, the unity of the people in Malaysia, Islam as the official religion and the importance of the rulers.

NST, 31 August 2000

> Today the *Jalur Gemilang* is hoisted with pride at home, High Commissions and embassies throughout the world as Malaysians, irrespective of race, colour or creed, celebrate the nation's 43rd Merdeka celebrations.

> At missions abroad, ambassadors and High Commissioners would play hosts to dignitaries and guests showering them with Malaysia's very own true *rumah terbuka* hospitality.

Advertisements from newspapers

The two advertisements below which appeared in the newspapers on Independence Day reflect and encourage the unification of the different races in Malaysia. The visuals contain the Kuala Lumpur tower, a prestigious landmark and one of the tallest buildings in the world. It indicates the achievement of the people of the country, the pride of the nation and also an inspiration to what can be achieved. Also, in the background is the Malaysian flag and people from different ethnic groups mingling together reflecting the different races living in harmony. The overriding impression given is that the different races live in harmony, have managed to overcome their differences and together have built a successful country.

> After four decades and much progress, recognition and respect, we pass on our dreams and aspirations to our children.

> At Samsung, we understand this. Our achievement is measured by how well we help them succeed because the future is theirs.
>
> *Syabas* on your 43rd MERDEKA.
>
> *Keranamu Malaysia!*
>
> PERNAS wishes all Malaysians a Happy 43rd Independence Day
>
> Like a flawless symphony, Malaysia's racial harmony flows uninterrupted. As old hurdles are cleared and new barriers confronted, Malaysians from all walks of life unite to face the challenges of the future. A healthy respect for each other's traditions, cultures and values, drives us forward, achieving international acclaim, conquering mountains, traversing the sea and capping the North Pole.
>
> Looking back at how far we have come since August 31, 1957, let us not forget the long journey ahead. Only unity, which is our strength, will allow us to travel this road unhindered.

The word *syabas* is used instead of the English version "congratulations" because of the more intense feelings it conveys to Malaysians. The message "we've done it" appears more emphatic with the use of *syabas* here.

As mentioned earlier, there has been movement from villages to urban areas and many Malays have had to adapt to the climate in the cities.

The following advertisement illustrates the new Malay identity, that of an enterprising and fast moving Malay in the corporate world. It illustrates that in spite of changes in the way of life, certain values and beliefs have remained, as can be seen in Hafiz's statement which attributed his success to God and family. Amongst the Malays is the belief that hard work and human effort are by themselves insufficient and that success or the reverse is determined by the will of God. It is generally believed by Malays that fate which is willed by God cannot be changed. In the past, it was also believed that what is called *rezeki*, which refers to one's allocation of wealth or good fortune, is also fated by God and it was not up to people to change what fate had bestowed on them. Life in the villages appeared to be like that in the past but with the gradual change and the movement of Malays from villages, this belief has been replaced by another, that people using their own free will can improve their lives. Belief in fate is still as strong but with that is the individual's free will to determine what happens in his/her life and that to be worthy of success and wealth entails hard work and effort and to engage in complex choices about how to live and progress. It can be said then that the individual's free choice to show effort in life has become a key ingredient of modern Malay economic identity.

> "Why climb the corporate ladder," when you can take the lift?"
>
> Hafiz is a young man on the move. And, these days, most of the moving is done in his brand new German sports car.
>
> At 27, Hafiz is one of the brightest stars at Prudential and in the insurance industry.

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But while it's apparent that his commitment and passion are major factors in his success, he attributes many of his achievements to other sources of inspiration.

"God and family," he explains. "Everything we have is a blessing from God. And nothing we do is possible without our family's support."

A bit unusual perhaps, coming from a self-confessed big city boy. But then Hafiz is anything but usual.

When he first joined the workforce six years ago, he quickly realised that he wanted more than a stable, predictable job in a large corporation.

"Within the rigid structure of a corporate hierarchy, there are fixed rules. I have always believed in making my own rules. Working in Prudential gave me that.

"Here, I get tremendous support from my colleagues in the agency, but I am also my own boss. I determine my own hours and set my own targets."

And Hafiz believes that as the industry moves into providing total financial solutions instead of merely selling insurance policies, the prospects have never been brighter.

"I'm proud to say that many of my clients have become my friends. And with their support, the only limit is how much you believe in yourself."

It's clear that Hafiz Ibrahim is on the road to success. Just that in this particular case, it's a super-highway.

The next example I will look at is a brochure for British Petroleum Malaysia. This brochure gives information about the BP card that is available for free with a minimum purchase of RM10 at all participating BP service stations. The cards are designed to give members a sense of identity by integrating elements of culture in them. Five were designed with the guidance of an internationally renowned *feng shui* expert and contain the five elements of wood, fire, earth, metal and water in *feng shui* theory: The Fire Element EZ card, The Wood Element EZ card, the Metal Element EZ card, the Earth Element EZ card and the Water Element EZ card. The *feng shui* theory states that the universe and everything in it is influenced by the five elements of wood, fire, earth, metal and water and that the balance and harmony of these five elements can be enhanced and energised to bring auspicious luck. The inclusion of *feng shui* into the brochure is to cater mainly for the Chinese many of whom have some belief in *feng shui*.

Three of the cards contain cultural elements catering mainly to the Malay customers. They are: The Lights EZ card (light, as a symbol of purity exudes warmth and kindness, symbolises good over evil, and dispels fear), the Tepak Sirih EZ card (the *tepak sirih*, a container with leaves found in Malay weddings, expresses sincerity and openness in fostering closer bonds and solidarity) and the Keris EZ card (the *keris* which is a weapon of Malay heritage is a symbol of the Malay world, still used for ceremonial purposes and is believed to have the ability to shield the owner from

physical harm and misfortune). The use of these cultural elements are used to persuade the customers to obtain the card.

Extracts from short stories

The following is an extract from a short story about two students in a university in Malaysia discussing how they can keep in touch during the holidays. They are of Indian origin and have to hide their relationship from their families who plan to arrange their marriage to a person of the parents' choice.

The extract reflects the traditional society where marriages are arranged and mixing amongst the two sexes are frowned upon. This, however, was written in the 1960s and since then, there has been a more liberal attitude towards marriage and mixing, and arranged marriages, except in villages and small towns, are not the norm anymore.

A number of simplification devices are observed in this extract. Wong (1983) has noted that there are five main processes of simplification in Malaysian English: over-generalisation, omission, reduction, substitution and restructuring, and that it is not always possible to distinguish clearly among these five types of simplication. Some examples of these processes are found in these examples.

'Everything's Arranged' by Siew Yue Killingley

Sitting in the lounge, watching the distracting and excited girls rushing by with packed cases, longing to go home to some decent food, Rukumani asked Devanayagam, *'This time you think you can write or not? Can send to Amy's house, what.* My mother likes her mother. I can easily go there to get your letters. *But I think better you don't put my name outside. Can just put 'Miss Amy Wong'.* She knows your writing and won't open.'

'I think so can,' replied Devanayagam, 'but helluva difficult man. See ah, my sisters brothers all, running all over the house and if I write they all ask if I'm learning and want to look. Also ah, if I go to post letter that clerk at the post office can see me. He's a joker, so sure tell my father I send love letters. But still, try lah!'

As soon as Johnny had gone out of the front door, Rukumani's mother started.

'Young people nowadays have *no shame*. My mother would have sent me out of the house if I had entertained a boy friend as freely as that. All that whispering. What will the neighbours think? A Chinese boy coming to whisper with my daughter. Do the Radakrishnans next door allow their daughters to run wild? Do you ever see a strange boy visiting the daughters of Tharmaratnam? But my daughter is different. She wants to be modern and be seen with all sorts of men. Why do you want to make me suffer in my old age? Can't you see that I'm trying to arrange a good respectable marriage for you? Show your gratitude. You're driving me to the grave!'

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Question form

This time you think you can write or not?

The operator 'do' is omitted in this question and it is also often omitted in wh-questions in colloquial Malaysian English. Omission of 'do' does not result in incomprehension of the meaning of the sentence. In wh-questions which require subject-verb inversion, the subject-verb order is often retained. This appears to be overgeneralisation of word order where subject must always be followed by a verb.

Use of "can"

Can send to Amy's house.

Can just put 'Miss Amy Wong'.

I think so can.

Here the subject pronouns are dropped and the first two sentences begin with the modal 'can'. De Silva (1981) found that the modal auxiliary system is reduced in colloquial Malaysian English and that usually only 'can' and 'must' are the ones which are used. These modals are used with a number of different functions which in standard English are served by some of the other modals. In the above examples, 'can' is used to indicate possibility and ability. Below are examples given by De Silva (1981) in Wong (1983):

> You can have this book for a week.—permission
>
> You can drive ah?- ability
>
> Can lend me your bike or not?—willingness
>
> Sure can./ Can also.— agreement
>
> How the food there? Can do.—moderate approval
>
> You come with me lah. Can or not?—affirmation
>
> How can he allow this to happen?—incredulity
>
> Can't be she sick all this time.—improbability
>
> Can't be she still not home.—improbability
>
> Cannot be he take your money.—impossibility
>
> Cannot be he do all this.—impossibility

Omission of connector

But I think better you don't put my name outside.

'It is' is omitted in the above sentence. 'There' and 'it' together with the verb are often omitted in colloquial Malaysian English.

Omission of object pronoun

She knows your writing and won't open.

There is often omission of the object pronoun in colloquial Malaysian English

Particles 'ah' and 'lah'

See ah, my sisters brothers all, running all over the house and if I write they all ask if

I'm learning and want to look. Also ah, if I go to post letter that clerk at the post office can see me.
But still, try lah!

In the above examples, the fillers 'ah' and 'lah' are used to convey emotive or affective attitudes of the speaker. By adding 'lah' the speaker in this instance is placing emphasis on his statement that he would try to get in touch with his friend. A number of people have looked at the particle 'lah'. Asmah (1986) in Mohammad Fadzeli (1999) believes that the function of 'lah' is to serve as a softener and that it can change a command to a request. Jaafar (1999) states that 'lah' is used in expressions which a Malaysian finds rather uncomfortable to use with a fellow Malaysian. He gives the example, that if someone says to a friend: "You look beautiful in your new dress", the reply could be "No-lah, you look much prettier". He explains that in general, it is considered immodest for a Malaysian to accept a compliment with just a thank you and that 'no-lah' would reflect the speaker's humility. The particle 'ah' appears to be used to place a stress on what is said and to make the speaker appear more convincing.

The next two extracts contain native forms of address in the Chinese and Malay communities. In the Chinese community, the older Grand Aunt is referred to as the first Grand Aunt, the second oldest Grand Aunt as the second Grand Aunt and so on. This way of addressing family members is also used for uncles, aunts, cousins, brothers and sisters and the writer of the story has just translated the forms of address into English, creating lexical items which may be unfamiliar to others from different cultures. The Malay forms of address in a family are used in the second extract. These forms are abbreviated to make them sound more colloquial. *Kak* is an abbreviation for *kakak* (sister), *bang* for *abang* (brother) and *mak* for *emak* (mother). The forms of addresses for brother and sister in Malay are also used for non-family members for a person who is older than the speaker. The native terms are used to show respect and ethnic belonging. The other words which are borrowed from Malay are those for clothes — *sampin* (a cloth that is worn over a pair of trousers for men), *baju Melayu* (Malay dress) and worn for the Malay festival after Ramadhan *Hari Raya*.

Reference to 'money in green packets' can only be understood in the cultural context of Malaysia. This is a practice of giving money to children during *Hari Raya* whereby the money is placed in little green envelopes. This practice was adopted from the Chinese tradition of giving red packets containing money during Chinese New Year. While red is the favoured colour of many Chinese, green is the Islamic colour and is favoured by the Malays. The Malay word *salam* which means clasping of hands, a Malay form of greeting, is used with the English progressive aspect in the second extract.

'Return to Malaya' by Lee Kok Liang

> My *first grand-aunty* sat on a low mahogany bench. She was a shapeless bundle
> in the dark. She turned round and saw me. Then her greeting reached me like
> an echo, distant and reverberating.

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My *second grand-aunty* had walked in swiftly from the back of the house, hurrying along a small child with shrill commands. She had grown very thin; the bones stuck out in her face, her small grey bun was held by a large hair-pin. She wore a sombre-coloured sarong and her thin arms were covered by a long-sleeved blouse.

'Khairunnisa: A good woman' by Ellina Abdul Majid

Sam and *Kak Ida* and *Bang La*, too only spoke with them in a very general way and it was obvious they were worried that Danny might try to touch one of them for a loan or some form of financial assistance, not that such an idea occurred to him at all.

Meanwhile *Mak* couldn't help observing (from a safe distance) that the twins had evidently outgrown the outfits she'd given them and she didn't like the present ones they were wearing at all.

There had been quite a lot of money in green packets at *Hari Raya*, though for Adam and Rafiq, who had endeared themselves to the relatives by looking adorable in their *baju Melayu* with miniature matching sampin and enthusiastically *salam-ing* everyone in sight.

And *Hari Raya* itself had been very enjoyable with plenty of feasting and goodwill; except that Caroline regarded herself as participating in the celebrations under false pretences because she was still feeding the twins herself and hadn't been able to fast.

The following two examples are advertisements from the radio of conversations between Malaysians in English. The first one is between a travel agent and a customer and the second involves a husband and wife and the wife's mother. In terms of grammar and choice of lexical items, they are typical of other conversations between Malaysians. They, like many other advertisements on television and radio, use English which is familiar and relevant to the people in Malaysia. Since the advertisements aim to persuade people to buy a product or service, they would have to be in the language that the locals would be able to identify with.

For this reason, MTV Asia which uses mainly American English has launched a show called MTV *Syok!* on a Malaysian terrestrial TV station which means "Great! Fantastic!" This is a colloquialism which is very effective in Malaysia and can be identified especially amongst the youth in Malaysia (Flack 1999:9). Language thus plays a key role in MTV's strategy to get a bigger audience in Asia. In an interview about 'English around the world', the Senior Creative Director of MTV Asia said:

I've made a personal rule not to commission anything outside of a country for that country, so if we're doing a show for Indonesia the title sequence and all the rest has to be made by a production company in that country. It keeps the programming relevant and the style local. And also it stops us — the great big ugly outsiders — doing the picture-postcard scenes. There's a danger of using

'tourist material', travel-ad stuff which is not relevant for people living in Asia...(Flack 1999:10).

Advertisements on radio

Soft Lens Comfort Contact Lenses

Travel agent:	Good morning, Maam, how may I help you?
Customer:	I want to go on a holiday. You know, *shopping only*, like the people in Paris or New York. Basically I want fun and I want to shop, shop, shop.
Travel agent:	Maam, is Milan okay?
Customer:	Ya, ya, ya, just tell me how much.
Travel agent:	That'll be ten thousand five hundred.
Customer:	*Hah? Ringgit ah? Aiyo, can get diskaun ah?*

FORD Hits Traffic Report:

Sound of horns

...

Wife:	*Ei, why can't get to mummy's house?* Can you drive faster or not? You're driving like my aunty, you know. *You want to go to my mother's birthday or not?*
Husband:	Yalah, *sayang*, if we can find the road, if not *tak sampai*.
Wife:	Hah, I've got mummy's phone. Hello, mummy.
Mother:	Ei, are you coming? Everybody's here, you know. Where are you and that husband of yours?
Wife:	Not my fault. *Rezalah, dahlah balik lambat. Now we're stuck in the traffic jam because he didn't switch on the radio. Then ada accident pulak.*
Mother:	Where's Reza, let me speak to him.
Wife:	Cakaplah mummy, our car got hands free set.
Husband:	Hello aunty er mummy, happy birthday.
Mother:	*What happy birthday. Since she marry you, I can't even see my daughter on my birthday. Hah?* What are you trying to do? Everyday work late like some big shot. *Tapi habuk pun takdak.* Why did she marry you.
Husband:	Aunty, it's time for Hits Traffic report. Bye.
Mother:	Ei, I haven't finished.
Husband:	We'll get there soon, don't worry.

In the first advertisement, there are the occurrences of particle 'ah', the first one used to indicate surprise or disbelief, and the second one to soften the request. There is also the exclamation *aiyo* commonly found amongst Malaysians of all ethnic groups.

There is considerable code-switching in the second advertisement between

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English and Malay, usual amongst Malay speakers of English.

> Yalah *sayang*, if we can find the road, if not *tak sampai*.
>
> Then *ada* accident *pulak*.
>
> *Cakaplah* Mummy, our hands got hands free set.
>
> Every day work late like some big shot. *Tapi habuk pun takdak*.

Lexical borrowing is found in *Yalah, sayang. Sayang* is an endearment which is normally retained even in spoken English when the speakers are both Malay. It is a term of endearment like 'darling' or 'love'. The operator 'do' is omitted in the question "You want to go to my mother's birthday or not?" as in one of the other examples above. There is also object pronoun omission as in "Ei, why can't get to mummy's house?".

Tense and aspect are often not found in colloquial Malaysian English and the simple uninflected form is frequently used for the present perfect. 'Since she marry you,...' is an example. Again, there is omission of the subject pronoun in 'Everyday work late like some big shot'.

The switch to Malay when the speaker says *Tapi habuk pun takdak* identifies the speaker as a Malay and the pronunciation of the last word *taddak* (of the standard *tiada* or *takda*) in the northern dialect of Kedah reveals her origin.

Morais (2000) gives examples of new meanings and new forms found in Malaysian English in her study of verbal interactions in a car-assembly plant. Words like 'call' and 'hammer' are used to convey meanings not found in the conventional use.

> They *call* us to save costs.

> That's all I've been talking all day. You start arguing with Eddie you'll never end anything. I tell him off as I tell you because why he will come up...that sort of thing he wants to *hammer* people.

Call here is used to mean tell or instruct. Morais gives the explanation for this use, that the Malay word *panggil*, the word for call may also mean to tell or instruct and that in Cantonese the word *kiew* which means *call* also conveys the meaning of tell or instruct.

The word *hammer* is used to mean to 'verbally bash someone' and it may be a transfer from Malay into English. The Malay word *hantam* or *pukul* has the meaning of hit, both literally and figuratively.

Examples of new forms in Morais data include *okay* used as a verb and *because why*.

> ...because on the side there we can *okay* the car...

> ...Because sometimes difficult car, two days also cannot *okay*.

> ...That's all I've been talking all day. You start arguing with E you'll never end anything. I tell him off as I tell you *because why* he will come up...that sort of thing.

> No, it's not practised *because why* that day...

According to Morais, *because why* "serves as an effective reinforcement of the central idea of giving a reason" (Morais 2000:98) and that the Malay equivalent being *sebab mengapa* may be translated into English as "the reason why".

Conclusion

Forging a national identity without creating conflicts with the ethnic identities is a problem not only peculiar to Malaysia but also to many other countries and this is something that we are still grappling with. However, Malaysia can be considered to be a relatively successful multiracial society with a relatively harmonious coexistence among ethnic groups. Language plays a complex role in relation to ethnic and national identity. The common experiences of the group influence the actual text and talk of the individuals. It is hoped that the examples of Malaysian English discourse presented here have highlighted the linguistic features which are important in establishing group identity, in this case, national identity, and yet preserving ethnic identities.

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5 Englishization and nativization processes in the context of Brunei Darussalam: evidence for and against

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This paper addresses the questions "How do the languages of the region influence English, linguistically or socio-culturally?" and "How does English influence the languages of the region, linguistically or socioculturally?", through analysis of evidence from Brunei Darussalam. Nativization (of English) and Englishization of other languages are two processes that operate simultaneously in multilingual contexts. The paper presents examples of nativized English and englishized Malay from a Brunei corpus of spoken and written language

Introduction

Without in any way wishing to question the relevance and appropriateness of this series of English in Southeast Asia Conferences, we would like to begin this chapter by maintaining the irrelevance and sheer impossibility of analysing the roles and functions of any one language in isolation in a complex multilingual context such as that of the Southeast Asian region. Helpfully, however, the flyer for the conference posed a set of questions outlining its theme, two of which were, 'How do the languages of the region influence English?', and 'How does English influence the languages of the region?', both linguistically and socioculturally. These questions have led us to consider the processes of Englishization and nativization as they relate to the multilingual context of Negara Brunei Darussalam.

Essentially we are not talking of anything new here. Studies of languages in contact form part of a tradition going back at least as far as Weinreich (1953), with many earlier antecedents. Our concept of Englishization and nativization, drawing on Kachru (1994), can be schematized in this model, which represents them as two

ongoing, recurring and interrelated processes that are likely to be found in any multilingual context.

Figure 1.

Englishization

Malay (   ) English

Nativization
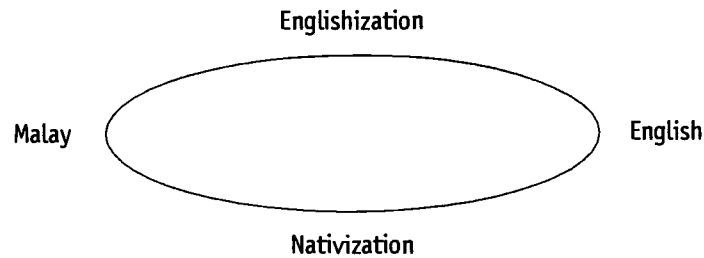
As noted by Kachru (1994:135), and as demonstrated in the collection of papers in 'World Englishes' where Kachru's paper appears, the Englishization aspect has received considerable attention from researchers studying contact linguistics. Our chapter aims to give equal attention to both of these "Janus-like faces of language contact situations" (*ibid.*:135).

For Kachru it appears that the term 'Englishization' has both linguistic and hegemonic connotations. Other contributors to the World Englishes special issue mostly discuss linguistic aspects of Englishization. More recent studies such as that of Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999), develop the hegemonic meaning, using the term to refer to the global spread and dominance of English over other languages, i.e. as one dimension of globalization. We seek in this paper to investigate the claim made by Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas that "the micro-level examples have strong connections to macro-level structures and processes" (ibid: 22), first by citing some examples of various Englishization and nativization processes, then by relating these to broader issues of multilingualism and language contact.

With regard to the Malay language, Malaysian linguists have noted examples of creeping Englishization:

> The academic style of writing in Malay shows a certain degree of westernization
> or, to be specific, anglicization. This means that sentences in the academic
> writing in Malay reflect traces of the construction of English sentences. (Asmah
> Haji Omar 1982:142)

Asmah (1983) also notes comparable changes in Malay phonology, namely additions to patterns of syllable structure necessitated by the introduction of scientific and technical loanwords from English.

Mashudi Kader's (1994) study, entitled 'Anglicized Malay', presents this as an alternative "social dialect" of (Malaysian) Malay, which he contrasts with "native" standard Malay, showing morphophonemic and some syntactic features of this elite variety. Our paper is an attempt to apply aspects of Mashudi's study in the context of Brunei Darussalam's very different linguistic ecosystem.

Nativization of English has also been thoroughly researched with reference to the

indigenized varieties of English, alias "New Englishes" (Platt *et al.* 1984, Foley 1988) that have developed in Outer Circle nations. The Brunei variety of English has received less attention from researchers than its geographical neighbours, Singlish (Singapore), Manglish (Malaysia) and Taglish (Philippines), because of the small size of the country, the paucity of research prior to the founding of the University in 1985, but also because it has been regarded as sharing many of the features of these better-known Englishes.

Evidence for

The evidence for Englishization of Malay in the context of Brunei Darussalam consists of examples of Malay texts that show evidence of the *'bau Bahasa Inggeris'* [the smell of English]. Such evidence can be found at every level of linguistic analysis — phonological, syntactic, lexical and discoursal.

Evidence for nativization of English can be adduced from the studies, likewise covering every branch of linguistics, that consider 'Brunei English' to be a distinct variety, notably those of Cane (1993, 1994), Mossop (1996) and other chapters in the English section of Martin *et al.* (1996).

Among a number of possible categorizations of nativization and Englishization features we have chosen to follow that of Lowenberg (1984), as this fits best with the data sets we have collected. His study investigates the processes, characteristics and effects of nativization on the varieties of English spoken in Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia, and is therefore relevant to our study of Brunei. Lowenberg (1984:3) suggests that nativization should be analyzed on an intranational rather than international level. On the latter level, of course, the nativized varieties would be deviant from the native variety, but it would make perfect sense if we look at its functions on the intranational level at which it is normally used. Lowenberg further argues that since nativized varieties are not intended for international intelligibility, but for domestic purposes only, nativization features should be seen as linguistic deviations / 'variation' rather than deficiencies.

Characteristics of nativization of English

Semantic shifts / new collocations

English words or phrases and expressions used by Bruneians can have their own meaning distinct from normal English usage.

> [1] She's my spare part.
> While it is easy to guess what 'spare part' suggests, in Brunei it means 'the other girlfriend beside the special one'. It works the other way round as well when women talk about their extra boyfriends. Clearly the notion of 'an additional item' has been shifted here nd used in reference to humans.

[2] Keep up the handsome face

To 'keep something up' means to maintain a certain standard; thus to ask someone to keep up his handsome face is really to tell him to 'maintain his good looks'. This is an example of a new collocation in English used by Bruneians.

[3] Happy Smashing Birthday

This is another example of a new collocation. 'Happy' and 'smashing' are used together probably to emphasize the greeting. This is acceptable among Bruneians although in Standard English, such combinations would be deemed redundant.

Transferred syntactic structures often found in student writing

The following examples illustrate typical English constructions in students' essays influenced by Malay syntax.

[4] Although these factors suggest the breakdown of the extended family system, but they are not necessarily true. [*Walaupun...*, *tetapi...*]

Walaupun [although] and *tetapi* [but] are allowed to be used together in Malay sentences. This construction is commonly transferred into English constructions produced by Bruneian students.

[5] By this way, it can solve the problem

[*Dengan cara ini, ia akan menyelesaikan masalah tersebut*]

[6] Regarding (the matter)... [*Mengenai (perkara ini)...*]

'*Mengenai perkara ini*' is a common endophoric reference device used in Malay writing. It is also commonly translated into 'regarding ...' in English texts produced by Bruneians, indicating a transfer from the Malay language. In this case, the expression is by no means a deviation from standard English usage. However, it has become so over-used by Bruneians that it has become cliched.

Transcreation of similes, metaphors, proverbs from other languages

In the case of Brunei, Malay proverbs are often transliterated into English but only in informal situations, e.g.

[7] You drop my waterface ~   [You dropped me in it]
     [*Kau jatuhkan air muka ku*]   [You humiliated me]

[8] You make my blood go upstairs ~ [You make my blood boil]
     [*Kau naikkan darahku*]   [You make me angry]

[9] Turtle-turtle in the boat   [Pretending not to know]
     [*Kura-kura dalam perahu*]

*   The full saying is '*Kura-kura dalam perahu, pura-pura tidak tahu*', but often only the first part is quoted as any Bruneian would share a common knowledge of the full saying and its meaning [Tortoise in the boat, pretending to know not]. Hence, only the first part is translated, but even

here 'tortoise' is replaced with 'turtle-turtle' mocking the Malay double form of *kura-kura*.

Hybrid lexical constructions/combinations of concepts from two or more cultures

Some words or expressions are retained in their Malay forms as there are no English equivalents for them. These are common in English newspapers, television as well as radio reports, e.g.

[10] The ***tahlil*** ceremony was held in conjunction with...   [special prayers for the departed]

[11] In his ***titah*** His Majesty said   [statement]

[12] Prince Mohamad said in his ***sabda*** that...   [speech]

[13] The chief guest then proceeded to do the ***tepung tawar*** on the new vehicles   [ceremonial /traditional blessing]

[14] Nightly ***berdikir*** ceremonies are held to commemorate Prophet Muhammad (***s.a.w.***) [p.b.u.h.]   [prayers]

Other examples:

besuruh, mengantar berian, akad nikah, berbedak, berpacar, bersanding, berambil-ambilan, memapat jambul

Characteristics of Englishization of Malay

Semantic shifts/ innovations

New collocations in Malay can be due to new concepts brought about by new developments particularly in the field of science and technology.

[15] Thank you *eh emel mu kemarin atu* [Thank you for your email yesterday] 'Email/ e-mail' is spelt *'emel/ e-mel'* in formal Malay. It is also becoming commoner that the English spelling is retained even in Malay texts.

[16] *Saya* forward*kan* email *yang saya terima dari...* [I'm forwarding this email I received from...]
'Forward' and 'email' are borrowed from English, mainly because there are no current equivalents in Malay that quite express the precise idea.

Assimilated loanwords

Malay-icized English words are accepted in formal use even when there are pure Malay equivalents. However, in cases where the Malay word is available but does not express the exact meaning, the assimilated loanword is used instead:

[17]					
organization	←	*organisasi*	/	*pertubuhan*
activity	←	*aktiviti*	/	*kegiatan*
promotion	←	*promosi*	/	
exploitation	←	*eksploitasi*	/	*penyalahgunaan*
discrimination	←	*diskriminasi*	/	*pilih kasih*
globalization	←	*globalisasi*	/	*kesejagatan*

Transferred syntactic structures found in writing

These include the relative pronouns *'yang mana'* (which/ who) and *'di mana'* (where). Malay language purists oppose such constructions, although their use seems to be widespread among educated Malay speakers as well as in the media.

[18] Ang. Malay	←	*Dia menjelaskan kandungan buku tersebut **yang mana** dijual di kedai-kedai.*
Translation sold	←	[He described the contents of the book **which** is in the shops]
Std. Malay	←	*Dia menjelaskan kandungan buku tersebut **yang** dijual di kedai-kedai.*

[19] Ang. Malay	←	*Ali menunjukkan kami ofis **di mana** dia berkerja.*
Translation	←	[Ali showed us the office **where** he works]
Std. Malay	←	*Ali menunjukkan kami ofis **tempat** dia berkerja.*

Asmah Haji Omar (1982:152) highlights a number of other examples of discourse markers not found in 'classical' Malay texts, only in modern academic writing:

[20] *Merujuk kepada*	[with reference to]
Menurut	[according to]
Pada pendapat saya	[in my opinion]
Berhubung dengan	[in connection with, in relation]
Berkenaan dengan	[concerning]

Mixed morphological affixation (c.f. Mashudi Kader 1994)

English root words that are Malay-icized by adding affixes (and vice-versa) imply creativity among Bruneian users of such constructions. They are not usually found in formal settings, nonetheless they are pervasive in colloquial usage. Some of them essentially break the rules of Malay spelling and phonology (e.g. no consonant clusters: *dipredict*) but they are used just the same.

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Some English root words used with Malay affixes.

[21] *Payah kan **dipredict** bolanya* [It's hard to predict his ball]

  *Borang untuk **merepair** barang* [Form for repairs]

  *Kedia **terstuck** di traffic* [He's stuck in traffic]

  *Saya **forwardkan** beberapa hadith* [I've forwarded some hadith]

Likewise there are Malay root words that are affixed with English prefixes or suffixes:

[22] *Mengurat*ing [flirting]

  *Cuci-*ing [washing]

  *Makan*ing [eating]

  *Tidur*ing [sleeping]

  *Unsangka*rable [unexpected]

  *Unpercaya*rable [unbelievable]

Functions and effects of nativization and Englishization

Lowenberg (1984) suggests that the functions of nativization and Englishization can be analyzed in terms of Kachru's theory of Foregrounding (to attract attention) and Neutralizing (to seek no attention) (1982:25-30).

Functions of nativization

The functions of nativization, in the Brunei context, can be summarised as

- To express local or native concepts for which no English words exist, or no English words that can convey the precise emphasis and nuances of the Malay word

- To foreground a Bruneian identity, to avoid disloyalty charges, not despite but because they speak English, particularly in the use of Brunei royal court and protocol terms in formal documents, where the English equivalents are felt to lack the same degree of respect and hierarchy as the Malay originals. Bruneians are thus making English their own.

Functions of Englishization

The functions of Englishization, in the Brunei context, can be summarised as

- To express new concepts for which no Malay words exist, or no Malay words that can convey the precise emphasis and nuances of the English word. This function is therefore to address a linguistic, in particular a lexical deficit, leading to lexical creativity.

- To foreground a modern, non-traditional identity through use of English loanwords (i.e. a modern Malay identity).

- To neutralize situations which would otherwise be rigidly hierarchical in terms of Malay traditional protocol, e.g. to avoid the extremely complicated Bahasa Dalam, the language of the Brunei royal court.

Effects of nativization

The effects of nativization, in the Brunei context, can be summarised as

- The creation of a distinct variety of English from the standard native variety, often showing characteristics of nativized varieties mentioned earlier.
- A bidialectal situation in which formal speeches and documents in English may conform more to the native English forms, while colloquial communication would be characterized more by borrowings and pidginized forms of English. There is, however, some seepage: formal documents within the University where we work are increasingly characterised by nativised forms of English (some of the data samples in the previous section are taken from such sources).

Effects of Englishization

The effects of Englishization, in the Brunei context, can be summarised as

- The expansion and enrichment of the Malay vocabulary through English loanwords and loan expressions.
- The creation of a corpus of uniform registers of Malay terminology for numerous modern disciplines (e.g. international banking and ICT) for academic and administrative convenience.
- A more versatile language that is able to express new and modern ideas comfortably.
- Greater familiarity with English among Bruneians, so that when they encounter the original English words, they already have some understanding of the meaning through their use of the derived words in their Malay repertoire.

Code-mixing and code-switching

The strongest evidence for these parallel processes can be derived from samples of code-mixed and code-switched discourse. These are so common in the Brunei context that they can be considered as the unmarked variety in many domains, e.g. informal interaction among tertiary-level students and service encounters in banks and large department stores (Ozog 1996: 183). McLellan (1997) offers evidence that Malay-English codeswitching in Brunei is not restricted to informal conversational interaction, but is also found in more formal domains such as the school classroom, broadcast and print media texts and academic writing.

Study of englishized Malay and nativized English in the context of Brunei provides support for the position taken by Blommaert (1999: 192) with reference to comparable multilingual contexts in Africa. He notes that 'pure' (i.e. monolingual) Swahili, French or Lingala texts are highly marked and likely to be found only in restricted contexts. The same can be said for texts in Malay, English and other languages in the Brunei context.

Evidence against nativization and Englishization

Counter-evidence against the existence of these two processes consists mainly of statements about language use by various stakeholders. There are those who maintain the need for "Standard British English" as a model to be aimed at by all Bruneian learners, and who resist any notions of nativization of English, thereby showing their adherence to the position taken by Prator (1968) against 'the British Heresy in TESL'. Such views should not be dismissed out of hand, since they are held not only by expatriate language teachers, but also by influential political figures in the Southeast Asian region, such as Lee Kuan Yew (e.g. *Straits Times*, 15/8/1999) and Brunei's Minister of Education (McLellan 1996:161-162).

Likewise there are those who wish to preserve the purity of the Malay language by arguing that any Englishization constitutes *'pencemaran bahasa'* [pollution of language] (*New Straits Times*, 17/7/1996, Abdullah Hassan 1997) and that the *'bau Bahasa Inggeris'* (*New Straits Times*, 15/8/2000) in all manifestations must be eradicated from Malay texts.

One is unlikely to find strong expressions of resistance to English among Asian writers and academic researchers who habitually express themselves through the English language, except for Parakrama (1995), who uses non-standard 'broken' English as a way of "talking back" and "writing back" to the 'Centre' from the 'Periphery'. An isolated instance of resistance to Englishization from the Brunei context occurs in the Letter to the Editor (see Appendix 1).

Among those writing in Malay, where one might expect to find more expressions of resistance, this appears not to be the case. McLellan (1996: 157-8) notes that while many Malay writers and academics are decidedly pro-Malay, very few are anti-English, and that criticism tends to be directed not at the English language and those who teach it, but at those elite groups whose commitment to championing the Malay language is less than wholehearted. There is, however, a noticeable desire, among Bruneian and other Southeast Asian educationalists and sociolinguists, to 'compartmentalise' English and to limit its functional role to areas of science and technology and the acquisition of 'modern' knowledge (e.g. Jamil Al-Sufri 1991, Lim 1991, Abdullah Hassan 1996). The feeling seems to be that while Bruneians may need English, they do not have to love it, or even like it.

Discussion and conclusions

Although some who oppose the Englishization of Malay may say that there has been indiscriminate borrowing of both words and structures from English, there is a general acceptance that borrowing and lending are common phenomena in the development of any language, and are therefore perfectly acceptable — particularly of terms that are able to describe "the most specific of conditions, the most improbable of contingencies and the most arcane of distinctions" (Bryson 1990:61) — as long as the

phonological elements are modified to suit the Malay sound and syntactic systems.

One of the primary reasons, therefore, for the lack of any kind of resistance or movement against Englishization of Malay in Brunei can be attributed to the fact that the process is regarded as providing a means for strengthening the Malay language in order to facilitate its use as a medium for the dissemination of knowledge in all disciplines. Essentially, there is a realization that Malay (as one of the most-widely spoken languages in Southeast Asia) has to grow and develop, and be guided towards progress in tandem with its speakers and with the latest developments in knowledge, economy and modern technology, and that should it fail to do so, then it would surely die. Thus, in this respect, Englishization serves as a process for the modernization of the Malay language in Brunei.

Another reason for the lack of resistance against Englishization in Brunei is that the Brunei variety of Malay is very well established as the dominant language in Brunei, and there is no rivalry between Malay and the other local languages. Furthermore, unlike most other Southeast Asian states, Brunei has never had to deal with English as the language of the colonisers, since it was never a colony.

Chew (1999:40), in a case study of Englishization in the context of Singapore, makes the claim that the dominance of English came about through a conscious decision on the part of its leaders and populace. She correctly notes that in Singapore, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, bi- and multilingualism are viewed as assets, not as problems or as properties of disadvantaged minorities, and in so doing highlights a major difference in the methodological approaches of scholars based in 'centre' and 'periphery' countries (see also Skutnabb-Kangas 2000:42 on monolingual reductionism).

Multilingual Southeast Asia, in a similar way to multilingual Africa (Blommaert 1999), challenges traditional ('western', 'academic', 'linguistic') perceptions of languages as separate autonomous systems or entities, and studies of mixed language use provide evidence of the need for redefinition of these perceptions. An ecological approach, such as that used by Mühlhäusler (1996), has greater currency and relevance to the description of sociolinguistic patterns in the region.

If we may suggest a way forward, a revival of the notion of English as an International Auxiliary Language, EIAL, proposed by Smith (1983:1-5) might be in order. Pennycook (1994:281-219) takes a critical stance against EIL, defining it as a "dominant discourse", but crucially misses out the A (for Auxiliary), which points to the role of English in South-East Asia as an additional language that is acquired or learnt without concomitant loss of ability or inclination to use other languages. In this multilingual region, English is additional to whatever languages have been acquired first, second or third, prior to English and continue to be used in important domains such as home, friendship and service encounters.

There is an inevitability of the processes of Englishization and nativization persisting in a society where decisions are made by those with multilingual capabilities, even though some of these elite group members may themselves speak

up in favour of language purism in Malay and maintenance of British English as a target model.

Those having the political power to determine matters of educational and language policy are those who possess the necessary multilingual capabilities and skills to be able to operate as public figures. These capabilities and skills have in large measure been acquired through the medium of English. Even those whose political and educational agenda includes commitment to the promotion of Malay as official language and as a medium of education are not averse to the incorporation of Englishizations in their Malay texts. Hence the situation in Southeast Asia is in some respects the reverse of that in the USA and the UK: power resides in the hands of multilinguals, and monolinguals constitute disadvantaged minorities.

Bruneians, therefore, do not believe themselves to be victims of the "dominant discourse of EIL"; they would like to echo the claim that they have some control over English, but that English has no control whatsoever over them.

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Appendix 1

Extract from Letter to the Editor, Borneo Bulletin, 29/7/2000

....

You may have noticed that there are many "borrowed" English words used in the RTB[1] Malay news or the local Malay media. Is there any reason for this? In other words, they are not using 100% pure Malay language/words.

It is no problem for those who have a good knowledge of English but how about our older people? If we read or listen to other non-Malay words, they do not use many Malay words.

I agree that some of the English words are difficult to translate exactly into Malay but at least try to give the nearest meaning so it would be easy to understand.

I suggest to the authority concerned to please use our Malay language/words as purely as possible so that Malay words will last forever and ever.

We have noticed that there are a lot of signboards saying "Gunakanlah Bahasa Melayu"[2], so please "Mind Our Language" — "jangan sampai orang Melayu cakap English and orang English cakap Melayu"[3].

Melayu Jati[4]

Notes

1. RTB: Radio Televisyen Brunei, the national broadcasting authority
2. Translation: "Use the Malay Language"
3. Translation: "Don't come to a point where Malay people speak English and English people speak Malay"
4. Translation: "Indigenous Malay"

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Appendix 2

DATA [from DELAL, UBD 'Brunei English' corpus]

1. NATIVIZATION

Semantic shifts E -> Brunei Malay

(criterion: terms are used 'creatively', i.e. not as in 'Standard'/NS Englishes)

she is my spare part	['the other girlfriend beside the special one']
sleeping pill	[boring teacher/lecturer]
lecture	[harangue from parents to children returning home late at night]
vacuum	[greedy person]
aircon	[body odour]
servicing	[visit to massage parlour/house of ill-repute]
action	[show-off, sham, pretending]
skap (: scarf)	[mini-veil worn by Muslim women]
dry season	[from mid-month to pay-day when funds are short]
timing	[slow, fussy, particular]
project	[target of romantic interest]
twin-cam]	
twin carb(urettor)]	[man with two wives]
double-barrelled]	
kettle	[tea or coffee-pot]
speaking	[refers to fluency in English only]
sober	[ashamed]
frus[t]	[heartbroken]
escape	[play truant, be absent from classes]
extravaganza	[extraordinary]

New Collocations (see Cane 1993, 1994)

Happy smashing birthday
Happy Merry Christmas
Keep up the handsome face
Any good luck with.... ?
Stay cute and gorgeous
Controlz your brutalz   [meaning???]

Transferred syntactic structures, most often found in student writing

and official documents

Although..., but...	[*Walaupun..., tetapi...*]
By this way, it can solve the problem (etc.)	[*Dengan cara ini, ia akan menyelesaikan masalah tersebut*]
In Table 1 it shows that	[*Di peta 1 ia menunjuk bahawa...*]
Please be informed that...	[*Harap maklum...*]
To further a project proposal	[*Memanjangkan cadangan kajian*]
Please take note...	[*Sila ambil perhatian...*]
Regarding the matter, ...	[*Mengenai perkara ini,...*]

Transcreation of similes/metaphors/proverbs/'pribahasa'

[cf. 'Franglais' — for purposes of showing erudition, command of 2 or more languages?]

He has a backbone	(: friends in high places)	[*ada tulang*]
Crab stone	(miser)	[*ketam batu*]
You drop my water face	(: humiliate me in public)	[*kau jatuhkan air muka ku*]
Silent silent tapioca	(still waters run deep)	[*diam diam ubi*]
Shy shy cat	(pretending to be shy)	[*malu -malu kuching*]
Stone fire	(pouring oil on troubled waters?)	[*batu api*]
Turtle-turtle in the boat	(pretending not to know)	[*kura-kura dalam perahu...*]
You make my blood go upstairs	(: ....blood boil)	[*darah naik*]
2-3 cats running running	(...)	[*2-3 kucing berlari*]
Ball-carrier	(loyal unquestioning follower)	[*pengangkat bola*]

Modified idioms in Brunei / SE Asian Englishes

(see Tongue 1979: 88-89)

Count *noses*	[c.f. count heads]
Donkey's work	[c.f. donkey work]
Neck-*to*-neck	[c.f. neck-and-neck]
Up to my head in work	[c.f. up to my neck]

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Lexemes from Brunei Malay in English text

The *tahlil* ceremony was held in conjunction with...

In his *titah* His Majesty said that ....

The Foreign Minister in a *sabda* said that ....

The chief guest then proceeded to do the *tepung tawar* on the new vehicles

Nightly *berdikir* ceremonies are held

Also:

Besuruh / mengantar berian / akad nikah / berbedak / berpacar / bersanding / berambil-ambilan / memapat jambul / menjunjung ziarah / menjunjung ciri / do'a selamat / etc.

2. ENGLISHIZATION OF MALAY

Assimilated loanwords/phrases

Emel / e-mel	(...)	[e-mail]
Bahagian Rotex	(c.f. *cukai jalan*)	[Road Tax Department]
Mobail	(c.f. *telefon bimbit*)	[Mobile phone]
Organisasi	(c.f. *pertubuhan*)	[organization]
Aktiviti	(c.f. *kegiatan*)	[activity]
Promosi	(...)	[sales promotion]
Eksploitasi	(c.f. *penyalahgunaan*)	[exploitation]
Diskriminasi	(c.f. *pilih kasih*)	[discrimination]
Globalisasi	(c.f. *kesejagatan*)	[globalization]
Frustrasi	(c.f. *kekecewaan*)	[frustration]
Paragraf	(c.f. *perenggan*)	[paragraph]

Transferred (Englishized) syntactic structures

(Found in formal/written Malay)

yang mana	[which]
di mana	[where]
merujuk kepada	[with reference to]
menurut	[according to]
pada pendapat saya	[in my opinion]
berhubung dengan	[in connection with / in relation to]
berkenaan dengan	[concerning]

(Asmah Haji Omar 1982: 152)

Mixed morphological affixation

(see also Mashudi Kader 1994)

Malay affixes on English roots:

Verbal affixes:
di-disqualified
payah kan **dipredict** *bolanya*   [It's hard to predict his ball]
memblame
memimplemem
memonitor
teacher akan **mengexplain** *cakap Melayu*   [teacher will explain in Malay]
mentidy-up
menstart
borang untuk **merepair** *barang*   [form for repairs]
tertake
terstuck
forwardkan   ["*...saya forwardkan beberapa hadith...*"].

Adjectival:
Terlatest   [Very latest: context: written — on UBD students' notice board]

English affixes on Malay roots:

Nominals:
Kampong **ketuas**   [village headmen]
*Pengiran-pengiran***s**   [hereditary titled nobles]

Verbals:
*cuci***ing**   [washing]
*makan***ed**   [ate]
*makan***ing**   [eating]
*mengurat***ing**   [flirting]
*tidur***ing**   [sleeping]

Adjectivals:
Unsesak   [not busy]
Unsangke**rable**   [unexpected]
Unpercaya**rable**   [unbelievable]

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6 Kissing cousins? The relationship between English and Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea

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Introduction

Papua New Guinea's most widely spoken language has been variously called Pidgin English, Melanesian Pidgin or Neo-Melanesian, but it is best known by the name given by its speakers themselves — Tok Pisin. Put simply, a pidgin language emerges in the context of trade or other temporary contact situations, where groups with no language in common use words from a locally dominant language to create a medium of communication. If suitable conditions persist, the pidgin stabilises, and if it continues to be used and developed by a new generation as a native language, it then becomes a creole. Tok Pisin arose from a 19th century Pacific Pidgin English in the context of maritime trade and plantation labour, and is currently used widely as a second language (a pidgin) but also as a first language (a creole) by an increasing number of people.

Early interest in Tok Pisin was often to lampoon it as a quaint and rather silly deviation from the normal patterns of English. As theoretical interest in the nature of pidgin and creole languages grew, however, it was taken more seriously, although even today it is sometimes treated by non-speakers in an uninformed and patronising way. The American linguist Robert A. Hall, Jr. was the first to campaign for a more serious approach to the language in his seminal *Hands off Pidgin English!* (1955). Since then, a substantial body of descriptive work has emerged, including Dutton (1973), Laycock (1970), Mihalic (1971), Mühlhäusler (1979), Romaine (1992), Sankoff (1986) and Verhaar (1996). A detailed compendium of linguistic and sociolinguistic data can be found in Wurm & Mühlhäusler's *Handbook of Tok Pisin* (1985). Somewhat more recently, work on sister dialects of Tok Pisin in the south-west Pacific — Bislama in Vanuatu and Pijin in the Solomon Islands — has also been carried out. However, in spite of the considerable body of research work on Melanesian Pidgin, there are still of necessity many details of the formation of the pidgin which will never be known, due to the fact that accurate recording of the speech used in earlier periods was not possible.

Tok Pisin is like English in that most of the vocabulary is derived from it, but unlike English in that there are many exotic grammatical and semantic features and it is not comprehensible to English speakers without considerable learning. Complicating this picture is the fact that English and Tok Pisin now co-occur in Papua New Guinea. The purpose of this paper is to look at the present relationship between the two languages in the country. As English occupies a prominent role in government, business and education, and Tok Pisin continues to increase its geographical range and spread into more domains of contemporary life, the two languages are likely to come into increasing contact. Some of the consequences of this contact are illustrated here using examples from a corpus of the speech of young first language Tok Pisin speakers recorded in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

The formation and development of Tok Pisin

Although the words of Tok Pisin are mainly derived from English, there have been influences on the developing language from a number of sources. Maritime voyaging in the early part of the 19th century saw features of the languages of the central Pacific entering the language (Keesing 1988), while large concentrations of labourers from the south-west Pacific on plantations in areas such as Queensland and Samoa led to influence from a Melanesian substrate. Tok Pisin is thought to have developed its own unique characteristics after labourers returned from Pacific plantations to New Britain in the 1880s (Mühlhäusler 1978). This involved the incorporation of a considerable body of lexis from the languages of New Britain and New Ireland as well as grammatical and semantic features.

Many of the English words adopted into the language were radically changed in meaning or function, for example, the lexical items "him" "he" and "bye and bye" were re-interpreted with a purely grammatical role as transitive suffix, predicate marker and future marker respectively. A great many other words adopted the semantic range of indigenous equivalents, leading to considerable confusion of meaning by those who assumed that words that sounded like English words had the same meaning as their English equivalent. A well known example is the Tok Pisin word *dai*, which does indeed mean "die" like its English equivalent, but also means "cease, be unconscious" in line with the semantic range of the equivalent item in many languages of the area. Thus the Tok Pisin expression *kilok i dai* means "the clock has stopped." It does not indicate, as some expatriates were keen to attest, that Tok Pisin speakers believed the clock to be a living thing.

Grammatical features, too, are in many cases more akin to Austronesian languages of the south-west or central Pacific, for example, the existence of predicate marking, dual pronoun forms and an inclusive/exclusive distinction on first person plural pronouns. Moreover, re-interpretation of lexis has continued to a certain extent since stabilisation, as most speakers have a first language on which to model structures.

A short example will illustrate the extent of the functional changes which have

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taken place in words of English origin adopted into Tok Pisin. The following was the beginning of a long story told to me by a young man from Madang on the north coast of mainland New Guinea:

> bai mi givim liklik toktok tasol long man meri long displa peles

> I will give a short talk about the people in this village

All the words used in this extract have English origins: bye and bye, me, give, him, little, talk, that's all, along, man, Mary, this, fellow, place. However, some of the Tok Pisin words now have functions far removed from their English homologues. The word *bai* acts as a future marker, while *givim*, derived from "give him" incorporates the suffix *-im*, showing the verb to be transitive. The English "along" has become *long*, the basis of most prepositional constructions. *Liklik* and *toktok* are representative of the type of reduplicated forms common in pidgin languages, while the proper noun "Mary" is generalised to include all women or female organisms. The term *peles* (*ples*) has also changed meaning to "village" while the English noun "fellow" has been transformed into an adjectival suffix. "That's all" became "only" and the meaning was extended to include the conjunction "but." Thus this short example illustrates the extreme restructuring which has taken place in the formation of Tok Pisin. This transformation is generally thought to be according to patterns familiar from other languages spoken (Siegel 1999), although a central role for universals in pidgin development has also been touted (Bickerton 1981).

Contemporary language ecology in Papua New Guinea

As is well known, multilingualism is extreme in Papua New Guinea. In a nation of only some four million people, the number of separate languages currently spoken is approximately 860 according to a recent survey (Grimes 1992). The situation is similar in other Melanesian countries, and Vanuatu appears to have greater linguistic diversity than any other country in terms of languages per unit of population. Exact numbers of speakers of different languages are difficult to establish, however, as many are still poorly researched. The reason for such diversity is not exactly known. Although it may popularly be thought that the rugged terrain is responsible for isolating small cultural groups, this cannot be the whole explanation, as the largest indigenous language community in Papua New Guinea, Enga, with approximately 160,000 speakers, occupies some of the most rugged terrain on earth. Geographical isolation may, however, be a contributing factor, together with other factors such as word taboos and a pride in and emphasis of cultural and linguistic differences, which may have led to the speciation of a large number of languages over the 30,000 or so years that man has been in Melanesia (Foley 1986). In addition to the factors mentioned above, some conditions favouring the formation of large linguistic units, such as writing systems and centralised political control were not present in Melanesia (Laycock 1982).

Whatever the reasons for the linguistic diversity in the country, the existence of some kind of lingua franca has been and continues to be essential for inter-group communication and indeed for national development. Tok Pisin is the language which is becoming the most widely used in an increasing range of domains, both formal and informal. At independence, three national languages, English, Tok Pisin and Hiri Motu, were established, although none was designated as the sole official language. English is the language of most formal education, and is widely respected as both a key to employment opportunities and a means of communicating with the outside world. Hiri Motu is a pidginised form of Motu, an Austronesian language spoken in a dozen coastal villages near the capital Port Moresby. Hiri Motu was used by the Australian administration, especially the police, as a lingua franca in Papua, and, although the number of speakers was considerably less than Tok Pisin, it was retained as a national language after independence largely for political reasons. At the time of independence, there was considerable suspicion of "New Guineans" by coastal Papuans, and the secession movement *Papua Besena* had widespread support. Today, the momentum of the movement for independence in Papua is greatly reduced, and Tok Pisin appears to be gaining ground in the southern provinces.

In spite of the dramatic growth of the role of Tok Pisin, the position of English in government-sponsored education has remained firmly entrenched (Johnson 1977). Many arguments have been given for retaining English — its status as a world language, its role as a language of intra-national and international communication, the availability of teaching materials and so on. Mission education has been more flexible, and many "*tok ples*" (i.e. vernacular) primary schools were set up in various parts of the country. However, these were often perceived by communities as offering poorer economic opportunities than English-based schooling. The significance of language choice, of course, has implications for social and political relationships as well as education (Cheshire 1991, Sankoff 1976; see also Pennycook 1994 on the political implications of the use of English). The first voices raised in favour of a greater role for Tok Pisin in education were ironically from expatriate academics (for example Dutton 1976, Kale 1990, Litteral 1975, Lynch 1990, Mühlhäusler, Wurm & Dutton 1979), while many English-educated national administrators continued to favour English. However, some national academics have also added their support (Nekitel 1984).

Not surprisingly, the educational and cultural costs of teaching initial literacy in a foreign language have come to be felt more and more. In the 1980's, many provincial governments began to establish vernacular pre-school literacy programmes, usually for two or three years before the beginning of primary education at the age of eight. The ideology was primarily cultural rather than educational: children were seen to be losing their community traditions and values in a foreign education system. The success of many of these programmes and the enthusiasm they generated soon made the educational benefits apparent also. In a major policy initiative, elder statesman Sir Paulius Matane issued the *Matane Report on the Philosophy of Education*, (1987),

which restored a greater role for cultural identity in education, including vernacular literacy programmes.

This theme was taken up to a certain extent in the Papua New Guinea government's Education Sector Review (1991), stressing the need for initial literacy in a language the child understands. However, this was to be confined to a pre-primary elementary period, in which time it was hoped that the child would make the transition to English-medium education in grade 1, an assumption which Oladejo (1992:8) points out is "over-ambitious and unrealistic". The expansion of vernacular literacy does, however, continue, with recent emphasis on training local literacy workers recruited from within the communities they serve (Faraclas 1989). A number of Tok Pisin-medium schools are in operation, especially in the East Sepik Province, and institutions run by the Lutheran Church, and these appear to be showing promise with regard to early literacy (Siegel 1992, 1993). In the government primary schools, the English-only policy is still officially in operation, although in practice, it appears that more and more Tok Pisin is being used in the earlier grades. Calls have also been made for an expanded role for Tok Pisin in tertiary education (Bickerton 1975a, Swan & Lewis 1990).

The current relationship between English and Tok Pisin

In this section, some data examples will be presented to illustrate the effects of contact between the two languges. These are from a corpus of approximately 350,000 words of transcribed speech of adolescent first language Tok Pisin speakers recorded and transcribed by the author (Smith 1999). Although small by the standards of some present-day corpora of other languages, this is nevertheless a significant resource for contemporary spoken Tok Pisin. Most of the 500 or so informants were in educational institutions where English was the medium of instruction, in provinces in the areas of the country where Tok Pisin has been widely spoken over the past few decades, i.e. excluding the Papuan provinces. The genre is mainly unscripted monologue; informants were simply asked to recount a story into the tape recorder. Stories included traditional legends, descriptions of contemporary events and some jokes.

The fact that informants were largely in English-medium educational establishments and had native proficiency in Tok Pisin indicates a situation where a good deal of mutual influence between the two languages would be expected. Parallel situations in other countries have produced descriptions of the process of contact between pidgins or creoles and their lexifier languages, and what has typically been described is a post-creole continuum. In this situation, the creole (the "basilect") and its standard lexifier (the "acrolect") form two extremes on a gradually varying spectrum of linguistic forms. In between are various degrees of "mesolect." Individuals are generally expected to have a range of competence on this continuum, the exact form used being determined by social or cultural factors.

Since continua of this kind have been described in places such as Jamaica

(Decamp 1971), Belize (Escure 1993) and Guyana (Bickerton 1975b), such a situation is clearly a possibility in Papua New Guinea where the lexifier is in intimate and sustained contact with a pidgin derived from it. Indeed there have been claims that such a continuum is already in place (O'Donnell & Todd 1980, Romaine 1992). Others are somewhat more cautious: Siegel (1997a) for example, considers that characterisations of continua are premature in the whole of Melanesia.

The data from the corpus support Siegel's view. The overwhelming majority of utterances are presented in a grammatical frame that is unequivocally Tok Pisin. This is not to deny the possibility of more mixed varieties being used in other situations or genres, but the process can be characterised more as borrowing than mixing or intertwining at this stage. Since English is a very useful source of ready-made lexical items, it is frequently called upon to plug gaps in the referential resources of Tok Pisin or simply to provide stylistic alternatives. Some examples will show some typical processes of incorporating English items.

An earlier paper (Smith 1998) showed that a massive influx of new English lexis is being incorporated in the Tok Pisin spoken on Manus. Some examples are shown below:

> em fest taim blo mipla ba go lo ai blo planti man na **introdiusim** mipla na i
> bin gutpla **kontest** wantem ol narapla **stiudents**

> it was the first time for us to go in front of a lot of people and introduce
> ourselves and it was a good contest with the other students.

The words *introdiusim* 'introduce' and *kontest* 'contest' are clearly borrowings from English, but in the first case, morphological integration is seen in the adoption of -*im*, the transitive suffix. There are morphological implications of borrowing as well, as seen in the -s plural marker, which is increasingly used in some varieties of Tok Pisin in spite of the presence of the pluralising particle *ol*, which makes -s redundant.

It cannot be seen from the above examples whether phonological adaptation is taking place, as the phonemes involved are common to both languages. When English terms with phonemes outside the Tok Pisin inventory are borrowed, in some cases adaptation is made, while in others, the borrowed phoneme is retained intact:

> long Tesdei ol femili blong em ol bin kam wantaim bodi blong em

> on Thursday, his family came with his body

Here, the word "Thursday" is borrowed from English in place of the standard alternative *fonde* but the interdental fricative (th) is modified as a stop (t). In the following, however, an unvoiced interdental fricative (th) and a voiced sibilant (z) are retained in the borrowed item, although not normally distinguished in Tok Pisin phonology:

> husat i bin **othoraizim?**

> Who authorised it?

Morphological integration suggests that these can be thought of as borrowings rather than code switches. Code-switches between English and Tok Pisin did occur in samples

from the corpus from all areas, but very infrequently, and it was usually with a small number of set phrases. These often referred to time or were translations of unfamiliar items, and usually constituted an obvious discontinuity set off by pauses or breaks in the discourse:

Okei lo Mande moning **the following day** *mipela i go lo gaden.*

OK, on Monday morning, the following day we went to the garden.

ol bin faiarim kar blo ol pipisi — **Provincial Police Commander.**

They set fire to the car belonging to the PPC — Provincial Police Commander.

A whole cline of examples from extensive code-switching to the borderline of what can be considered borrowed or established forms is described in more detail in Smith (2000). What can be seen here, as in other places in the corpus, appears to be an early stage of mutual influence between the two languages, which are still kept separate for most purposes. A situation is emerging in contemporary Papua New Guinea which has not been present in former periods of the history of Tok Pisin, namely the existence of a significant number of people fluent in both Tok Pisin and English. Fluency in Tok Pisin is seen both in the increasing numbers of first language speakers and in a native-like competence of many second language speakers as Tok Pisin gains a greater role in contemporary society. Fluency in English is a product of the continuing policy to use English as the medium of instruction in the majority of educational establishments right from the beginning of primary school.

A post-creole continuum is often associated with urban development, but on the basis of the findings in this corpus, it is suggested that the pre-conditions for such a change may not necessarily be in urban contexts. Some urban settlements may be quite mixed linguistically, but in other cases, ethnic enclaves obviate the need for total Tok Pisin immersion. In provinces such as Manus and New Ireland, however, there now appears to be the combination of almost universal knowledge of both English and Tok Pisin, together with a situation where no vernacular is dominant. It is in this situation that the seeds of a post-creole continuum may be sprouting.

Future directions

The scenario outlined above involves a number of variables, none of whose direction is totally predictable in the future. Tok Pisin itself is continually changing, and competing forces for divergence and convergence within the country appear to be operating (Smith 1990). Calls have been made for vernacular languages or Tok Pisin to have a greater role in education (Siegel 1997b), and if the dominant position of English in the education system is challenged, this could obviously affect the linguistic ecology. An alternative situation, where universal English education effectively made the whole population English-speaking, would fulfil the dream of Sir Hubert Murray, a former governor of Papua, but remains only a remote possibility at present. The expansion of Tok Pisin is no doubt at the expense of vernacular

languages, many of which must now be considered endangered. A brake on the expansion of Tok Pisin through a resurgence of vernaculars or regional standards seems unlikely at present, but is nevertheless another possible factor influencing developments.

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7   Chaos in Aboriginal English discourse

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This paper explores several aspects of chaos perceived in Aboriginal
English (AE) discourse. This chaos, which partly stems from non-
reliance on temporality, diminishes the transparency of AE discourse
to non-Aboriginal speakers of English. Certain cognitive and
perceptual preferences, reflected in recall criteria, perceptual style,
and perceptual saliency, seem to underlie this perceived chaos. These
cognitive characteristics may be determined by cultural skills, beliefs,
and practices.

Several studies have reported that Australian Aboriginal students do not often benefit
ideally from the education they are provided with (e.g., Christie & Harris 1985,
Kearins 1985, Lowell & Devlin 1998, Malcolm 1982). Factors such as hearing loss,
cultural discontinuity between home and school, linguistic and sociolinguistic
interference, and linguistic incompatibility have been proposed to be responsible for
this failure of the educational system, in a Western schooling context, to cater for the
needs of Aboriginal students.

One of the linguistic barriers to the success of Aboriginal students is the partial
obscurity of their discourse to non-Aboriginal teachers, which has been attributed
(e.g., Christie & Harris, 1985) to the discrepancies between the language variety
spoken by Aboriginal students (i.e., Aboriginal English) and the one spoken by their
non-Aboriginal teachers (i.e., Australian English). Differences have been observed at
all levels between these two dialects, from phonology to semantics and discourse
(Harkins 1994, Malcolm et al. 1999).

This paper is an attempt to look for parallels between distinctive discoursal
features in Aboriginal English (AE) and perceptual-cognitive principles of
organization. The basic assumptions in this endeavour are: a) there is an intimate
interrelationship between language and other cognitive faculties, and b) cognitive
characteristics and preferences may be shaped by cultural skills and practices. These
assumptions in fact summarize the author's position concerning the relationship
between culture, cognition, and language. Assumption "a" refers to the general tenet

advocated by cognitive linguists that formal features of language are pointers to deeper cognitive representations and processes (e.g., Langacker 1987, 1991, Chafe 1994). A corollary of this proposition would be that formal differences could stem from either representational differences or alternative processing tactics. Assumption "b" denotes the idea favored by cognitive anthropologists (e.g., Shore 1996, Strauss & Quinn 1997) and ethno-psychologists (e.g., Davidson & Kishor 1984, Kearins 1985) that cultural practices and skills may have a bearing on the development of certain cognitive preferences or advantages.

The rest of this paper is composed of several sections. The first section will present a brief description of AE. The second section will review research on cognitive aspects of AE. The third section will present and develop the major theme of the present paper.

Aboriginal English

"Aboriginal English" is a cover term referring to dialects of English, except Standard Australian English, spoken by Aboriginal Australians. For many speakers of AE, this dialect is a successor of Aboriginal languages that are largely extinct now (Malcolm 2000a). This is due to the fact that AE includes features from these Aboriginal languages, as well as from English. Of course, AE includes features that belong neither to the former nor to the latter. Malcolm (1995) defines AE as:

> A range of varieties of English spoken by many Aboriginal people and some others in close contact with them which differ in systematic ways from standard Australian English at all levels of linguistic structure (sounds; word forms; syntax; vocabulary; meanings) and which are used for distinctive speech events, acts and genres. (p. 19)

Although AE is not a pidgin or creole now, there is evidence that it has gone through the processes of pidginization, creolization and decreolization, and is now mainly used for intra-communication purposes (Malcolm 2000a, also see Malcolm & Koscielecki 1997 for a diachronic study of AE).

AE is different from Australian English both at the surface level of formal features and also at the deeper level of semantic content (Arthur 1996, Harkins 1994, Malcolm et al. 1999). AE employs distinctive means to represent reality (Malcolm 1994a, 1994b). Among these are:

- AE achieves economy of expression
- AE is highly context dependent
- AE foregrounds aspect, duration, dual number, participant relations, and oral art and backgrounds gender, existence, and plurality
- AE discourse reveals unique rhetorical structures.

AE achieves certain unique functions for its speakers, such as a) creating a convivial atmosphere among Aboriginal speakers, b) reinforcing common Aboriginal identity, c)

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providing for certain Aboriginal genres, and d) achieving ironic humor (Malcolm 1995).

Research has shown that "even where Aboriginal English seems to employ the same vocabulary as Australian English, it is informed by a semantics deeply rooted in Aboriginal culture" (Malcolm & Rochecouste 2000, P. 98). This has often resulted in miscommunication between Aboriginal children and non-Aboriginal teachers (Malcolm 1977, 1982). As Malcolm et al. (1999) put it:

> We have seen that the same English words and expressions can accommodate contrasting cultural schemas, so that speakers of standard English may think (on the basis of surface linguistic form) they are being understood by Aboriginal English speakers (and vice versa) but may be drawing on completely different inferences from the communication from those which were intended. (p. 74)

Cognitive aspects of AE

Research on cognitive aspects of AE is quite recent (Malcolm 1998, Malcolm & Rochecouste 2000, Sharifian 2000). As part of a project on two-way education, Malcolm and Rochecouste employed schema theory to identify some cultural schemas which underlie the production of distinctive discourse patterns in AE oral discourse produced by Yamatjis, an Aboriginal cultural group in Western Australia (Malcolm & Rochecouste 2000). By comparing 40 passages and determining their genre-specific recurring content features and discourse patterns, they have been able to identify eight schemas, which have been labeled Travel, Hunting, Observing, Encountering the Unknown, Gathering, Isolation from the Group, Problem-Solving, and Borrowed/Hybrid. Certain discourse markers and discourse strategies have also appeared to be associated with these schemas in AE discourse. These schemas mainly reflect Aboriginal cultural activities, beliefs and practices. Malcolm and Rochecouste observe that the first four are the most frequently occurring in the data that they have analyzed.

In a recent study on the processing of schemas by Aboriginal children, certain distinctive patterns emerged that could be attributed to the distinctive roles played by schemas in linguistic processing (Sharifian 2000). For example, referential devices, such as demonstratives and pronouns, employed in AE discourse sometimes appeared to retrieve their antecedent from the speaker's activated schema rather than the device's linguistic context or the physical context where the discourse is produced. This was inferred on the basis of the observation that some referential devices were found with no previous mentioning of their antecedents or even semantically related lexical items. In the following oral text, for example, the demonstrative "dat" (that) is used with "snake" without any previous mentioning of the "snake" or without any snakes being in the immediate environment where this talk was recorded. It is also to be noted that K is a researcher who had not been present in the scene being described. Thus, it is hypothesized that the speaker is making a reference to a snake in her

activated schema rather than any words in her current discourse or even her immediate environment.

Koongamia Snake Text

J: My sister she went to.. she went to put er rubbish away..

K: Yeah

J: an she was messin roun playin like dat an.. she was gunna git cut

K: mmm

J: she came out like dat dere... she nearly killed *dat* snake

A: she stepped on the snake like dat

J: Yeah.

Chaos in AE discourse

In this section we turn to the exploration of chaos perceived by non-Aboriginal speakers of English in AE discourse. This chaos is perceived in the way utterances are put together to form larger strings and stretches of discourse. It is this chaos that somehow disrupts the flow of communication between Aboriginal students and non-Aboriginal teachers. The purpose of the present analysis is to detect the factors that may be responsible for this discoursal phenomenon.

The present analysis draws on more than 100 texts, mainly oral narratives from Aboriginal child speakers of AE in Western Australia and a number of written texts in AE from Aboriginal child speakers living in the Northern Territory in Australia.

The term "chaos", as it is used here, is borrowed from chaos theory, which aims at describing and explaining dynamic complex systems (Hilborn 1994). Research on chaotic systems has revealed patterns of order within disorder, made possible through the use of computer programs modeling sizable amounts of data. Along the same line, the present study is an attempt to detect possible order in "chaotic" discourse in AE.

Part of the chaos perceived in AE discourse, particularly narrative discourse, arises from its frequent non-reliance on, but not necessarily absence of, *temporal ordering*. This feature of AE is in parallel with the non-linearity observed in chaotic systems. Consider the following text written by an Aboriginal student (Source: Gillespie 1991):

Green Birds Text

On the weekend we went to look for Green birds

and we came to camp

and we went to watch videos

and we went to sleep

and eat meat

and we were plaing marbles

and we went to the lard to Look the big bulloc.

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An Aboriginal research assistant was asked to number the clauses in the above text according to their most probable original order of occurrence of the represented events. In other words, the aim was to construct the order of events in *fabula* (i.e., what actually happened) from the order of presentation in *sjuzhet* (i.e., what is presented). The ordering given was as follows:

line 2>line1>line 7> line 6>line 5> line 3> line 4

This means that the above text could be temporally rewritten as:

and we came to camp
On the weekend we went to look for Green birds
and we went to the lard to Look the big bulloc
and we were plaing marbles
and eat meat
and we went to watch videos
and we went to sleep

The lack of preference for temporal ordering in AE discourse is also reflected in the relatively high frequency of the occurrence of the connective "and" instead of temporal connectives such as "first", "second", "next", etc. The following text shows how an AE speaker may connect the utterances by means of "and":

The Bloke with the Shotgun Text

(The speaker is an Aboriginal boy aged 9, in a group of 5 boys and 4 girls 5 Aboriginal and 4 non-Aboriginal. R is an Aboriginal boy aged 11)

L: And last time when we were livin over the (street address)
      well we went over dis bloke's house
      and e's had dis dog
      and e ad a double barrel shotgun
R: that's goin
L: and..
I: it's going
L: we went through de tunnel
      and a dog.. de dog came..
      and.. we took off
      and.. we went to the caravans park
      an this other bloke he ad.. he ad dis um gun
      and e's two dogs..
      and.. we um tried to jump the fence of the caravan park
      but it was too high for me
      so my hu- cousin Henry well he chucked me over
      and and I landed on my head.
      I jarred him!
      (others laughing)

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Temporal ordering has been believed by some to lie at the very heart of narrative (e.g., Labov 1972). For these scholars, "temporally ordered clauses (and only these) are labeled 'narrative clauses'" (Reinhart 1984, p. 779). For them, in narratives, the order of presentation (i.e., sjuzhet) is the same as the original order of occurrence of the events (i.e., fabula). Narratives should have a temporal axis called 'skeleton' of the text, around which the non-narrative flesh is organized (Labov 1972).

A writer may of course, according to this interpretation of narrative, choose to avoid any overlap between the order of events and the order of presentation (Reinhart 1984). This may for example be achieved by the use of certain lexical and syntactic devices, such as embedding and subordination. The following sentence from Reinhart shows how syntactic embedding may be used to distort the original temporal order of events:

- A friend of mine came in just in time to stop this person who had a little too much to drink from attacking me.

This temporal ordering avoidance strategy may be employed where story telling is not the appropriate genre or where the writer wants to create a special effect. A good example would be a news report, where the report may include temporal materials but the news report genre does not allow 'narrativity'. In these cases, the writer makes every attempt to avoid the overlap of the two orders (see Reinhart 1984). It is to be noted here that the avoidance of temporal ordering in AE discourse may not be attributed to the requirements of school genres or stylistic appropriateness. Thus, we should move beyond the level of text to search for answers.

Thus far, we have mentioned two different levels of temporal ordering: order of events in fabula, and order of presentation in sjuzhet. There is however a third level, which is representation of temporality in the mind of an author. This is perhaps what Onega and Landa (1996) call "story", the level of representation between fabula and text. "A text is a linguistic construct, while a story is a cognitive scheme of events" (p. 8). It is at this cognitive level that this paper is seeking explanations for non-linearity. It is the contention of this paper that certain perceptual and cognitive principles of organization should be at work in determining the order of presentation in AE discourse.

Non-linearity in discourse may be attributed to the modes of information processing. (TenHouten 1997, 1995, 1999). Having observed a non-linearity in Aboriginal discourse, TenHouten maintains, "[t]oday's Australian Aborigines are the bearers of the world's most ancient civilization. Their thinking patterns do not feature logical-analytic, linear information processing, but rather a gestalt-synthetic mode of information processing" (TenHouten 1999, p. 127).

Based on his observation of differential patterns of time-consciousness, TenHouten (1999) constructs a conceptual model, in which he introduces *patterned-cyclical* as opposed to *ordinary-linear* form of time-consciousness. He characterizes pattern-cyclical time-consciousness as having the following features:

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- It is *dualistic*, which means it is based on two levels of reality: "the sacred inner reality and the profane outer reality" (TenHouten 1999, p. 128)
- There is *fusion of the past and the present*.
- It is *irregular*, *discontinuous*, and *heterogeneous*.
- It is *event-oriented*.
- It is *cyclical and based on overlapping and interdependent patterns and oscillations*.
- It is *qualitative*, which refers to non-numerical assessment and "now" being the anchor point.
- It is *based on the experience of long duration*, which refers to subjectivity of time passage.

TenHouten (1999) contrasts these characteristics with the linear form of time-consciousness, which is one dimensional, continuous, quantitative, and which can be partitioned into past, present, and future. Employing a Neurocognitive Hierarchical Categorization Analysis (NHCA), which is a lexical categorization method using *Roget's International Thesaurus*, TenHouten analyzes 168 life-historical interviews with Aboriginal and Euro-Australian people and concludes that time-consciousness in Aboriginal people is predominantly pattern-cyclical while it is primarily ordinary-linear in Euro-Australians. TenHouten (1999) relates these two patterns of time-consciousness to cerebral hemisphericity as follows:

> Linear time-consciousness, it is proposed here, is an aspect of the logical-analytic mode of informational processing of the left cerebral hemisphere (of the adult right-handed person); and patterned-cyclic time-consciousness is proposed to be an aspect of the gestalt-synthetic information processing that is characteristic of the right hemisphere. (p. 133)

TenHouten (1985, 1986) had previously used several other cognitive tests and tasks and the results he had found all gave evidence of right hemisphericity in Aboriginal children. For example, TenHouten (1985) found that Aboriginal children outperformed non-Aboriginal children on Closure 79 (a right-hemisphere dependent visual closure test), in spite of their lower performance on WISC-R (a left hemisphere dependent word-pairs test). He also found higher percentages of leftward conjugate lateral eye movements in Aboriginal children than non-Aboriginal children, which reflects right-hemisphericity on the level of hemispheric activation. Hemisphericity is in fact a tendency to rely more on the resources of one hemisphere than the other and is hypothesized to be partly determined by socio-cultural factors (see TenHouten 1999).

A point that may be worth raising here concerns the association of linearity with "logic", as reflected in TenHouten's use of "logical-analytic" in the above quotation. "Logic" is used here as though logic is a single objectively-definable reality either perceived or conceived by the human mind. We should keep in mind, however, that studies in logic during the past century have shown us alternative ways of defining, modeling and applying logic. One of these alternative *non-linear* "logics" is what came

to be known as *fuzzy logic*, which extends the concept of logic to encompass much more than a binary possibility of formal logic, and which can handle non-linear, time-variable systems as well (Zadeh 1996). It may well be that non-linearity in Aboriginal cognition is a reflection of some alternative "logic" of representation and processing of information.

Gell (1996) uses syllogistic logic and shows that, "there is no reason to suppose that 'temporal logic' is part of the foundations on which all intelligible thought must rest ... Ordinary logic is time-indifferent" (p. 243). In the hypothetico-deductive method of logical reasoning (e.g., Sharifian 1999), for instance, the major premise is a strict universal statement not bound by place or time.

TenHouten does not provide any textual examples for the features that he identifies with the pattern-cyclical time-consciousness; nor does he mention the language or the dialect of the speakers in his study. However, based on his definitions and descriptions, it appears that some of these features are in consonance, more or less, with the features observed to be prevalent in AE. The following texts from the data analyzed for this study will illustrate some of these characteristics:

Text 3 (Devil's Visit)

(IM is a non-Aboriginal researcher and the others are primary-school Aboriginal students)

1	Gavin:	One devil came to me
2	IM:	A devil came to you?
3	Gavin:	Yeah.. (at Onslow
4	IM:	(well tell me all about it Gavin
5	Gavin:	Out the window.
6	IM:	Out the window... (What do you mean?
7	Gavin:	(Yeah... I was 'wake for a looong time..
8		Dat's out xxxx (an I was
9	IM:	(Yes.. you were in the house were you?
10	Raymond:	(xxxxxx dere?
11	Gavin:	(Yeah.. an I looked..
12		An I was..
13		Wiped the window..
14		Then I seen sumpin come aroun the corner dere...

Text 5 (Featherfoot Stories)

...

1	Like dese blackfellas we saw dey was featherfoot
2	ey was singing a s song in the bush dere..
3	Yamatji song

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Text 7 (Singing Story)

1   R: um the last um.. last um.... well next year..
2   IM: [yes
3   R: [Well
4   we- we um we was eatin these eatin our tea..
5   well um.. we had the lights on
6   and dis um sing.. an dis man.. he come..
7   it was a umm blackfella..
8   an e come
9   an e.. e sing..
10   he was sing...
11   I don't know what he was doing..
12   And sing..
13   Then all of the uh lights switched off..
14   An we didn't switch them off.

Text 13 (Hunting)

1   T: At the station
2   Me and my dad and my mother and my brother
3   We went we went camping out

Text 18 (Sporting Exploits)

     ....

1   First off I started off in the back line standin up you know..
2   then footy come towards me boy ...

Text 20 (Little Man Story)

1   Um.. when I 'as asleep at 'ome
2   When I 'as asleep at 'ome ..
3   One.. one little man was dere.
4   I was.. I was I went under the rug
5   An it it come right up to me ...

Text 27 (Granddad and the Bobtail)

1   When we was at.. Mavis's house..
2   well..
3   we make our shed...
4   there was a little tire there ...

In texts 3, 5, 7, and 20 the Aboriginal speakers talk about experiences belonging to a world, called *The Dreaming*, that transcends the world boundaries experienced by many non-Aboriginal people. Maddock (1982) maintains that, "Aboriginal cosmology supposes that nature and culture were formed at the same time, and it attributes both

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to powers who lived in the world during The Dreaming and are present in it still, though no longer generally visible, for they have withdrawn from view" (p. 105). Durkheim (1912/1965) believed that Aboriginal people conceive of "two heterogeneous and mutually incomparable worlds" (p. 250). This, according to TenHouten (1999, p. 128), accounts for the "irregularity, discontinuity, and heterogeneity" in time-consciousness. It should however be noted here that Aboriginal people may not necessarily tend to draw a separating line between these "two worlds" and may even find the label of Dreaming inappropriate, as it may suggest "an unreal experience".

Text 13 shows a frequent feature of Aboriginal English discourse: mentioning the name of a place (i.e. "At the station") rather than a specific point in time, as the starting point of the recount. Marking the timing of a recount in AE discourse is often in the form of "When + an event and/or a place". In Texts 20 and 27, for example, the opening lines of the story clearly show this pattern of "place/event-orientedness". Note that a non-Aboriginal speaker of English may tend to mark the specific point in time when something happened and thus say, "When I was asleep at home *last night*" or "We were at Mavis's house *last week/the other* day" as the description of the setting in a story.

Event-orientedness is also reflected in Text 3 where the speaker starts off the recount without marking the time of the event. Note how the first line of Text 7 reveals an attempt made by the Aboriginal child speaker to accommodate to non-Aboriginal ways of talking by trying to build a time frame. The "synchronic ordering of events" in AE discourse may be equated with a non-reliance on temporal ordering exemplified earlier by the Green Birds Text (p. 4) in this paper.

The "Fusion of past and present" may be reflected in using the present and the past form of a verb in describing a single event. This pattern can be observed in Texts 7 (lines 7-8), Text 18, Text 20 (lines 4-5), Text 27 (lines 3-4). It should be admitted here that the fusion of past and present as marked in a verb is related to the structure of "tense" and may or may not be a reflection of "time-consciousness" as a cognitive notion.

Overall, the above features of AE discourse point to a non-reliance on temporality on the part of AE speakers in structuring their discourse. This is in parallel with the findings of research conducted on cognitive skills of Australian Aboriginal people. Davidson and Klich (1980) observed a preference for spatial ordering and a lack of preference for temporal ordering in Aboriginal children in two free-recall tasks with pictures and objects. They attributed this preference for spatial ordering to cultural and environmental influences. Davidson (1979) also refers to evidence suggesting that, in traditional tasks such as card playing and orienting, Aboriginal people seem to store and retrieve spatially information that was sampled temporally.

Since temporal ordering is closely associated with the notion of "time", a brief discussion of how time is viewed in relation to cognition may prove of some insight here. The notion of "time", as we apply it to the 'temporalization' of experience, is

mainly a cognitive construction (see Bender & Wellbery 1991). Construction of linear time and setting it out as a framework within which life forms are embedded appears to be a preference and a demand in certain societal systems, such as the clock-and calendar oriented ones. Leach (1961) believes that "the idea of Time ... is one of those categories we find necessary because we are social animals rather than because of anything empirical in our objective experience of the world" (p. 125).

Cognitive research on temporal memory (e.g., Friedman 1993, Larsen, Thompson & Hansen 1996) also reveals that people do not store and retrieve temporal information directly. Rather, they reconstruct the temporal location of past events on the basis of fragments of information remembered about the content of the event (i.e., *temporal cues*) and general knowledge about time patterns (i.e., *temporal schemas*).

The concept of time is not a single, unique notion in human life. At least two different conceptions of time have been identified across cultures by social anthropologists. Several dichotomies have been developed to label these two conceptualizations of time: cyclical/linear, sacred/secular, repetitive/non-repetitive, etc (Gell 1996). It has been suggested, for example, that time in The Dreaming is sacred and eternal, whereas time in the non-Dreaming is secular and chronological. (Berndt 1974, Bain 1992). It seems possible that the conception of The Dreaming by Aboriginal people has diminished their need to rely heavily on chronology. In cognitive terminology, Aboriginal speakers may not find it so necessary to either represent temporal cues or to construct temporal schemas. Instead, other cues or criteria may be used for the retrieval and recall of information from memory. For example, certain recurrent features in AE discourse suggest that the order of recall of the events may be determined by consideration of "place" and "event", realized in a sequence like WHERE>WHAT>WHY. That is, a recount may start with the description of a place and/or an event, then moves to what happened and finally the reasons why it happened. The following passage would exemplify this pattern of recall:

Text 97 (Tormenting Story)

1   FT: Thas what happened to me once..
2   I was out bush..
3   I went to this hill..
4   and this ole fella said 'Oh don't go near that ill'..
5   but me nah..
6   I went up the 'ill..
7   when I was mustering sheep..
8   and I went in
9   lookin in aroun..
10 FT: An these little fellas lived..
11 an that night they come out an
12 tormented me..
13 got me an chucked me outa my bed..

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14   chucked the bed on me an all..
15   I had to go back to that hill
16   because I took somethin from the hill
17   what I shouldn'ta taken
18   an I took it back
19   EH: Put it back
20   FT: An those little xx didn't come no more
21   JR: So they knew
22   FT: Oh yeah I took a little a grinding rock
23   FT: I'll take it back
24   I-I'll take that thing back..
25   but they jumped all over me..
26   chucked me out o my bed didn't e..
27   this was out Wiluna..

As it can be seen in the above text, lines 2 and 3 describe where the incident happened, then up to line 15 is a description of what happened and finally lines 16 and 17 explain the reason why "little fellas" tormented the narrator. Therefore, the order of recall here can be said to have been contingent upon where/what/why consideration in that order.

Part of the chaos perceived in AE discourse seems to come from a recurrent feature that is called "surveying" (Malcolm et al. 1999). Malcolm et al. observe that Aboriginal child speakers make a picture, in their discourse, of the whole event surveyed. "Surveying is a discourse strategy (perhaps a sub-genre) exhibited in the oral narrative of Aboriginal child speakers whereby they depict an event in the context of the whole communicative setting in which it takes place" (Malcolm et al. 1999, p. 50). The italicized section in the following text, transcribed from an oral report of a football game by a six-year-old girl, exemplifies this feature of AE.

Koongamia Football Text

1   K: What about football?
2   Did you go an watch your brother play football?
3   A: Yeah na.. I play- I watch myself play football
        (laughter)
4   K: Watch yourself play
5   A: Yeah
6   K: Did you go an see.. Christopher play.. er
7   A: at the WACA
8   K: at the WACA?
9   A: Nuh
10 K: You didn't..
11 A: Nuh.. cause we [h]as ten games to play
12   Many   Ohhh no

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13 K: E's brother was in the.. Little league in Essendon on Sa- um Sunday
14 A: an Eagles
15 L: Hey don't.. did he win...when..what day.. you didn't get....
16   ohh don't that would've been solid ay....
        (laugh)
17   oh boy I would've been.. I'd've been there standing at the fence..
18   tryin to look through the fence
19 *S:* *Dey got little cousin*
20   *crawled in the way*
21   *and...Uncle Simon...he-*
22   *O he got hit...*
23   *an there..*
24   *annnd like we watched Fiona Buckley play*
25   *thas her name...*
26   *an er baby was like..*
27   *she's a nice girl wid about ten names..*
28   *an I was only watchin Uncle Simon watchin football*
29 L: mmm
30 S: An Jade man he's like my brother
31 A: My brother e lives at Cue
32 S: about four five years older then me...e's five
33 L: mm
34 K: yeah.

As lines 19 to 26 suggest, the speaker seems to have sampled several aspects of her immediate environment, which are not scenes of the football game, and in reporting the game gives equal prominence to all of the sampled aspects. It is as if the speaker has taken shots from different things happening around her. This recurrent feature of AE seems to reflect certain patterns of *selective attention* (Neisser 1980) in Aboriginal speakers. That is, the scope of vision adopted and attended to by Aboriginal speakers, as reflected in the coverage of events in AE discourse, appears to be much wider than that of at least urban non-Aboriginal speakers. This is endorsed by the visual spatial superiority observed in Aboriginal children by cognitive psychologists. Research has constantly shown an advantage for Aboriginal children in tasks requiring spatio-visual processing and memory (e.g. Kearins 1976, 1981, 1986, Klich & Davidson 1983).

Aboriginal speakers' vision seems to capture a broader perspective, often with equal prominence given to several aspects of the environment being observed. When observing, a variety of aspects of the environment would be selected for attention by an Aboriginal speaker and these are represented internally to build a gestalt. These fragments of perceptual information may also be represented as *spatial cues*. It was mentioned earlier in this paper that research suggests that people represent temporal *cues* and the chronology observed in their retrieval is created by the help of these temporal cues. It may well be that Aboriginal speakers sample and store information

about different, apparently unrelated, aspects of the environment as spatial cues, instead of temporal cues, for later recall. The same spatial cues may also be imparted to the interlocutors involved in communication in order for them to construct gestalts, required to develop a global image of the event being described.

Aspects of the environment which are selected for attention are usually somehow perceptually salient to the viewer. This perceptual saliency could be determined by cultural and ecological systems. Aboriginal people attend to features of land and environment that may not be salient to non-Aboriginal people. This could be attributed to survival skills and also to the fact that physical environment, particularly Aboriginal land, has a symbolic significance for Aboriginal people.

Cultural practices such as child-rearing practices may also play a role in determining what is salient to the observer. Kearins (1986) observes that Aboriginal mothers draw their children's close attention to different aspects of the environment from infancy. In fact, she attributes the visual superiority that she observes in Aboriginal children to such cultural practices. Cultural and environmental factors may also have had a bearing in developing a preference in some Aboriginal groups for a certain type of spatial conception called *the absolute system* (Levinson 1997, 1998). The absolute system of spatial conception, as opposed to the *relative system*, employs linguistic distinctions encoding fixed directions, such as uphill/downhill, upstream/downstream, windward/leeward. The relative system, on the other hand, would employ terms such as *right*, *left*, *back*, and *front*, which encode angles on the horizontal relative to an individual's point of view.

Conclusion

It seems that the chaos observed in AE discourse is rooted in certain cognitive and perceptual preferences which could, at least partly, be determined by cultural practices and environmental factors. If so, then the educational system to which Aboriginal children are exposed should be informed by these cognitive characteristics. An effective curriculum would after all be one that takes into consideration and is based on cognitive skills brought to school by the learner. That is in fact what underlies the concept of *user-friendly education*.

Acknowledgement

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8 Language, literature, culture — and their meeting place in the dictionary

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We are all familiar with the role of the dictionary as a reference on language. The dictionary has a larger role as a document of the language of a particular language community existing in a particular place at a particular time. From this point of view the dictionary documents our culture and has a vital nexus with our literature. Dictionaries of varieties of English serve to record the differences between English-language communities and can be instructive on cultural differences. In this paper, I will show how the dictionary can be a conduit to a cultural understanding in the region, drawing on examples from Singaporean and Malaysian English, Philippine English, Hong Kong English and Australian English.

In 1985, Macquarie conducted a survey of users of the dictionary through the newsletter of the Macquarie Dictionary Society. Of course, the people surveyed were hardcore users of the dictionary but even so the results were interesting and indicative of the general attitude.

The most common reason for looking up a dictionary is to find out the meaning of a word. The next most common reason is to establish the spelling. After that comes etymology, pronunciation and grammar in declining order of importance.

1985, Arthur Delbridge, Extract from 'The Macquarie Questionnaire' in the newsletter of the *Macquarie Dictionary Society*, Volume 2 Issue 4, February, North Ryde, Sydney: The Macquarie Dictionary Society.

Scale of Frequency: 1 Never, 2 Occasionally, 3 Regularly, 4 Often, 5 Constantly

	Mean Frequency
Meaning	3.48
Spelling	2.94

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Etymology	2.46
Pronunciation	2.27
Grammar	1.85
Culture-specific words, e.g. *floater*, *churinga, tagliatelle*	2.65
Encyclopedic words, e.g. animal names chemical compounds, etc.	2.63
Slang words, e.g. *blabbermouth*	2.61
Phrases, e.g. *come the raw prawn*	2.44
Grammatical words, e.g. *always, of*	1.92
`Rude' words, e.g. *shit*	1.87
Common words, e.g. *home, put*	1.65

The fact that some of these reasons have low scores is not indicative of their importance or unimportance.

You might consult the dictionary but once a year about an etymology but you are grateful for that information when you need it.

At this basic level of providing information about language, the aim of a dictionary is to meet the needs of the user, which is why there are so many different kinds of dictionaries — specialist dictionaries, learners dictionaries, children's dictionaries.

It is interesting that despite the many shapes and forms of the realised dictionary we still look things up in `the dictionary', as if intuitively we feel that each one of these dictionaries is an access to the complete document of our language.

At this basic level of use, the dictionary is consulted as a book that tells the writer what to do, although these days all dictionaries aim to tell the users what is, rather than overtly to instruct them on what is best.

However, if the information in the dictionary is detailed and accurate, if the dictionary gets it right, then it is a small but significant step for the dictionary to function as an authority. Unless you are a rugged individualist, you are likely to fall in line with what your language community deems to be acceptable.

The dictionary's more sophisticated aim however is to be the record of the language of a particular community. It paints a picture of who we are, what our values are, what our history has been. If the dictionary is authentic in all its detail, then the picture is true. The authenticity of the dictionary relies on all that soul-searching over every detail, so the two functions go hand in hand.

Sometimes this aspect of the dictionary as a cultural record is easier to see with other dictionaries from other times and places than it is to see with a contemporary dictionary.

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Take any page of Nathan Bailey's dictionary and you learn fascinating snippets of information about the world of the early 1700s in England.

1727, Nathan Bailey, *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary*. Being also an Interpreter of hard Words. London: T Cox.

BORDELLO, on the South Bank of the River of *Thames*, Westwards of the Bridge, and next to the Bear-garden, was sometimes the Bordello or Stews, a Place so called of certain Stews or Houses privileg'd there for incontinent Men to repair to incontinent Women, for which Privilege there was an Act of Parliament made in the Reign of King Henry II. in which there were some of the Orders: That no Stew-holder or his Wife should hinder any single Woman from going and coming freely at all times when they liked; Nor to keep any Woman at Board; but that she should Board abroad at her Pleasure: That they should take no more for the Woman's Chamber than 14 Pence a Week. That they should not keep open their Doors on holy Days. That no single Woman should be kept against her Will. That they should not receive any Woman of Religion, nor any Man's Wife. That no single Woman take Money to lie with any, but she may lie with him all Night till the Morrow. That no Stew-holder keep any Woman that hath the perilous Infirmity of burning; nor sell Bread, Ale, Flesh, Fish, Wood, Coal, or any Victuals, etc. These Stew-houses were permitted in the Time of King Henry VI. but were inhibited in the Reign of King Henry VII. and the Doors shut up; but set open again; but were put down in the Time of King Henry VIII. in the Year 1546.

By chance, I stumbled on the entry for *bordello* — an entry remarkable for its length. Nathan begins by giving the old address — `on the South Bank of the River of Thames, Westwards of the Bridge and next to the Bear-garden' — and then gives the rules laid down by an act of Parliament in the region of Henry II for the owner of the bordello. They seem designed to protect the women — `That no single Woman should be kept against her Will. That no single women take money to lie with any, but she may lie with him till the morrow' — and to protect decency — `That they should not receive any Woman of Religion, nor any Man's Wife'. They also protect the health of the customer.

Take Bailey's view of politics in his dictionary. The words *democracy* and *republic* are lacking, *king* is minimally defined, *parliament* a little more warmly described, but the astonishing entries are those for *knight* and *gentleman*, which are both very lengthy and list the rights of those who had achieved such status.

1727, Nathan Bailey, *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary*. Being also an Interpreter of hard Words. London: T Cox.

GENTLEMAN is properly, according to the ancient Notion, one of perfect blood, who had 4 Descents of Gentility both by his Father and Mother, *viz.* whose Father's Grandfather, his great Grandfather, his Grandfather and his Father on both Sides were all Gentlemen.

Gentlemen have their beginning either from Blood, as before, as they are born of Parents of Worth; or for having done something in Peace or War, for which they are worthy to bear Arms, and be accounted Gentlemen.

Formerly such Gentlemen had many Privileges, as first, that if one Gentleman detracted from another, Combat was allowed; but if a peasant or mean Person did so, he had a Remedy in Law. 2. In Crimes of an equal Nature a Gentleman was punished more favourably than a Peasant, etc. 3. Gentlemen might expect a peculiar Honour, and respect to be paid them by mean persons. 4. The Evidence of a Gentleman was accounted more authenthick than that of a Peasant. 5. In chusing of Magistrates, etc. the Vote of a Gentleman was preferr'd before that of an ignoble Person. 6. A Gentleman was to be excused from Services, Impositions and Duties. 7. A Gentleman condemned to Death, was not to be hanged but beheaded; nor was his Examination to be taken with Torture. 8. It was a punishable Crime to take down the Coat Armour of a Gentleman, to deface his Monument, or to offer Violence to the Ensign of any noble Person deceased. 9. A Gentleman was not to accept a Challenge from a Peasant; because there was not a Parity in their Conditions.

The ancient *Saxons* admitted none to the Degree of Gentlemen that liv'd by Trades or Buying and selling; except Merchants and those that follow'd Husbandry; which was always esteem'd a creditable Way of Livelihood, and preferable to trading to Sea.

The Reason why those, that are students in the Inns of Court are esteem'd Gentlemen is; because anciently none but the Sons of Gentlemen were admitted into them.

But the Students of Law, Grooms of his Majesty's Palace, Sons of Peasants made Priests or Canons; or those that have receiv'd Dignity in the Schools or born Offices in the City, tho' they are stiled [styled] Gentlemen, yet they have no Right to Coat Armour.

If a Man be a Gentleman by Office only and loses that Office, then he also loses his Gentility.

In our Days all are accounted Gentlemen, that have Mony, and if he has no Coats of Arms, the King of Arms can sell him one.

For example, `The Evidence of a gentleman was accounted more authentic than that of a Peasant' and `A gentleman condemned to Death was not to be hanged but beheaded; nor was his Examination to be taken with Torture'. Nathan ends with the sad comment `In our days all are accounted Gentlemen, that have Money, and if he has no Coat of Arms, the King of Arms can sell him one.'

1727, Nathan Bailey, *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary*. Being also an Interpreter of hard Words. London: T Cox.

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KNIGHT a Person whom the King has singled out from the common Class of Gentlemen, and dignified with the honour of Knighthood. In ancient Times there were 6 Particulars required in him that was to be made a Knight. I. That he was no Trader. 2. That besides other Things, he were of servile Condition. 3. That he should take an Oath that he would not refuse to die for the Sake of the Gospel and his Country. 4. His Sword was to be girt on by some Nobleman. 5. That he should have the Badge of Knighthood put upon him. And 6. That he should be enrolled in the King's Books. It was also required, that Knights should be brave, daring, undaunted, expert, provident and well behaved. Christian Kings appointed many religious Ceremonies to be observed at the Creation of Knights, and none were admitted to the Order of Knights, but such as had merited the Honour by some commendable and extraordinary Exploits. They were anciently distinguished by a Belt, a Target, a Sword, or some martial Token. But now the Honour being grown cheap, these Ceremonies have been laid aside, and there goes nothing now to the making a Knight in England, but the King's touching him with a Sword as he kneels, saying, *Rise up Sir* R.N. [Right Name]

His disillusionment is also evident at the entry for *knight* in which he observes that knights were supposed to be good and brave and daring and undaunted and the Ceremony at which a Knight was created was a serious affair, `but now the Honour being grown cheap, these Ceremonies have been laid aside, and there goes nothing now to the making of a Knight in England but the King's touching with a Sword as he kneels and saying *Rise up Sir R.N. [Right Name]*'

Dictionaries reveal the enthusiasms of their authors, in this case towards classical learning. Nathan justifies this in his preface by pointing out that `it is so common among our modern Poets to intersperse the Grecian and Roman Theology, Mythology, etc. in their Works, an Unacquaintance with which renders their Writings either obscure or at least less intelligible to the Readers', that he has felt compelled to bung them all in.

An example of this sort of thing is the long entry at *sacrifice* which reads like a cross between a recipe book and a book of etiquette.

1727, Nathan Bailey, *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary*. Being also an Interpreter of hard Words. London: T Cox.

SACRIFICES Writers say that the Devils being Enemies to God and his Glory, from the Malignity of their Natures, were not content with the Offerings of the Fruits of the Earth, and of all manner of Creatures that were usually sacrific'd to them, but were so barbarous as to require human Victims, *viz.* Men and Women, to be butcher'd and burnt alive upon their Altars.

The *Romans* did sometimes dedicate their young infants to the Household Gods, the Gods of the Family. The *Scythians*, that inhabited about that Part

call'd *Taurica*, were wont to sacrifice to their Diana all Strangers that came into their Hands.

Many Damsels were beaten to death with Bundles of Rods on an Altar of *Bacchus* in *Arcadia*. The *Germans* and *Cimbri* were wont cruelly to torment Men, and afterwards to sacrifice them. The Inhabitants of the most Northern Climates were wont to make a Feast for their Aged, and crown them with Garlands, and afterwards cast them down from an high Rock into the Sea; and others threw them off from Bridges into Rivers; whence they were called *Senes Depontani*. And *Caesar*, in his Commentaries, relates, that the ancient *Gauls* used to dress up a huge Statue made of Branches of Ozier, and having filled it with living Persons, to burn it to their Idols. The *Egyptians* and Inhabitants of *Palestine* offered their own Children to their Gods, and the *Israelites* themselves so far imitated their Barbarities, as to cause their Children to pass between two Fires till they were miserably scorched; and they also shut them up in a hollow Idol of Brass, call'd *Moloch*, made red hot, and while...

After this long introduction, Nathan provides the detail of how to do your own sacrifice. First take your sacrificial beast. Then mix a small quantity of salt and meal. Then taste the wine. Pour the rest between the horns of the beast and pulling a few hairs from the place, throw them into the fire. Then slay the beast by knocking him down or cutting his throat. Then with a long knife, turn the bowels up and down. Under no circumstances touch with the hands. I won't go on but Nathan did. Burning the dead is a good entry too.

And, finally, Science. Nathan is into chemistry, physics and medicine and the discoveries of his age. He gives *humores* as three general humours of the body, general because they wash the whole body, viz. the *Blood*, the *Lympha*, and the *Nervous Juice*. He discusses at length the various kinds of cautery — *actual* such as fire, *potential* such as caustick stone, and *silver cautery*, so called because it is made of silver dissolved in 3 Times the weight of Spirit of Nitre, and prepared according to Art. This will burn for ever, if not exposed to air, and is called the infernal Stone.

1727, Nathan Bailey, *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary*. Being also an Interpreter of hard Words. London: T Cox.

RAIN a Vapour drawn by the Sun, and falling to the Earth in Drops.

Rain is formed of the Particles of Vapours, joining together, and being joined, fall down to the Earth. The Difference between *Dew* and *Rain*, seems chiefly to be this, That *Dew* falls at some particular Times, and in very small Drops, so as to be seen, when it is down; but is scarce perceivable while falling, whereas *Rain* is grosser, and falls at any Time.

There are several Causes, that may singly, or jointly produce Rain. I. The Coldness of the Air may make the Particles of the Clouds to lose their Motion, and become less able to resist the Gravity of the Incumbent *Air*, and of

consequence to yield to its Pressure, and fall to the Ground. 2. The Vapours may be gathered by the Wind in such Abundance, as first to form very thick Clouds, and then fqeeze [freeze] those Clouds together, till the watery Particles make Drops too big to hang any longer in the *Air*. 3. When Vapours arise in so great Abundance, as to reach and mingle with the Clouds above them, then they cause *Rain* in very large Drops, and this may happen in still sultry Weather; because, then the *Clouds* having no sensible Motion, and in the mean Time the *Heat* filling the *Air* with Vapours, they joining with the Clouds, and being stopp'd in their Progress, do open a Passage for the Stores of the Clouds to descend upon the Earth. 4. Sometimes the warm Wind thaws the frozen Clouds into Drops, as we see Snow dissolved by Heat. Now the thicker and sooner any such Cloud was gathered, the larger the Drops will be because there was greater Store of Vapours condensed there. And hence it is, that in Summer Time, we have sudden Showers of Rain in exceeding great Drops.

Rain is particles of vapours joined together and then squeezes them so hard that the particles merge to form drops too big to stay up in the air.

A third is that a warm wind blows up and melts a frozen cloud, `as we see Snow dissolved by Heat'. A thick cloud dissolved suddenly produces big rain drops. `And hence it is that in Summer time, we have sudden Showers of Rain in exceeding great Drops'.

The entry for *rain* is an opportunity for Bailey to display his knowledge of the cutting-edge science of his day. He provides all the current theories about the causes of rain.

Bailey's definition of *hail* is `a meteor formed of flocks of Snow, which is melted and then refrozen into smaller stones'. And *snow* is a thick cloud reduced into the form of carded Wooll. `The white colour of Snow proceeds from the Conjunction of Humidity with Cold which naturally engineers Whiteness'.

The language captured in the dictionary reflects the culture.

In the same way, the various dictionaries today paint pictures of different communities within the umbrella of a shared English. And so, broadly speaking, the *Oxford English Dictionary* tells us about British English. *Random House* and *Webster* tell us about American English. *Macquarie* tells us about Australian English.

Compare the treatment of *bush*, a significant word in Australian English, given in an Australian, an English and an American dictionary.

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Macquarie Dictionary 3rd Ed. 1997 1997	New Oxford Dictionary of English 1st Ed. 1998	Random House Dictionary 2nd Ed. 1987
-	Bush	-
bush¹	bush¹	bush¹
bush²	bush²	bush²
bush.	-	bush.
Bush	-	Bush
bushbaby	bushbaby	bush baby
-	bush basil	bush basil
bush ballad	-	-
bush band	-	-
bush Baptist	-	-
bush-bash	-	-
bush bashing	-	-
-	-	bush bean
bush beat	-	bush-beater
bush boss	-	-
bush breakfast	-	-
-	-	bushbroom
bush brother	-	-
Bush Brotherhood	-	-
-	bushbuck	bushbuck
bush-burn	-	-
bush canary	-	-
Bush Capital	-	-
bush carpenter	-	-
bush champagne	-	-
-	bushchat	-
Bush Church Aid Society	-	-
-	-	bush clover
-	-	bush coat
bush country	-	-
bushcraft	bushcraft	-
-	bush cricket	-
bush cure	-	-
bush dance	-	-
-	bush dog	-
bushed	bushed	bushed
bushel	bushel	bushel¹

-	-	bushel[2]
-	-	bushelbasket
-	-	busheled iron
-	-	bushelful
-	-	bushelman
busher	-	busher
bush-faller	-	-
-	bush fallow	-
bush farm	-	-
bushfire	bush fire	bushfire
bushfire blonde	-	-
bush fire brigade	-	-
bush fly	-	-
-	-	bushhammer
bush hay	-	-
bush hen	bush-hen	-
-	-	bush-hog
-	-	bush honeysuckle
-	-	bushhook
bushhouse	-	-
-	-	bush huckleberry
bush hut	-	-
bushido	bushido	Bushido
bushie	-	-
bushiness	-	bushiness
bushing1	bushing	bushing
bushing2	-	-
Bush Inn	-	-
-	-	Bushire
-	bush jacket	bush jacket
bushland	-	bushland
bushlark	-	-
bush lawyer	bush lawyer	-
-	bush league	bush-league
-	-	bush-leaguer
bush lemon	-	-
bush line	-	bushline
-	-	bushlot
bushman	Bushman	bushman
-	-	Bushman
bushman's breakfast	-	-
bushman's clock	-	-

bushmanship	-	-
bushman's saw	-	-
bushmaster	bushmaster	bushmaster
-	bush medicine	-
-	-	Bushnell
bush nurse	-	-
Bush Nursing Association	-	-
Bushongo	-	-
bushoo	-	-
bush orchid	-	-
bush oyster	-	-
-	-	bush parole
bush pea	-	-
bush pig	bush pig	bush pig
bush pilot	-	bush pilot
bush plum cake	-	-
-	-	bush poppy
bushranger	bushranger	bushranger
bush rat	-	-
bush refrigerator	-	-
bush regeneration	-	-
-	-	bush road
bush robin	-	-
bush rock	-	-
bush saw	-	-
-	-	bush shirt
bush shower	-	-
bush-sick	-	-
bush sickness	bush sickness	-
bush stone	-	-
bush stone curlew	-	-
bush tea	bush tea	-
bush telegram	-	-
bush telegraph	bush telegraph	bush telegraph
bushtit	bushtit	bushtit
bush track	-	-
bush tucker	-	-
-	bushveld	-
-	bushwa	bushwa
bushwalk	-	-

bushwalking	bushwalking	-
bush week	-	-
bushwhack	bushwhack	bushwhack
bushwhacked	bushwhacked	-
bushwhacker	bushwhacker	bushwhacker
bush wire	-	-
bushwoman	-	-
bush work	-	-
bush wren	-	-
bushy	bushy[1]	bushy
-	bushy[2]	-
bushytailed	-	bushytailed

You can see at a glance the way in which *bush* thrives in Australian English. It may not have been our own — in the sense that it is from South African English via American English — but we have done a lot with it, and that is what counts.

It is perhaps easier to see this difference in the dictionaries of *-isms* — that is, words which are unique to a particular variety, or which have peculiar significance in that variety. In such dictionaries the cultural content is concentrated, but it is nonetheless discernible even in general dictionaries of each variety.

We have yet to see dictionaries of other varieties of English such as Singaporean and Malaysian English, or Philippine English, or Indian English, but they will come, and they will reflect different cultural concerns.

Their dictionaries will have productive items (like *bush* in Australian English) which will produce sets of words not to be found in dictionaries of other varieties of English.

Comparison of headwords

Macquarie Concise Dictionary 1998	Regional (Macquarie Project)	Grolier International Dictionary 2000
dragon	dragon	dragon
dragon boat	dragon boat	
	dragon boat race	
	dragon cup	
	dragon dance	dragon dance
	dragon dancer	
dragonfly	dragonfly	
	dragon form ➔ naga	
	dragon gate	dragon gate
	dragon king	

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dragon lady	-	dragon lady
dragon lines	dragon lines	
	dragon mask	
	dragon pot	dragon pot
	dragon shrimp	dragon shrimp
		Dragon Throne
	fire dragon	
	flood dragon	
komodo dragon	komodo dragon	komodo dragon
	rain dragon	

Comparison of headwords

Macquarie Concise Dictionary 1998	Regional (Macquarie Project)	Grolier International Dictionary 2000
temple[1]	temple[1]	temple[1]
temple[2]	temple[2]	temple[2]
temple[3]	temple[3]	
	temple altar	
	temple bell	
	temple cell	
	temple ceremony	
	temple compound	temple compound
	temple deity	
	temple elder	
	temple festival	
	temple god	temple god
	temple goddess	
	temple medium	temple medium
	temple oracle	
	temple priest	
	Buddhist temple	
	Chinese temple	
	go to temple	
	Taoist temple	

Authenticity in a variety of English is assessed on accent, lexicon and usage. We are finely attuned in both listening and reading to all the minutiae of these features and we know, even without being able to analyse in detail why we know, when our own variety is captured accurately and when it is not.

In this process, the dictionary that records a particular variety acts as the writer's

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friend. It gives writers the freedom to choose the words that are right for them and true to their place and time. The writer can set high store on authenticity without being afraid of losing intelligibility.

To show you how this works I thought I would look at a few examples — one from a writer in Singaporean English who is not supported by a dictionary, and one from a writer in American English who is.

Simon Tay is a Singaporean writer who has struggled with the need to break from the British English tradition in which he was taught in order to express himself authentically as a Singaporean. He finds that he is up against anxious editors who argue that in doing so he loses international intelligibility. To quote Simon:

> 1992, Simon Tay, `A Dictionary of English for Singapore and Its Practical Implications' in *Words in a Cultural Context*, Anne Pakir (ed.), 216-237, Singapore: Unipress.

> But the writer's purpose is different. First and foremost we are trying to capture the way we speak, to make concrete with words our minds and souls, and those words [Received Pronunciation or `proper English'] just do not do so unless they bend, reshape or break. This dictionary will help writers legitimise, and will help them stop regarding their fellow English-speakers in Singapore like exotics.

> ...For example `horn' is a verb in Singapore as well as a noun. In one of my stories written in the third person and in what is generally standard English, I use `horn' as a verb rather than `he blared his horn'. Many people may not be alive to this `deviation' from proper English and those who are may think it was simply a mistake; a Singaporean dictionary can help provide the explanation and justification. It is still an editorial question in publishing whether there should be a glossary, whether words which are not `standard' should be italicised. In my books we tried to get away from the glossaries and italicise as little as possible. Sometimes a glossary is needed for obscure words which have no real currency, but words like `alamak' are generally used in SE. Still, there is a temptation to treat many terms as `deviant' and explain them to a hypothetical non-Singaporean, English-speaking reader. This dictionary will help the writer with these problems at a practical level.

This use of *horn* is but one item in a wide range that gives Singaporean English its distinctive flavour.

> Examples of Asian English from *Macquarie Dictionary* 3rd Ed 1997

> **ABC2**[2] *noun* a sweet dish commonly served in Malaysia, containing shaved ice, red beans, and other ingredients; ice kacang. [Malay *a(ir)* *b(atu)* *c(ampur)* mixed ice]

> **ang pow** *noun* (in Malaysia and Singapore) a red envelope containing money, given to children and unmarried adults at Chinese New Year, and also given on other festive occasions. Cf. **lai see**. [Hokkien: lit., red packet]

coffee money *noun Singaporean and Malaysian English Colloquial* a small bribe. Cf. **tea money.**

durian *noun* **1.** the edible fruit, with a hard, prickly rind and a distinctive flavour and smell, of a tree, *Durio zibethinus,* of south-eastern Asia. **2.** the tree itself. Also, **durion.** [Malay, from *duri* thorn]

jaga kereta boy *noun Malaysian English* an unlicensed male attendant who guards and sometimes cleans parked cars in return for tips. [Malay *jaga* to watch + *kereta* car]

keretek *noun* a type of cigarette of Indonesian origin, flavoured with cloves. [Malay, imitative of the crackling sound they make when smoked]

matsalleh *noun Singaporean and Malaysian English* a white person.

nasi campur *noun* an assortment of Malay dishes served with rice. [Malay *nasi* cooked rice + *campur* mixture]

pantun *noun* a Malay riddling verse form, usually of four lines, the third rhyming with the first, and the fourth with the second, and explaining their hidden meaning. [Malay]

Tunku *noun* a Malayan title of respect before family names as an indication of nobility or rank. Also, **Tuanku.** [Malay: ruler] **-Tengku, Tenku,** *fem. n.*

yellow culture *noun Singaporean and Malaysian English* pornography.

If we take one page of Tay's writing we will find a number of terms that need explanation but which are the chosen form of expression for this writer who wants to find authenticity within his culture.

1991, Simon Tay, `My Cousin Tim' in *Stand Alone,* 16-17. Singapore: Landmark Books Pty Ltd.

I can hardly believe the nightwatch is planned for three more days. I'm getting quite tired and have had my fill of kua-chi, ground nuts and packet drinks, of the routine of counting up the number of people still around at midnight and going out to buy tah-pau. Even the town's poh-piah has lost its magic for me. Ek Lam usually goes with me on the midnight run but we aren't much company for each other. I hardly know him and have seen him on perhaps three occasions in the last ten years. I know he is 29 now and has basically taken over the responsibility for the family business since his father went into semi-retirement. I know he's trying to turn it around, but I can't think of him as anything but Tim's pesky younger brother, 12, still playing with marbles when we were 16 and trying to meet girls at the club.

Even with my interest in these Englishes, I find that I do not have the resources to explain what *kua-chi* and *tah-pau* and *poh-piah* are.

Compare Simon with all his difficulties with Annie Proulx writing *The Shipping*

News. This book is full of the dialect of Newfoundland — words like *crenshaw, watch cap, reel footing, sunkers* and *tickle.*

> 1993, E Annie Proulx, *The Shipping News*, London: Fourth Estate Ltd.
>
> p.2
>
> A great damp loaf of a body. At six he weighed eighty pounds. At sixteen he was buried under a casement of flesh. Head shaped like a crenshaw, no neck, reddish hair ruched back.
>
> p.32
>
> She spoke of the weather with a man in a watch cap. They talked awhile. Someone else reel footing along, said, Rough today, eh?
>
> p.32
>
> This place, she thought, this rock, six thousand miles of coast blind-wrapped in fog. Sunkers under wrinkled water, boats threading tickles between ice-scabbed cliffs. Tundra and barrens, a land of stunted spruce men cut and drew away.

Does Annie Proulx have any problem with international intelligibility? Not in the least.

Her writing is grounded in American English which is well supported by dictionaries. For the rest, the unique items of the English of Newfoundland, she relies on the fact that the flow of the writing carries the readers along. But if her readers did want to stop and take the trouble to find out exactly what a *crenshaw* is, for example, they could.

The American regionalisms are just as obscure to the international market as the Singaporeanisms but the existence of the dictionary on the one hand resolves the problem whereas the absence of the dictionary on the other exacerbates it.

I have taken some examples from the *Shipping News* because it was such a popular novel worldwide. The first set of words are documented in a general dictionary of American English. For the second set you would have to have more resources at your disposal and be able to consult the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the Second Edition of twenty volumes, and the *English Dialect Dictionary*. And yet, because it can ride on the back of the American English dialect, legitimised by its countless speakers, its international power, and its wide range of dictionaries, this dialect does not have to leap the hurdles that are put in front of varieties of English in Asia.

> 1987, *Random House Dictionary of the English Language*, 2nd Edition, Stuart Berg Flexner (Editor-in-Chief), New York: Random House.
>
> **Crenshaw melon** a variety of melon resembling the casaba, having pinkish flesh.
>
> **watch cap 1.** *U.S. Navy.* a dark-blue, knitted woolen cap with a turned-up cuff worn by enlisted personnel on duty in cold weather. **2.** any wool or woollike cap resembling this and sold commercially in various colors. [1885—90]

1898, *English Dialect Dictionary*, Joseph Wright (ed.), London: Henry Frowde.

reel-footed, *adj*. Sc. Irel. Also in form *reel-fitted* Sc. N.I.[1]. Having the feet turned inwards so that the legs are crossed in walking; club-footed.

1989, *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd Edition, Prepared by JA Simpson and ESC Weiner, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

reel foot *Sc*. [? f. REEL SB.[1]] a club-foot. So reel-footed a.

sunker. *Newfoundland* [f. SUNK ppl. a. + -ER[1].] A submerged rock. Also *fig*.

tickle, sb.[1]. [Generally held to be derived from TICKLE *sb*.[2] (see quot. 1908); but some would identify it with Eng. dial. *stickle* `a rapid shallow place in a river. In Nova Scotia also *tittle*.] A name given on the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador to a narrow difficult strait or passage.

The authors of a Singaporean, Malaysian or Philippine novel have a much tougher battle with their editors, with their publishers, with the arbiters of standards in their own countries, and with their confidence in themselves.

The fault lies not in the regional variety but in the dictionaries whose function in life is to record varieties of English — so that we can understand the subtleties of each other's language, the inevitable subtleties that arise from a particular community living in a particular place and having a shared culture and history as a common reference. For functional communication we can retreat to common ground but for an expression of what is most dynamic, most central and most local in a particular culture we must use the full resources of each variety.

Libby Gleeson, an Australian children's writer, has spoken about the difficulties she faced writing for international publishers. She said -

`Language is my tool of trade.

And because I write fiction I am fascinated by the way that you talk is a statement of who you are.'

`Lots of people fear new technology. Some fear the fact that they can't control its use... I fear a different thing.

I fear the danger of the bland, the boring sameness.

Our publishing industry is dominated by overseas interests and the temptation is always to publish for the international market — and that means cautious publishing with an international English tone — no colloquial Australian expression.'

Her problem is one routinely faced by Australian publishers who seek to escape our pitifully small market into the larger markets, particularly for us the dream market of America, and who have therefore become experts at translating Australian English into American English or British English.

I remember being told the cautionary tale of the publisher who sent off a children's book to an American editor without doing this kind of translation. The book

was about a car and used the Australian word *duco* for the paint on the car. The American editor — with countless people beseeching her to publish their book — took one look at this incomprehensible word *duco* and dismissed the book to the reject pile. The moral of this story is that translation from one variety of English to another is a must for publishing survival. But what is lost in the translation?

One of the problems is that the translation can be of two different kinds. It can be from one variety to another in which the new translation attempts to achieve the same kind of stylistic effect as the original. So *vegemite* goes to *marmite* in British English and *pharmacy* goes to *drugstore* in American English.

Or the translation can move to something generalised and neutral, something that the publisher can get away with in anyone's English even if the work is made more boring as a result. In this kind of translation *vegemite* goes to *paste* or *spread* and *pharmacy* goes to *shop*.

Libby Gleeson certainly maintains that she loses her edge when she has to suffer this kind of translation — and children's writers must feel this even more keenly because children's language is full of the sublimely local.

This extract from the *Alice Springs Dictionary* is an example of the extreme localism in children's language.

Alice Springs Dictionary prepared by Class 421, Alice Springs High School, 1972.

biggest mobs a lot

Charlie Queenie-Queenie a small bug, lives in soft sands (*ant-lion*)

Comical Railways Commonwealth Railways

donkey beetles hard-shelled beetles common in Alice Springs district

galah session a radio talkback session

ju-ju lips lips that are protruding

muchanic a person who is a bush mechanic who knows a lot about nothing and a little bit about something of engines

snotty gobbles red, white and black fruit of some acacia bushes

twin-stickin' her when the truckies let go of the steering wheel and grab for both gear sticks

Some writers use localism very sparingly — perhaps confining it to dialogue. Others wallow in it.

A writer like Les Murray need never fear that *Fredy Neptune* will not be understood while the *Macquarie* has in it entries for the following:

1998, Les Murray, *Fredy Neptune*, Potts Point, Sydney: Duffy & Snellgrove.

shirty	cross
busting to know something	very anxious to learn something
youse	plural form of you
to twig something	to gain a sudden understanding of something
veges	vegetables
touched	imbecilic
bust out	laughing, crying, whatever
dead scared	extremely scared
drogher	river barge
sheet iron	galvanised iron in sheets
hessian bag	bag made from hessian, reused as furnishings
antbed	a nest of ants, usually a slightly elevated and gravelly patch of bare earth
sugarbag	honey from a native bee
puntman	the man who operates the machinery which takes a punt back and forth across a river
clueless	at a loss
a pasting	a beating
chooks	chickens

A stanza from *Fredy Neptune* reveals the immersion in localism.

1998, Les Murray, `Book IV The Police Revolution' in *Fredy Neptune*, 217, Potts Point, Sydney: Duffy & Snellgrove.

Well, he says. — *How did you know I was back?* I ask.

Merry Christmas, I add, and he says, *Yes, a lot of that, to* **youse**.

We get him sitting down, because he's **shy** of Laura, and **all elbows** and he admits he `just had this feeling' I'd be home.

About Hans, he says *Well yes, if he's* **short in his brains**

he deserves all the more to keep everything that does work!

Only fair. He **gets outside** of **a junk** of Christmas cake

and I **twig** he's lonely, with nowhere much to go, and old suddenly.

Sometimes the dictionary has to scramble to keep up — I was astonished to find we didn't have `to look sideways at someone' — a very difficult phrase to define — which also appeared in *Fredy Neptune*.

But a writer like Shahnon Ahmad in *No Harvest But A Thorn* has obviously gone beyond the bounds that a nervous editor will tolerate. The publisher's solution here is the footnote at the bottom of the page. *Menerong (menderong)* is pulled out as

opposed to *parang, rice barn* and *areca nut* because it is not in any dictionary. The solution in the case of fish-traps is translation — a fish-trap would more commonly be called a *kedai* in Malaysian English.

> 1991, Shahnon Ahmad, `In the hands of God' in *No harvest but a thorn,* 7, Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti Sdn. Bhd.
>
> Lahuma stood up. He stepped on to the ground and took the *parang* and the whetstone from Sanah. With his spit, he wet the whetstone. And he began to sharpen his weapon.
>
> Indeed, it was not good to think of the future. Let the fate of his descendants remain in the hands of God.
>
> He went on sharpening his *parang*. Since the last time the harvested rice was carried up into the rice barn, that *parang* had not tasted the wood of a tree-stem. Lahuma had not done a stroke of proper work since the last harvest. At first he did try to do some other work. He had a go at cutting down areca nut palms to sell the stems to the Chinese who took them down to the sea to be made into stakes for seine-nets. But cutting down areca nut palms was not like cutting down *menerong*[1] in wet rice land. The areca nut stems were as hard as brass. And to haul the stems to the main road was no easy task. It was as strenuous as anything could be. So Lahuma just made fish-traps to catch river-fish once in a while. Rice they had. Their rice barn was full. Other food to go with the rice could be found. Appetizing shoots could be got just behind the house. And Lahuma felt there was no need to do any other work. After the job of rice-growing was over, there was nothing to do but just stay at home. Eat and sleep, sleep and eat. And only when the time came to grow rice again would he need to begin to look for his *parang*.
>
> [1] *menerong (menderong)* — a kind of sedge

Rice barn is not in other dictionaries either but compounds in English don't raise the hackles of editors nearly as much as borrowed words do.

The assumption is that English is always intelligible by virtue of being English. But of course many new words are created in English whose meaning is not transparent — compounds such as *love letter* or *packet drink* in Singaporean English and Malaysian English, *bedspacer* or *dirty kitchen* in Philippine English, *black hand* or *iron rice bowl* in Hong Kong English.

Jessica Hagedorn, a Philippine writer, has written confidently in Philippine English and seems to have got away with it. Although again there is no dictionary yet that will back her up with definitions for *merienda* (a snack — morning tea or afternoon tea) and *bibingka* (a savoury rice cake).

> 1990, Jessica Hagedorn, *Dogeaters,* 4-5, New York: Penguin Books.
>
> It is *merienda* time at the popular Cafe España, and the tiny restaurant is quickly filling up with more customers flocking out of the Avenue Theater

across the street. I am acutely aware of the table of teenage boys next to us, craning their necks and staring lewdly at my cousin Pucha. Pucha plays with her hair, affecting a coy pose as she, too, suddenly becomes aware of the boys' attention. `Psst ... pssst,' the loudest and largest of the boys hisses lazily at my cousin, who makes a big show of pretending not to hear. I glare at him angrily. I want Lorenza to save us, pay our bill, escort us out of the crowded restaurant, and take us home in a taxi.

Lorenza catches my eye. `Señorita Pucha,' she murmurs to my cousin, who refuses to acknowledge her. Pucha is flattered by the hissing boy's grossness and has other plans. She orders another round of TruCola, including one for the frowning Lorenza, who pointedly does not drink it. In her loud voice, Pucha professes to still be hungry and orders a second slice of *bibingka*, which she eats very slowly. She is a changed person, smiling and chattering about Rock Hudson, Ava Gardner, and her latest favorite, Debbie Reynolds. She is suddenly solicitous, oozing sweetness and consideration, `Don't you wanna eat something, *prima*?' She asks me. `A sandwich, maybe? Some cake? Is okay-I got my allowance.'

An excellent account of Hong Kong English has been written by Dr Kingsley Bolton in his thesis, *Towards a new sociolinguistics in Hong Kong*, published in March this year. It has an index of special words of Hong Kong English but, as I have remarked before, writers can swiftly move beyond the efforts of lexicographers to pin them down. In this next extract there is an entirely idiomatic use of *ga je*, *wah kiu* and *dongxi*. These items, although borrowings, are used with assurance as if the writer is conscious that in using them she is nevertheless not breaking the skin of the English medium in which she is writing.

1996, Xu Xi (Sussy Chakó) `Valediction' in *Daughters of Hui*, 130, Hong Kong: Asia 2000 Ltd.

Dear *ga je* — Just what is family anyway? Bloodlines tie us. For me, marriage and relationships created even more `families' which I couldn't avoid or disavow, unless, like *Mission Impossible*, a disintegrating tape could disavow all knowledge once each episodic week — how I used to love that show; how you used to tease me about it.

Family aside, it's also this `overseas Chinese' *wah kiu* business that gets in the way. Grandpop never fails to remind us of our heritage as he updates the genealogical chart each year for the family and all its branches. (His latest thing, you know, is proving the purity of our Chinese blood, despite the Indonesian, Caucasian and even Latino bloods that have seeped their infectious way into the generations).

What kind of *dongxi* are we? How English fails me, despite all my English language novels! And *ga je*, how the Western world fails us for our most intimate expressions, our sense of family, our understanding of love.

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Yet *c'est la vie*, isn't it, for this daughter of Hui.

ga je   elder sister
wah kiu   overseas Chinese
dongxi   lit. east-west

The problem for all these writers is the one described by Chris Wallace-Crabbe in relation to Australian English — the legitimacy of that variety of English does not come easily when we are escaping a colonial past.

> 1974, Chris Wallace-Crabbe, `The Solitary Shapers' in *Melbourne or the bush. Essays on Australian literature and society.* 8-9. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.

> One way to escape from European ghosts that lean over one's shoulder and jog one's pen is by paying careful attention to the facts of immediate environment: the artist can forget mistletoe and oak in his observation of paperbark and pepperina. There is an achievement in seeing one's environment and getting its names and relationships into verse, or getting its forms down on canvas. One of Adam's prime tasks in the new Eden has been to name the animals, as it were, to get their names assimilated in art, to give them currency and expressive possibility...

> What we have lacked, at least since Furphy, is an Adamic namer with a really large appetite for absorbing local experience and with the energy to sing it out loud and clear; above all, we have lacked a man who would go beyond the animals and the wildflowers to name and hymn the daily tasks of Eden.

The accuracy with which our language reflects our culture is the achievement of the writers within the language community. In creating texts they are, as Simon Tay said, bending and reshaping the language so that it is capable of authentic expression of our culture. This is not the work of just one writer, although individuals can have more or less influence on the process, but it is the collective triumph of all those who give voice to the perceptions and imaginings within which we all share and shape our lives.

In her article, *The Lexicon of Philippine English*, Dr Bautista outlines the ways in which Philippine English has developed as a national variety. In summary they are:

> Maria Lourdes S Bautista `The Lexicon of Philippine English' in *English Is An Asian Language: The Philippine Context*, Maria Lourdes S Bautista (ed.), 49-72. Sydney (North Ryde): The Macquarie Library Pty Ltd.

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The development of a lexicon

Extensions or adaptations of meaning

Shift in part of speech

Preservation of items which have become lost or infrequent in other varieties

Coinage	-	Analogical constructions
	-	Clippings
	-	Abbreviations
	-	Total innovations
	-	English compounds (one of the biggest categories)
	-	Combinations of one English element with one borrowed element
Borrowing	-	Flora and fauna
	-	Food
	-	Culture
	-	Politics
	-	Life in general
	-	Expressions

It would be possible to illustrate this framework with any of the varieties of English in the world. The processes are the same — the results vary.

Nor is there anything untoward or foreign or un-English about the way this development takes places in Asia. The products in Asia are as legitimate as they are anywhere else.

This expression of our culture in our kind of English is one part of our national inheritance. It is ours to take and adapt to the new set of circumstances in which we find ourselves and to hand on to the next generation as a serviceable tool, capable of expressing all that is dear to our hearts. Writers are of course focused on their own individual expression to the point where — depending on the mindset of the writer — they don't recognise that they are operating within a community language. They are like people who come in and hang up their pictures on the walls of a house that is already constructed.

And then there are various authorities who want to tell us — the language community — what is good and what is bad about our language house. Not that I am opposed to this — every house needs an architect just as every writer needs an editor. But the worst kind of architect is the one who wants to turn the house into something it isn't, who wants to turn the Singaporean bungalow into a Tudor mansion, who wants to take down the Singaporean pictures and hang Turners and Constables. There is a Singaporean website — `Speak well. Be understood.' — that is attempting to do exactly that. Singlish is contrasted with Good English. Instead of saying that you are *blur*, you say that you are *confused*. Instead of saying that so-and-so is a *buaya* you

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say that he is a *flirt*. At the international level this is a step in translation that the Singaporean speaker would be required to take. You lose in subtlety what you gain in broader intelligibility. But your own language community wants the authentic flavour of localism. Singaporeans want *blur* and *buaya*. The totality of Singaporean English in its formal and informal registers is needed to express fully the Singaporean experience.

Each variety of English will in the future need to maintain a balance between localism and internationalism. And exactly how the variety is to be attuned and what the range is from localism to internationalism is something that will be judged by the speakers of the variety.

This is as true of Australian English as it is of Singaporean English, as true of British English as it is of Malaysian English, as true of American English as it is of Philippine English.

In communities where there is no direct government regulation of language standards, there is a tension between the language conservators and the language innovators. Usually what happens is that standards are set and maintained by individuals with a sense of community responsibility — editors, teachers, journalists, etc., who are looking for what is best but not blindly imposing their own will. These people are often in situations that give them a sense of responsibility to the community and an awareness of what is practical. The sub-editor in a newspaper must know when to hold the line and when to allow individual difference or language change. The self-indulgent individual who wants to promote their preferences over everyone else's is quickly labelled a pedant and ignored.

But in countries where the government gets involved in language standards, the policy that is promoted can be so far out of step with reality as to be damaging to the community. If it is ruthlessly maintained, there is the risk that children educated under its shadow will suffer the kind of language dislocation that Wallace-Crabbe has written about, so that eventually the adult has to unlearn their education and painfully learn to be themselves. They are beyond an intuitive national identity and have to acquire it the hard way.

If the variety of English is truly nativised, it will escape such strictures and develop anyway but it suffers for lack of sympathetic tending. Malaysian English, neglected by government, thrived as `Malaysian Colloquial English' or `Manglish', as it is called, but it is viewed by the educated English speakers in Malaysia as lacking a high form. The kind of attention that the Malaysian Government gives it now, if it follows the same line as the Singaporean Government, will run the risk of being so remote from the object of its concern as to be merely an irritation and an irrelevancy.

The only way forward in these situations is to find a sympathetic ear in government, someone who understands how language works, who finds a source of pride in the local variety of English and has no reason to assume that the caring encouragement of localism cannot accompany the efficient mastery of internationalism. It is possible to speak Singlish in the domestic scene, and Standard

Singaporean English in professional life, and to temper one's Singaporeanness so as to be understood at an international level.

We need the sense that we belong somewhere as well as the freedom to venture everywhere else. English is developing with a flexibility and versatility that makes it unique. There are other languages with as many speakers or more, but none that offers the same dual passport, legitimacy at the local level as well as at the international level. And that increasingly is what each of us will need.

The dictionary is like the snapshot of the house that we all live in. We know this house intimately — we know how the taps work in the bathroom and where the biscuits are kept in the kitchen — but we never actually look at it — until someone takes a picture. Better still we can compare our snapshot with the pictures of other houses built by other communities with a different kind of English. The snapshot is framed and hung up for all to see and becomes a source of pride. This is `our house' we say to the people who walk into it, and we show them the picture. And all of us treat the house with new respect.

The snapshots we have of English in Asia are at the moment Box Brownie affairs, somewhat small and quickly fading. But conferences such as this show that there are keen photographers out there and that we can look forward to better pictures to come, pictures that each language community will look at and recognise as faithful to their kind of English in every detail. And that legitimacy and respect will follow the authentic record.

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9   Even obituaries reflect cultural norms and values

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This paper argues that local value systems and cultural norms are
represented in the new "Englishes" used by non-native speakers of
English. The value systems and norms of Malaysians, particularly
Indians, are discussed by analyzing a data base of obituaries obtained
over a period of three months which appeared in three English
newspapers in Malaysia. The paper argues that outsiders to Malaysian
cultural norms and value systems may not understand the significance
of the discourse of these obituaries unless links are made between the
textual discourse and local or cultural schemas. The data is analyzed
by making connections between the textual discourse and local value
systems. The analysis reveals that social identities are made and local
value systems reflected through the discourse.

Introduction

This paper reports the findings of a study conducted on obituaries or death
announcements obtained in three English daily newspapers in Malaysia. The discourse
of the obituaries is produced and interpreted from the cultural context of shared
meanings and worldviews of the writers of these obituaries.

Schema theory is used to explain schemata underlying obituaries written by
individuals from different ethnic and socio-cultural backgrounds in Malaysia. By
comparing 211 obituaries, we identified some underlying schemata. Schema theory
argues that, to understand a text, one has to be able to make links between what is
said/written and what is in the schema/mind of the reader. It argues that a top-
down bottom-up view of reading results in a more comprehensive understanding of
the text. Schemata provide a framework for readers to check their understanding of
the text, fill in information gap within the text, and clarify ambiguities (Steffenson
& Joag-Dev 1984). Efficient readers use prior knowledge of content and textual
features stored in the schemata to make meaning out of the text (Rumelhart 1977,
Goodman, 1984).

Two types of schemata most often discussed in reading research are formal schemata and content schemata. Formal schemata are higher order structures which contain knowledge of the general properties of text types and differences in genre (Carrell & Eisterhold 1988). The other type of schema, which a reader brings to a text, is content schema, the knowledge relative to the content domain of the text. There are different types of content schemata and one, which has attracted interest, is the culture-specific content schema (Carrell 1988, Carrell & Eisterhold 1988). Several studies of reading comprehension indicate that prior knowledge and cultural background greatly influence the comprehension process (Johnson 1982, Steffenson & Joag-Dev 1984).

In 1984, Steffenson and Joag-Dev conducted a study in which subjects from an Indian and American backgrounds were asked to read and recall two texts describing an Indian and American wedding respectively. The findings show that subjects recalled more of the native text than the foreign text, produced more expansions as a result of "remembering" items which were not mentioned in the text but were culturally appropriate and consistent with it, and made more distortions of the foreign text. From the findings, the writers concluded that an important part of reading comprehension is cultural knowledge — readers will understand a text better if they share the content schema of the writer but will distort the text if there is no shared schema. Similarly, a real understanding of obituaries in Malaysian newspapers by an outsider necessitates an understanding of local Malaysian culture and its norms and value systems.

Further, the obituaries also convey and contain important messages, which reflect the intentionality of the writer. The writer's intended meaning then receives an interpretation because the reader recognizes the intention. Therefore, the communication between the writer and the reader is done within a shared domain of value systems. Goffman (1959) recognizes the distinction between what he calls information given and information given-off. For instance, one obituary of a demised male mentioned his mother first before his wife in the list of survivors which gives off the meaning that his mother is more important than his wife is. The information given is the information which the outsider receives, while the information given off reflects local values. The latter are not assigned that significance by an outsider who is not able to make the links between what is said and the underlying value systems and worldview.

Background

Malaysia is a multiracial country comprising *Bumiputras* (literally sons/princes of the soil/earth referring to Malays and other indigenous races such as Kadazan, Ibans etc.). Chinese, Indians and other minority races. The Malays form about 50% of the Malaysian population, the Chinese about 30% and the Indians about 9%. Malaysia is almost synonymous with the Muslim religion, as all Malays are Muslims by birth. In

fact, the constitutional definition of Malay is one who is a Muslim, uses the Malay language and has a Malay life style. The Chinese are multi-religious and this includes Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism and Christianity. Hinduism is the religion of the majority of Malaysian Indians although a sizable number are Christians.

The cultural values of Malaysians have not been much researched. Although Malaysia is a multiracial country with a diversified set of values based on ethnicity, this too has been ignored by researchers who generally assume or imply cultural homogeneity (Newman and Nollen 1996). Some recent research now has begun examining such differences. Research by Jariah and David (1996) argue that the speech act of disagreeing by the Malay undergraduates of the University of Malaya in the English class reflect Malay cultural norms and value systems. David (1999) discusses how the different ethnic groups i.e. Malays, Chinese and Indians respond to another speech act, that of giving compliments. Loo (2001) discusses the varying negotiation styles of Malays, Chinese and Indians.

Data

The data consist of obituaries announced in three English language daily newspapers in Malaysia, which were collected between August and October 2000. Obituaries collected were mainly of two ethnic groups — Indians and Chinese. Malaysian Indians are generally Hindus and Christians while the Chinese are generally either Christians or Buddhists. Obituaries of Malaysian Punjabi Sikhs were also collected. None were obtained for Muslim Malaysians. The total number of obituaries collected totaled 211 and the breakdown for each ethnic group is as follows:

Table 1: Breakdown of sample by ethnicity and religion

Male. Indian. Hindu	58
Female Indian Hindu	21
Male Indian Christian	31
Female Indian Christian	11
Punjabi Male	39
Punjabi Female	11
Male Chinese Christian	15
Female Chinese Christian	6
Male Chinese Buddhist	12
Female Chinese Buddhist	7
Total	211

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Analysis of data

The number of obituaries of the Indians including the Punjabi subgroup is higher than that of the Chinese community (81% against 18.95%). The number of Indian death obituaries exceeds that of the Chinese group despite the fact that the ratio of Indians to the Chinese population in Malaysia is roughly 1:3. This is because the Chinese prefer to inform relatives and friends about a death in the family by word of mouth or telephone (personal communication). Malay Muslims too do not announce deaths in local classified columns.

It is apparent that the number of obituaries of men (73.5%), regardless of ethnic group, exceed that of women (26.5%). Even if men have a comparatively higher mortality rate, this does signify the importance assigned to the male figure in Malaysian society.

Much information, not only of the deceased but also of his/her family is included in the obituaries. The information provided indicates and signifies the importance placed on certain values and norms. These are now discussed.

Time and venue

The exact hour and minute not only of the death but also of the ceremonial rituals and prayers which take place following the death is mentioned (see Example 1). Time of the deaths and ceremonial events following deaths are particularly significant for both the Chinese Buddhists and Indian Hindus as it is believed that one's death is predestined as is one's birth. Some Chinese even follow the Chinese calendar and announce the day according to the Chinese calendar. (See Example 1).

In addition, special prayers are conducted for the soul of the deceased some days after the death. The exact time, for instance six or sixteen days, (see Example 1) will depend on the community and religious group norms.

Example 1

9th Moon 24th Day (female Chinese Buddhist)

The 6th day prayers will be held at Wada Gurdwara Sahib on 2nd September 2000 between 3pm and 5pm (male Punjabi Sikh)

the 16th day (Karmati) prayer will be held on Friday, October 6th 2000 starting at 2.30pm at the residence (male Indian Hindu)

Besides the importance of time, the venue for some ceremonies and prayers are also mentioned. Again, without a knowledge of the Hindu faith, it would be difficult to make links between the information *The final rites will be performed at the Batu Caves river side'* and the fact that cremation rather than burial takes place and the ashes of the deceased are released, in lieu of the River Ganges, into any river in Malaysia.

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Personal invitations

Outsiders may be puzzled by the fact that people are asked to accept an invitation to lunch soon after the death of a loved one. Close friends and relatives are told to accept this (i.e. invitation to lunch which is incorporated with the announcement for the ceremonial and religious rites) as a "personal invitation" (See Example 2). This can be best understood with the knowledge that in some cultures it is considered disrespectful to pass on an invitation through a third party, by post or via the mass media. Since oral invitations are generally impossible at a time of mourning, the discourse is worded in such a way as to give the impression that the invitation is personalized. In this way the norm or value system is maintained.

Example 2

The final rites will be performed at the Batu Caves riverside on day, date, time and thence to a lunch at 1.00pm at our residence. Kindly accept this as a personal invitation.

The importance of men in Malaysian society

We have seen that more deaths of men are announced in the various newspapers compared to obituaries for women. This indicates the role and status of men in Malaysian society.

The importance of the male is also reflected in the discourse of the obituary. When a woman dies, even deceased male members are mentioned as survivors. Although it is not logical for a deceased to be survived by one who has pre-deceased her, this information regarding her male relatives is provided in the obituary (Example 3). Such information reflects the high value placed on men and the low status of women in Malaysian society.

Example 3

Survived by husband ABC (deceased)

Deeply in Mourning: Husband XYZ (deceased)

Deeply missed but remembered by husband, son(deceased), daughters and relatives

The male bias and the subordinate role of women (especially Indian) in society is also shown in the case where the deceased female (single or married) is immediately identified as an adjunct or dependent of her next-of-kin male — father, husband or brother (Example 4).

Example 4

Miss XYZ, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. VN (ex-Guthries)

Mrs. ABC, daughter of late Mr. NS (LLN Malacca)

Madam EFG, wife of late Mr. JP (Ex-Treasury Kuantan)

Dr. HIJ, sister of Mr. PT (West Port Klang)

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The importance of the male is also shown in the sequencing of family members of the deceased. Incidentally, the importance of the extended family is indicated by the fact that it is not only the members of the nuclear family but all members including sister-in-law, brother-in-law, father-in-law, mother-in-law etc. who are mentioned in the obituary. However, always, the father is mentioned before the mother, the son before the daughter, the brother before the sister, the grandfather before the grandmother and the uncle before the aunt.

Social status

Hofstede (1991) showed that Malaysians scored high on power distance and placed great premium on status. This emphasis on status in Malaysian society is reflected in the obituaries. Any marker or indicator, which implies status, is mentioned. These markers of status relate not only to the deceased but even family members of the deceased.

One measure of social status in Malaysia is occupation, which is mentioned in the case of the deceased, even if he has long retired from the post (see Example 5). Not only is the occupation and post of the deceased mentioned, but at times the positions and posts of the surviving members is also mentioned.

Example 5

XYZ (ex-pensioner)

Daughter: Mrs. Z (Qualitas Specialist Center, Ex-Staff Nurse Ward 13, KLGH)

Brother: Mr. Y (Ex-KTM, Sentul)

Son: Dr. DE (UH, KL)

Head of Engineering, Air Asia (Ex-MAS, Airod Ground Engineer)

Retired Director of Telekom

Retired Assistant Superintendent of Polis

Status is also reflected by specifying not only the company the deceased worked with, but also the current employers of relatives of the deceased. (Example 6)

Example 6

Husband: Mr. X (Ex-Postal Services)

Husband: Mr. Y (Formerly of Dunlop's)

Academic qualifications are also held in high esteem as they indicate not only a high level of education but also the ability to hold a good well-paying job. Status is implied by these academic titles: —

LLB. Hons. (London)

Ph.D. (USA)

Conferred titles are also seen as indicators of status and appear in the data (Example 7). Loo (2001) states that dignitary conferment such as Datuk, Datuk Seri, Tan Sri and Tun, (quite similar to the British conferment of Lordships), imply not only strong

financial standing, but also favorable links with government and royalty.

Example 7

> *Dato/Datin*
>
> *AMN, PJK, KMN,AMP*

The family of one deceased Indian Christian male proudly displayed his myriad accomplishments and degrees in the New Straits Times *'DDG (Cambridge), LFIEE (UK), LFIEM (Mal), FSE (London),LFIBA (Cambridge), LFAB (USA), LMOIF (Cambridge)* obviously in appreciation of their father's great achievements in life. The obituary significantly announced the social standing of the deceased and members of his family.

Social status is also indicated by the country of residence of members of the deceased's family. Not only are we informed of the full names of all the children of the deceased, but at times within parenthesis after the name is mentioned the country where they are currently living (Example 8).

Example 8

> *Malaysian Airlines, Zagreb, Croatia*
>
> *Son: Mr. AB (Liverpool)*
>
> *University of Jaffna*

Mark of identity

Since Punjabi Sikh males use the generic last name *Singh* (meaning *lion*) and Punjabi Sikh females the title *Kaur* (meaning *Princess*) it is important to distinguish members of this community. Mentioning the place of origin in India and/or Malaysia is one way they can be identified (See Example 9).

Example 9

> *(from the village Kampung Kepayang, Rasa)*
>
> *Village: Sangatpura (India) District: Faridkot*

Another mark of identity and social status for the Punjabis is occupation. Many Punjabis when they first came to Malaysia held low-paying jobs. However, with education, they advanced to civil service posts and professional occupations which raised their social status. This achievement is publicly advertised in the obituaries.

Example 10

> *Director, Co-operative Department Selangor*

For the outsider he may not understand why it is important to mention that a deceased had been a toddy contractor (see Example 11), but it is a marker of identity for a community like the Tamils who have no family or last name. Each generation of offspring inherit not a family name but the first name of their father This first name is lost with time as each generation only uses the first name of their father.

Identity for some Malaysians in certain social classes is indicated by their

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profession/jobs or the positions they have or had held and the town where they worked (Example 11).

Example 11

> (Ex-Choir Master)
>
> (Taiping Vello Tailor)
>
> (Ex-Toddy Contractor, Tapah Road)

Code switching

In addition to its specific content and context, the language in obituaries is recipient-designed. Consequently, lexical items which represent cultural and religious referents for which there is no equivalent English lexical item are referred to in their native languages (see David, 2001). These code switched terms are understood and shared by members of a speech community. Of the subgroups sampled, the Punjabi Sikh and Indian Hindu communities appealed to their group membership the most through code switching (Example 12). The data shows that a number of lexical items especially for Punjabi are used in the matrix or dominant language, English.

Example 12

> Ik Onkar (One God)
>
> Arkand/Path Da Bhog (Special Prayers)
>
> Called to the House of Waheguru (the Lord's house)

Similarly, Tamil words are also used extensively by Indian Hindus for terms that cannot be directly or efficiently translated into English and which express common values and beliefs (Example 13).

Example 13

> Karumaigirigai Prayers (30th day after death special prayers)
>
> Atma Shanti Prayers (Peace of the Soul)

Apart from code switching, the terminology used to refer to death reflects how Malaysians generally view death. These topics are seldom discussed openly and may be taboo in some circles as is evident from the lexical items or vocabulary used to describe them. Example 14 provides some examples. The deep level meaning is provided in parenthesis.

Example 14

> passed away peacefully (after an illness, sometimes long and painful)
>
> Passed away suddenly (accident, injury, unnatural causes)
>
> Bloomed in 1990, Faded in 2000 (death of a young boy)

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Conclusion

The paper argues that local cultural norms and value system are reflected in the English used by non-native speakers of English. An understanding of the language i.e. English in itself without a knowledge of the local cultural schema will not bring complete and comprehensive meaning to an outsider. For outsiders to decode such a text they must have the schema of local cultural attributes, norms and value systems. Only then can they fully understand the message.

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10 Recent research on the pronunciation of Singapore English

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After a consideration of some criteria which can help determine which features of pronunciation are important for teachers to concentrate on, this paper reviews recent research on the pronunciation of Singapore English (SgE) and evaluates the degree to which previous impressionistic descriptions of SgE are substantiated by instrumental measurements.

Introduction

Early research on the pronunciation of English in Singapore (SgE) (e.g. Tongue 1979, Platt & Weber 1980, Tay 1982, Brown 1988a) was based on the auditory impressions and expertise of linguists. It was not easy at that time to support the research with instrumental measurements, but much valuable descriptive work was done and it has provided a solid foundation for all subsequent work on SgE.

More recently, extensive research on SgE based on detailed analysis of data with the help of instrumental techniques has been conducted (e.g. Deterding 1994, Lim 1996, Low & Grabe 1999, Low et. al. 2000). This paper will provide an overview of some recent instrumental research on SgE, much of it published in Brown *et al.* (2000).

In this paper, we will first consider some criteria to help determine which features of speech are most important for teachers to concentrate on. Then, after giving a brief overview of the pronunciation of SgE, we will discuss some of the recent research into the vowels, the consonants, the stress patterns, and the rhythm of SgE.

Which pronunciation features are important?

As most Singaporeans are happy to sound like Singaporeans, there is no need for them to adopt a totally British accent. However, as Singapore is heavily dependent on foreign trade, it is also important for Singaporeans to be understood easily by people from outside Singapore.

Some local pronunciation features interfere with comprehensibility, while others serve to mark the speaker as Singaporean without interfering with comprehensibility (Brown 1991). So how can teachers determine which features merely contribute to this local flavour without causing a problem, and which features do result in greater difficulties for understanding?

Three criteria will be discussed: occurrence elsewhere, functional load, and shibboleths.

Occurrence elsewhere

Some features of SgE involve simplification of the speech. When this simplification involves a process that is common in other varieties of English, it is unlikely to result in problems for comprehension. However, if the process is not found elsewhere, non-Singaporean listeners may find it hard to understand what is said.

Let us look at two examples of simplification that might occur in SgE and try to determine which one is more serious. Consider sentences [1] and [2].

    [1] He backed that team.

    [2] He backs that team.

Many Singaporeans simplify final consonant clusters (Deterding & Poedjosoedarmo 1998), so in the first example, the past tense -ed suffix may be dropped from backed, while in the second example, the present tense -s suffix may be dropped from 'backs'. Which of these is more serious?

The omission of the -ed suffix (which here would be pronounced as /t/) is actually very common in conversational English around the world, including in standard British English, as it is quite normal for a final /t/ to be deleted when it occurs in final position, between two consonants the first of which is voiceless (Wells & Colson 1971:58). Pinker (1999:19) observes that *ice cream* really ought to be *iced cream*, but the frequent deletion of the final consonant in the first word has become standard.

Pinker (1999) further argues that one of the reasons why so many common verbs in English have an irregular past form is in order to maintain an important semantic distinction which would otherwise be lost as a result of the deletion of the final consonant. In contrast, there are extremely few irregular present tense -s forms, because there is no need for them, as deletion of a final alveolar fricative is rare in most varieties of English. (The only irregular present tense -s forms are: *is*, *does*, and *has*. Additionally *says* is /sez/ rather than /seɪz/ for most speakers.)

So clearly the omission of an -ed suffix is far less important than the omission

of an *-s* suffix, because the former is quite a common process in many varieties of English while the latter is less common. Unfortunately, many pronunciation teachers do not know this, and they waste huge amounts of time getting their students to pronounce *-ed* in every situation.

Functional load

The second criterion considers the functional load born by a linguistic feature: how many words does it help to differentiate. This is the distinction discussed in detail by Brown (1988b). Let us again consider some examples illustrating features of SgE and see if we can determine which is more important.

In SgE, the distinction between long and short vowels is sometimes lost (Deterding & Poedjosoedarmo 1998). As a result, *sport* and *spot* may sound exactly the same, and similarly *fool* and *full* may become exact homophones. Which of these is more important? Should teachers spend more time on the distinction between /ɔː/ and /ɒ/? Or should they devote more of their time to the distinction between /uː/ and /ʊ/?

The decision here is actually quite straightforward: There are many minimal pairs for the first contrast, but only a few for the second, so clearly the contrast between /ɔː/ and /ɒ/ is far more important than that between /uː/ and /ʊ/.

This can be confirmed quite easily. In his webpage devoted to minimal pairs, John Higgins of Stirling University lists 157 minimal pairs for the first distinction, but just 18 for the latter one (including such things as *bull* vs *buhl* — whatever that means!).

Shibboleths

The Bible tells us that forty-two Ephraimites were slaughtered when they were identified by their inability to pronounce the word *shibboleth* (*Judges* Ch.12). Nowadays, we do not usually kill those who make mistakes in their pronunciation, but it can happen that people fail to get a job or something like that because of a feature of their speech.

The term *shibboleth* is now used to refer to a feature of speech which is heavily stigmatised: it is a something which people are acutely aware of, and its use can cause alarm bells to start ringing. Therefore, a shibboleth may take on a greater importance than one would expect from its functional load.

In Singapore, the absence of dental fricatives constitutes a kind of shibboleth, so the distinction between *three* and *tree* might be a bit more important than one would expect.

Jenkins (2000) has suggested that dental fricatives are not important in International English, firstly because they are rather difficult to learn, and secondly because substituting them with other sounds is unlikely to cause misunderstandings. However, this may overlook their importance as shibboleths.

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Features of SgE pronunciation

A summary of the features that tend to characterise SgE can be found in Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo (1998:chapter 19). A very brief overview is presented here. It should be stressed that not all Singaporeans exhibit all these features, because there is a great deal of variation in the speech found in Singapore (Pakir 1995). However, most of the features discussed here are found quite widely in SgE.

Monophthongs

There is neutralisation between the two non-close front monophthongs /e/ and /æ/, so that for many Singaporeans *bet* and *bat* may sound alike.

In addition, there is often no length distinction in vowels, so that two vowels in a long/short pair sound the same. As a result, the distinctions between the following pairs of vowels may be lost: /iː/ and /ɪ/; /ɔː/ and /ɒ/; and /uː/ and /ʊ/.

On the basis of functional load, the last of these distinctions is not very important, and the one between /ɑː/ and /ʌ/ is also less important than the others.

Diphthongs

The two diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ tend to be pronounced as monophthongs. This rarely causes misunderstanding, partly because these two diphthongs are still distinct from all other vowels, and also because a monophthongal pronunciation of these sounds is quite common elsewhere, such as in Scotland (Wells 1982:407), so for teachers to try to get students to pronounce these sounds as diphthongs is quite frankly unnecessary.

Finally, the diphthong /eə/ is also pronounced as a monophthong. Of course, this is also true in Standard British English, so it is rather absurd if teachers in Singapore insist that this is a diphthong.

Consonants

The dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are quite often replaced by the corresponding alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/. As we have seen, this is something of a shibboleth in Singapore, but it is not clear if it really results in much confusion. In his website, Higgins lists 117 minimal pairs for the voiceless consonants /θ/ and /t/, and 58 for the voiced ones /ð/ and /d/, so we can conclude that they are a little more important than the distinction between /uː/ and /ʊ/.

As already mentioned, final consonant cluster simplification is quite common, so that *six* might sometimes be pronounced as /sik/ and *orange* as /ɔrin/ (though this is perhaps only found in basilectal speech). Notice that deletion of a final strong fricative sound is almost never found in standard English, so this feature does cause some problems for communication with non-Singaporeans.

The glottal stop is quite common in place of a final plosive, especially /k/ and

/t/, so that *spot* might be /spɔʔ/. Of course, this feature is not uniquely Singaporean, and is quite widespread in Britain.

Finally, vocalisation of dark /l/ is very widespread, so that *little* might be /litə/ and *milk* may be /miək/. Once again, this is quite common in British English (Wells 1982:295), and is just continuing a historical trend, whereby the original /l/ in words like *walk* and *folk* has already completely disappeared.

Stress placement

SgE has been observed to have different patterns of stress placement than standard English and Singaporeans seem to have a preference for place stress on a later syllable in a word, usually on the final syllable. For example, words like *carefully* and *hopelessly* are stressed on the final syllable instead of the first.

In standard English, compound nouns generally have their main stress on the first item, but this often does not occur in SgE. If Singaporean students are presented with the following two phrases:

ENGlish teacher

English TEACHer

and asked which one of the people referred to teaches English and which one comes from England, they generally cannot identify the first one as the teacher of English. In other words, Singaporeans do not appear to be able to distinguish between compound and phrasal stress.

Intonation and rhythm

The intonation of SgE has many features that set it apart from standard English. For example: the concept of tonic syllable (nucleus) may not apply to SgE; SgE utterances are often characterised by a falling tone on the final word, even when that word is a pronoun or a preposition; and a distinct rise-fall tone is commonly used for extra emphasis.

The rhythm of SgE is often described as having syllable-timed rhythm, in contrast with the stress-timing of standard English. Brown (1988a) describes this as the *staccato effect*.

Recent research

In the previous section, some features of SgE have been described. But the question remains: how do we know that these features really exist in SgE? Is there any firm evidence? Or are we just relying on the intuitions of various linguists?

Recently, there has been substantial research on SgE, including measurements of many features of SgE. In this section, some of this recent research will be discussed.

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Open front monophthongs

Suzanna and Brown (2000) measured the formants of /e/ and /æ/ under various speaking conditions, and they report that the distinction between these two vowels tends to be neutralised in conversational speech, but the distinction may be maintained in careful speech. In other words, many Singaporeans are able to make this distinction, but choose not to in less formal situations.

Long-short vowel neutralisation

In a third-year elective course on Experimental Phonetics run at the National Institute of Education in Singapore, students are asked to measure the formants of all their monophthong vowels under two circumstances: reading a list of words; and in conversation with their tutor (the second author of this paper). These measurements generally suggest that there is neutralisation of the distinction between long and short vowels, particularly in the conversational situation.

However, we need to be aware of one caveat to this conclusion: formants reflect vowel quality, not duration, so it is possible that speakers may produce two vowels with the same quality but still maintain a difference in duration. We should note, for example, that many British speakers actually produce /ɑː/ and /ʌ/ with much the same quality, and differentiate these vowels mostly by length.

Although it would be possible to measure duration as well, the duration of vowels is highly dependent on phonetic environment. For example, /iː/ in *beat* may well be shorter than /ɪ/ in *bid*, because of the influence of the final voiceless plosive /t/. Although this effect can be factored out in the word list, it is not so easy to deal with it in the conversational data. Furthermore, speaking rate has a substantial influence on the duration of vowels, and it is hard to take this into account.

So although the formant measurements confirm the neutralisation of the long-short vowel distinctions for many SgE speakers, there are some limitations in these measurements.

Closing diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/

Deterding (2000) and Lee and Lim (2000) both seek to determine the degree of diphthongisation of /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ in SgE by measuring the rate of change of the first formant. Although it is acknowledged that this measurement does not give a complete representation of the phonetic realisation of these vowels, it does provide a fairly reliable indication of how diphthongal the vowel is.

These papers report that the dipthongal movement in these two vowels is significantly smaller in SgE than in British English, and also that there little difference between the different ethnic groups in Singapore.

We can conclude that monophthongal /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ is distinctive of Singapore speech, but as discussed above, it does not interfere with intelligibility. Furthermore, the use of a diphthongal /əʊ/ makes the speaker sound awfully British, and this is something most Singaporeans may want to avoid.

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Dental fricatives

Moorthy and Deterding (2000) investigated the use of dental fricatives in SgE, and they report that it is extremely hard to determine the acoustic correlates of the distinction between /θ/ and /t/. Even after studying the spectrograms for many weeks, the researchers could not determine for sure what it was that made some instances sound like /θ/ and others like /t/.

They then presented the data to four trained phoneticians, who were asked to give their judgements on which were tokens were tokens of /θ/ and which of /t/, but these phoneticians also could not agree. The conclusion was that many tokens represented something between /θ/ and /t/, maybe a dental plosive, and listeners could rarely be confident about classifying what they hear. Furthermore, it is likely that different listeners are sensitive to different acoustic features.

The research concluded that most speakers may sometimes use one, sometimes another, and often something in between. In fact, very few speakers always use /θ/ or always use /t/, so maybe what is important is the proportion of instances where /θ/ is found. This, of course, is similar to the findings of Labov (1971) in his research on the occurrence of phonological variables such as /r/ in New York — there are no absolutes, just tendencies.

Lexical stress placement

Low (2000) set out to test the claim made by previous researchers that lexical stress placement in SgE differs from British English (BrE) for polysyllabic words (Tongue 1979, Platt and Weber 1980, Tay 1982, Deterding 1994). Words like *hopelessly* are claimed to be stressed on the first syllable in BrE but on the final syllable in SgE. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, SgE seems not to distinguish between compound and phrasal stress.

The problem with these observations is that they are based on the production of test words in citation forms. In this position, test items are in nuclear, intonational phrase-final position and we can expect to find phrase-final lengthening in BrE as described by Cooper and Paccia-Cooper (1980). If SgE merely lengthens phrase-final syllables more than their BrE, then this may account for the so-called differences in stress placement patterns observed.

Low (2000) hypothesised that the observed stress difference between SgE and BrE is the result of greater phrase-final lengthening in SgE than in BrE, and she designed an experiment where test words were embedded in carrier phrases in both phrase-final and phrase-medial position. Both duration and Fundamental Frequency (F0) measurements were taken.

Results for duration showed that there was significantly more phrase-final lengthening in SgE than BrE for the words in final position but this effect disappeared in medial position. In other words, the lengthening of words like *manfully* in final position reflects a difference in degree of phrase-final lengthening between the two varieties of English and not a difference in lexical stress placement. Results for F0

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showed that in BrE, there is a substantial drop in F0 between the initial stressed syllable and the subsequent two unstressed syllables in final position compared to SgE. However, in medial position, this difference was not found. Thus, results explain that it is the significantly greater phrase-final lengthening and the less substantial drop in F0 between initial and final syllables that accounts for the observed difference in lexical stress placement. In other words, SgE speakers mark phrase boundaries more prominently than their BrE counterparts.

In another experiment, Low (2000) tested whether SgE speakers actually distinguish between compound and phrasal stress. Unlike the results in the earlier experiment just reported where the observed difference in lexical stress placement is a result of a difference in boundary marking and not a difference in stress placement, it was found that BrE speakers assigned different F0 patterns to compounds and phrases, but SgE speakers do not.

Thus, the results from Low (2000) show that impressionistic claims about differences in lexical stress placement between SgE and BrE need to be verified by instrumental measurements. Acoustic evidence could be found to validate the observation that Singaporeans do not distinguish between compound and phrasal stress. However, the differences in stress placement for polysyllabic words was found to be an artifact of boundary marking instead.

Rhythm

SgE speakers are claimed to exhibit syllable-timed rhythm (Brown 1988a, Deterding 1994). Low et. al. (2000) set out to investigate why SgE rhythm is perceived as syllable-timed. They hypothesised that the effect of syllable-timing is achieved through the virtual absence of reduced vowels in SgE. To test this hypothesis, two sentence sets were designed. One set contained only full vowels and the other had vowels that could potentially be reduced in fast speech in British English. Vowel duration measurements and first and second formant frequency measurements (F1 and F2) were taken.

Results confirmed the hypothesis. It was found that for BrE speakers, there was a significant difference in successive vowel durations between the full and the reduced vowel sets, showing that BrE speakers do distinguish between full and reduced vowels. In terms of spectral patterns, there was also a clear distinction between the F1-F2 plot (which is considered a rough approximation of a speakers' vowel quadrilateral space) for full in contrast to the reduced vowels in BrE. In SgE however, no significant difference was found between successive vowel durations for the two sentence sets, and the F1-F2 plot for full and reduced vowels were difficult to tease apart. Moreover, when the F1-F2 plot for the potentially reduced vowels in BrE were contrasted with those in SgE, it was clear that SgE speakers had significantly more peripheral 'reduced' vowels than their BrE counterparts.

Their experimental findings provide a plausible acoustic explanation for the perception of syllable-timed rhythm in SgE by showing that SgE speakers do not

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maintain a clear distinction between full and reduced vowels.

Conclusion

Recent research has confirmed that most of the impressionistic reports of features of SgE can be validated by instrumental measurements. At the same time, some misconceptions have also been found and this highlights the importance of instrumental work in phonetic research.

Of course, this research into the features of Singaporean English is still in its infancy — much more research is needed before we can be certain of the true position.

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11 Languages in contact: Hong Kong English phonology and the influence of Cantonese

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The present paper is based on the author's findings from his on-going research project on the interlanguage phonology of Hong Kong English (HKE). The subjects comprised 15 undergraduates at the Hong Kong Baptist University. With the help of spectrographic analysis, it was found that the typical HKE speaker operates with a considerably smaller set of vowel and consonant phonemes than in old varieties of English (or OVE's, such as British and American English), both in production and perception. In particular, the HKE vowel system is very similar to that of Cantonese, both in terms of the number of vowel contrasts, and the phonetic quality of the vowels themselves. Like Cantonese also, the consonant system of HKE is lacking in the voiced/voiceless distinction, such that the contrasts between pairs of consonants which are distinguished in OVE's by voicing are either neutralised or phonetically realised by other means.

There are a number of interesting phonological rules in HKE which are found in few other varieties of English, including: [l]/[n] alternation (as in *let* [let]~[net]), [ai]/[ʌɪ] alternation as in *tries~twice*), monophthongisation of diphthongs in certain phonological contexts (as in *rain* and *phone*), and phonetic realisations of /v/.

Introduction

The phonology of Hong Kong English (HKE) has been described, sometimes incidentally, in a small number of previous publications, including Luke & Richards 1982, Bolton & Kwok 1990, Pennington 1995, and Peng & Setter 1999. The present paper is a by-product of my on-going research on the phonology of HKE (cf. Hung 2000). The focus of my research thus far has been on the phonology of HKE as a system *in its own right*, on a par with other "New Varieties" of English, such as Singaporean and Malaysian English. In the present paper, I shall approach HKE

phonology from a different perspective, i.e. as an interlanguage which is partly the product of interaction between two languages, English and Cantonese (the HKE learners' mother tongue). I shall demonstrate that many of the distinctive features of HKE clearly show the influence of Cantonese phonology, both at the segmental and syllabic levels, though there are also innovative features unique to HKE.

The object of my study is the English spoken by educated young people who were born and raised in Hong Kong. For this purpose, I made recordings of 15 subjects from the first-year undergraduates of the Hong Kong Baptist University, of whom 8 were females and 7 males, and 6 were from the Arts and 9 from the Science Faculty. In three separate recording sessions, they were asked to read three different word lists, totalling 281 words in all. Each list was read twice by each speaker. The words were intended to capture all the vowel and consonant contrasts that potentially existed in English. As far as possible, minimal pairs were used: for example, *heed, hid, heat, hit, head, had, bet, bat,* etc., and wherever possible, common everyday words were chosen to minimise the effect of unfamiliarity. The words were jumbled up to ensure that similar-sounding pairs such as *heat* and *hit* or *seal* and *zeal* did not occur in juxtaposition, to minimise any preconceived notion that they were supposed to contrast. The lists also contained words which contrasted all the consonants of English in various positions and various combinations. The data were transcribed by ear, as well as analysed acoustically by the Computerised Speech Lab (Model 4300B) software where necessary to confirm my subjective perceptions or reveal acoustic properties which were hard to hear.

Vowels

i)   Monophthongs

Spectrographic analyses of the vowels produced by my subjects confirmed my perception that certain vowels which are distinct in most Old Varieties of English (OVE's), such as the vowels in words like *heat* and *hit*, are virtually indistinguishable in HKE, both perceptually and acoustically. The acoustic data were given in Hung (2000), so I shall not reproduce them here, but merely summarise the results. On the basis of these data, one can conclude that HKE speakers in general operate with no more than 7 simple vowel contrasts (not counting the neutral vowel [ə]), in comparison with 11 for British RP speakers. The inventory of simple vowels in HKE is given in Figure 1 below:

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Figure1. Inventory of HKE vowels.

Vowel	Examples
[i]	*heat, hit*
[ɛ]	*bet, bat*
[u]	*hoot, hood*
[ɔ]	*cot, caught*
[ɑ]	*heart*
[ʌ]	*hut*
[ɜ]	*hurt*

One important systematic feature of the HKE vowel system is the lack of the tense/non-tense or long/short distinction, which more than anything else accounts for the smaller number of vowel contrasts. Here the influence of the learners' mother tongue, Cantonese, is evident. Cantonese has a much simpler vowel system than any OVE's, as given in Figure 2 below:

Figure 2. Cantonese vowel chart

	Front	Central	Back
HIGH	i, y	–	u
MID	ɛ, ø	–	ɔ
LOW	_	ʌ	ɑ

Notice that this is virtually identical to the HKE vowel system (reproduced in Figure 3 below), except for the two front rounded vowels in Cantonese, [y] and [ø] which do not exist (at the phonemic level) in HKE.

Figure 3. Hong Kong English vowel chart

	Front	Central	Back
HIGH	i	_	u
MID	ɛ	ə	ɔ
LOW	_	ʌ	ɑ

Notice also that the HKE vowel system, though similar to those of other Asian varieties of English spoken in Singapore, Malaysia, China and Japan (cf. Hung 1995, 1997), differs from them in that HKE makes a distinction between the vowels [ʌ] and [ɑ] (as in *hut* vs. *heart*). The most probable explanation for this relatively unusual feature is again Cantonese, which — unusually for languages of this region — has this

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particular vowel contrast, as in [sʌm] "heart" vs. [sɑm] "three" (NB. both syllables have identical tones).

A perception test was also administered to a different group of first-year students from the ones who made the recordings. Recordings of minimal pairs, for example *heat/hit*, as spoken by (i) a HKE speaker and (ii) an RP speaker, were played to the group, and they were asked to circle the word which they thought they heard. The results are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 4. Perception test results

	HKE Speaker	Native RP Speaker		HKE Speaker	Native RP Speaker
heat	60%	53%	hit	60%	67%
bet	40%	47%	bat	67%	60%
hoot	87%	73%	hood	93%	33%
cot	67%	80%	caught	73%	87%
heart	93%	87%	hut	87%	67%
hurt	100%	100%			

[The figures above show the percentages of correct identifications, by the subjects, of these words as spoken by a HK speaker and a native RP speaker respectively.]

Though sketchy, the above results show that, by and large, the typical HKE speaker cannot discriminate between pairs of vowels like [iː] and [ɪ] and [e] and [æ], even when they are clearly distinguished in the pronunciation of an RP speaker.

ii) Diphthongs

On the whole, the 15 subjects produced the same 8 diphthongal contrasts as are found in RP and some other OVE's. These are given in Figure 5:

Figure 5. Inventory of HKE diphthongs.

[eɪ]	*hate*	[aʊ]	*house*	[ɪə]	*here*
[aɪ]	*height*	[oʊ]	*coat*	[ɛə]	*hair*
[ɔɪ]	*toyed*			[ʊə]	*poor*

As given in Hung (2000), acoustic analyses of these diphthongs show the transitions in vowel quality which make them true diphthongs rather than monophthongs. In this respect, HKE differs from many NVE's, such as Singaporean or Indian English, which have a simpler inventory of true diphthongs. This may be attributed to the fact that Cantonese has an unusually rich diphthong system, including [eɪ] and [oʊ], which are not found in the mother tongues of most speakers of Singaporean, Indian, Malaysian or Japanese English.

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But the most interesting features of HKE diphthongs lie in their alternations in different syllabic structures. These phonological phenomena, some of which are possibly unique to HKE, are apparently related to syllable structure in Cantonese. Though a syllable in Cantonese can end with a stop or nasal, the vowels in such syllables must be simple vowels. Thus, syllables in Cantonese with diphthongs as their nuclei must be open and cannot end with a consonant. Hence, [meɪk] (as in the English word *make*) or [meɪn] (*main*) or [foʊn] (*phone*) would not be well-formed syllables in Cantonese, whereas [mɪk], [mɪŋ] and [fʊn] would be. This probably explains why, in HKE, diphthongs in syllables ending with a stop or nasal are shortened to simple vowels. In the case of syllables with diphthongs ending with fricatives (as in *face*), though these too are not attested in Cantonese, they are not shortened in HKE, as they are not subject to interference from syllables ending with stops and nasals in Cantonese, which always have only simple vowels as their nuclei.

The most puzzling feature of HKE diphthongs is the status of [ʌɪ] vs. [aɪ] in the following examples:

tries [tʃwaɪs]　　*twice* [tʃwʌɪs]

Are these two diphthongs contrastive, or are they predictable allophones of the same phoneme? The words *tries* and *twice* seem to suggest that they are contrastive, and in a totally innovative way for English. Whereas these words are contrasted in OVE's by the voicing of the {s} suffix as well as by the [tr] vs. [tw] contrast, such contrasts do not exist in HKE, which appears to utilise a contrast in the diphthong instead, one which does not exist at the phonemic level in OVE's. To solve this puzzle, it is crucial to compare the broader distribution of [aɪ] and [ʌɪ] in HKE. From my limited data, the following picture emerges:

[aɪ]: *lie, lies, lice, try, tries, eye, eyes, wise, rise, rice, ice, size, tide, side, ride*

[ʌɪ]: *tight, site, rite, light, mice, twice*

One can draw a number of observations, but few conclusions, from the above data. In open syllables, only [aɪ] can be found. The contrast between *tide, side, ride* (all with [aɪ]) and *tight, site, rite* (all with [ʌɪ]) suggests that the voicing of the following consonant has something to do with the distribution of these two diphthongs. A similar phenomenon can be found in Canadian English, where the diphthong /aɪ/ is systematically "raised" to [ʌɪ] when followed by a voiceless consonant, as in *right* [ɹʌɪt] and *rice* [ɹʌɪs]. However, the rest of the HKE data is not consistent with such a hypothesis, as both diphthongs can be found in similar phonological environments, as in *mice* [mʌɪs] and *rice* [ɹaɪs] where they are followed by the same voiceless consonant [s].

It is relevant to note here that Cantonese has the [ʌɪ] (as in [mʌɪ]"rice") vs. [aɪ] (as in [maɪ] "buy") distinction at the phonemic level. The learner thus comes equipped with these two sounds in their internalised phonology, and apparently assigns them to words in English in a partially systematic manner (as in *tight* vs. *tide*), and partially in an arbitrary manner (as in *mice* vs. *rice*).

Consonants

i)   Stops

My analysis of the data shows that there are 6 distinctive stops and 2 distinctive affricates in HKE (same as in OVE's), namely: /p/ *pea*, /b/ *bee*, /t/ *tie*, /d/ *die*, /k/ *cold*, /g/ *gold*, /tʃ/ *cheap*, /dʒ/ *jeep*. Phonetically, the "voiced" stops and affricates in HKE are not really voiced but are voiceless and unaspirated, distinguished from the "voiceless" stops and affricates by the aspiration and greater delay in voice onset time of the latter. In this sense, they are comparable to, and apparently influenced by, the 4 pairs of voiceless aspirated/unaspirated stops and affricates in Cantonese.

ii)   Fricatives

The most significant feature of fricatives in HKE is that, for the great majority of speakers, there is no evidence of a voiced/voiceless contrast. All fricatives are voiceless, which means that instead of 8 fricatives (/f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/, /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/), there are only 4. This shows the influence of Cantonese, which has only voiceless but no voiced fricatives.

In particular, there exists only one alveolar fricative, /s/, in HKE. There are no tokens of the voiced alveolar fricative [z] in any position — initial, medial or final — as shown in the examples below.

seal	[sil]	*zeal*	[sil]
race	[ɹeɪs]	*raze*	[ɹeɪs]
racing	[ɹeɪsɪŋ]	*razing*	[ɹeɪsɪŋ]

There are thus no grounds for postulating an underlyingly voiced alveolar fricative /z/ in the phonemic system of HKE. It would be reasonable to assume that the underlying representations for words like *zeal*, *raze*, and *razing* in HKE are /sil/, /reɪs/ and /reɪsŋ/ respectively.

Likewise, there is no evidence for an underlyingly voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/, as all tokens of a palato-alveolar fricative are voiceless ([ʃ]), as in:

pressure   [pɹɛʃə]   *pleasure*   [plɛʃə]

Contrary to popular perception, at least half of my HKE subjects did have an interdental fricative /θ/ in their inventory of consonants, as in:

thin   [θin]   *clothing*   [kloʊθɪŋ]

The rest produced [f] in place of [θ]. For those speakers, the voiceless interdental fricative is apparently not in their consonant inventory, and the above words would have the underlying representations /fin/ and /kloʊfɪŋ/ respectively.

For virtually all HKE speakers, however, there is no evidence of a voiced interdental fricative /ð/. Words with this particular phoneme (where it exists) in

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OVE's are realised in HKE as follows, with a [d] if it is in word-initial or intervocalic positions:

| *this* | [dɪs] | *brother* | [bɹʌdə] | *clothe* | [kloʊθ] |

Finally, there is no evidence for the existence of a voiced labio-dental fricative /v/ in HKE. Words that contain the /v/ phoneme in other varieties of English have a /w/ or /f/ instead in HKE:

vine	[waɪn]	*leave*	[lif]
advice	[ɛd'waɪs]	*even*	['ifən]
event	[i'wɛnt]	*leaving*	['lifɪŋ]
revoke	[ɹi'wʊk]	*rover*	['ɹoʊfə]

As the [v] consonant never surfaces in any environment in HKE, it would be reasonable to conclude that the above words have either a /w/ or /f/ (as the case may be) in their underlying representations, and that the phoneme /v/ does not form a part of the phonological system of most HKE speakers.

iii)   Other consonants

There are three nasal consonants, /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, in HKE, and three approximants /w/, /j/ and /h/, all of which also exist in Cantonese. By far the most interesting consonant in HKE is /l/, in particular its apparent interchangeability with /n/ in the syllable onset position. In the syllable coda, the two consonants are contrastive, as in *pill* [pil] vs. *pin* [pin], and therefore they have to be postulated as separate phonemes in HKE. But in the onset, they are often interchanged. The data in Figure 6 below show the frequency (in %) with which initial "l" (by spelling) is pronounced as [n], and initial "n" as [l].

[l]~[n] alternation

Figure 6: Frequency of [l]~[n] alternations among 15 HKE speakers:

"l" → [n]		"n" → [l]	
line	37%	night	33%
lame	27%	no	23%
lead	17%	naked	20%
loose	17%	number	20%
loud	17%	need	13%
lot	13%	not	10%
lake	13%	net	10%
leafing	10%	now	10%
low	10%	noose	7%
let	7%	nine	7%
leaving	7%	name	3%
light	7		
leave	3%		
lumber	3%		

[Words with initial "l" or "n" showing no alternation: 0%]

It is hard to see any phonological patterns behind these alternations. The only thing approaching a "pattern" is the fact that *line* and *lame*, the two words in the list which are most frequently pronounced with initial [n], are exactly reversed in the other list by *nine* and *name*, which are the two words least frequently pronounced with initial [l]. This suggests that the presence of a nasal in the same syllable (as in *line* and *lame*) increases the likelihood of an initial "l" being pronounced as a nasal, just as it decreases the likelihood of an initial "n" being pronounced as a non-nasal (*nine*, *name*) - some sort of "nasal harmony" or "nasal spreading" so to speak. Apart from that, it is hard to draw any other conclusions from the above data.

The most revealing data turned out to be instances where the *same speaker* alternated between [l] and [n] *in the same word* in two separate readings. This happened with significant frequency, in the following cases:

Speaker 8:   12x *(let, leaf, longing, lot, lake, lead, leafing, leaving, loose, not, light, night)*

Speaker 14:   6x *(lot, light, long, loose, naked, need)*

Speaker 1:   3x *(loose, loud, number)*

Speaker 3:   2x *(line, longing)*

Speaker 7:   1x *(number)*

The fact that the very same speaker pronouncing the same word may alternate between [l] and [n], together with the lack of any clear phonological pattern in their alternation, suggests that [l] and [n] are probably in *free variation* in HKE in the onset position of a syllable. This phenomenon apparently stems from Cantonese, where /l/ and /n/ are interchangeable in a large number of words. For example, the words [neɪ] ("you") and [noʊ] ("brain") are just as frequently pronounced as [leɪ] and [loʊ]

A summary of the HKE consonant system is given in Figure 7 below:

Figure 7: The consonant system of HKE

/p/	pea	/tʃ/	cheap	/f/	fee, even	/l/	lice, pill
/b/	bee	/dʒ/	jeep	/s/	seal, zeal	/n/	nice, pin
/t/	tie			/θ/	thin, clothing	/m/	mice
/d/	die, this			/ʃ/	she, pleasure	/ŋ/	sing
/k/	cot					/r/	rice
/g/	got					/w/	wise, van
						/j/	yes
						/h/	hit

Distribution

My data on the distribution of segments in HKE are so far inadequate for purposes of drawing a comprehensive picture of these phenomena in HKE. However, the influence of Cantonese is also apparent here. For example, the cluster [kw], involving a velar stop followed by a labial glide, does not occur before rounded vowels in HKE, but only before non-rounded vowels, as illustrated by the following:

quote	[koʊt]	*quit*	[kwit]
quarter	[kɔtə]	*quite*	[kwʌɪt]

The above distribution has an interesting counterpart in modern Cantonese, where, among the younger generation of speakers at least, the cluster [kw] has been simplified to [k] before rounded vowels, but is maintained before non-rounded vowels, as in:

[kwɔŋ] → [kɔŋ]"broad" vs. [kwʌi] "expensive"
[kwɔk] → [kɔk]"nation" vs. [kwai] "strange"

Conclusion

The phonological features of HKE are an interesting exemplification of the interaction between English and Cantonese, without being a direct "cloning" of Cantonese phonology. This is apparent not only at the segmental level, but equally at the syllabic level, where certain combinations of sounds are possible but not others.

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12 Canon and pedagogy: the role of American colonial education in defining standards for Philippine literature

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Filipino historian and essayist Renato Constantino wrote: "With American education, the Filipinos were not only learning a new language; they were not only forgetting their own language; they were starting to become a new type of American." What specific strategies did the American colonizers use to create this new type of American? How did they use the public schools to produce their cultural clones? The answer may be found in the language and literature education that the Americans introduced in 1901.

This paper argues that the Anglo-American canon of literature imposed on the Filipinos during the American colonial period would not have been as potent without a powerful partner: colonial pedagogy. Together, canon and pedagogy produced a certain type of language and literature education that created standards for Philippine literature in both English and Tagalog. The paper attempts to show that Philippine literature was relegated to the margins as a result of American colonial education.

Introduction

On 13 August 1898, a few months before American forces officially occupied Manila, American soldiers had already begun to teach in Corregidor (Esioko 1994). It is assumed that their first lesson was English. Less than a month later, on 1 September 1898, Fr. William D. McKinnon, the chaplain of American military forces, opened seven schools in Manila (Martin 1980).

It was no accident that the first teachers of English in the Philippines were American soldiers. Public education was introduced by the Americans as an essential component of military strategy. General Arthur MacArthur himself declared the following about public education:

> The matter [public education] is so closely allied to the exercise of military force in these islands that in my annual report I treated the matter as a military subject and suggested a rapid extension of educational facilities as an exclusively military measure (Unesco 1953:74).

Throughout the American colonial period, English was systematically promoted as the language that would "civilize" the Filipinos. It was the language that the colonizer introduced to the colonized so that the latter would be able to participate in a society determined by colonialism.

It was educational policy to systematically confine the native languages outside the territories of formal schooling. Such policy was institutionalized through the heavy use of instructional materials of Anglo-American origin for language instruction. Throughout four decades of American public education, Filipino students were exposed to a canon of literature which included works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Washington Irving, Ralph Waldo Emerson, as well as those of Shakespeare, George Elliott, Matthew Arnold, and the romantic poets. Meanwhile, Filipinos were using their own language outside the schools.

A flourishing literary life

When the Americans arrived in the Philippines, the Filipinos already had a flourishing literature. In the first decade of American colonialism, with memories of the revolution against Spain still fresh, secular values spread rapidly as a rejection of 300 years of religious domination. Spanish declined but English had not yet gained a foothold. Thus, the floodgates of literature in the native languages were flung wide open. With a newfound freedom of expression under the American colonizers, Philippine poetry, fiction, and journalism flourished.

However, in spite of the existence of a wealth of writing by Filipinos, Philippine literature was never recognized inside the colonial classroom. It was only during the latter half of American colonialism, perhaps with the introduction of the readers of Camilo Osias and the textbook of Francisco Benitez and Paz Marquez Benitez, that the canon in the classroom opened up to Filipino writers. It should be noted, however, that these textbooks were written in English.

It is easy to understand why Philippine literature was not recognized in the colonial classroom.

First of all, the Philippine literature that flourished at the beginning of the American colonial period was not in English. As it had been the policy from the start that native languages were not to be used in schools,[1] Philippine literature certainly had no place in the colonial classroom.

In 1925, a comprehensive study of the educational system of the Philippines (also known as the 1925 Monroe Report) reported that Filipino students had no opportunity to study in their native language. The report recommended that the native language

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be used as an auxiliary medium of instruction in courses such as character education, and good manners and right conduct (Board of Educational Survey, 1925). In spite of this, American education officials insisted on the exclusive use of English in the public schools until 1940. Such a policy propelled the English language towards becoming a wedge that separated the Filipinos from their past (Constantino 1982).

Colonial canon

Other than language, a more compelling reason for barring Philippine literature from inclusion in the canon of the classroom was that Anglo-American literature best served the interests of the colonizers. In this canon, the following titles were included:

Titles	Authors
The Song of Hiawatha, Evangeline, and *The Courtship of Miles Standish*	Henry Wadsworth Longfellow
The Alhambra	Washington Irving
"Gettysburg Address"	Abraham Lincoln
"Self-Reliance"	Ralph Waldo Emerson
Robinson Crusoe	Daniel Defoe
The Merchant of Venice, As You Like It, Macbeth, and *Julius Caesar*	William Shakespeare
Lady of the Lake	Walter Scott
Sohrab and Rustum	Matthew Arnold
The Life of Samuel Johnson	Thomas Babington Macaulay
Silas Marner	George Eliot

A detailed analysis of these texts, as well as the way they were taught to Filipino children, reveals the combined power of curriculum, canon, and pedagogy in promoting myths about colonial realities. These texts made natural and legitimate the illusion that colonialism existed for the sake of the colonials and not the colonizers.

One would wonder, for example, why the works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow were included in this canon when in the United States during the early part of the 1900s, Longfellow was regarded by critics as one whose poetry was shallow and too didactic (Snyder & Snyder 1953). But from 1904, *Evangeline* was read by all Filipino high school students. In 1911, *The Song of Hiawatha* was read by all Filipinos in all public elementary schools in the country.

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Also in 1904, Filipino elementary school students began to read Washington Irving's The Alhambra, a collection of stories set in a historical palace in Spain. *The Alhambra* was built and inhabited by Moslem kings during the 13th century. One would wonder why, among all the works of Irving, was this particular one included in the colonial canon.

A closer inspection of *Evangeline*, *The Song of Hiawatha*, and *The Alhambra*, reveals themes that directly promote American colonialism. In these texts one can almost find prescriptions for good behavior in a colonized society. *Evangeline*, for example, is the story of how Evangeline and Gabriel were separated during the time when the Acadians were ejected from their home by the English colonizers. However, the story tends to attract more attention to the romantic and sentimental portrayal of Evangeline's ill-fated love, rather than to the anger of the Acadians at the English. In *The Song of Hiawatha*, the protagonist Hiawatha regards the English colonizers as messengers of God. In the end, Hiawatha accepts his fate, leaves his home, and entrusts to the English his fellow native Americans. Irving's *The Alhambra* depicts colonizers as savages who destroy lives and cultures. However, it is interesting to note that these colonizers are the very same Spanish colonizers who subjected the Filipinos to 300 years of suffering. It is, thus, easy to see why the text is an invaluable tool of American colonialism in the Philippines.

Politics of reading

This Anglo-American literary canon, powerful as it might be, would not have been as potent on its own. Direct exposure to such a canon did not automatically ensure the creation of the so-called "brown Americans". Such view presupposes that literature has a direct effect on readers, that the language of literature is transparent, thus making its meaning immediately accessible to the reader.

However, the act of reading cannot be reduced to the simple act of recovering meaning from a text. The act of reading is not the simple process of decoding some embedded message from a text. Rather, it involves what Paulo Freire describes as reading the word-world (Freire & Macedo 1987) where text and reader converge to produce meaning. Such view of reading shatters the notion of the literary text as the sole source of meaning. The reader is thus empowered; she is made co-creator.

However, as the act of reading liberates, so too does it subjugate. In the context of the colonial classroom, there is another force that intervenes in the production of meaning — the human agent, the teacher.

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Colonial pedagogy

In 1904, Washington Irving's *The Alhambra* and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Evangeline* were first taught to 1st year high school Filipino students. *The Merchant of Venice* and other plays by Shakespeare were introduced to 3rd year high school Filipino students. One wonders how, after only a few years of exposure to the alien English language, could these students access literary texts of such complex language and strange culture. The key, of course, is the teacher.

In 1901, the first big group of American teachers arrived in the Philippines aboard the *U.S.S. Thomas*. These "Thomasites", as they were nicknamed, were assigned to various parts of the country to teach both Filipino students and teachers. By 1940, only about 97 American teachers were found to be on active duty in the Philippines (Unesco 1953). However, throughout four decades of American colonialism, not much had changed in the curriculum, canon, and pedagogy of language and literature education in Philippine public schools.

During the early years of public education in the Philippines, memory work became a popular method of teaching. This was described by one school principal, as the only way by which Filipino students could learn English. In 1911, she wrote the following:

> We must insist that every day in his first three years of school life, the Filipino child has a dialogue lesson, and we must make him commit that lesson absolutely to memory. For instance suppose his first lesson is as brief as this:
>
> Good morning, Pedro.
>
> Good morning, Jose.
>
> How are you this morning, Pedro?
>
> Thank you, I am very well.
>
> It would not be cruelty to animals to insist on any second grade pupil's committing that lesson to memory (Fee 1911:113)

Fee believed that, like American students, Filipinos would best learn the language, not by reading, but by memorizing dialogues, the same dialogues American children memorized in American schools. This, of course, was symptomatic of the practice by American teachers in the Philippines of importing teaching methods from the U.S. And why not? After all, the Philippines was a colony of the United States.

This and other mechanical methods of teaching the English language manifested itself in different forms in the public schools: eye movements in reading, reading aloud, performing grammar drills, and reciting memorized passages. The practice became so widespread that in 1913, Dr. Paul Monroe, later appointed head of the Board of Educational Survey, wrote the following about language education in the Philippines:

> Grammar seems to be too much separated from language work...The method
> employed seems to be largely a questions and answer method — often combined
> with mere memorized work (Monroe 1913:150)

In 1925, the Board of Educational Survey, which conducted a comprehensive study of
the Philippine public school system, reported similar findings:

> Children in upper grades seem to have a "reciting" knowledge of more technical
> English grammar than most children in corresponding grades in the American
> schools. To what degree this helps them in speaking and writing English no one
> really knows (Board of Educational Survey 1925:239)

This mechanical method of teaching language also found its way in the teaching of
literature. In the same report of the Board of Educational Survey, this method of
teaching was criticized:

> Practically an entire semester of the freshman year is given to an intensive study
> of Evangeline, a selection that can be read by an ordinary reader in two or three
> hours. Obviously this poem is read intensively. It is analyzed, taken to pieces,
> put back together, looked at from every angle, and considered in all of its
> relations. Such a course in literature is really a course in intellectual analysis of
> the most unprofitable kind. This analytic method of teaching literature is
> sanctified by a long academic tradition and should provide a splendid training
> for the literary critic, but, as a means for developing taste for literature and an
> interest in reading, little can be said in its defense (Board of Educational Survey
> 1925:378)

In 1929, one unnamed American school teacher reported the following practice in
literature classes in the Philippines:

> The course in literature was a misnomer. It should have been called "The
> Comparative Anatomy of our Best Works." We skinned participles and hung the
> pelts on the blackboard to dry. We split infinitives, in much the same manner as
> a husky midwestern youth splits a stick of wood. We hammered the stuffing out
> of the compound and complex sentences, leaving the mere shells of their selves.
> We took our probes and dug into the vitals of literary masterpieces, bringing
> their very souls to the light of day...We analyzed sentences and defined words—
> in short, we completed the course, as outlined, including the most important
> thing: the correct manner of passing the final examinations (Graphic 1928:17).

The literary texts which make up the canon in the colonial classroom were presented
by the teachers not just as examples of good English, but also as great literature.
Exposure to such a canon and pedagogy would certainly exact a toll on Philippine
writing, as well on standards for Philippine literature.

From the compositions of Filipino students alone, one can already see the effects
of American colonial education on writing. In 1928, one English teacher observed that
in writing compositions, students tended to mimic the Anglo-American writers they
read in class. An example of such follows:

> Amongst my female sectionmates there is one who will make my heart stop
> throbbing whenever I will gaze upon her. She is not pure Filipina but are what
> we call in the Philippines Mestiza. She have a golden kinky hair and a oblong
> face on which was a rare and sporadic pimples. She is not so white as plate nor
> so black as Negro, but between the two, so that when the sun will shine on her
> face a blood running thru the arteries can be plainly seen (Graphic 1928:17)

According to the student-writer's English teacher, the student directly lifted the words
"throbbing" and "oblong" from Edgar Allan Poe, although Poe did not use the term
"oblong" to refer to the face of a person, but to a box. The term "sporadic", which the
student used to describe pimples, might have been taken from a biology text, or could
have been a confusion with the word "dangling." If it was an error, then the source
of the word was most likely Washington Irving. The lofty tone of the paragraph,
furthermore, might be traced to Matthew Arnold. The teacher added:

> A vast army of literary knights—Chaucer, Poe, Irving, Kipling, Arnold,
> Stevenson, Tennyson, Longfellow, Johnson, Noah Webster, Shakespeare and
> countless others crop up continually in the written work, perhaps somewhat
> mangled, but recognizable nevertheless (Graphic 1928:17)

This observation was confirmed by the General Office Supervisors of the Bureau of
Education. In March 1928, they published the following statement:

> The topics chosen for composition should encourage originality in thought and
> expression rather than reproduction of literary works. There should, of course,
> be nice correlations of work in literature and composition. But such a large
> majority of the composition topics should not be drawn from the course on
> literature and when the composition topic is correlated with literature, it should
> be so worded as to call for original thought rather than reproduction.

Writing in Philippine schools tended to imitate the language of the texts taught to
students. Such an observation is not very different from those made about Philippine
literature in English produced during the second decade of the American colonial
period.

Local color in Philippine literature in English

In 1928, Dr. George Pope Shannon, head of the English Department of the University
of the Philippines and adviser of the UP Writer's Club, warned writers about four
tendencies of Philippine literature in English: (1) slavish imitation, or the tendency
of Philippine literature to imitate Anglo-American texts; (2) provincialism, or the
tendency of Philippine literature to be confined to narrow issues such as patriotism;
(3) self-complacency, or the tendency of Philippine writing in English to reject issues
that interest the general reader; and (4) discouragement, or the tendency of Filipino
writers to lose confidence in their own writing because of the low quality of their work
(Shannon 1928:6)

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These observations from an American educator who had a wide influence on Filipino writers might have defined standards of excellence for Philippine literature in English. It is clear from Shannon's statements that originality was demanded. But what exactly did it mean to be original?

In 1928, in the essay "On Story Settings," Filipino writer and critic Casiano Calalang offered the following advice to fellow writers:

> ...it will profit us to pay particular attention to our surroundings, to the peculiarities that make them different from others, to the atmosphere of our villages which can not be confounded with the metropolitanism of the city. And when in our mind the differences are clear, let us start with enthusiasm and vigor to write stories that will breathe the heat and passion of the tropics, and bear the distinctive stamp FILIPINO (Calalang 1928).

With this statement, Calalang laid bare the contradictions Filipino writers of English were facing during the period of American colonialism. On the one hand, Filipinos were expected to produce writings that were acceptable to the general reader, that is, the American reader, or more precisely, the Filipino reader with the literary taste of an American. Such taste, of course, was developed in the colonial classroom with the Filipinos' exposure to Anglo-American texts. On the other hand, it was also demanded that Philippine writing in English be original. And to be original meant to infuse Philippine literature with local color, a quality certainly not consistent with the nature of Anglo-American texts Filipinos were expected to read and imitate.

Ten years after the success of the first Philippine short story in English ("Dead Stars" by Paz Marquez Benitez), another Filipino writer and critic, Arturo Rotor lamented the fact that Philippine writing in English was still in the experimental stage. He noted the abuse of local color in most short stories (Rotor 1937). Many years later, Casiano Calalang decided to write in Tagalog, explaining that "...it was better in Tagalog. English was very simple, very direct" (Alegre & Fernandez 1984:22).

The demand for local color was a compromise that American colonialism promoted so that Philippine literature in English would become acceptable by its standards. It was a concept that allowed Philippine literature in English an opening into the mainstream of literary life in the Philippines.

It was also a symptom of the contradictions in Philippine literary life as a result of American colonial education. On the one hand, Filipino writers were expected to be original in their writing, that is, to avoid mimicking Anglo-American literature. And yet, the only literary texts they were exposed to in the colonial classroom were Anglo-American.

With the promotion of local color as a standard of excellence, American colonialism, through education as a potent instrument, successfully delimited the sphere of Philippine literature in English to that space where great literature does not belong. With the demand for local color, Philippine literature in English was effectively pushed to the margins of the mainstream, thus relegating it to the position of other.

Romantic features of Philippine literature

In contrast, local color was not an issue in Tagalog literature, precisely because Tagalog literature already lay at the margins of American colonial society. Filipinos schooled in the Anglo-American canon saw in Tagalog literature the so-called flaws of romantic form and content.

In 1935, Genaro Virtusio wrote the following about the *Tagalista*, or Filipino writer of Tagalog:

> The trouble with our Tagalistas, is that they are content to cater to the great bulk that is the unsuspecting ignorant mass yearning to be emotionally tickled and sentimentally pleased, disregarding all that is good and beautiful, and worth-having in literature (Virtusio, 1935:2).

The "great bulk" that Virtusio was referring to were the thousands of readers ("the unsuspecting ignorant mass") of the Tagalog magazine *Liwayway*. The wide readership of this magazine during the colonial period suggests that emotional, sentimental, and moralistic literature was very popular. Virtusio's statement also reveals that at that time, emotionalism and sentimentalism were considered qualities of poor writing, as well as of poor taste in literature. Such qualities belonged to the opposite side of what were considered "good" and "beautiful."

It should be noted that this penchant for romantic writing was also evident in Philippine literature in English. In 1928, Jose Garcia Villa wrote:

> Love has been the major ingredient all these years and because of its overuse, has spoiled the story...While this passion for the love story may seem only the writer's fault, it is equally the reading public's...Also, it must be known that the Filipino public has a weakness for flowery language. A writer who does not use florid words is not appreciated (Villa 1928:2).

Like Virtusio, Villa was referring to the popularity of romantic literature that was made available to the public through weekly magazines.

In 1929, Thomas Inglis Moore, professor of English at the University of the Philippines, wrote:

> ...sentimentalism is the worst weakness of all Filipino literature. It is caused by the emotional and idealistic nature of the people and by the fact that their literature is doubly adolescent-written with an adolescent knowledge of the English language and by adolescent minds. Turn to the pages of the Collegian or the Sunday Tribune or the Herald. Read the works of Mr. Galang—if you can do so. Take the St. Claire translation of the FLORANTE AND LAURA. Here, in general, we have a welter of emotion which has little relation to the facts of life, especially the hard ones. Everything is ideal, especially in the emotional sense of the terms. It is depressingly subjective. There is no substance of objective reality. It is sloppy, molluscan; it has no vertebrate of fact (Moore 1936: 1).

At a literary conference at the University of Sto. Tomas in 1932, Eufronio Alip made the following distinction between the Philippine short story in English and its

counterpart in the native language:

> ... whereas the latter is sickeningly sentimental, the former is real; one is grossly romantic, the other is realistic (Alip 1932:18).

A few years later, in 1936, Jose M. Hernandez, head of the Department of English of the University of Sto. Tomas, attempted to rationalize and naturalize romanticism in Philippine literature. He wrote that:

> ...in writing there are certain qualities of the English language which are difficult of assimilation in an Oriental country like ours; for, whereas the best English writing demands the crispness, sharpness, severity and economy of expression, the Oriental manner of speaking and writing calls always for wordiness, ornate language, a "fine writing"—all these being very suggestive of pleonasm and surplusage (Hernandez 1936: 1-16).

It is clear from the statements above that what was considered as a weakness of Philippine writing was also perceived as a weakness of the Filipino race. These observations from Filipino critics and educators, as well as from influential American educators, only perpetuated the dichotomies between Occidental and Oriental languages, realistic and romantic literatures, high literature and low literature, good taste and poor taste, maturity and adolescence, intelligence and ignorance. Thus, in a hierarchy of literary standards imposed through education by American colonialism, Philippine romantic literature in English or Tagalog was consigned to the very bottom of the heap. Of course, on top of that heap was Philippine literature in English that was infused with realism and local color. At the highest point were Anglo-American literary texts, romantic or realistic. It did not matter which, because these were not Filipino.

Conclusion

As material manifestation and ideological apparatus of American colonialism, public education in the Philippines under the Americans only perpetuated the interests of American colonial ideology. At the same time that American colonialism promoted the Anglo-American literary canon, it also propagated approaches to teaching that would have direct benefits for the existing order. The partnership of canon and pedagogy sealed the fate of Filipino readers and writers.

Thus, the belief that public education was introduced in the Philippines for the Filipinos is in fact false. The reality is that public education, specifically language and literature education during the American colonial period, was designed to directly support American colonialism. The combined power of the canon, curriculum, and pedagogy constituted the ideological strategies resulting in rationalizing, naturalizing, and legitimizing myths about colonial relationships and realities. The Filipino experience of American colonial education must constantly remind us that language and literature education is never neutral. Education is power — the power to forge realities, the power to propel cultures, the power to interrupt life.

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Notes

1   The native language (Pilipino) was not allowed to be taught in the public schools until 1940.

13 ASEAN and Asian cultures and models: implications for the ELT curriculum and for teacher selection

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The teaching of English in schools in Indonesia and in many other countries of ASEAN has not been successful. Graduates of secondary schools, despite many hours of learning English over several years, often have little English proficiency. However, English has become the lingua franca of ASEAN and between other countries in East Asia. Thus a new curriculum is required that concentrates on ASEAN rather than 'Anglo' cultures and on local rather than imported native speaker teachers.

Introduction

It is impossible to identify and isolate an 'English' culture that is common to all speakers of English. For example, the cultures represented by Nigerian, Singaporean, Indian, Scottish, Philippino or Australian Aboriginal English are all very different. So, while a variety of English must be linked to a culture, it is not inextricably tied to an 'Anglo' culture. A variety of cultural identities can be represented by new varieties of English.

In the context of the East and South East Asian region, a major role that English plays in the region is that of a lingua franca. English is the lingua franca of the political elite and ASEAN (Krasnick 1995). It is also a common lingua franca between professionals and the business community of the East Asian region.

In contrast to many parts of the world where the use of English has caused much debate (see Phillipson 2000), the use of English as a lingua franca appears to have been accepted. In a study of the use of English as an 'official' language of ASEAN, Okudaira (1999) has shown that language was not even mentioned in the Bangkok Declaration of 1967 in which ASEAN was officially established. In responses to questions about the role of English, Okudaira (1999, pp. 95-96) quotes ASEAN officials as saying "The idea of English as the common language came out automatically", "We

took it for granted", "There has been no regulation for the use of English but it has been used in all the actual situations", "No one has been conscious about it".

In any event, it must be understood that the vast majority of people in the region who are learning English are doing so with the express purpose of being able to communicate with fellow non-native speakers. Gordon Wu of Hong Kong's Hopewell Holdings captured this emerging role of English in the Far Eastern Economic Review of 21 March 1996 saying:

"English is no longer some colonial language. It is the means we in Asia communicate with the world and one another."

To take a specific example, Indonesian learners of English are, in the main, learning English in order to speak to Thais, or Koreans, or Vietnamese or Japanese. They do not need a curriculum concerned with an understanding of 'Anglo' cultures. What is needed is a curriculum concerned with an understanding of regional cultures. It is argued here that the cultures and pragmatic norms of the people in the region are more relevant to these speakers than the cultures and pragmatic norms associated with so-called native speakers. This has clear implications for English language teaching in the region's schools, both for the curriculum and for the types of English teachers, and these implications are considered below, with a particular focus on Indonesia.

Implications for the curriculum

The English language teaching world is awash with commercially produced language teaching materials. While some international publishers do publish materials for local markets, the majority of materials are aimed at the lucrative global market. These global materials are, for the most part, published in inner circle countries. For example, a book on ELT materials and methods (McDonough and Shaw 1993) provides a list of fifty two published ELT course books, fifty one of which were published in the UK. The remaining one was published in the United States. The majority of these contemporary ELT materials are only really appropriate for people who are learning English as a second language in countries like the UK or the United States. Given their 'Anglo' focus, the content of these course books and the teaching methodologies they assume are largely inappropriate for English language teaching in ASEAN contexts, where the great majority of English language teachers are local non-native speaker teachers, and the great majority of English language learners are local school children learning English primarily because it is part of the national curriculum.

It is important to underline that the proposed curriculum is not intended for students whose aim it is to travel and study in the traditional centres of 'Anglo' culture, such as Australia, the United States or Great Britain. Nor is this curriculum intended for those students who expect to work with native speakers of English. Rather, the curriculum being proposed is for the overwhelming majority of learners of English who are learning English simply because it is on the curriculum. Currently,

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they are not successful learners.

In the context of Indonesia, Soenjono points out the sad fact. "With few exceptions, generally a high school graduate is not able to communicate intelligibly in English" (Soenjono 2000, p.27). However, as English is the regional lingua franca, a new curriculum based on ASEAN cultures can provide a real practical reason for learning English and thus students will develop a motivation for learning it. They will want to learn English to communicate with fellow so-called non-native speakers of English throughout the region.

In arguing that the pragmatic norms of the speakers of the ASEAN region are more relevant than 'Anglo' pragmatic norms for ASEAN learners of English, we assume that the pragmatic norms of the speakers' first language will be transferred to their variety of English. There is plenty of well-established evidence to show that pragmatic norms are transferred across languages in this way (Gumperz 1982, Odlin 1989). Malcolm (this volume) shows how the pragmatic or cultural norms of Australian Aboriginals are transferred from Aboriginal languages to Australian Aboriginal English. There is also some evidence that the pragmatic norms of speakers of certain Asian languages are similar and that they differ from the pragmatic norms of native speaker English. Kirkpatrick (1991) has shown that the preferred request pattern in Modern Standard Chinese follows the schema of facework — reasons for request — request, and that this differs from the pattern in English which prefers to place the request before the reasons or justifications for it. Scollon and Scollon (1991) have shown that speakers from different Asian languages delay the introduction of the topic of conversation until after a substantial amount of facework, while English speakers often dispense with facework and broach the topic more immediately.

David Li of Hong Kong's City University is therefore right to argue (1998) that the curriculum of a new variety of English should reflect the pragmatic and cultural norms and values of the learners, especially if they are primarily using their variety of English to communicate with fellow non-native speakers from the region. If the pragmatic norms of their variety of English derive from the pragmatic norms of their first languages, their variety of English will be more successful medium of intra-regional communication than a variety that reflected 'Anglo' norms. In addition, speakers of a new variety of English will want to preserve their identity, and the reflection of their pragmatic and cultural norms in the local variety of English is an important way of doing this (Kirkpatrick 2000).

English language teaching materials are therefore needed that promote the local or regional variety of English and that represent the cultural and pragmatic norms of the speakers of these newly developing varieties. These materials also need to contrast regional cultures. The major focus of the curriculum becomes Asian cultures. The English standard becomes an Asian standard.

This alters the criteria against which the authenticity and relevance of an authentic text is judged, both in terms of content and language. First, the content of a conversation between native speakers about the fickle weather in Scotland is

immediately seen as inappropriate and irrelevant. On the other hand, a conversation in English between an Indonesian and a Thai about the role of Islam in Indonesia becomes an authentic and relevant text. English becomes a vehicle for intercultural communication and intercultural language teaching (Crozet and Liddicoat 2000) within ASEAN and the East Asian region.

There is no shortage of potential material for such a curriculum. A glance through the papers given at Borneo Research Council conference in Kuching in 2000 (Li 2000) suggests a whole range of possible topics for the Indonesian English language classroom. They deal with real issues that could both increase knowledge and develop critical skills in the students. Here are some examples.

'A study on fire safety of longhouses in the Seblak'
'Tropical storm Greg 1996 and its aftermath in Sabah'
'Changing perspectives of a former hunter'
'Traditional communities in forestry policy'
'Impact of tourism on longhouse communities'
'Indonesian workers in Sarawak: the direction of the daily commuting workers'
'Cleansing and blessing plants for wedding couples'

Materials such as these can provide secondary school students with authentic teaching materials that address issues that are real to the students and with which they can identify. Please note that materials that deal in a superficial way with 'Asian' themes or sights are not being proposed. For example, a unit in an English language curriculum that simply describes an important temple in Thailand or mosque in Indonesia is unlikely to stimulate students. Material, however, that forces students to consider fundamental differences between Buddhism and Islam is much more likely to be stimulating.

The second criterion against which the teaching materials should be judged is language. Materials that have a language focus need to comprise a major part of the curriculum. However, instead of the focus being on a native speaking model, the focus needs to shift to a local standard. In the context of Indonesia, it would seem to make sense to adopt the Malaysian variety for several reasons: it is an established standard; linguistically Malay and Bahasa Indonesia are almost identical; and there are close cultural and religious links between Indonesia and Malaysia. There is the added advantage of Malaysia being able to provide appropriate English language teachers.

Below is a translation into English of a Minang dialogue. The example was provided by Rusdi Thaib who is himself a Minang, an Indonesian ethnic group centred around Padang in Sumatra.

A female (A, age 40) wants to invite a friend (B, age 41) to a wedding party. A goes to B's house.

A: (knocks at the door). Assalamu'alaikum
B: Wa'alaikum salaam. Please come in.
A: Are you alone?
B: Yes. I am always alone during the day.

A: Where are your children?

B: My son is helping his father in the rice field and my daughter is studying at school.

A: What are you growing at the moment?

B: Rice. Earlier we grew chilli. What about your children?

A: Oh, he is still in Jakarta. I haven't heard from him for months now. But I believe the saying 'no news is good news'.

B: What is he doing in Jakarta?

A: He is a tailor in Tanggerang. He works for his uncle.

B: Has he married?

A: Yes. He married a Javanese girl.

B: That's good.

A: Oh, what I would like to tell you is this...do you know Hassan's daughter?

B: I vaguely know her.

A: She is going to marry Chairil's son. The wedding party will be next Friday. We hope you can come.

B: Insyaallah I will come.

A: I think I should be off now. Assamalu'alaikum.

B: Wa'alaikum salam.

It must seem odd to be suggesting that a translation of a Minang dialogue could be used for English language teaching. The point is that the schema of this dialogue represents a cultural norm in many parts of Asia. The cultural conventions and pragmatic norms of Minang require that A first talks about B's family and so forth before actually broaching the main point of the conversation. In this it follows what Scollon and Scollon (1991) have called a common pattern of Asian conversations in that, what to English speakers appears to be the topic (inviting), is preceded by a great deal of facework. While the sequence and pattern of this dialogue might transgress Anglo pragmatic norms, the students are likely to use English with people from the region for whom the sequence and pattern of this dialogue with its extended facework is culturally appropriate. In other words, the transfer of these pragmatic norms into English will result in a more appropriate variety of English for regional use. Kirkpatrick (2000) provides further examples. What Ammon (2000) has called the non-native speakers' rights to linguistic peculiarities become the non-native speakers' rights to culturally appropriate varieties of English, fashioned by the speakers themselves.

A third area that must be reflected in the curriculum and materials is what we will call voice. That is to say, the people portrayed in the materials should be ones with whom the learners can identify. In a fascinating longitudinal survey of primary school English textbooks used in Singapore, Toh (1999) found that the Oxford University Press materials used in the 50s and 60s presented the English speaking world as modern and associated with advancements in technology, while Singapore and Malaysia were presented as lands of villages and bullock carts. The message was

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clear — English is for progress and you learners need English to help your countries progress. If local people were given a voice it was either as servants, peasants, or as pastiches of English children. One took afternoon tea with Aunt Joan. Then in the 1980s, the primary series called Pep was produced by the Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore. This series foregrounded the Chinese and gave them voice. Other races fared less well. Singapore became the centre of the world and a beacon of progress. People who fell sick in Malaysia were rushed to Singapore for medical treatment. The third series that Toh examined was the more recent Pets series, which was also produced by the Curriculum Development Institute. To quote Toh, "Pets reverts to both Inner Circle type material and ideologies" (p254). Local people are given no voice at all. Only Western stories are told and the characters in them are all from the western canon. Toh asks "What meanings would a textbook with many pieces adapted from native (speaker) centre (NC) works be transmitting? That English is to be associated with works from the centre? That only NC stories are worth being told?" (p.257)

Given the historical contexts in which these sets of materials were produced, it is not surprising that the Oxford series presented the ideology it did. Nor is it surprising that the second series, produced as it was by the Curriculum Development Institute of Singapore, presented Singapore as the centre of the world and gave voice to the majority ethnic group, the Chinese. What is surprising is that the recent series, Pets, has reverted so completely to native speaker material and ideologies. No local people are given a voice at all. It is as if the Curriculum Development Institute are denying that Singaporeans speak English themselves and denying them any sense of ownership of the language.

It is proposed here that any new English language curriculum for the region must give voice to local people. The curriculum must portray local people using English with fellow non-native speakers in real settings. This is not to deny a voice to people from outside the region. But the focus must be on showing how English is used among people of the region.

To conclude this section, we argue that, given the role of English in the ASEAN region, the aims of a new curriculum and materials should be to motivate the learning of English by including Asian/ASEAN cultural content and promoting an Asian/ASEAN standard variety of English. This is not to say that the curriculum should be exclusively devoted to Asian/ASEAN cultures and varieties, but that its focus should be on these. There is no reason why students can not be introduced to external cultures and varieties of English, but these should not be presented as models. In the process of teaching English, the curriculum needs to establish three important principles in the minds of the learners. These are:

(i) English is used as a lingua franca throughout the South-East and East Asian region and that English is a language that is used by people in the region to discuss regional affairs. The use of English between non-native speakers is much greater than the use of English between native speakers.

(ii) different cultures exist among the region and the use of a local variety of English as a lingua franca allows people to learn about and discuss these cultures in a culturally appropriate form of English

(iii) there are many varieties of English and that these differ phonologically, lexically, syntactically, at the levels of discourse and text, and in their use of cultural conventions and pragmatic norms. These differences can not be treated as errors or deviant from some 'Anglo' norm.

Implications for the selection of teachers

There is a belief that the native speaker of English is an intrinsically better English teacher than a local non-native speaker. "The notion that the ideal teacher is a native speaker is a cornerstone of monolingual pedagogy" (Phillipson 1992, p.13). In this section of the paper, we shall argue that, in the context of ASEAN, trained non-native speaking teachers of English (NNST) are likely to be more suitable as English language teachers than monolingual native speakers, provided of course that their own level of English is of sufficient standard. First, however, we can take issue with the very term 'native speaker'. Several scholars have provided persuasive arguments for abandoning the term native speaker (Rampton1990, Canagarajah 1999). The Indonesian context provides a further argument.

Bloomfield defined a native language as one learned on one's mother's knee and that no one is perfectly sure in a language that is acquired later. This definition equates a native speaker with a mother tongue speaker and is based on the assumption that the language a child learns first is the language spoken to it by the mother. Bloomfield's definition also assumes that age is the critical factor in language learning although he does say that, in rare instances, it is possible for a foreigner to speak as well as a native (Hockett 1970).

There are some problems with this definition of native speaker, however. It seems to be useful in societies that are monolingual where both parents speak the same language and where that language is the language of the local speech community. Many societies are, however, multilingual. One only has to consider the languages spoken in the countries of ASEAN to realise that multilingual societies are the regional norm. For example, the majority of people in Indonesia will have a local language as a mother tongue and, by Bloomfield's definition, be native speakers of that mother tongue, whether it be Bugis or Minang or Javanese or whatever. Yet most Indonesians will also learn the national language, Bahasa Indonesia, once they go to primary school and will use this as the language of education, as a lingua franca between fellow Indonesians and as the official language for the rest of their lives. Yet, by Bloomfield's definition, these people are not native speakers of Bahasa Indonesia as they have learned it as a second language. But it seems in some way odd to suggest that they do not possess a native-like fluency in the language. It would appear, then,

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that the very notion of the native speaker is a construct of monolingual societies and is not relevant in the context of multicultural societies such as Indonesia where multilingual people are the norm. While we might expect the notion of the innate superiority of a native speaker to be deep-seated in relatively homogenous and monolingual cultures such as Japan and Korea, it is also still strongly held in Indonesia.

How deep-seated this belief is can be seen by putting two 'idealised' curriculum vitae alongside each other and considering which of the two applicants employers would select to teach English in a secondary school in a country in the region.

CV A

An inexperienced monolingual native English speaker with little knowledge of the local education system, with little knowledge of the local political system, with little or no knowledge of the cultures and religions of the country, with little or no knowledge of local teaching and learning styles, and with little or no knowledge of the roles and status of English vis a vis other languages.

CV B

A trained multilingual non-native speaker of English (but with a high level of proficiency in English), who is familiar with the local educational and political systems, who understands local cultures and local teaching and learning styles, and who has a good understanding of the comparative roles the languages of the community play.

It seems surprising, even depressing, but many governments still consistently prefer and thus advertise for teachers whose CVs more closely approximate CV A than CV B. A recent example of this is provided by the South Korean government's decision to employ one thousand native English speakers to teach in Korean schools. The advert placed in the Korean Herald asked for native English teachers of two types, neither of which **requires** TESOL training or a knowledge of Korean language or culture.

"Type 1 teachers require a Certificate in TESOL **or** 3 years full-time teaching experience with a graduate degree in TESOL **or** experience and interest in Korean culture and language.

Type 2 teachers only have to be native speakers of English with a bachelor's degree in any field."

Two reasons why 'CVA' may get the job can be determined by reference to the first two ELT tenets identified by Phillipson (1992). These are that English is best taught monolingually (that is to say, the only classroom language should be English), and that the ideal teacher is the monolingual native speaker. These tenets need to be discarded.

First, insisting on a monolingual classroom when the teacher and students both share an LI and/or national language, as is the case in the vast majority of language

teaching situations in the region, is to deny the language classroom a rich linguistic resource. The uses of LI and or national languages can be contrasted with the target language in ways that will help the learners make sense of the target language and give them a greater understanding of their own.

Second, insisting on native speaker teachers of the target language, even though they are monolingual, is to deny the importance and value of multilingual non-native speaker teachers. Teachers who share the same L1 or national languages of their students have already been through the experience of learning the language that their students are now trying to learn. This experience will sensitise them to the particular difficulties the learners will have, will allow them to empathise with the learners and introduce to the learners effective strategies that they themselves adopted when learning the language. Medgyes(1994) has argued that empathy is the most important quality a teacher can possess. Monolingual teachers with no experience of learning another language or no great proficiency in a foreign language do not have the insights into the language learning process that are possessed by the multilingual non-native speakers and nor can they readily empathise with their students.

The advantages of local multilingual teachers can be placed alongside some of the disadvantages of importing monolingual native speaker teachers into the local classroom. The first disadvantage is that the imported teachers will not speak the language of the students or the staff. Not speaking the language of the students, the teachers will not be able to use the linguistic resources available in the classroom. They will not be able to draw any linguistic or cultural contrasts in the use of the local language and English. Skutnabb-Kangas puts it strongly 'A monolingual teacher teaching students who are to become bilingual or multilingual is by definition an incompetent teacher for those students' (2000:632). In the context of ASEAN, the native speaker will provide a model of English that is both inappropriate for local students for reasons outlined above. Their native speaker status is likely to place their model of English higher than the local teachers' in the minds of both local students and teachers. This can be devastatingly demotivating for both parties. The local teachers will constantly feel that their model is somehow inferior to the native speaker model. This leads to an overall sense of insecurity on their part. The students will quickly deduce that the local model is undervalued and inferior and that therefore the English that they will speak will be inferior. This feeling of inferiority on the part of both teachers and students will not create an atmosphere conducive to efficient and confident language learning.

Other disadvantages of monolingual native speakers are firstly that as they are not able to speak the local language they will not be able to contribute to the life of the school in any way. They will also be unfamiliar with the cultural and educational roles expected of the teacher and the student in the local context. Finally, after a relatively short period of time, many will leave. This has to be a poor investment.

In the context of the ASEAN, therefore it is argued that ideal English language

teachers are trained, multilingual local non-native speakers with high proficiency in English for several reasons:

- they provide an appropriate and attainable model of the language
- they provide a motivating example for their students
- they have empathy for their students
- they are linguistically sophisticated
- they understand local cultural and educational traditions
- they represent an excellent educational investment.

The status of well-trained local teachers of English therefore needs to be promoted and the value they have for the English language teaching classroom must be realised. They provide appropriate models of language and act as role models of language learners for their language learning students. Their value lies in their linguistic resources and their socio-cultural understanding. As Wolfram (1995) has argued in the context of ESL in the United States, teachers must display, among other qualities, an appreciation of the social and contextual roles of vernaculars and standards and have background knowledge of the vernacular. What we argue for here is that the regional vernacular or variety should become the taught variety and that this variety should provide the models and the materials.

This is not to say, of course, that there is no room for suitably qualified multilingual native speaker teachers. Many are excellent teachers. But it must also be understood that the great majority of language learners will be learning English to converse with other non-native speakers of English. They are learning English for instrumental reasons and so that they can use it as a lingua franca among themselves. Only a relatively small number are learning English in order to develop an understanding of any 'Anglo' culture. Thus, a curriculum that places a primary focus on Asian cultures, and that uses an Asian standard of English as a model gives an authentic voice to local people and uses local teachers or teachers from ASEAN is more likely to be successful for the great majority of learners of English in ASEAN.

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14 From TEFL to TEIL: Changes in Perceptions and Practices: Teaching English as an International Language (EIL) in Chinese Universities in P.R.China

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This paper addresses English as an International Language (EIL) by discussing English teaching and learning in Chinese universities. With the shift from English as a foreign language to EIL, the Chinese traditional attachment to Received Pronunciation (RP) or General American (GA) standards has been challenged. Therefore, changes in perceptions and practices in the teaching of English should be made so that students can acquire the ever-evolving EIL, which reflects multi-cultures and multi-identities.

Introduction

English was traditionally viewed as either a mother tongue, or a second or foreign language by both native speakers and non-native speakers. In the past two decades, more and more people have begun to view English as an International Language. On the one hand, "the predominant position currently enjoyed by English is a historical contingency arising from the mercantile and colonial expansion of the British Empire, which was followed by American economic and technological hegemony." On the other hand, " the technological developments, economic globalization and improved communications have all played a role in the new global flows of English. And with these new flows have emerged a changing pattern of identities and social relations — on both an individual level and on a global scale" (Eco 1995, pp.181-2). In addition, an increasing number of linguists, language researchers and teachers from various national and cultural backgrounds, both native and non-native, have been actively involved in the study and teaching of English. As a result, general English proficiency at a global level is rising, and the number of English learners all over the world is rising dramatically, especially in countries such as China, Japan, and Korea etc., all of

which are in the "expanding circle" (Kachru 1992, p.356). According to Kachru, "the 'expanding circle' includes the regions where the *performance* varieties of the language are used essentially in EFL contexts." With regard to the expanding circle, Crystal (1997, p.61) stated that:

> Estimates for the total number of these speakers vary enormously: they have been as low as 100 million and as high as 1,000 million. ... One thing is plain: ... their role in any account of the global English picture is likely to increase dramatically in the twenty-first century, eventually exceeding the significance currently attached to the outer-circle countries. Numerically, much will depend on what happens in the countries with the largest populations, notably China, Japan, Russia, Indonesia and Brazil.

English has been "the most-studied foreign language in China" (Cheng 1992, p.162) ever since China's opening to the outside world in the late 1970s. The number of English learners in China has been increasing at overwhelming speed. Some children in major cities start to learn their ABC at kindergartens, but most students learn English in their primary schools, or in some rural areas, in secondary schools. Although there is no English-speaking Chinese community on China's mainland, and English has no official status, the learning of English has been booming since the 1980s along with rapid economic development. Since Chinese Putonghua (Mandarin) does not feel linguistically insecure in the face of the global spread of English, the government is generously supporting the teaching and learning of English in China. English is used in some of China's radio and TV programs and in newspapers as a means of letting the world know about the changes in China. People, especially educated adults and young people, are strongly motivated to learn English, because it may enable them to have access to better jobs, more opportunities, and a wider world. All this has great implications for ELT in China. What does EIL mean to English learners and teachers in China? What models of English should we (as non-native English teachers) adopt in teaching? Should we incorporate Chinese cultural norms into the teaching of English? What changes, if any, should accompany the shift from EFL to EIL?

English as an International Language

In the 13th EA Educational Conference *English in Australia*, one of the keynote speakers, Scott Thornbury commented that "We don't possess a language, but we learn it and live in it". In the case of English, this is true.

> The English language ceased to be the sole possession of the English some time ago. Indeed, when even the largest English speaking nation, the U.S.A. turns out to have only about 20 per cent of the world's English speakers, it is plain that no one can now claim sole ownership. This is probably the best way of defining a genuinely global language, ... (Crystal 1997, p.130)

As a global language, it is not surprising that, "while English is used by more

people than any other language on Earth, its mother-tongue speakers make up only a quarter or a fifth of the total." (Strevens 1992, p.28)

It might be uncomfortable for native speakers of English to lose the ownership of English. However, in the foreseeable future, the rapid spread of English is unstoppable.

Five years ago, the British Council predicted that,

By the year 2000 it is estimated that over one billion people will be learning English. English is the main language of books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science, technology, diplomacy, sport, international competitions, pop music and advertising. (Graddol 1996, p.181).

Now, five years later, at the end of 2000, we see that those predictions have all been realised. In the meantime, with the Internet sweeping almost every corner of the world, people are more and more aware of the speed at which changes in, around and about English are taking place. In Robert Phillipson's words, (Graddol 1999, p.20) "English is deeply involved in ongoing processes of globalization and localization." Hence, "using terms like second or foreign language no longer adequately describes the current situation with regard to EL use" (Kirkpatrick 2000). As a result such terms as *Englishes, Englishisaton, English hybridization, English globalization, English nativization* and *English as an International Language* have become common in linguistic circles. Larry Smith (Kachru 1992, p.41) says "it is the widespread use of English which makes it an international language." He has proposed EIL as "a blanket term to cover all the functions of English as it is actually used in different parts of the world" (Bickley 1982, p.86).

The importance of ... the recent development of English has been not just the vast numbers of people who now need or want English ..., but the fact that using English suddenly has nothing to do with one's nationality or with the historical facts of the spread of English-speaking colonies.(Strevens 1992, p.31)

"In sum, English as an International Language situations are frequent and can be classified in terms of the interactors engaged in those situations" (Bickley 1982, pp.86-7) Such situations include those where a Chinese speaks in English to a Japanese in Beijing; where a Singaporean speaks in English to an Australian in Perth; and where a Scot speaks in English to an American in Hong Kong, etc. In general, when speakers coming from differing national and cultural backgrounds are present, EIL is more likely than any other languages to be the *lingua franca*.

Chew (Graddol 1999, p.38) stated that "By the 1980s, more concerns began to surface regarding the theoretical, methodological, ethical, and professional issues related to the global spread and use of English." Presently, the concept of EIL relates extensively to the issues of standards and norms of English; to the issues of English varieties and their respective cultures; and more practically, to the issues of teaching and learning of English.

EIL and standards/norms

It is difficult to define the standards and norms of English in an EIL context. However, some linguists have attempted to give definitions of *Standard English*.

> Standard English is that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations. (Trudgill 1983, p.17)

> With the spread of English, many different varieties have developed. ..., but there is a variety called Standard English which is a target of use for almost all educated users of the language. The printed form of this variety, at the sentence level, is very similar no matter who the users are or what the geographical location (is). (Smith 1991, p.33)

While talking about *Standard English*, we do not imply that non-standard varieties are ungrammatical forms.

> The study of language use has shown not only that non-standard varieties exhibit grammatical regularity and consistent pronunciation patterns in the same way that standard varieties do, but also that a vast majority of people will use non-standard features *at least some of the time* in their speech. Socio-linguistic research has demonstrated that the speech of most people is, at least in some respects, variable, combining, for example, both standard and non-standard sounds, words or grammatical structures. (Radford et al 1999, p.17)

> One interesting aspect of Standard English is that in every English-using community those who habitually use *only* standard English are in a minority. (Strevens 1992, pp.51-2)

Therefore, in the EIL context, *Standard English* is not necessarily associated only with the standards and norms of the U.K. or the U.S., or any other Inner-Circle nations. In fact, Tom McArthur (the editor of *English Today*) holds that "... one has to conceive of 'Standard English' as a complex, not as a monolith. We all use it in different ways; we all approximate to something which isn't there, but which we idealise about, negotiate and compromise." (Graddol & Meinhof 1999, p.4)

The standards and norms of English are not only complex, but should also be dynamic and evolving. On the one hand, the co-existence of many varieties of English has enriched and will continue to enrich the so-called *Standard English*; it becomes more and more multi-cultured, which in turn enhances communication among speakers of English, and secures the position of EIL. As John Honey (Tickoo 1991, p.30) says, "many of the differences between local forms of English and international standard English constitute a potential enrichment of the speaker's expressiveness and it will be important to recognize opportunities of genre, style and register which make such uses appropriate." On the other hand, "Standard English is hybridizing with other kinds of English and also with other languages and producing dynamic and systemic, stable hybrid forms." (Graddol & Meinhof 1999, p.5) We know that, "English

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is inherently a borrowing and an Anglicizing language. Ever since its earliest beginnings it has been part of the nature of the English language to incorporate ideas, concepts, and expressions from other societies and to make them part of English." (Strevens 1992, p.31)

The dynamic and evolving features of the standards and norms of EIL may, on the one hand allow both native and non-native varieties of English to continue developing and flourishing; on the other hand, they may also restrict those varieties from deviating so as to be mutually unintelligible.

EIL and varieties/cultures

English, as its name suggests, started as a native-speaker variety in England. Strevens (1992, p.32) pointed out that,

> English existed until the early eighteenth century only as a native-speaker variety, and only in the form used in England — then later in Britain as a whole. But already by the time of the American War of Independence a form of English was current in America that was identifiably, almost proudly, American and not British. This was the beginning of the process by which types of English have proliferated. The British-American differentiation is of particular consequence, since every subsequent form of English has affinities with one of the main branches, BE or AE, rather than the other.

Apart from native varieties of English, non-native varieties of English have gradually emerged in areas and nations illustrated by Kachru as the Outer and Expanding circles. "The recognition of the functional diversity of English is so important that some have begun to use the term Englishes to reflect the functional and formal variations in the language" (Smith 1991, p.33).

These varieties, such as Indian English, Nigerian English and Singaporean English are different from native speaker varieties. But, of course, native varieties differ among themselves. Quirk (Brumfit 1982, p.15) says, "the divergence between one man's English and another's is great enough to be striking within each of the English-speaking countries." So, these non-native varieties are simply different from native varieties, not deficient in the context of EIL. In fact, these varieties are "flourishing, effective, functional, sometimes elegant and literary" (Strevens 1992, p.37).

Embedded in these varieties are their respective identities and cultures. Therefore, EIL is not inextricably tied to Anglo-culture(s). "The use of English is always culture-bound, but the English language is not bound to any specific culture or political system" (Bickley 1982, pp.86-7). In fact, "any culture can use English as its vehicle" (Smith 1991, p.36). Kachru (1992, p.359) says "It is evident that English does not represent one or two ways of life; therein lies its strength." "The spread of English is not a homogenizing factor which causes cultural differences to disappear, but the use of English offers a medium to express and explain these differences" (Smith 1992, p.41).

The concept of EIL raises our awareness that it not only enables non-native

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speakers to understand the cultures of the native speakers, and those of other non-native speakers as well, but also provides a great channel for native speakers to understand the cultures of non-native speakers.

EIL and English teaching/learning

Before we became fully aware of the changing sociolinguistic profile of English, e.g. the shift from ESL/EFL to EIL, the paradigm in the teaching and learning of English was based on what Kachru (1992, pp.357-8) listed as the six fallacies:

1. That in the Outer and Expanding Circles, English is essentially learned to interact with native speakers of the language. 2. That English is necessarily learned as a tool to understand and teach American or British cultural values, or what is generally termed the Judeo-Christian traditions. 3. That the goal of learning and teaching English is to adopt the native models of English (e.g., RP or GA). 4. That the international non-native varieties of English are essentially "interlanguages" striving to achieve "native-like" character. 5. That the native speakers of English as teachers, academic administrators, and material developers provide a serious input in the global teaching of English, in policy formation, and in determining the channels for the spread of the language. 6. That the diversity and variation in English is necessarily an indicator of linguistic decay; that restricting the decay is the responsibility of the native scholars of English and ESL programs.

The awareness of the six fallacies and the introduction of EIL have great implications in the teaching and learning of English. In recent years, English teachers and learners have gradually freed themselves from native variety-oriented teaching and learning methodologies. They have come to realize the diversity and functional validity of non-native varieties of English.

As far as teaching English as an International Language is concerned, the decisive difference in outlook is the recognition that in the great NNS populations English will be taught mostly *by* non-native speakers of the language, *to* non-native speakers, in order to communicate mainly *with* non-native speakers. (Strevens 1992, pp.40-1)

EIL, as a tool, should not be taught and learned only for the purpose of understanding the Anglo-culture(s). It is used by non-native speakers "to communicate to the rest of the world their identity, culture, politics, religion, and 'way of life'". (Smith 1991, p.36) In this sense, "native speakers need as much help as non-natives when using English to interact internationally" (Smith 1992, p.41).

If the goal of English learning and teaching is for near-native proficiency, then the battle is lost before it has begun. In the context of EIL, such a goal is neither desirable nor practical. More emphasis in EIL teaching should be placed on treating learners as potential EIL users, rather than near-native speakers. In fact, as Smith (1991, p.36) says, "no one needs to become more like native English speakers in order to use English well."

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James Baxter (Brumfit 1982, p. 86) notes that when a person has the ability to speak (or write) English internationally, there is no preconceived idea as to who the potential interactor(s) in a communicative exchange will be, whether in terms of nationality, linguistic background or cultural background. In a teaching situation he believes that whereas in EFL and ESL specific varieties of English and specific cultures can be dealt with, the goal in the teaching of EIL cannot be knowledge of the details of a given variety of culture, or even numbers of these. Students must somehow be prepared to operate with English in unknown situations which are characterized by variation in linguistic and cultural behaviour. Central, therefore, to the EIL approach are the realities of diversity and adaptation.

Current Situations in Teaching English to Chinese University Students

"English (in China) began to be taught extensively in universities from the mid 1960's, especially in large cities." (Gao 2000) Since the late 1970s, English has become "the most-studied foreign language in China" (Cheng 1992, p.162). In the 1950s, however, Russian had been the dominant foreign language. As a result, some of the Chinese English teachers in the 70s and 80s were originally Chinese Russian learners and teachers. However, "virtually no Russian was taught from the 70's" (Gao 2000), so these Russian teachers converted to learning and teaching English as the need for English in China increased. Many of the present-day young or middle-aged Chinese English teachers are those who learned English in secondary schools from Chinese English teachers through traditional grammar-translation and audiolingual methods. These practitioners were later trained as language teachers by both Chinese and native English teachers in colleges through a variety of communicative approaches. Therefore, in most ELT classrooms today in China, especially at the tertiary level, there are reflections of these wide-ranging influences from elderly Russian-trained Chinese English teachers through a traditional focus on form (still very common), to native speaker teachers and a 'communicative' approach.

Another feature of ELT in Chinese universities is that there is a great need for both qualified non-native and native English teachers. The reasons behind this are partly historical and partly economic. On the one hand, the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) brought about a *fault zone* of intellectuals in many academic fields in China; on the other hand, a considerable number of those who were trained as English teachers in the late 70s and early 80s have either gone abroad or *plunged into the sea* (engaging themselves in business, trade, administration or management) — two so-called *booms* that have arisen since China's opening to the outside world.

This loss of trained English teachers has occurred at precisely the time that the number of English learners in China has increased quickly. Over 90 percent of all college and university students take English as a compulsory course. All students have

to meet the minimum requirement of the nation-wide College English Test, Band 4. Many need to pass Band 6. They may need to consult the literature and the latest developments in their academic fields; some intend to further their studies in an English-speaking country, or to find a job in a foreign-funded international company or joint-venture. In a way, knowledge of English gives people a sense of status (Kirkpatrick 1999) and most of the time it means a brighter future for young Chinese. However, even though the enthusiasm for the Chinese to learn English is high, the fact is, within an expanding-circle nation like China, the actual daily need for genuine communicative use of English is still relatively low. An average monolingual Chinese can survive quite well without knowledge of English. Linguistically, English does not constitute a threat to the Chinese *Putonghua*, at least not yet.

Under such circumstances, ELT in Chinese universities still, to a certain extent, emphasizes "gaining knowledge about the English language rather than using the language for genuinely communicative purposes"(Shih 1999, p.20). Li Xiaoju (1990, p.65) stated that:

> Traditionally, a language lesson in China consists of a focus text and a list of
> language points drawn from the text. The language points are about grammar or
> vocabulary: They concern only the *form* of the language, since the sole objective
> of the course is to teach language form.

Shih (1999) further commented that traditional approaches blend elements of grammar translation and audiolingual methods and tend to be teacher-centered. In a typical Chinese English classroom, "the teacher does most of the work of providing background information ... and explicating grammar and vocabulary ... " (Shih 1999, p.21). As Cem and Margaret (1990, p.23) put it, "in China ..., the pedagogical focus seems to be on the grammatical features of English without regard for its communicative and/or cultural functions." John Gray (2000, p.280) stated that, "In much ELT material, it has been argued, the student is positioned at the receiving end of a virtually one-way flow of information. Although students complete comprehension tasks on reading and listening texts, there is often little opportunity for them to respond to or challenge the information they receive from the perspective of their own culture." Learners who are taught English in this way tend to develop a passive attitude, and in the meantime, a sense of correctness rather than effective ways of accessing information and communicating with other speakers of English.

The Chinese English learners' sense of correctness is also reflected in their strong preference of standard English no matter what standard it is.

> Chinese Ministries of Education and Chinese professionals still argue strenuously
> for a native speaker variety. ... The Chinese Government and many Chinese
> consider that, whatever is taught, it must represent the standard. For the
> government, British English represents the standard, although younger people
> are leaning towards an American standard (Kirkpatrick 1999).

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The strong sense of native variety standard has a great influence on most of the major college ELT textbooks. The textbooks commonly used across China in the past two decades generally contain texts by British or American authors, lists of new words and useful phrases, and a large number of exercises which include *Reading Aloud and Memorizing, Comprehension of the Text, Vocabulary, Word Building, Structure, Cloze, Translation, Reading Activity* and *Guided Writing. College English: Intensive Reading* (Dong 1997) is a prime example. Moreover, "most textbooks project an Anglo-centric, male-dominated, middle-class utopia of one kind or another." (Prodromou 1990, p.35) According to the present author's recent survey into the texts of *College English: Intensive Reading*, of the 40 texts in Books I — IV, 32 texts (80%) were by American authors or taken from American sources (magazines, newspapers, or book series), and 7 texts (17.5%) were by British authors or from British sources. Only one text, which was about the British sailor Francis Chichester, was source-unknown, but the source was most probably British (See Appendix I). As far as *College English: Intensive Reading* is concerned, only U.S. or U.K. authors are included. There is no space for authors from the outer or expanding circles.

Figure 1. *Standards* **of English in the 40 focus texts of** *College English***:** *Intensive Reading*

American English

British English

Source unknown
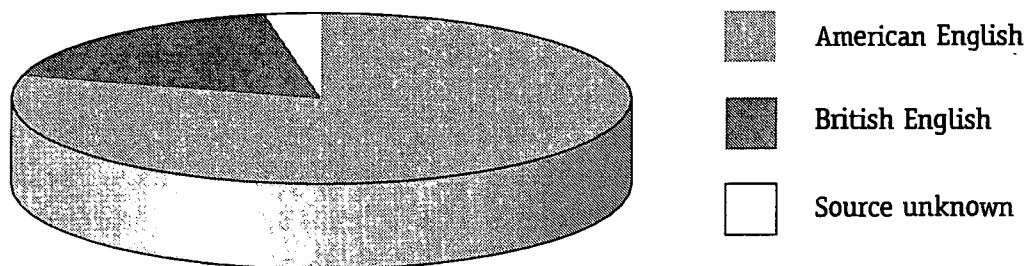
From TEFL to TEIL: Changes in Perceptions and Practices

The shift from TEFL to TEIL seems to be inevitable in the Expanding Circle in the foreseeable future due to the changing profile of English. To cope with this, changes in perceptions and practices in the learning and teaching of English need to be made. EFL learners want to acquire an international variety of English, independent of the cultural norms and values of native English speakers" (Cem & Margaret 1990, p.23).

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Change 1

EIL is not only closely associated with the cultures of the U.K., the U.S. and other Inner-Circle nations, it is also equally closely associated with the cultures of all speakers of English in both Outer-Circle and Expanding-Circle nations.

In the past, English native speaker teachers were greatly preferred in Chinese universities, no matter what educational backgrounds they had.

> These teachers, most of whom come from Britain or the United States, bring with them the notion that a language and its culture are two inextricably related entities, and as such should be taught together, ... and ... that no real acquisition of the target language can take place without the learner's internalization of target language speakers' patterns and values. ... Thus, foreign language teaching is seen as a pedagogical process aimed at changing the learner's behaviour by injecting new norms and values into it. ... The foreign language teacher is often advised to persuade the learners that success in language learning depends upon the degree to which they integrate themselves with the native environment of the language, whether they are learning it in the country in which it is spoken or not. (Cem & Margaret 1990, pp.21-2)

Now, with the shift from TEFL to TEIL, when recruiting English teachers, Chinese universities should pay more attention to the educational backgrounds and English proficiency of the candidates than to whether they are native speakers or not. In language classrooms, teachers as language models have both tangible and intangible influences on the students. In this sense, qualified non-native English teachers, if recruited together with qualified native English teachers, can properly demonstrate for Chinese learners the ever-changing sociolinguistic profile of EIL. They help the students raise their awareness that EIL reflects multi-cultures and multi-identities.

In addition to recruiting qualified English teachers (both non-native and native), more attention should be paid to developing multi-cultural and student-oriented EIL teaching programs, taking the non-native teacher as their focus.

Change 2

EIL encourages students to incorporate their L1 norms and values, and to use EIL for local as well as international circumstances. It rejects the unrealistic goal that students should struggle for native-speaker-like proficiencies.

With the shift from TEFL to TEIL, "there is no reason to see systematic deviations from Anglo-American norms at the pragmatic and discourse levels as errors. Rather, there is room to analyze these as non-native speakers' attempts to use L2 in such a way as to conform to their L1 pragmatic norms and cultural values" (Li 1998, p.39). Instead, it is highly desirable for Chinese students to use EIL to cater for their own needs, and in the meantime to incorporate some Chinese norms and values into EIL, the process of which is now commonly described as indigenization or nativization. Prodromou (1990, p.39) has argued that "the use of local varieties of English" is a way

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for the teachers to "be sensitive to the status of English as an international language on the one hand and the learners' cultural background on the other." Whereas for the students, the success of learning "depends on ... integrating the language with their own ideological and social needs" (Brumfit 1982, p.6).

Therefore teaching materials in English reflecting Chinese local cultures should also be extensively used. Culturally localised materials can have positive effect on learners' target language use.

Teachers and students should now be liberated from the idea that teaching and learning English is for the students to achieve near-native proficiency. "Kramsch sums up ... 'Traditional methodologies based on the native speaker usually define language learners in terms of what they are *not*, or at least not yet. Or, one might add, *not ever*'" (Cook 1999, p.189). Now, we should look at the students as genuine (or potential) EIL users, not as deficient interlanguage speakers. If we as English teachers can raise the students' awareness that through learning EIL, they can communicate with English native speakers as well as the rest of the world without losing their own identity or being treated as deficient learners, they are more likely to achieve a higher level of EIL use.

Change 3

EIL doesn't repel the students' knowledge and use of their mother tongues. Instead, together with these other tongues, EIL produces multi-competent users of English.

Traditionally while learning English, "students are always translating into and out of their own languages — and teachers are always telling them not to" (Swan 1990, p.96). However, EIL values the students' knowledge and use of their mother tongues. As Swan points out foreigners have mother tongues: they know as much as we do about how human beings communicate. What the English-learning students have to do is to communicate in English. Their mother tongue experience remains relevant although there exist a lot of culturally different, even conflicting attitudes, values and norms.

In teaching practice, teachers should view the use of students' mother tongues positively, and introduce activities that deliberately involve both languages (Cook 1999, p.202). Teachers should take advantage of the students' knowledge and use of their mother tongues and encourage the students to translate and interpret between EIL and their mother tongues. Only by doing so, can English become a real-sense EIL.

The students' mother tongues together with EIL constitute the multicompetence in them, a term that refers to "the compound state of a mind with two languages" (Cook 1999, p.190). The concept of multicompetence is in itself liberating in that it views EIL learning students as multicompetent English speakers rather than incompetent imitation native speakers.

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Change 4

EIL helps both teachers and students raise their awareness of the large number of English varieties, and therefore it stimulates and facilitates extensive exposure of students to these varieties in English classrooms.

The widely used college English textbooks across China have long focused on British and American cultural norms and values. As we have seen, textbooks go so far as to exclude all other varieties of English. As a result, both students and teachers in China lack awareness of the large number of English varieties, such as Australian English, Indian English, Nigerian English, Singaporean English, and are unaware that new varieties may be developing, possibly even Japanese English and Chinese English. Therefore, when exposed to the outside world in contexts where EIL is appropriate, students and teachers of English find it hard adjusting to the different varieties of English, as they have had no exposure to them while learning English.

It is the large number of English varieties that truly makes English an international language. In teaching practice, teachers should explore all possible avenues to obtain materials of different varieties of English along with their distinctive cultures. Such materials are readily available from the media. For example, when the present author keyed in "Indian English Newspaper" in the Yahoo search box, 8 matches popped up instantly on the screen; and with "Chinese English Newspaper" came 9 matches. In the English version of the People's Daily (China's largest official newspaper), anybody who knows English and who has access to the Web can read headline stories as the following:

- IBA Seeks More Chinese Lawyers
- Li Peng Stresses Importance of Amending Laws
- Past Decade Sees Fastest Residential Construction in Shanghai
- Premier Zhu Stresses Agriculture
- Most Populous Province Trying to Have Everyone Registered for Census
- Seventy Percent of Officials in Tibet Are Tibetans: Survey
- Nearly 1.9 Million Beijing Residents Aged Over Sixty
- Chinese Lawyers Conference 2000 Opens
- Fake Medicine Destroyed in Shanghai
- Chongqing to Become Major Railway Hub in SW China

Source: http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/China.html, [20 November, 2000]

Therefore, EIL, to English teachers who have access to the Web, is only a mouse-click away. What these English teachers really need is awareness of the existence of these materials and the confidence to use them. Otherwise, the younger generation students, who are brought up in front of the computer, will leave their teachers behind in terms of exposures to EIL. The old-fashioned concern about students' indigestion is, in fact, unwarranted. "Actually what teachers of English in China ought to be worrying about is not giving the students too much, but giving them too little"(Li Xiaoju 1990, p.65).

Change 5

EIL brings language classrooms closer to the real-world. However, it also distinguishes classrooms from the real-world.

Traditional EFL teaching in China is very much tied to British and American literature. However, when students have authentic contacts outside their classrooms, they find that very few people want to talk about British and American literature with them. What makes them feel even worse is that they find most of the people they have contacts in English do not speak standard British or American English! The real English speaking world is full of different varieties of English — Englishes.

"The aims of language teaching can be divided into internal classroom goals that relate to the students' life within the classroom, ... and external goals that relate to the students' use of English outside the classroom" (Cook 1999, p.197). However, the two types of goals should be integrated by bringing EIL into classrooms. Authentic EIL material gives students a taste of 'real' language in use, and provides them with valid linguistic data for their unconscious acquisition processes to work on (Swan 1990). Even though EIL plays an important role in bringing classrooms closer to the real-world, we can not turn our classrooms into a United Nations assembly room. Learning English is, nonetheless not the same as using English. Effective learning can involve various kinds of distancing from the real-life behavior that is its goal. In a developing country such as China, well-designed and properly used textbooks focusing on the cultures of the Inner-Circle nations can still be useful. However, the point is, English teachers in China should make selective use of existing textbooks and, at the same time, adopt authentic language materials from various sources that suit the students' level of English and expose them to the world of EIL.

Change 6

EIL sets higher demands on both non-native and native English teachers.

ELT has always been a challenging profession. It has been a profession of continual change in response to new situations and to new language learning and teaching theories. Now with the shift from EFL to EIL, especially in the Expanding Circle, both non-native and native English teachers are experiencing new challenges. They have no other choice but to adapt to the evolving sociolinguistic profile of EIL. They need to consider theoretical issues such as norms, standards and cultures of English; they also need to consider practical issues such as teaching methodologies, the selection of teaching materials and the attitudes towards the students' language errors. More importantly, they need to "update" themselves in terms of EIL, which involves raising their awareness of EIL and exposing themselves extensively to it.

Conclusion

EIL has become an issue within the past two decades. In the new millennium, EIL is likely to spread even faster and wider. EIL as a world *lingua franca* is becoming more and more complex, dynamic and evolving. It reflects multi-cultures and multi-identities. EIL has become more of a liberating concept than a mere tool for communication across national and cultural boundaries. It can liberate English teachers and students from their traditional ways of looking at English and the learning and teaching of English.

With regards to the teaching and learning of EIL in Chinese colleges and universities, changes in both perceptions and practices are suggested: EIL is not exclusive to the U.K. and U.S varieties; EIL is inclusive of the norms and values of the other tongues; EIL produces multi-competent users of English; EIL raises people's awareness of the changing sociolinguistic profile of English; EIL brings real-life to language classrooms; and EIL challenges all who are not aware of its existence.

However, EIL is not a panacea. To conclude in Bickley's words,

> It places in the forefront the reality that from a sharing of commonalities such as grammar, lexis and phonology, communication does not automatically flow. EIL provides the means of perceiving that enhanced world communication is possible only through recognizing all those areas of behavior which are *not* shared across national or cultural lines." (Bickley 1982, p.86)

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Appendix I "Titles, sources and Standards" of English in the 40 focus texts of College English: Intensive Reading

Book	Unit	Text	Source	Standard
One	1	How to Improve Your Study Habits	Lado (American Linguist) English Series Book 6	American,
	2	Sailing Round the World	Unknown	Unknown
	3	The Present	New Horizons in English 6	British
	4	Turning Off TV: A Quiet Hour	Perspectives — An Intermediate Reader	American
	5	A Miserable, Merry Christmas	Lincoln Steffens' (a well-known journalist, editor, and lecturer) Autobiography	American
	6	Sam Adams, Industrial English	It's All In A Day's Work by George Draper and Edgar Sather	American
	7	The Sampler	The Sampler by the American author I.V.Morris	American
	8	You Go Your Way, I'll Go Mine	The Human Comedy by William Saroyan	American
	9	The Brain	BBC Modern English by Hugh Corrigan	British
	10	Going Home	New York Post (1971) New Advanced Reading Skill Builder 1, by Pete Hamill	American

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Book	Unit	Text	Source	Standard
Two	1	Is There Life on Earth?	By Art Buchwald (a well-known humor columnist for the Washington Post)	American
	2	The Dinner Party	Reading Skill Builder 2 (1973) by Reader's Digest Services, Inc.	American
	3	Lessons from Jefferson	Progressive Reading Series Book 8 by Dr. Virginia French Allen	American
	4	My First Job	Pick and Choose (1971) by Longman Group Limited	British
	5	The Professor and the Yo-Yo	Challenges by California State Department of Education	American
	6	The Making of a Surgeon	By Dr. William Anthony Nolen (American surgeon and author From Reading Skills Handbook	American
	7	There's Only Luck	New West (Feb. 1981): a magazine published in California	American
	8	Honesty: Is It Going Out of Style?	Senior Scholastic Oct, 31, 1980	American
	9	What Is Intelligence, Anyway?	By Isaac Asimov (Rusian-born American author, From Insight	American
	10	Profits of Praise	By Janet Graham, From Encounter	American

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Book	Unit	Text	Source	Standard
Three	1	A Brush with the Law	Penguin Advanced Writing Skills compiled by James O'Driscoll	British
	2	The Woman Who Would Not Tell	By Janice Keyser Lester New Reading Skill Builder 3	American
	3	Why I Teach	By Peter G. Beidler, From Alumni Magazine Consortium (Nov. 1984)	American
	4	Lady Hermits Who Are Down But Not Out	The Observer (April, 9, 1978): a newspaper published in Britain	British
	5	The Day Mother Cried	By Gerald Moore	American
	6	A Day's Wait	By Ernest Hemingway, From Winner Take Nothing (1933)	American
	7	The Shelter	By Rod Serling, From a TV play on CBS (1961)	American
	8	Daydream a Little	By Eugene Raudsepp (President of Princeton Creative Research Inc.) From Reading Laboratory Power Builder, 2b-10	American
	9	The Death of Hitler	By William L. Shirer (a well-known American journalist, war correspondent, and historian. From The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (1960)	American
	10	The Fantastic Spurt in Technology	By Alvin Toffler (a well-known American futurologist, From Future Shock (1970)	American

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Book	Unit	Text	Source	Standard
Four	1	Big Bucks the Easy Way	By John G. Hubbell, From Reader's Digest, June 1982	American
	2	Deer and the Energy Cycle	By Aaron N. Moen, From The Conservationist, Sept.-Oct. 1980	American
	3	Why Do We Believe That the Earth Is Round?	George Orwell (pen name of Eric Blair-Born of English parents in India) From The Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters of George Wrwell, Vol. 4	British
	4	Jim Thorpe	By Steve Gelman (American reporter for Sport magazine) From Great American Athletes of the 20th Century	American
	5	To Lie or Not to Lie - The Doctor's Dilemma	By Sissela Bok (American author) From The New York Times (1978)	American
	6	How to Mark a Book	By Mortimer J. Adler (American educator and writer) From The Essayist (1985)	American
	7	The Luncheon	By W. Somerset Maugham (English writer) From Here and There (1948)	British
	8	The New Caves	By Isaac Asimov, From The Norton Sampler compiled by Thomas Cooley	American
	9	Journey West	By Jim Doherty (American naturalist and journalist) From National Wildlife magazine	American
	10	Why People Work	By Leonard R. Sayles (Professor of Columbia University; Consultant to the NASA) From Reading Selections	American

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15 Reflective discourse in teacher education in Brunei Darussalam

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Reflective practice and action research have recently been introduced into the teacher education programme at Universiti Brunei Darussalam. This has been done in order to try and improve teacher effectiveness and develop a sense of professionalism among pre-service teachers. Minnis (1999) has argued that the socio-cultural distinctiveness of Brunei presents a number of obstacles to the implementation of reflective strategies in teacher education. This paper further argues that such innovative concepts, conditioned by socio-cultural factors, may be affected by certain socio-cultural features. Reflective, evaluative work with student teachers studying in the BA Education programme (TESL Major) is described and analysed to determine to what extent the student teachers' discourse is characteristic of the reflective genre. The role of English in facilitating this aspect of teacher education in Brunei is discussed at the conclusion of the paper

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to build on work conducted by Minnis (1999) which critically examined the compatibility of Brunei cultural values and the assumptions of reflective practice. In his paper Minnis (p. 173) concluded "that reflection as conceived and implemented in the west has a limited yet potentially positive role to play in teacher education in Brunei". In the context of this "limited yet potentially positive role" samples of student-teacher reflective discourse are discussed to ascertain if they exhibit any distinctive linguistic features in response to certain local socio-cultural factors. The emerging discourse can be seen as indicative of the developing role of English in facilitating this aspect of teacher education in Brunei

Firstly, some background on Brunei will be presented, examining in particular the ideology and values that infuse both society and its institutions. Then, there will be

a brief discussion of assumptions concerning reflective practice and how these are at variance with the socio-cultural distinctiveness of the Malay-Islamic Sultanate. Reflective, evaluative work developed with student-teachers studying in the BA Education course will be described. Finally, the student-teachers' discourse will be examined to see what reflective characteristics are evident and whether there is any influence from Bruneian socio-cultural factors

Background on Brunei

Brunei Darussalam is a small affluent Malay-Islamic Sultanate on the northwest coast of Borneo. The Sultan and the government of Brunei have established a national ideology, Melayu Islam Beraja, known locally as MIB (Malay Islamic Monarchy). The ideology justifies preserving the absolute monarchy and invokes Brunei's history and Islamic values in so doing. MIB, the dominant ideology, pervades Brunei society "and governs its institutional norms and behaviour" (Minnis 1999: p. 172). In practice this means that education policy and practice are strongly influenced by cultural and religious ideologies determined by the state. As recently as Teachers' Day, 2000 (September 23rd) His Majesty the Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam, in his Titah to inaugurate the Teachers' Day celebrations, remarked that:

> a national education philosophy...(should)...focus on the nation's efforts to produce excellent individuals who are not only knowledgeable but are also faithful and pious (Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah 2000: p. 1).

Brunei has been described as a rentier capitalist state (Gunn 1993). Revenues in such economies accumulate directly to the state from oil and gas receipts, which are then distributed to the population in the form of subsidised imports and housing, secure government jobs, free medical services and free education. Thus economic growth in Brunei has not been directly related to development of human resources nor have education and training, in the past, been integral to this growth. However, the state has recently indicated that the Brunei economy needs diversification in order to ensure long-term survival and prosperity. The tone of official media declarations indicate that all members of society are obligated to assist the state in implementing this policy, including sacrificing personal interests for the collective good of society

In education the policy has found expression in efforts to expand the technical-vocational sector showing the government's intention of trying to achieve a greater accord between the workplace and education and training (Government of Brunei 1996) in similar ways to that achieved in South Korea and Singapore. Again His Majesty the Sultan and Yang Di-Pertuan of Brunei Darussalam has clearly expressed this intention:

> The goal of our teaching and education missions is to produce high quality human resources that can meet the needs of the socio-economics and politics of the country We need to achieve this goal in tandem with the current borderless globalisation trend (Hassanal Bolkiah Mu'izzaddin Waddaulah 2000: p. 1).

To reinforce this technical-rationalist view of human resource development Brunei has a school system driven by examinations with attainment markers at various stages. Participation rates in this system are high and have contributed to increasing literacy levels. Increased access to higher education with increasing tertiary numbers has also been a recent trend. Minnis (1999) pointed out that the combination of a technical-rationalist view of human resource development and education together with increasing participation rates has led to a tendency for Bruneians to view education as a commodity which can be exchanged for jobs and social status. A resultant problem is that credentials become more important than learning and this inevitably affects educational quality. Minnis (1999) further contended that the pursuit of educational credentials trivialises teaching and promotes school and teacher "effectiveness".

In such circumstances students (and teachers) are likely to resist innovation. This means, according to Minnis (1999), that teachers are liable to find difficulty in reconciling the rationale underlying reflective practice with the more pressing need to conform to the curriculum and prepare students for examinations. Ultimately this kind of state-led, social reproduction model of education, which Singapore has endeavored to move away from in recent years (Davie 2000), leads to emphasis on form rather than content and on rote learning over understanding.

Bruneian values

Brunei shares a number of values with other Southeast Asian countries though it also embodies particular cultural values and behavioural patterns that mark it out as distinctive in the region.

Shared values include stress on a balance between rights and duties with perhaps the balance being tipped towards duties (Vatikiotis 1996). This is an emphasis that most likely stems from the traditional importance attached to one's duties and responsibilities within the family and the larger community in Southeast Asia. Allied to this is the notion that family and community rights take precedence over the rights of individuals. Consultation and consensus in preference to contention and debate as well as deference to authority are further values Brunei shares with other Southeast Asian countries.

Cultural values and behaviours peculiar to Brunei are the result of the ethnic composition of the country. Malays are the predominant group in Brunei. As well there are between 60,000 and 70,000 Chinese, a group with significant economic influence and expertise but who play little part in government. Indigenous groups are usually peripheral to Brunei society unless individuals convert to Islam and/or intermarry with Malays. As a result the vast majority of students in the university are Malay as are the vast majority of pre-service and active teachers.

Malay culture has been depicted by various writers (Blunt 1988, Maxwell 1996) as collectivist in orientation, hierarchical with a strong family orientation. Blunt, in

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particular, found Brunei Malays exhibited high power distance, that is they were willing to accept unequal distribution of power unquestioningly and to regard it as normal. He found also that they were nervous about situations perceived as unstructured or unpredictable and that they exhibited emotional resistance to change, dislike of risk-taking and conflict with a preference for clear organisational structures with explicit rules and regulations that should be adhered to. However, it should also be pointed out that despite the strong influence of Islamic values in Brunei Malay culture, Bruneian women have considerable freedom to pursue education, careers and social mobility.

The work of Benedict (1967) and Lowenthal (1987), cited by Minnis (1999), focuses on the singular traits of small states and societies in Southeast Asia which contribute to the social order. For instance, Benedict points out that in such societies the emphasis is on who people are, rather than what they do and how well they do it. Lowenthal refers to a "managed intimacy" in which getting along with one another is a significant societal factor and personal ambition is subordinated to group solidarity, cohesion, balance and harmony.

Assumptions concerning reflective practice

Reflective practice is an educational paradigm that has developed in socio-cultural contexts informed by value systems quite different from those that pertain in Brunei. Wainryb (1992) has identified four key features of reflective practice. Firstly, there is the concept of engagement by which teachers are active agents in their development rather than recipients of training. Secondly, reflective practice is strongly influenced by constructivist learning theory. According to this view of learning teachers actively assess new ideas and information in the light of past experience in order to construct personal meaning. Thus learning is a creative, dynamic and personal experience, different for each learner. Thirdly, teachers themselves are the primary initiators of their own development. The spirit of enquiry comes from within the practitioner rather than being imposed from outside. Finally, the broad goals of reflective practice are teacher autonomy rather than teacher dependence. Involvement in this process develops the ability to contemplate problems and develop and apply solutions

This is an epistemology considerably at odds with the ethos of Bruneian society. The assumptions underlying reflective practice take for granted "that teachers either posses a high degree of autonomy and professional freedom or that they should work towards achieving this end" (Minnis 1999: p. 175). Acceptance of the importance of the individual as a social unit is fundamental to reflective practice. Teachers in the west are relatively free to criticise their societies and institutions and can openly discuss and critically evaluate educational issues and developments should they wish to do so. Teachers in other parts of the world cannot be said to have this sort of freedom, Brunei being a case in point. In Brunei the family and the group are important social units rather than the individual. There is also a hierarchical structure

of inferiority and superiority, of power distance or inequality in the social stratification system. Power distance tends to preclude the confronting of issues openly; in Brunei it means that authority is seldom criticised. Instead the moral and ethical nexus of Malay-Islamic values emphasises notions such as group solidarity, cohesion, balance and harmony.

The development of reflective, evaluative work: the socio-cultural context

In his paper Minnis (p. 181) gave the following question and answer, "Is there any role for reflective practice in the teacher education curriculum? The answer is a cautionary yes". He proposed two steps. The first was to legitimise reflection within schools with the approval of education authorities. The second was to decide at what stages of training, development or experience the process of reflection might be best introduced to teachers, and then emphasised and reinforced. With due respect to Minnis, whose article is thorough and thought provoking, these cautious steps are unlikely to result in any real progress towards a more thoughtful and engaged teaching profession. The nature of Bruneian society, particularly at institutional middle management levels, tends to preclude the promotion of this kind of change. In any case what Minnis finally proposes is not very much like the reflective epistomology he discusses at length in his article even allowing for local socio-cultural practices.

So the question arises as to how one might encourage the development of reflective capacity in Bruneian teachers in a way which is compatible with the socio-cultural ethos of the country but which retains something of the key elements of critical introspection. The work that is about to be described evolved out of personal "evaluative dialogue" (Butler 1992: p. 279) constructed while monitoring the implementation of components of the BA Education major course EL2210 Electronic Resources for English Language Teachers.

This course focuses on three main components. The first of these is concerned with theories of learning based on work by Levy (1997) and Jones & Mercer (1993). This results in the student-teachers beginning their considerations of all material within the frameworks of relevant theories of learning; behaviourism, constructivism and socio-cultural theory derived from the work of Vygotsky (1978). Henry Widdowson (1994: p. 20) has argued that in order to develop teachers need "the disciplinary authority of theory (and) to know how to use it as a condition for enquiry". Knowledge and application of this authority is essential to make one's way meaningfully and constructively with respect to electronic ESL resources. The second component is concerned with exploration, assessment and evaluation of English language software. The student-teachers work in groups to construct instruments to evaluate CALL software; they then evaluate the application and utility of the instruments. The third component is concerned with assessment and evaluation of

English language websites as resources for teachers and students. In this case the student-teachers work individually to construct evaluation instruments and assess ESL websites. Again they evaluate the application and utility of the instruments. The assessment and evaluation of the software and the websites is conducted in the context of the theories of learning with which the course commences and the software and website tasks are structured in order to reflect features of these learning theories.

A feature of the course is the input of a remote lecturer using the synchronous text chat application in WebCT, an integrated course management/delivery tool which works like a webserver with a number of special features. This aspect of the course comes near the end and encourages application of the knowledge and skills development that the student-teachers have undergone throughout the course. The epithet "chat" is misleading, as the student-teachers consider the pedagogic implications of ICT issues during the synchronous exchange and review key issues of the course. In terms of ICT delivery the pedagogic paradigm operating here is that of remote expert, resident tutorial group, resident backup facilitator .

The development of reflective, evaluative work: nurturing critical introspection

Evaluation of teaching programmes, if it is conducted at all, commonly tends to be in the form of a survey or an open-ended response given at the end of a course. Whether such evaluation has any significant impact on the programme it addresses is debatable for a number of reasons. Amongst these is the fact that end of course evaluation may be conducted simply because it is an administrative requirement rather than an exercise motivated by genuine concern for programme review. In such circumstances it is unlikely that the "real" voices of the student-teachers will be obtained or attended to. A key concern in the instance described here was how the student-teachers in EL2210 could be provided with opportunities to present their real thoughts.

Retrospective evaluation of courses by participant insiders is rare. Arguments against retrospective evaluation cite the changing perspectives that develop as the time interval between course completion and evaluation increases (Nunan, 1992; Allison, 2000). The concern is that the recall of what actually happened may not be accurate. However such a concern applies to any evaluation no matter when it is conducted; individual perspectives are not uniform and each individual constructs the reality that is meaningful for him/her. Moreover, retrospective evaluation has the considerable merit of allowing appraisal of the usefulness and effectiveness of course qualities that prove to have lasting value in the world outside the classroom.

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Seminar presentation

In the academic year 1999-2000, rather than follow the common course evaluation practice, a group of five student-teachers were invited to participate in a public seminar in which they would present their evaluations of three key aspects of the course. The student-teachers were selected using a purposive strategy (Cohen and Manion 1989) in which demonstrated insight and discernment were important selection factors. All five accepted the invitation.

In the public seminar the lecturer outlined the three components, learning theories, ESL software evaluation and ESL website evaluation, in terms of the course objectives. The student-teachers then presented their evaluations of these components within a framework collectively developed for the seminar (see Appendix One). Emphasis was given to elements such as task definition, task preparation (background reading, discussion, in-class preparation), lecturer input, available resources (samples, on-line examples, articles), as well as task development and in-task guidance. There was also focus on group input, feedback, knowledge development and further applications as appropriate to each component. The seminar was attended by approximately forty people, some of whom were academic staff of the Universiti Brunei Darussalam, but most of whom were Bruneian teachers from government schools, with some expatriate teachers from the two international schools in Brunei. Following the presentations there were questions from the audience and explanatory discussion.

Post-seminar questionnaire

After the seminar the student-teachers were given a questionnaire that asked them to reflect on the seminar experience. The three questions asked were:

What academic benefits do you consider you gained from this evaluation?

What personal benefits do you consider you gained from this evaluation?

What do you consider to be the positive and negative points with respect to the seminar participation?

The purpose here was to move beyond simply evaluating course EL2210. By seeking to engage the student-teachers in a reflective process the intention was to build on their ability to contemplate problems and think about solutions. This kind of cognitive challenge was embedded in the software and website evaluation tasks described earlier and underpinned our concern to provide the student-teachers with the "necessary enabling conditions" (Widdowson: 1994: p. 20) to help them think critically about ICT. Wainryb (1992) has written about the broad goals of a reflective approach to teacher education as teacher autonomy rather than teacher dependence. In the volatile world of ICT, dependent modes of thought would hardly equip student-teachers to face and deal with the unexpected and unpredictable issues and circumstances that they would

most likely encounter. The ability to embrace learning as a creative, dynamic and personal experience seems appropriate in the ICT context. We considered that the student-teachers' responses would also reveal evidence about the effectiveness of the course and the pedagogic paradigm.

The student-teachers' reflective discourse

In this paper it has been argued that there is a clear divergence between the western epistemic ethos of reflective practice and the moral and ethical nexus of Malay-Islamic values as evident in Bruneian society and institutions. This and the caution urged by Minnis with respect to reflective practice would suggest that the discourse produced by the student-teachers might lack the qualities of critical introspection that are characteristic of this genre. Swales (1990) has pointed out that expert members of a discourse community recognise the communicative purposes and therefore the rationale for the "genre". This rationale thus "shapes" the pattern of structure of the discourse and has influences on content and style. According to Zeichner and Liston (1987) "reflection seeks to help student-teachers become more aware of themselves and their environment in a way that changes their perception of what is possible" (p. 25). Butler's (1996) reflective model stresses the development of self-competence and awareness with the aim of attaining more sophisticated levels of personal and professional awareness. Considered in the light of these comments do the student-teachers' responses to the post seminar questionnaire qualify as reflective discourse?

The student-teachers' responses to the first question are shown in Figure 1. In Butler's (1996) terms there is initiatory "professional awareness". What is perhaps most heartening is the fact that the comments do not all merely reflect on the immediate event (the public seminar) and the course directly in question. Though limited, this extension beyond the established situation seems to accommodate elements of reflection.

Figure 1: Student-teacher reflective discourse: academic benefits

What academic benefits do you consider you gained from this evaluation?

- I became aware of the good and bad points of the course (EL2210)
- It gave me experience in evaluating a course in other areas
- Could use the experience gained from this course and the seminar to evaluate other courses
- It will help me in future courses and as a teacher in evaluating either for my school work or for exercises to be given to my students

The student-teachers' responses to the second question, shown in Figure 2, illustrate three issues. Firstly, there are gains identified that had to do with the context of the public seminar (items 1-4). Considerable time is devoted in the BA Education TESL course to developing presentation skills, but almost entirely in the safety of the

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classroom. Medgyes (1999) and Nunan (1987), amongst others, have both discussed the contrivance of classroom activities designed to simulate real life. In the public seminar the student-teachers experienced a real-life situation. Their comments here reflect this. Then there are those comments (items 6 & 7) that have a personal, introspective aspect to them. It would be easy to pass off these remarks as inexpert, but it is important to remember these were produced by pre-service student-teachers aged 20 to 21 years. Perhaps a more realistic interpretation of the discourse would be to acknowledge them as fledgling evidence of the student-teachers concerned becoming more aware of themselves and starting the process of changing their perceptions. Finally, there is a pragmatic comment (item 5) that echoes something of the view of education as a commodity.

Figure 2: Student-teacher reflective discourse: personal benefits

What personal benefits do you consider you gained from this evaluation?

- Gained experience talking in public

- Helped gain confidence in public speaking

- Helped develop my ability to speak in public and gave me experience in writing and editing for a public seminar

- Gave me the experience to speak in public and what it was like to address a public audience

- Acknowledgement for participating in the seminar would be useful in my later career

- Learnt the hard way to pay attention to the questions before answering and making a fool of myself

- It helped me to realise that it is always nerve-wracking before a presentation, but it gets better once you start speaking in front of everyone Thus it gives me some kind of practice in public speaking

The third question sought positive and negative responses. The positive items, shown in Figure 3, reiterate some issues already identified (the experience of the public seminar) but also reveal some genuinely reflective comment. Item 3 is an example of Zeichner's and Liston's (1987) observations about reflection helping student-teachers change their perception of what is possible, while item 4 recalls Butler's (1996) suggestions about reflection promoting the development of self-competence and self-awareness. Then, there are items that show the student-teachers' reflection on the question of developing more sophisticated levels of personal and professional awareness. Butler (1996) has written quite extensively about the role of reflective practice as an agent of self-improvement and personal awareness of professional advancement. Items 1 & 2 and items 5 & 6 in Figure 3 reveal first glimpses of this process.

Figure 3: Student-teacher reflective discourse: positive points of seminar participation

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What do you consider to be the positive and negative points with respect to the seminar participation?

Positive

- Learning how to speak and act appropriately in a public seminar
- Learnt how to use Power Point and became aware of how useful it could be
- The possibility that the students could change the structure of the course
- The audience would gain insight into the course (EL2210) from the evaluation that I presented
- Gained first hand experience of public speaking and became aware of my weak points
- Became aware of the hard work required to make a successful seminar Gained a feeling of satisfaction when all the hard work paid off

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The negative items resulting from the student-teachers' responses to the third question are shown in Figure 4. There are a number of personal, introspective items (items 1-4) reflecting individual misgivings and uncertainties about quality of contribution. Given the age and experience of the participants these doubts could be considered natural and healthy. In fact, the all round seminar performance was considerably better than these comments would suggest and these individually critical responses reveal a lack of genuine benchmarks for self evaluation on the part of the student-teachers. Here again the concerns of Nunan (1987), Medgyes (1999) and others about contrived classroom activities designed to simulate real life are pertinent.

At the time the seminar was conducted computers were not widely used in teaching in Brunei government schools and the student-teachers' comments responded to this reality. However, since the seminar the Brunei Government has announced a substantial ICT project that will provide computers for government schools. The student-teachers' reflections were apposite at the time; subsequent events have changed the situation. One of the premises of the EL2210 course was that ICT would eventually find its way into Bruneian schools. The Brunei Government's initiative has justified this belief.

A comment on the item 5 in Figure 4 is warranted. As discussed earlier in this article Brunei shares a number of cultural values with other Southeast Asian countries. It will be recalled that among these is a preference for consultation and consensus as opposed to contention and debate Lowenthal's (1987) comments, in writing about Brunei, concerning a "managed intimacy" are implicit in this item. Getting along with one another is a significant societal factor and personal ambition is subordinated to group solidarity, cohesion, balance and harmony.

Figure 4: Student-teacher reflective discourse: negative points of seminar participation

What do you consider to be the positive and negative points with respect to the seminar participation?

Negative

- My answers to the audiences' questions might not have been relevant

- What I said in the seminar might not have been useful/relevant to the audience

- My contributions might not have been as useful and relevant to the audience as I thought them (they seemed to bore the audience)

- Not experienced in public speaking and so made a fool of myself during the seminar

- What I personally thought might not always have been a collective opinion

- Not able to think from a teacher's point of view For example, in real life, the English teachers do not really use software/websites to teach and they do not necessarily evaluate the software/websites

- Not really relevant for some teachers because they do not use computers The most hi-tech they get is using the OHP Not many computers available in schools and if they're available they're mostly used by computer students only

The role of English in reflective discourse

The discourse produced by the student-teachers in this small study does exhibit some of the qualities of critical introspection that are characteristic of this genre. This is despite the doubts about the appropriateness of reflective practice for Bruneian teachers expressed by Minnis (1999) and the obvious divergence between western reflective epistemologies and the nexus of Malay-Islamic values as evident in Bruneian society. In this concluding section two possible reasons to account for the student-teachers' discourse are put forward.

The first has to do with the roles of English in the ASEAN region. In 1974, Lee Sow Ling, writing about English as the non-ideological language of development, commented on the role of English in education in Singapore. At the time she pointed to a redefinition, "a sharpening of focus on its instrumental-tool function as distinct from its social and cultural roles" (Lee, 1974, p. 32). Since then English has become the de facto lingua franca of ASEAN (Krasnik 1995) and, as Chew 1996 has pointed out, the globalisation of English has resulted in it becoming less European and more determined and shaped by users who are not necessarily native speakers. In citing Singapore as an example of such developments Chew has described English in Singapore as a working language. Xu Daming and Tan Pack Ling, in their 1996 study *Trends of English Use among Chinese Singaporeans*, showed that despite a dramatic language shift from Chinese to English evident in the two youngest generations of contemporary Chinese Singaporeans, as a whole the Chinese population in Singapore

is still predominantly Chinese-speaking. English is important to this population because it is the language of dealing with the authorities while Mandarin is the language of the community.

In Brunei the situation is different from Singapore though the role of English as a non-ideological language is still apparent. In 1985 Brunei introduced a bilingual education system (known locally as the "dwibahasa" system). Jones (2000) has described the system as "heavily weighted in favour of Malay at the lower primary level, by secondary the majority of subjects are taught in English". (YM Dr Haji) Ahmad (1991), quoted in Zulkarnain Edham (1997: pp. 15-16), reported that principals and teachers believed the bilingual system exposed students to an international language while preserving the sovereignty of the Malay language thus promoting national unity. Junaidi (1992), also quoted in Zulkarnain Edham (1997: p. 19), found teachers confident of the position of the Malay language in Brunei society and saw English as the language of development and technology. A comprehensive national attitude survey, conducted in 1993 showed that the great majority of respondents across age, gender and ethnic differences felt that their cultural values, religion, identity and national language (Malay) would remain intact despite the impact of exposure to the English language. Writing about these results Jones (1997: p. 27) concluded, "This suggests confidence in the Bruneians' own sense of national identity" and (that) Bruneians have not adopted "English as a replacement for Malay". English, it seems, is able to fulfil a facilitative role, free of the socio-cultural and ideological constraints that are often linked with the local and regional languages.

The second reason has to do with the context in which the discourse was generated. Minnis, in his article, was particularly concerned to point out that those aspects of reflective practice that promoted critical evaluation and open discussion of educational issues and developments were inappropriate in the Bruneian context. The student-teachers involved in this small study were, of course, operating in a special socio-cultural context which embodied a number of neutral factors. The facilitative influences of youthful enthusiasm, expatriate lecturer and university academic procedures (course evaluation, seminar presentation and post-seminar reflection) cannot be discounted. Perhaps a more important contextual issue was embodied in the fact that the student-teachers were an integral part of the practice on which they reflected. To a certain extent they were participatory stake-holders examining procedures which they had helped shape. This was certainly true of the public seminar. It was the event in the evaluation, presentation, reflection sequence that was the catalyst for the reflective discourse. Recent work by Desmond Allison (2000) argues for involvement of participants in (amongst other things) reflective discussions that help make meanings in educational development and inquiry rather than seeking opinions by the more distancing procedures of survey and interview.

This small study suggests that a way forward for teacher education in Brunei Darussalam is, firstly, the development of the instrumental, facilitative role of English as the discourse of reflective practice. Secondly, the use of integrative approaches that

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value student-teachers as participatory stake-holders could build on the societal factors of solidarity, cohesion, balance and harmony in seeking to build a more purposive understanding of the teacher education process. An obvious deficiency in this study was the size of the student sample. Similar work with larger student groupings is planned for the future. Results from these studies may help to confirm whether there is a place for reflective practice in teacher education in Brunei and also clarify what role English has to play in promoting the discourse of this educational paradigm.

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Appendix One

Evaluation Framework

Lecturer Input	Student-teacher input
Course Component Purpose(s)	Realisation of purpose(s) [Elements selected as appropriate]
1. To understand and to recognise the varying degrees to which learning theories inform electronic English language resources 2. To develop, implement and evaluate appraisal frameworks for English language software 3. To develop students' familiarity with English language websites and search, navigation and link functions germane to these websites 4. To develop, implement and evaluate appraisal frameworks for English language websites 5. To introduce students to Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) as resources for English language teaching	• Task definition • Task preparation • Lecturer input • Resource availability • Task development • In-task guidance • Group input • Feedback • Knowledge development • Further applications

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16 Alternative English: vernacular oral art among Aboriginal youth

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While the present century has seen unprecedented growth in the use of English internationally to serve economic and political ends (i.e., the globalization of English), it has also seen a process of reverse colonization of English, as it has been increasingly used to serve the local purposes of cultures for which it is the adopted tongue (i.e., the indigenization of English).

The conflict between the forces for globalization and for indigenization is reflected in education, where policies favouring standard-English-based literacy are countered by policies which favour the linguistic and cultural rights of local cultures. In U.S.A. the Ebonics debate brought such conflict to a head in 1996-7. In Singapore there is ongoing controversy over the legitimacy of "Singlish" as opposed to standard varieties based on international norms. In Australia the inclusiveness of the National Policy on Languages (1987) was countered by subsequent moves towards prioritising literacy, which always means literacy in standard English. Evidence will be provided here from Australian Aboriginal settings in support of claims that the indigenization of English by Aboriginal people has resulted in the development of oral art forms which are sophisticated enough to claim recognition in the education system which has hitherto refused to recognize more than one English.

Four oral narratives by southwest Aboriginal youth will be used to illustrate a range of schemas, genres and expressive devices, some of which are unique, and some of which have counterparts in other oral-based cultures.

Background

Teacher	*Alan, what d' you do with your spare time?*
Alan	*Walkin*
Teacher	*Mm*
Alan	*Walkin round*
Teacher	*Walkin round, yeah.*
	What else?
	What do you find when you're walking round?
Alan	*Cattle*
Teacher	*Cattle. You'd walk a long way to find cattle.*
	Wouldn't it be better to be on a horse?
	What d'you walk around on a horse?
Alan	*Yes*
Teacher	*Right. Ride a horse around slowly.*

(DT1, 1973)

This is an extract from a conversation of a non-Aboriginal teacher with some of the Aboriginal individuals in his class in a secondary school in the Kimberley. The conversation did not exactly flow smoothly. The teacher was kindly seeking to provide the researcher with samples of speech by the Aboriginal students, but he was doing this in a typically non-Aboriginal way, singling out the students one by one and trying to engage in conversation with each of them in the hearing of the others by asking them questions. Some Aboriginal students would have responded to the questions with silence, since singling individuals out from the group and asking them direct questions is a form of behaviour which Aboriginal people naturally retreat from, but these students were doing their best to read the intentions of the teacher and give him what they wanted. And for his part, the teacher was trying to read the intentions of the students and to help them to express what he saw as their meanings. On both sides, however, the meanings were missed. To the non-Aboriginal teacher, walking, especially in the vast expanses of the Kimberley, was a pointless and inefficient way of spending one's time. To the Aboriginal student there were few pleasures to compare with walking around and observing features of the environment, just as his ancestors had done over countless ages, and just as the creative beings had done in the dreaming. Just to mention "walkin'" should, he thought, have conveyed something of that magic to the teacher, but the teacher seemed, as always, by his mode of questioning, to have an agenda of his own.

In another school in the same town, a remedial teacher had finished her class but one of her students was ignoring the lunch bell because she wanted to talk. A portion of what she wanted to say was:

When we went for a walk,
when we was at er [place name]

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we went for a walk
an Robert, 'e was crawlin in the sand
'n 'e saw this snake,
an' 'e ran back an tol' Mum
'n we killed it,
an' 'e picked it up 'n ran around,
'n when the 'orse came
'n m' dad 'n Uncle Roy, Peter,
well I said "Daddy, can I 'ave a ride on the 'orse?"
'E said "Yeah."
An' Daddy jumped off,
I got on the horse...
(TM10/1, 1975).

This student, left to herself to choose her topic, and being able to initiate the interaction in her preferred dialect, Aboriginal English, talked about what happened when she went walking, and her discourse left the teacher in no doubt as to why walking was, for her, an ideal way to spend her time.

This paper derives from the assumption that, in situations where more than one variety of English is being used, teachers and students often miss one another's meanings, because they enter the communicative experience from different starting points. The problem is not only that they have different dialects of English, but that these different dialects evoke quite different worlds of meaning, to the point where some meanings which are readily accessible in one dialect may be virtually inaccessible in the other. The mismatch is not occasioned by the use of specialized vocabulary. It revolves around the most basic of concepts, like "walking". The student's chance to make and access meanings may depend on whose dialect prevails in the interaction, and we know that in Australian classrooms the dialect which prevails is overwhelmingly that of the teacher, Standard English.

The classroom presents us, in microcosm, with a conflict between systems of communication and culture which has global dimensions, and therefore, as I would see it, the Aboriginal classroom is a verbally contested site which has its counterparts in many parts of the world.

Globalizaton and vernacularization

The tension in the classroom between two Englishes is matched at the global level by a tension between two conflicting trends among the users of English. On the one hand is the trend towards the use of English to serve the pragmatic ends of wider communication, maximised access to the most lucrative trading markets, speedy and efficient exchange of information across diverse cultural groups; the trend we call *globalization*. But there is an equally pervasive trend which I shall call

vernacularization, whereby speakers of English are increasingly using it to express localized identity, to make it a vehicle of alternative forms of creative expression, to maintain, through its distinctive usage, cultures or sub-cultures which have traditionally been overlooked or undervalued by speakers of the dominant native speaker varieties of the language.

Many authors have observed these tensions and referred to them in different ways. They may be comprehended within the division pointed out by Lo Bianco (1999) between a "human capital ideology" and a "human rights ideology." Global English serves the needs of expanding human capital, whereas localized Englishes embody their speakers' identity and are associated with their claims for equitable treatment. They may be seen to represent : "cultural homogenization" as opposed to cultural diversity (Hall 1999, citing Aikman). They may be related to the discourse on linguistic imperialism, as opposed to linguistic ecology. Mühlhäusler, for example, has characterized linguistic imperialism as "a promoter of one-way learning, the flow of knowledge and information from the powerful to the powerless" (1994:122) and has contrasted it with linguistic ecology, which concentrates on "the well being of the inhabitants of a language ecology" and "the long term sustainability of the system" (1994:129). It has been pointed out by Toolan (cited by McArthur 1999) that English has shown development on the one hand into a global language "used by globe trotting professionals" and on the other into "new" languages used by speakers where it has become a major native language of adoption. While it is subject to globalizing and centricizing influences, it is experiencing equally pervasive decentricizing influences, as observable in the growing number of dictionaries of localized Englishes, not least the recently published *Australian Oxford Dictionary* (Moore 1999) and the Aboriginal English dictionary of Jay Arthur (1996).

In the contest between global and localized Englishes, educational systems, and the governments which fund them, consistently support the global varieties or those standardized national varieties which approximate most closely to them. Varieties such as Aboriginal English, Singlish, Ebonics and the like tend to be outlawed, or deemphasized in the educational systems which serve their speakers. In Australia the principles of inclusivity espoused in the epoch making *National Policy on Languages* (Lo Bianco 1987) were subsequently watered down in the paper which was produced by Government to supersede it, entitled *Australia's Language*, which clearly emphasized literacy rather than language, and as such, literacy in standard English. For purposes of official policy we have one language and one variety, although the reality we know is different.

There seems to be an implicit assumption that only standard varieties of the language are fit to have a place in the education system, and that only such varieties are bearers of cultural values worth maintaining. This assumption is easy to sustain while little is generally known about the non-standard varieties and while it seems that the artistic use of language is the preserve of the standard varieties. But, whatever might be prescribed by politicians and educators, a large number of the

world's English speakers are aware that much of the experience that is closest and most valued to them goes on in an alternative English, and, because these people are intelligent and creative, their alternative English reflects that, at least for them. In this chapter I would like to take a small step towards supporting the recognition of alternative Englishes in education by looking at one of them- Aboriginal English- in terms of the oral art of its teenage speakers.

Data source

The samples of discourse which I shall focus on are drawn from a corpus of 75 transcribed texts of oral narratives by Aboriginal students attending schools in the Perth Metropolitan Area. The oral narratives were recorded between 1976 and 2000 and are being analysed by a bicultural research team as part of a one-year project funded by the Australian Research Council. Although, through other projects, many narratives have been obtained from Aboriginal students living in more remote areas, I am focusing only on metropolitan students to show the continuity of cultural expression which can be found in monolingual, city-dwelling Aboriginal students. We shall look briefly at four oral narratives, all recorded in 1996 by students of a metropolitan senior high school talking with their teacher who, though not Aboriginal, was closely associated with the students as a specialist in Aboriginal education.

Analysis

The passages are self-contained segments of more extended discourse, and have been reproduced, for purposes of analysis in clausally related units. The analysis being made here will focus on four aspects of vernacular art which they exhibit: schematic associations, narrative structure, discourse marking and expressive discourse strategies.

P29   Song in My Dream

This text consists of a narrative by "L", accompanied by two girlfriends, "P" and "A", as she talks with "J", the teacher. L's utterances have been put in bold in the transcript:

1   **L: Oh when was it**
2   I went when I was um little
3   'bout yeah it was ten years ago
4   I was about five
5   and um we was livin' up north in Broome.
6   No not Broome, Roebourne.
7   And um I remember having this funny dream

8		that I was in the lounge room in the um the house
9		and then this book shelf fell on me,
10		an' then this song come on you know what it was?
11	J	What was it?
12	**L:**	**'I just called to say I love you'. Xxxx oohh**
13	P:	[And the book shelf fell on you
14		and they were sing'n oh ho]
15	**L:**	**(Laughs) An' no 'I just called to say I love you' that song came**
16		**I still have that dream you know**
17		**cause it's**
18	J:	Oh it's like a recurring dream
19	L:	**Yeah I just like I think it's a message or something**
20	J:	Yeah
21	L:	**it's like xx that song came into my dream**
22		**I just loved it ay**
23		**I'm like Mmmm**
24	J:	What the message is in that?
25		when you fall in love
26		you gonna fall in love
27	like it's gonna be like a tonne of bricks	

(096 Girrawheen, lines 140-154.)

Schematic associations

This narrative, like many which we have recorded by Aboriginal students, has an overall preoccupation with the interrelationship of physical and spiritual experience. The framework of a "dream" story provides a ready structure in which such subject matter can be communicated, especially when one is speaking to a non-Aboriginal person. As Arthur (1996:10) has correctly observed, Aboriginal English maintains the Aboriginal understanding that the "spiritual world is everywhere manifested in the physical." But there is a further level of spiritual association in this story. It is concerned with a message being sung. Singing, in traditional Aboriginal society, was a powerful way of accessing spiritual forces. Gill (1998:169), referring to the work of Strehlow, notes: "Songs are often sung to prevent or to inflict injury or sickness...Some songs have the power of charms, to bring about changs in the weather, for example, or to attract a person of the opposite sex. Songs certainly are considered powerful and efficacious." South-west Aboriginal people are well aware of the spiritual power of singing. One of the ways in which this awareness is maintained is through oral art. Here, whether consciously or not, L has drawn on this cultural schema and given expression to the power of song to bring a spiritual message. In lines 24-27 the teacher attempts to read a meaning into what L has said, but her meaning is not taken up by L.

One other schematic association is worthy of comment, and that is contained in

the first six lines. At the outset, L puts her narrative within the framework of travelling around the country. In many of our narratives especially from rural dwelling Aboriginal people, the travel schema is fundamental to the structure of the story. Here it does not form the main framework but it is implied.

Narrative structure

We can observe, with respect to the narrative structure of L's story (as we will with all the narratives we look at) that it is in two parts. The first part extends from lines 1 to 15 and is concerned with the past experience of the narrator; the second part extends from lines 16 to 23 and is concerned with the present relevance of that past experience. At a more fine-grained level we can see that L is communicating her narrative in a patterning of units which I call *narrative idea units* and *interactive idea units*. The former are embedded within the world of the narrative and carry the story forward. The latter are less frequent, but move into the here-and-now world of the interaction and are concerned with the understanding and empathy of the hearer. Interactive idea units are in lines 10 ('you know what it was?'), 16 ('I still have that dream you know'), 19 ('I think it's a message or something') and 22 ('I just loved it, ay').

Discourse markers

L makes use of three discourse markers which are commonly found in Aboriginal English narratives. In line 16 she uses the tag 'you know'. This has the purpose of marking an interactive idea unit. It shows that the listener's awareness is important to the speaker. In line 17 she uses what I call 'explanatory 'cause'. This should not be confused with the conjunction "because" which signals the reason for something. Rather, it is used to signal something that the listener needs to know to understand or interpret what has gone before. The third discourse marker is the tag 'ay', which, like 'you know' marks an interactive idea unit, but has the additional sense of soliciting confirmation, whether verbal or non-verbal.

Expressive discourse strategies

A common device in oral narrative in many parts of the world is parallelism, or the restatement of something often with some modification. This is also common in Aboriginal English oral narrative. We see it in lines 12 and 15, lines 15 and 21 and lines 19 and 22 (though in this latter case it is probably simply the retrieval of a previously interrupted utterance). L also uses non-verbal expressions as expressive devices, in lines 12 ('oohh') and 23 ('Mmmm'). A third device, also typical of Aboriginal English discourse is the use of the demonstrative 'this' to bring certain elements from the background of her story into profile, as in the case of 'this funny dream' (line 7), 'this book shelf' (line 9) and 'this song' (line 10), clearly the most salient elements in the story.

P35   Noise in a Duplex

1	A:	I used to live in duplex
2		an' I jus' my- my window was right near um
3	L:	xxxx
4	A:	yeah an' um I used to have -
5		I used to hear xxx all shake
6		an' like 'cause we saw
7		'cause we used live next to all the criminals an' everythink you know
8		an' um they used to jump our fence
9		the police used to always run in our back you know
10		you jus' like- you didn't know what was goin' on
11		so you always like jus' layin' there
12		If you got up
13		my bed was real squeaky
14		if you got up
15		it like squeak
16		an' then like if you walk aroun' the thing
17		you xx you know
18		it always used to make a noise
19		an' used to be scared to get up
20		an' jus' layin' there
21		or like when you hear it stop
22		you say da a d
23	J:	[(laughing)]
24	L:	[xxxx]
25	P:	[xxxxx]
26	A:	[Jus' like like the um] other week um
27		I heard someone
28		I thought someone knockin' on my window
29		an' I go like this
30		when we was just goin' to sleep
31		someone knocking on the window
32		I go 'Da-a-d'
33		He can hear me
34		I kept sayin'
35		I said 'D-a-d! Over there!'
36		I said 'Ohh did you jus'
37		did you hear someone knock on my window?'
38		'e said 'No that was only me'
39		'oh-h you idiot' (Tape 096 Girrawheen, p. 11-12, Lines 332-347).

Text P35 is a further extract from the same conversation, this time with "A" doing the narration.

Schematic associations

A, like L, is concerned with the interrelation of physical and spiritual experience. Aboriginal English narratives are typically about known and named persons, but there is one exception. There is a narrative tradition derived from a schema I have elsewhere described in the words of one of our Aboriginal research assistants as "scary things" (Malcolm 2000) in which the words "someone" or "something" are used to refer to visitants who are unknown and only vaguely, if at all, perceived. A in this story is invoking this tradition. Her story, however, perhaps because of the presence of the non-Aboriginal teacher, does not claim to present an actual visitation, but rather a hoax. It is noteworthy that, as in the story by L, the schema of travelling around is present in the background, in that A locates her experience in one of the stopping places of her past experience.

Narrative structure

The narrative structure of A's story, like that of L, is in two parts. The first part takes up lines 1-22 and is concerned with generalization about experience; the second part takes up lines 26 to 39 and provides an exemplification to support the generalization. The distinctness of the two structures is clearly seen if we examine the verbs and discourse markers involved. The first part employs the imperfect tense consistently. 'Used to', sometimes reduced to 'used', occurs 8 times. It also repeatedly marks idea units as interactive, using 'you know' four times. By contrast, the second half has no verbs in the imperfect and no interactive idea units, but is fully oriented to the narrative.

Discourse markers

We have noted the use of the discourse marker 'you know' (lines 7, 9 and 17). Two other discourse markers are used. In lines 6 and 7 we see the use of explanatory 'cause, in the same way in which L used it, to introduce a sequence which provides detail for the explanation of what has gone before. The other prominent discourse marker is 'Jus like', in line 26, which marks the introduction of the second section of the text (the exemplification).

Expressive discourse strategies

Two expressive discourse strategies are worthy of mention in this text. The first is the parallelism which we find in lines 27-33. We observed parallelism in L's text but the process is a little more complex here. Three cases of parallelism appear to be embedded, wholly or partly, in one another. At the widest level, line 27 'I heard someone' has its echo in line 33, 'He can hear me.' The anxiety of contact with the unknown in line 27 is balanced with the relief of contact with the known in line 33. Then the significant words 'someone knockin' on my window' in line 28 have their exact echo in line 31. Meanwhile the response of the narrator is incompletely expressed in line 29 and completed in line 32. Clearly the movement of the narrative is complexly patterned, not following the linear progression which standard English

requires. Yet the story does follow a non-Aboriginal pattern in the way in which it employs another expressive device, a punch line (lines 38-39) to provide an impactful conclusion.

P39   Cricket

1	J:	So you not gonna play Cricket or anything?
2	D:	*'s boring*
3	J:	No, bit of a girl's game, is it?
4	D:	*You sit there an' hit 'n' bat ball*
5		*then your like*
6		*an' you miss it*
7		*and you get jarred up by your coach an' that.*
8		*We used to play Cricket when we's in North*
9		*but we kept on losing.*
10	J:	Did you? Yeah. Not a good team?
11	D:	*Naa*
12		*well we only won our last match*
13		*when they like when we played the top team*
14		*and they had to play to git in the grand final to win,*
15		*but we beat 'em by two points.*
16	J:	Yeah, well that might
17	D:	*My um friend arr-*
18		*wha's 'is name?*
19		*I think 'is name is Peter.*
20		*He hit-*
21		*'cause we needed a six to beat 'em*
22	J:	Yeah
23	D:	*He hit a four*
24	J:	Yeah
25	D:	*An' they- an' they 'ad one more bowl left*
26	J:	Yeah
27	D:	*An' then he hit it*
28		*an' it went past the fulla who touched the ball*
29	J:	Really, god
30	D:	*Jus', jus' near the fence*
31		*and it jus'- just rolled*
32		*an' touched the fence*
33		*and got a four*
34	J:	[Oh, oh oh,]
35		It must have been an exciting game though
36		[Everyone must a been cheering]
37	D:	*[Yeah*
38		*an' after that*

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39   *we had a big- we had a big feed*
40 J: Did you? Yeah
41 D: *Pizza, cool drink, everything.*
(Tape 096 Girrawheen, lines 473-495).

Schematic associations

This is an example of a sporting story which is schematically organized according to the hunting schema. Hunting stories are a popular traditional genre among Aboriginal people, especially males, in more remote and rural areas, but the hunting schema is still accessed by metropolitan Aborigines and may be used as a framework for the representation of sporting events. The hunting schema (see Malcolm and Rochecouste 2000) typically has four main elements: the observation, the chase, the kill and the feed. Stories following this schema commonly employ various suspensory devices, stressing the need for persistence on the part of the hunter. D is a boy about 13 years of age, speaking with "J", the same teacher who was addressed in the other extracts. As is common in a hunting story (since it is important that nobody gets lost) he identifies the participants by name (lines 17-19). He shows the need for persistence on the part of the team (since their win nearly got away from them) (lines 20-33) and he rounds the match off, in the same way as a hunting trip is rounded off, with a feed (lines 38-41). It is also important to note that, as in the case of the previous narratives, the event is put in the context of travel around the state (line 8).

Narrative structure

Like the two previous narratives, this one has a two-part structure. It is similar to A's narrative in that it begins with a generalization about experience (in lines 1-11) and then gives an exemplification (lines 12-41) but in this case the exemplification is presented as a special case which contradicts the experience which has been generalized about.

Discourse markers

D uses three discourse markers. In lines 5 and 13 'like' (which corresponds to 'Jus like' which was used by A) performs the function of leading in to an exemplification. In line 21, in common with the two previous narrators, D uses explanatory 'cause to provide the background to what he has already spoken about. The other discourse marker is one not encountered before. It is the use of 'well' to introduce a contradictory extension, in line 12.

Expressive discourse strategies

A common strategy used in hunting stories is to introduce a subject, then use a succession of verbs relating to it without repeating the subject. D uses this strategy in a limited way in lines 31-33. The effect is one of heightened anticipation of the kill (or in this case, the win). It is noteworthy that, in describing what we might perceive as a single action, the hitting of a four, D uses 6 verbs, showing observation of all the details of the ball's course (lines 27-33).

P44   Staying Awake

1   D: I was the first one to go to sleep.

2   'Cause um cause if I

3   like if you was the last kid to go to sleep

4   you git more fun

5   like I was tryin' to stay awake like this 'ere

6   an' all them other kids there (*puffing*)

7   'Well I'm gonna stay.

8   What about you?'

9   an' I'm like

10   'yeah, yeah my eyes are jus' sore.'

11   I'm sittin' there still

12   an' I woke up

13   like when they go an' chuck all them kids in the red car

14   so they- they got-

15   I got up

16   an' I jumped straight in

17   an' um the youngest- the oldest one- like no- the youngest one Shane

18   like 'e jumped out of the car

19   and went to like-

20   we's all ready to go

21   'e jumped put of the red ca-

22   jumped out of the blue car

23   to git in the red car

24   and 'is mum was lucky us kids seen on the spotty

25   or we- 'e would a been there stuck

26   J: (*laughing*) Poor Shane

27   D: An' we climbed

28   wait wait wait for me

(Tape 096 Girrawheen, lines 580-589).

This is a later extract from the interaction between D and his teacher. D is describing what went on on a 'spotting' expedition, where a group of people went out in the dark, driving around with a spotlight looking for kangaroos.

Schematic associations

There is one fundamental underlying schema in this narrative. It is a schema in which the group of people involved in the event share a reciprocal awareness and responsibility for one another. This is expressed in D's desire not to go to sleep first, which would isolate him from the group and what they are doing, and it is also expressed in the concern for Shane, who nearly gets left behind. Aboriginal English

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discourse abounds in stories which underline the importance of doing things together and stress the foolishness or peril of going it alone.

Narrative structure

Again, as in the three previous narratives, we find that this one is structured in two parts. The first part, lines 1-12 is concerned with the narrator's leaving the group by falling asleep, and the second part, lines 13-28 is concerned with Shane's leaving the group by jumping out of the car. The two halves are clearly distinguished in the grammatical selections they entail. In the first half there is greater employment of existential verbs, imperfect tense and the progressive aspect, showing that, as in the case of text P35, the narration commences in a generalized way. The second half, which is strongly narrative, predominantly employs verbs in the simple past tense.

Discourse markers

For the fourth time in four texts, we find the explanatory 'cause being used. It occurs in line 2, leading in to an explanation of why it was not a good thing for D to go to sleep first. The other marker employed in this text is 'like' with the sense of exemplification, as used in texts P35 and P39. We find it in lines 3, 5 and 9. In the latter instance, like functions in the phrase 'I'm like' as a direct speech introducer.

Expressive discourse strategies

In lines 7 and 8 we see direct speech interpolated into the narrative with no phrase identifying the speaker. This is not uncommon in Aboriginal English and is also found in some Aboriginal languages and in oral narrative in other parts of the world. Line 28 appears to represent another example of this strategy, and it also illustrates another common Aboriginal stylistic device: lexical repetition. The other strategy which marks this text is the use of flashback in lines 2 — 11. D tells of his going to sleep in the first line, but from lines 2-10 he is detailing the struggle he had made to prevent this happening. It is not until line 12 that the story resumes with his waking up. Again, we see that the narrative is not constrained by the kind of linear progression that would be expected in a story in standard English.

Implications

The oral narratives we have considered here are not exceptional. They are part of a continuing tradition which we have found being maintained by Aboriginal people in all parts of Western Australia. What they demonstrate, I hope, is that ordinary speakers of Aboriginal English have access to a significant repertoire of expressive resources when they are given the opportunity to express themselves on subjects of their own choosing, using their alternative form of English. The fact that the speakers illustrated here come from city-dwelling Aborigines shows that the cultural inheritance of Aboriginal English is being strongly maintained even where it might be most at risk of being drowned out by the non-Aboriginal language and culture.

Aboriginal people have a long tradition of what Peters-Little (2000:6) has called " 'resistance' to whiteness," and two centuries of a monodialectal standard English education system have not displaced this. There is no future in an education for Aboriginal people which will ignore their existing knowledge and achievements. One-way education ignores the fact that, as Peters-Little, herself an Aboriginal writer, puts it, "Aboriginal people actively participate in the construction of their own Aboriginality" (2000:6).

Aboriginal people and the many people who, like them, have invested much of their culture and identity in an alternative English, will be best served by a two-way bidialectal education in which due regard is given to what Corson (1998:9), following Bourdieu, has called their cultural capital as well as to their aspirations to acquire standard English as a link to the global culture.

Acknowledgements

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17   A study of the language of pre-school Malaysian children

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This study looks at the English language used by sixty Malaysian children. Children do not merely recreate what they hear in their surrounding environment; rather they play an active role in constructing and reconstructing language they hear making it appropriate to their needs. The study aims to: -
- Examine the language used by the respondents to communicate
- Determine if this variety of English reflects the local culture
- Determine if other factors play a role in the development of this variety.

An overview of the language in education in Malaysia

The national language of the country is Malay, and English is an important second language. There are two types of schools in the country, namely national schools and national type schools, the latter comprising Chinese-medium schools and Tamil-medium schools. In national schools the medium of instruction is Malay, with English taught as a second language. Further, pupils can attend POL (Pupil's Own Language) classes, be it Tamil or Mandarin. In Chinese-medium schools, where the medium of instruction is Mandarin, Malay is taught as a second language and English as a third language. Likewise, in Tamil-medium schools, Tamil is the medium of instruction, while Malay is taught as the second language and English the third.

In order to have a headstart in school, children are sent to kindergartens as early as three years of age. In kindergarten the children are exposed to English and Malay. Some kindergartens also offer a third language, namely Mandarin, to prepare children who will be entering the national-type schools. Thus one finds that the majority of Malaysian children are bilingual and some non-Malay children are even trilingual and have in their linguistic repertoire languages such as Malay, English, Mandarin or Tamil.

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Area of research

This study looks at the language, in particular the English Language, used by sixty Malaysian children. Children do not merely recreate what they hear in their surrounding environment; rather they play an active role in constructing and reconstructing language they hear thereby making it appropriate to their needs. Hence the aims of this paper are to:

- Examine the language (with emphasis on the English Language) used by the respondents to communicate
- Determine if this variety of English reflects the local culture
- Determine if other factors play a role in the development of the variety of English spoken

Methodology

In order to study the variety of English used by Malaysian children to convey meaning, a total of three tasks were devised. The first task was one in which the respondents were required to listen to a reading of the nursery rhyme "Humpty Dumpty". Next they were required to recite the rhyme to the researcher.

The second task required the respondents to listen to a story entitled "The Greedy Dog". Next the respondents were required to retell the story.

The last task was one in which the respondents were given the opportunity to tell their favourite story. There were no restrictions as to the respondent's choice of story or the style in which they chose to tell their story. This task was designed to study the respondent's ability to tell a story without any aid. This last task was unlike the first two where the respondents had the opportunity of first listening to the nursery rhyme (Task 1) and the story (Task 2), and then retelling them. This would mean that the respondents had free reign to utilise their creativity and language in telling the story.

A total of sixty respondents were selected for this study. All the respondents were from middle income families and were enrolled in various kindergartens in an urban area. Factors such as mother tongue and age were taken into consideration. Respondents ranging from four to six years of age were selected from Malay and Chinese families to determine the influence of culture and the mother tongue on the language they use to communicate in.

Of the sixty respondents twenty-eight were Chinese and thirty-two were Malay. The break down in terms of sex was twenty-five females and thirty-five males, distributed in the following manner according to age, fourteen aged four, twenty-four aged five and twenty-two aged six.

Table 1 shows the profile of the respondents while table 2 shows the breakdown according to gender and ethnic groups.

Table 1. Profile of Respondents

Age	Sex	Race	No. of Respondents
4	M	C	2
4	F	C	4
4	M	ML	3
4	F	ML	5
5	M	C	8
5	C	C	4
5	M	ML	8
5	F	ML	4
6	M	C	9
6	F	C	1
6	M	ML	5
6	F	ML	7

Table 2. Breakdown According to Gender and Ethnic Groups

	Age	Sex		Race	
		M	F	C	ML
No. of Respondents	4	5	9	6	8
	5	16	8	12	12
	6	14	8	10	12
Total		35	25	28	32

Key: M — male   F — female   C — Chinese   ML — Malay

Rich interpretation

In this study a rich interpretation method was employed. A rich interpretation requires the researcher to infer what the child may be trying to say and the emphasis is on using contextual information to infer the child's intention when speaking.

Prior to the 1970s', studies on child language had concentrated on syntactic structure to the omission of meaning. Studies in the 1970s tried to remedy this omission by going beyond the form of children's speech to include an interpretation of what the child intended to say or what became known as 'rich interpretations'. The first of these studies was carried out by Bloom in 1970. In her study Bloom suggested

that different semantic relations can be expressed by identical utterances. She found that children used the word 'no' in three different ways in two-word utterances. The first was to express rejection as in 'No dirty soap', the second to describe non-existence as in 'No pocket', and the third meaning was of one of denial as in 'No truck'.

One of the shortcomings of the rich interpretation technique is that it relies heavily on adult interpretations of the meaning the child intends to express. Thus there may arise the danger of endowing the child with intentions that were simply not present. Nevertheless, steps were taken in this study to overcome this problem. For example, greater structural content to the utterance would ensure a more accurate interpretation. Thus, one-word utterances that can mean more or less anything were avoided and instead there was a conscious effort to elicit longer structures. Further there was no effort to fit all the children's utterances into a pre-specified relation; rather the sample was studied in detail to examine the children's attempts to communicate.

The functions of language

In order to study the functions fulfilled by the respondent's language, Halliday's (1975) six functional concepts were utilized. He defines them as:

1. Instrumental function: used to satisfy the child's needs to obtain goods or services, the 'I want' function.
2. Regulatory function: used to control the behaviour of others; the 'do as I tell you' function.
3. Interactional function: used to interact with those around child; the 'me and you' function.
4. Personal function: used to express the child's own uniqueness; the 'here I am' function.
5. Heuristic function: used to explore the environment; the 'tell me why' function.
6. Imaginative function: used by child to create its own environment; the 'let's pretend function.

Halliday differentiates between the six functions that language is used to serve in a very young child's language and the three macro-functions that an adult's language is used to serve. This occurs as a result of functional reduction whereby the original six-proto functions are replaced by three highly coded and abstract but simpler functions, namely the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual functions.

The ideational function is concerned with the content of language. It functions as a means and expression of our experience both of the external world and of the inner world of our own consciousness together with what is perhaps a separate sub-component expressing certain basic logical relations. It is basically the use of language to learn.

The interpersonal function is language as a mediator of role including all that may be understood by the expression of one's own personalities and personal feelings

on the one hand, and forms of interaction and social interplay with other participants in the communication situations on the other hand. While the ideational component sees the use of language for learning, the interpersonal component sees the use of language to act.

The textual function is an enabling function, that of creating text which is language in operation as distinct from a string of words or isolated sentences and clauses. It is the component that enables the speaker to organise what he is saying, in such a way that it makes sense in the context and fulfils its function as a message.

Culture and bilingualism

In this study the bilingual status of the respondents who are from the Malay and Chinese ethnic groups is taken into consideration.

Fletcher and MacWhinney (1995) point out that differences between whole cultures and the values people place on different types of languages used in interaction with young children constitute an important factor which has yet to be investigated.

Communication strategies

In this study it was found that in their attempt to communicate, the respondents used various communication strategies.

Communication strategies are defined as strategies that are employed when things go wrong, in other words, is an aid in times of trouble. They are thus not linked to problem-free communication. Bialystok (1990:35) defines communication strategies as strategies that "overcome obstacles to communication by providing the speaker with an alternative form of expression for the intended meaning."

A look at the innovative strategies

Bloomfield in his book *"Language"* (1933:Chapter 2) looked at acquisition from a behaviourist point of view in which one determines the set of environmental conditions that lead the child to identify and associate events with internal states. He proposed a five-step process that accounts for the child's acquisition of word meaning. In step two of his five step-process the child imitates with his closest speech what his mother produces, for example, (da) for 'doll'. Does a child merely imitate what he hears in his environment or is he able to go beyond the boundaries of his environment? In this study, the language employed by the respondents is examined to determine if factors other than culture plays a role in the make-up of the variety of language they speak.

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Innovative strategy 1: word coining

One of the strategies utilised by the respondents in this study is the innovative strategy of word coining. Under Tarone's (1977) paraphrase strategy, word coinage is defined as making up a word, for example, 'airball' for balloon. This strategy is employed by respondents to fulfil a function, that is, new words are created to fill gaps in their lexicon; or to stand in for a word that is difficult to recall. Thus, word coining enables them to convey meanings for which they have no ready-made words.

A highly innovative strategy employed by the respondents to convey meaning involves the use of words taken from the L1. For example, a respondent used the phrase 'nen-nen pot' to mean 'breast' as in:

"...take one girl and suck his 'nen-nen pot'...."

When asked what 'nen-nen pot' was, the respondent pointed at his breast. The coining of this phrase shows the creativity of the respondent. 'Nen-nen' in a dialect of Chinese means milk and a pot is a vessel used to contain fluid. As the breast of a breast-feeding mother contains milk, thus it is a 'nen-nen pot'.

While adults rely on their rich vocabulary to communicate ideas and express their wants and needs, young children who are still acquiring language are to a large extent limited by their incomplete vocabulary. However, this does not mean that they stand back and wait while their incomplete vocabulary becomes complete. Rather they resort to creative strategies to compensate for their limited vocabulary. As a result, the language produced by the respondents in this study is not a mere reflection of the local culture. It can be seen that language is manipulated to fulfill a required function.

Innovative Strategy 2: using elements from the L1

Innovative strategy 2 is akin to but unlike code-switching. The code-switching strategy involves the use of two or more linguistic varieties at any point in a sentence be it within a sentence or between sentences. However, the strategy used by the respondents here involves the appending of a sentence in English with a particle from their L1, for example:

He lost his bone, *loh*.

They want to run away, *lah*.

In the first example, the initial sentence in English is appended by a particle from the L1, that is, the Chinese language. In the second example, the sentence is appended by a particle from the Malay language.

The use of the particle at the end of a sentence appears to be a common habit not only among the respondents in this study, but generally among Malaysians. In fact the appending of a particle to the end of a sentence, phrase or word is definitive of Malaysian English. Hence the variety of English used by Malaysian pre-school children is influenced by the variety spoken by the adults around them. In other words, the variety is reflective of the culture of the country. Nevertheless, the

examples seen here serve special functions which are discussed below.

'Loh' was most commonly used in the word final position. As this particle is of Chinese origin, it is used by the Chinese respondents. Examples of the use of this particle can be seen below:

1. He lost his bone *loh*.
2. ...the bones fall down *loh*.
3. ... eh no more witch *loh*...no more already *loh*.

This strategy of appending a sentence in the L2 with a particle from the L1 is also functional. The use of this particle in the word final position appears to fulfil various functions, such as:

- creating a sense of comradeship with the listener
- softening the effect of the sentence, that is, appealing to the listener through a soft tonal ending
- introducing a pause to a phrase thus creating parcels of meaning

It can be seen from the examples above that the particle introduces a pause at the end of a phrase, thus creating parcels of meaning. This is by virtue of the fact that the particle is followed by a pause. By introducing a pause, the particle breaks a long sentence up into smaller parcels of meaning, thus making a long sentence more comprehensive and meaningful. Further the particle also appears to add colour and emphasis to a sentence, thereby enhancing its meaning making properties.

The particle 'loh' is used here by the respondents in an innovative manner to extend the meaning of a message. Thus the use of an L1 particle appended to the word final position of an L2 sentence is to be viewed as evidence of creativity of the respondents.

The particle 'lah' which has its origins in the Malay language, is used by both Malay and Chinese respondents, probably because Chinese children have great exposure to Malay and because this use of 'lah' is common in colloquial Malaysian English.

1. What...bones lah.
2. Tell lah.

Just as the particle 'loh' has extended functions, likewise the particle 'lah' fulfils the following functions:

- adding emphasis to a message
- creating a sense of comradeship with the listener
- softening the effect of the sentence, that is, appealing to the listener through a soft tonal ending
- acting as a period to a phrase thus creating parcels of meaning

The use of the particle 'lah' by the respondents in this study is not merely evidence that they speak Malaysian English. Beyond that, it is proof of their creativity. Just one particle appended to the end of a sentence extends the meaning of the message they are communicating.

Innovative Strategy 3: using elements from the L2

In this creative strategy, the respondent ends a sentence in the L2 with a new use of a word from the L2, for example:

He can fly *one*.

The sentence is in English. However, the word 'one' that is appended to the sentence is not used in its original meaning in English where it functions as a numeral as in:

'One is enough.'

It can also be used as an indefinite pronoun as in:

'Mr. Smith is not one of my customers.'

It can be used as a personal pronoun, for example:

'The Holy one...'

Data from this study showed that 'one' was used as a numeral, that is single and integral in number, for example:

1.   ...ah tiger want to eat *one* duck...

There were also instances where the lexical item 'one' was used in word final position as in the examples below:

2.   A horse is go like this *one*. (*gallops*)

3.   Like thief like that *one*.

Just as in the case of innovative strategy 2, the use of the particle 'one' here is another feature of Malaysian English. However, it is obvious from the examples above that 'one' was used with a different meaning from that of its conventional meaning.

In example 2 'one' is used to replace the word 'gallops'. Likewise in example 3, 'one' replaces the characteristics of a thief. In this capacity the particle 'one' appears to be a 'dummy' word, that is, in itself it holds no meaning; but taken in the context in which it appears, 'one' replaces words or phrases which the respondent is unable to articulate in words.

Appending particles and words to sentences extends the functions of the message; in other words meaning is extended through the innovative use of lexicon. The case of 'one' is a clear illustration of this point. The rule is simple; 'one' can be used to replace a multitude of words based on its context. Thus the strategy of overextension has been put into play.

When faced with the need to express new meaning, the respondent stretches his limited vocabulary through overextension. Overextension, which is referred to by Vygotsky (1962) as 'associative complexes' or 'chain-complexes', result from the way children tend to focus on only one aspect of a situation at a time and to generalise that alone.

Lack of knowledge, mental fog and wrong analysis can all lead to overextension. Lack of knowledge suggests that a child overextends the use of a word because of his incomplete and limited vocabulary. In the second instance the child views the world through a mental fog. However, meanings become more precise as the child learns to

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discriminate more finely. Finally, wrong analysis applies to the state where the child uses a prototype that he then matches to other possible examples of a category using the characteristics of the prototype. If there is sufficient agreement he assigns the new object to the same category. In other words, discrepancies between child and adult language occur because children analyse the prototype differently from adults. As they grow older they gradually alter their analyses to fit those of the other people around them.

The data here points to the fact that overextension occurs probably as a result of the child's limited vocabulary. Nevertheless in the name of communication, the child tries hard to get his meaning across while talking about concepts they have as yet no words for. In other words, the child is expressing meaning within the limits of his competence in the target language. In this case, the respondents combined word stems with affixes to express new and richer meaning. This points to their creativity in utilising a limited repertoire of words to convey a multitude of meanings.

Innovative Strategy 4: using loan words from the L1

An innovative strategy employed by the respondents involving L1 is the use of loan word from their L1. This strategy points to the ability of the child to handle the problem of meaning making. Malaysian children are bilingual and this ability is exploited by them. Hence it can be said that the language employed by the children here is reflective of the culture of Malaysia and the variety spoken, that is, Malaysian English. If there is no known word in the L2 to convey the message, then the respondent reverts to the known L1 lexicon, for example:

'tien tong' for heaven

('tien tong' is from the Cantonese language)

Data collected from this study revealed that in most instances the Chinese respondents borrowed from their mother tongue Chinese but there were also instances in which they borrowed from Malay as in the example below.

Re 17 : In the 'pasar malam'.

('pasar malam' in the Malay language means night market.)

In this example, the respondent uses the strategy of stretching her limited vocabulary by employing vocabulary that is common to Malaysians. The respondent uses the phrase 'pasar malam' probably because there is no equivalent of the concept of 'pasar malam' in the English language and it has become common in Malaysian English. It can be translated and called a night market but unlike a market it does not only have fresh food on offer. At the Malaysian night market one can purchase anything from baby wear to traditional medicines and even have a game of cards.

Another such instance is found in the example below where a respondent who is proficient in English reverts to his mother tongue. In this example, he points out that Robin's costume is colourful. This is probably dictated by the fact that Robin does not wear shirt and trousers but rather an unusual costume. In Malay the term 'baju' may

be used as a general term to refer to clothing. Hence, in this case, the respondent not only employs a word that is common to Malaysians, he does so for a reason. The respondent openly made a choice when he used the term 'baju' because it was a word that best conveyed the meaning he wanted to communicate.

Re 41 : *'Baju'* got.

Re   : Robin is...

Re 41 : Colourful *'baju'*.

Re   : Colourful *'baju'*?

Re 41 : Yah *'baju'* is colourful...got *'baju'*...black, red, ...pink...

The conclusion may be drawn that innovative strategy 2 of borrowing from the L1 and the common vocabulary of Malaysians is used for the following functions:

- to compensate for a limited vocabulary
- to express a concept that is uniquely Malaysian
- to overcome the problem of explaining the meaning of a term using the second language
- to add colour and emphasis to the meaning of what they are trying to communicate.

It may be said the use of the loan word where one switches from the L2 to L1 is not unique to the respondents here. The use of loan words is common among Malaysian speakers. Once again it can be said that the language employed by the pre-school Malaysian children is reflective of the culture of Malaysia. However, beyond that the language that is used is functional. Further, what makes this strategy innovative is the fact that the respondents have used it to fulfil extended functions as seen in the examples above. They have exploited their bilingual status in the name of communication.

Conclusion

The child who embarks on a journey as an explorer of unknown territory, therefore exploits his innate creativity. He is not merely an imitator of the language he is exposed to in his environment rather he makes language work for him. The language that he employs is reflective of Malaysian culture but beyond that his language is functional. Language is used to convey, extend, create and recreate meaning.

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18 Communication behaviours of EFL learners in a native English-speaker teacher's class: a case in Hong Kong

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This paper attempts to present and discuss evidence of Hong Kong Chinese students' communication behaviours reflecting their localized cultural and linguistic identities and power in English lessons taught by a native English-speaking teacher. By having at their disposal a local language not shared by the teacher, the students, though having only limited English proficiency, have demonstrated a rich and dynamic variety of communication behaviours in making their voices heard. Findings from these behaviours revealed the inadequacy of a native English-speaker teacher who is culturally and linguistically incongruent with those of the local students.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present EFL classroom data in the context of Hong Kong with a focus on the students' communication behaviours. Most previous research on classroom interaction up to the recent decade set the major focus on teacher talk with the general belief that the speech behaviours of the students will somehow be shaped by those of the teachers. However, with a changing attitude to authority and a rising awareness of human rights, students' speech behaviours in the class have been shown to be more dynamic, unpredictable and creative, very often beyond the initiation power and control of the teachers (Candela 1999). In L2 classroom situations, the scenario could be more complex. A myriad of communication behaviours may emerge because the students and very often, the teachers, have not only a range of speech acts to manipulate, but also two, or sometimes more, linguistic codes to select from.

Hancock (1997) reported how a group of L2 learners who share an L1 oscillate between two frames of classroom discourse symbolized by a choice of language codes during group work. The *off-record* discourse frame, characterised by the use of L1, is

concerned with "negotiation between the learners" (Hancock 1997, abstract). The *on-record* frame is used in the presence of a potential L2 audience (e.g. the teacher), and thus, is mainly conducted in L2. In Hancock's data, the latter type of talk may also involve the use of some single-word or short L1 insertions.

Using a similar perspective, Pennington (1999a, 1999b) found that in a bilingual classroom in Hong Kong, students and teachers also often switch between Cantonese and English in the three intertwining discourse frames, namely the *lesson-support frame*, the *institutional-support frame*, and *commentary frame*. In general, the lesson-support frame is most closely related to the lesson content and therefore, done mostly in L2 (English); while the institutional support frame is concerned mainly with the conveying of implicit and explicit institutional messages and L1 (Cantonese) is more often used. In these two frames, the teacher is usually the leading participant even though students may sometimes be given the "centre stage" in the lesson-support frame (as in doing a role-play) and therefore are expected to use English (L2) only. The commentary frame is the only frame that usually excludes the participation of the teacher. This is the outermost frame in the classroom discourse in which students make on-lesson or off-lesson comments between themselves with or without the permission or elicitation from the teachers. This is similar to the underlife talk mentioned in Canagarajah (1999). This frame is therefore done almost one hundred percent in L1 and most frequently in a mocking and joking way. While the commentary talk of the students is found to be highly lively and creative, their talk is very often not related to the lesson content and may be "tangential to the purpose of the lesson or even disruptive of it" (Pennington 1999b, p.60).

Set also in the context of Hong Kong, Lin (2000) found that students' use of L1 does not necessarily appear only in the outermost lesson commentary frame. Her data of classroom interaction between a bilingual Cantonese-English teacher and a class of young secondary L2 learners showed that students may choose to use their L1, or L1 spoken with an Anglicized tone (probably mocking the funny tone used by many foreigners when speaking Cantonese) to respond to the teacher's formal initiation in public even though Cantonese is traditionally taboo in the L2 classrooms in Hong Kong. The students in Lin's (2000) analysis manipulated their verbal play in L1 in a very creative and meaningful way. Their responses fit in most relevantly in the IRF (initiation-response-feedback) pattern. However, the students' behaviours reflect a "*local Cantonese-based Chinese cultural identity*" (Lin 2000, p. 76, italics in original). Similar to Pennington who expressed concern over the potential tangential effects of too much L1-commentary talk on the students' L2 development, Lin wondered if the students' language experience in the so-called L2 classroom would ever enable them to access other socioeconomically valued linguistic resources and cultural capital. She called for the promotion of multilingualism among school children so as to enable them to grow out of the encapsulation in a largely Cantonese-speaking sociocultural world and gain access to other socioeconomically valued linguistic resources and identities.

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If the bilingual teachers in Pennington's (1999) and Lin's (2000) papers experienced difficulties in motivating students to move towards this goal, will a group of so-called "native" English-speaking teachers be in a better position to do so? Will this group of teachers, by coming mainly from what Holliday (1994) refers to as the BANA group (British, Australasia and North American models), be more able to establish a favourable language environment to motivate students to use more L2 for meaningful communication, and transcend their ethnic border and enter into a community of practices more highly valued than their vernacular one?

The idea that the native English-speaking teachers may be better able to provide a more favourable and authentic classroom environment for second language acquisition has been empirically supported by two studies in Hong Kong, one by Tsui (1985) and one by Tsang (1994). While Tsui's study mainly focussed on the teachers, Tsang looked at the students as well. Both studies compared the teacher-student interaction patterns in a native English (NT) and a local bilingual teacher's classroom and found that the NTs were more able to provide interactional modifications (Long, 1983) which engage the students in longer interaction. In Tsang's study, the students took more responsibilities for participating in and initiating during classroom interaction in the native teacher's class. However, both Tsang (1994) and Tsui (1985) did not explore whether the results were due to the nativeness, or the pedagogical skills of the teachers concerned.

Nevertheless, the idea to import native English-speaking teachers to teach in local schools was introduced in Hong Kong as early as 1986 to raise the quality of English language teaching and learning by engineering a change in the school environment from an ethnocentric and monolingual one to a bilingual and bicultural one (Johnson & Tang 1993). It is hoped that the availability of English teachers who do not speak the students' L1 will increase the opportunities of the students to use the target language for meaningful communication in a more authentic environment.

The present study

The present paper attempts to present and analyse data collected from such a classroom ecology, with the major focus set on the students' communication behaviour. The key focus is on whether students will demonstrate more sanctioned communication behaviours (e.g. using more L2) in a native English-speaker teacher's class.

The native English-speaking teacher in this study is from Britain and employed under the Expatriate English Teacher Scheme in Hong Kong, which is the predecessor of the Native English-speaking Teacher (NET) Scheme. The majority of the students admitted to the school were of middle ability. According to the teacher, however, the English ability of the class was rather limited even though most students should have studied English for six years. During lessons, however, they were responsive and talkative in Cantonese.

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Findings

A textbook-based general English lesson forms the major data base for this paper. Transcripts of the lesson show a lot of similar students' linguistic and interaction behaviours that have been reported and discussed in Pennington's (1999b) and Lin's (2000) papers. Despite the fact that the teacher is a 'native' English speaker who does not understand Cantonese, the students provided L1 responses to the teacher's L2 initiation. The students also answered the teacher with Anglicized Cantonese and used L1 during underlife commentary peer talk. All such behaviours do not seem to index the presence of a non-Cantonese speaking English teacher. On the surface, the students' communication behaviours seemed to have reflected no difference from those in an EFL classroom inhabited by a bilingual teacher. However, a closer examination of the sequential development of the turns taken by the students and their utterances has enabled me to discover some participant-oriented communication behaviours of the students which might not have appeared in a bilingual teacher's classroom. I would like to present and discuss such data through two representative excerpts.

I will show in Excerpt 1 below how a boy student (B2) employs a hierarchy of linguistic strategies to communicate his meaning to the teacher.

A four-level speech adjustment mechanism

Excerpt 1

(Excerpt 1 happens at the beginning of the lesson in which the teacher initiates a question with a view to establishing the students' schemata of fast food restaurants in Hong Kong. This forms part of the preparation for a textbook-based reading comprehension task.)

Transcription notations:

T	Native English teacher
B	Boy student
Ss	Students
Bold type	Cantonese transcriptions
< >	Free English translation of the Cantonese
^	Anglicized Cantonese (high pitch)
↑	Rising intonation
[ ]	Overlapping speech
( )	Observer's comments
::	Lengthened syllables, the more the longer

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1   T: Right. (clearing her throat) Fast food restaurant.
2   What is a fast food restaurant?
3   B1: **mak dong** [nou <McDonald>
4   Ss: (several students together) [**faai caan dim**
5   [**faai caan dim** <fast food restaurant>
6   T: [McDonald's for example
7   (other Ss are making suggestions)
8   B2: **daai faai wud** <Fairwood (name of a fast food shop)
9   (in Anglicized tone) **daai^ faai^ wud^**
10 B2: **daai^—big faai^ wud^** <Fairwood>.
11   Big happy (many Ss laugh)
12 B3: (anglicized) **taai^ gaa^ lok^** <Café' de Cairo (name of a fast food shop)
13   (many Ss talking at the same time)
14 B2: big **happ::y** (chuckling at the end)
15 B4: (rather softly) Pizza Hut
16 T: okay okay. Shh shh shh, it's easier ↑
17   [. shhhhh
18 B2: (chuckling)   [big happy
19 Gs: [Wendy, Wendy
20 T: shhhhh it's easier I think, if you put your hand up and I can hear one (?)
         instead of forty.
21   Okay? So we've got McDonald, Wendy's, thank you^
22 B5: Hardee's
23 B7: (loudly) **haa dik see** <Hardee's>
24 B6: (anglicised) **hung dak gei gaa heung gaai** <Kentucky Fried Chicken>
         (laugh)
25 (T makes gestures, shushes and writes on the blackboard)
26 T: What is it about big firework?
27 Ss: (laugh) big firework
28 B3: **daai kaa lok** <Café' de Carol> (anglicized) **daai gaa lok**, big happy
29 Ss: **daai faai wud**
30 T: Tell me what it is in Chinese, and I'll find out
31 B3: (loudly) **daai gaa lok aa**
32 T: How about ↑ shh, a place where you can get chicken?
33 Ss: chicken aa (Cantonese particle)
34 B6: **gaai** <chicken>
35   (Anglicized) **haang dak gei** <Kentucky>
36 T: hand-hand-hand
37 B3: (very softly) **m zi dim gong** <Don't know how to say it>
38 B6: (playful pronunciation and Anglicized) **haang^ dak^ gei^, haang^ dak^**
39   **gei^** <Kentucky>
40 T: Put up your hand. Raise it. Put your hand up.

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41   Don't shout out. Put your hand up .
42   A place where you can get chicken.
43 B3: I don't know English
44 T: Beginning with a K

My focus of analysis is B2's utterances from lines 8-11. The four levels of linguistic realizations are:

Level 1 – L1 only (daai faai wud)

This candidate response appeared after another two L1 responses (**mak dong nou** in line 3; **faai caan dim** in line 4-5). The fact that the teacher acknowledged the appropriate answer status of "**mak dong nou**" by saying "McDonald's for example" might have prompted B2 as well as other students to go on proffering other responses in L1. Even though the students know that the teacher is a non-Cantonese speaker, they seem to have this instinctive habit of providing an L1 response to an L2 initiation in the English classrooms. This may be because they are more used to relying on their L1 for cognitive processing. Therefore, even though the incoming stimuli is in L2 and the students know that the teacher is not a Cantonese speaker, they just could not hold the Cantonese back because it comes readily and is closely linked with their cognitive thinking. Their use of L1 to an apparently non-L1 speaker on the one hand represents a lack of ability to gloss the L1 term in L2, and on the other hand also reflects their instinctive and habitual use of L1 in learning.

Level 2 – Anglicized L1 (daai^ faai^ wud^ <Fairwood> name of a fast food shop)

This type of linguistic behaviour in the English classroom was first reported in Lin (1996) even though experienced local English teachers would not find it unfamiliar. Throughout the lesson, there were many more instances of Anglicized L1 utterances from the students. The appearance of such a response reflects a complex psychological perception of what English is like by the students as has been reported in Lin (2000). The lack of the L2 term is of course the major reason. The deliberate mocking and joking attitude of the students towards the way foreigners speak Cantonese as a symbol of resistance cannot be overlooked too. Canagarajah (1999, quoting Scott, 1985) mentions how humour, sarcasm, and parody have been used by people as modes of resisting power in subtle and non-direct ways. The students of course were well-aware that the teacher would not be able to understand their Anglicized L1. A manipulation of this unique linguistic feature reflects the students' intention to make fun rather than to communicate. However, it is also possible to perceive the students' behaviour as a kind of L2-appropriation. Even though it is not the proper L2 version, an Anglicized L1 at least makes it sound like L2. Compared with the pure L1, an Anglicized L1 is at least one small step forward to the L2.

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Level 3 – Literal L2 translation-cum-Anglicized L1 (big <u>faai^ wud^</u> <Fairwood>)

Apart from further fun-making, by translating part of the Cantonese word into English, we cannot deny that B2 is trying to get the meaning across to the teacher. The student seems to be hoping that the hint given by the word "big" would arouse the NT's memory of the fast food restaurant which all local people must know.

Level 4 – Literal translation (big happy)

Even though this utterance from B2 caused quite a bit of laughter from other students, by translating the whole name literally into English, B2 has actually fulfilled his institutional role of answering in English. However, due to the linguistic and cultural incompatibility of the teacher and the students, the teacher still could not make out what the fast food restaurant is despite B2's effort.

This speech adjustment mechanism has striking similarities to the L1-based achievement strategies demonstrated by NNS learners during communication disruptions when interacting with native speaker reported in Haastrup and Phillipson (1983). Also similar to the findings in Haastrup and Phillipson's study, the L1-based communication strategies used by B2 in the class have not led to successful communication of messages, as evident in the teacher's query in line 26 when she misheard students' Anglicized Cantonese (**faai^ wud^**) as referring to the English word "firework".

Students' awareness of two languages at work

Though students in the class relied mainly on their L1 in cognitive processing and communicating among themselves and even with the teacher, there is a lot of evidence showing code-switching or code-mixing behaviour of the students. Code-alternation or code-mixing is frequent behaviour of teachers and students in ESL classrooms. The juxtaposition of the two codes usually takes place between sentences. Canagarajah (1999) argued that students' ability to switch codes display their "development of meta-linguistic and meta-cognitive competence" (p.140). They need to be aware of the boundaries of two distinct grammatical systems when putting them in juxtaposition. Code-switching behaviours very often serve rhetorical purposes. This observation is in fact quite true. In Excerpt 1, apart from demonstrating the more common intersentential code-switch for L1-L2 annotation, the students have also displayed a distinct type of code-alternation behaviour which I will call *intra-phrasal code alternation* (big **faai^ wud^**). In line 10, when B2 offered "big **faai^ wud^**" as an improved answer of the Anglicized one "**daai^ faai^ wud^**", he has demonstrated his knowledge of some linguistic properties of Chinese and English. He understands that the name "**daai^ faai^ wud^**" consists of three syllables and therefore three stand-alone characters of Chinese. However, **faai^ wud^** in Chinese constitute a phrase with one meaning. This kind of intra-phrase code-alternation reflects creative

manipulation of the languages by the students. In the later part of the lesson, another student has also employed a similar strategy and put forward "potato **jung^** <a smashed mass>" to refer to "smashed potatoes".

Another piece of evidence showing students' awareness of languages at work can be seen in their attempt to use hybridized speech forms to appropriate a common translation approach. While it is right for Lin (2000) to say that Hong Kong students in her study used Anglicized Cantonese to mock the funny way of speaking Cantonese of the foreigner, we should not overlook the possibility of an unconscious internalization of Romanization as a common cross-linguistic translation process for Chinese terms of address by the students. Most Chinese people's names are romanized into English sounds with English alphabet letters, and some unique food items in Chinese have become codified, for example, **tou fu** and **dim sum** (Li 1996). A similar observation has been reported by Lin (2000) when she referred to the official naming of an ancient Chinese Goddess as "Tin Hau" (literally "the Queen of Heaven"). Besides, two other popular fast food restaurants in Hong Kong, McDonald's and Hardee's, have their Hong Kong Chinese versions based on their pronunciation which make them seem like reverse transliterations from L2 to L1. The students' further offering of "**daai^ faai^ wud^, daai^ gaa^ lok^**" and in the later section, "**haang^ dak^ gei^**" (for 'Kentucky') in Anglicized tone may have reflected the students' own language rules and reasoning patterns.

A consecutive L1-L2 annotation

Consecutive L1-L2 annotation appears in B3's utterances from lines 37 to 43. The teacher wanted to elicit the English name of a fried chicken fast food restaurant. Some students, as usual, provided the Anglicized version of the Chinese transliteration. B3 seemed to have understood the problem of the teacher. He first of all murmured softly in Cantonese that he did not know how to say it in English. The teacher of course missed that. After a few turns taken up by the teacher and other students, he finally succeeded in formulating the English expression to tell the teacher that he did not know the term in English (line 43). This use of an L2-based communication strategy worked and the teacher followed up and provided hints to the students. Though limited, it is a laudable phenomenon which shows that the students and the teacher were communicating.

Let's now look at Excerpt 2. With Excerpt 2, I would like to show how students' language awareness and practice are closely related to the local popular culture.

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L1- or local culture-based verbal play

Excerpt 2

(After eliciting names of the local fast food restaurants, the teacher elicits students'
knowledge of food items available in some popular fast food restaurants.)

1	T:	Chips I think came from England, not from France.
2		But they call them French fries.
3		Okay, what can you get at Wendy's?
4		(Lots of suggestions from students, difficult to differentiate on the tape.)
5	T:	Okay, ice-cream sundae
6	B8:	(near the recorder) Sunday, ((**seung** ?)) <??> ('Sunday' is a local mobile
7		telephone network company.)
8	B9:	**sun dei**? <sundae>
9	B10:	(not near the recorder) Sunday, **din waa lei go woo** <it's a telephone>
10		(Some students are laughing and spelling 's-u-n-d-a-y'.)
11	B8:	**baai go din waa lok hui** <put a telephone into it>
12	T:	That's day's Sunday. How about the ice-cream sundae?
13	B9:	y, y, d-e-y
14	B10:	**lok gei aa** <Nokia> (a mobile phone brand name)
15		(exaggerated and playful pronunciation) Noki::a:: (many students laugh)
16	T:	yeah^, it's not a day, it's a food, and the food doesn't have a 'y'. It has 'e',
17		ice-cream sundae, okay?
18		What else can you get at Wendy's?

The homophones "sundae" and "Sunday" have given the students an opportunity to
manipulate language for fun. While the students are thinking of the mobile phone
company on hearing "sundae", the teacher has clearly mistaken the students'
confusion as related to the seventh day of the week. This instance shows that the
teacher, by being foreign to the students' culture, is not accessing the students'
mainstream thinking, which is largely L1-based. A local teacher familiar with local
culture would see the point immediately. B10's mentioning of "Nokia" (line 14) was
of course meant to be fun-making but it might also have served as a hint for the
teacher to make an association between Sunday and the mobile phone company.
However, the teacher failed to take the clue. This instance shows that
miscommunication may appear due to cultural incongruity, even though both
interactants are using the same language.

Implications

The limitations of L1-based communication strategies

It has been shown in Excerpt 1 that even though some students have employed a variety of creative communication strategies different from those reported in Pennington's (1999a, 1999b) and Lin's (2000) studies, a common understanding between the teacher and the students still failed to be established in most of the cases mainly because the strategies used by the students are basically L1-based. This shows that L1-based strategies have great limitations in cross-cultural international communication with non-Cantonese speakers.

Influences of mass media culture on language practice

The students' abilities to offer "Wendy (sic)" and "Pizza Hut" as candidate responses and their manipulation of the homophonic nature of "Sunday" and "sundae" to make fun reflect the great impact of popular mass media culture on students' language practices. We cannot say that students are not motivated to use English. However, it seems that only English conveyed through popular culture in the mass media could draw students' attention and have a higher possibility of being retained by the students. A potential danger of this phenomenon could be related to the quality and quantity of the English appearing in the popular media. If the English picked up by the students from popular culture is too localized, it may not be able to help students to communicate with people from outside this culture.

The non-native "native" speaker

The concept of the native speaker is a matter of relativeness. As English users, the students are non-native. However, in terms of the vernacular language in Hong Kong, Cantonese, and the local sociocultural context, they are native. The reverse is true for the teacher, who is native as an English speaker, but foreign in the sense that she did not possess the insider's knowledge of the "complexities of the meanings students are trying to produce with limited language skills" (Pennycook, 1994, p.245). In other words, she lacked the local knowledge of the students she was teaching.

A readiness to cross the border?

Education policy makers in Hong Kong place high expectations on the native English-speaking teachers to produce "immediate" effects (Chief Executive, 1997) on raising students' English standards through more authentic use of the language. The data presented in this paper, however, may disappoint them. While a few students did attempt to orientate their communication behaviours towards a teacher who did not share their L1, most others were still very much attached to their vernacular discourse identities. However, the "blame" should not all go to the students. I have shown that these students have some sort of metalinguistic awareness of how their L1 and L2 are

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working. Attempts to respond to the teacher's initiation and collaborate with the teacher in completing the IRF sequences could be seen everywhere. When the English they need is easy, handy and represents popular culture, they will not resist using it. For example, "coffee, coca-cola, Wendy (sic), Pizza Hut and Hardee's" appeared in students' responses. The problem for these students seems to be a lack of sensitivity to the real meaning of being bilingual, or learning English in addition to knowing Chinese. The inability of the students to tell the NT the English versions of **daai faai wud** and **daai gaa lok** reflects the stark reality that the culture of the students is Cantonese or Chinese-based. Knowing **daai faai wud** and **daai gaa lok** is already sufficient for them to function well in society. Therefore, even though the English versions of **daai faai wud** and **daai gaa lok** always appear side by side the Chinese ones, students seldom notice. The English versions of these two restaurants have never entered into the students' cultural worlds. The need to provide the English names of these two restaurants never occurred to them until this lesson. In other words, the students in this paper have not crossed the cultural and linguistic border which has separated their vernacular language and English as their L2.

It seems that an effective EFL teacher for this type of student does not depend on whether he/she is a "native" speaker. As Pennycook (1994) has rightly pointed out, the major task for EFL teachers "is not, as some teachers believe, to find ever better ways of making students talk, but to understand in ever more sensitive ways why they talk the way they do, and why they remain silent" (p. 245). By being a non-Cantonese speaker, the teacher has good potential in motivating some students to make effort to communicate with her in the target language. However, due to her lack of students' local knowledge, on several occasions she failed to understand the students' messages, and so could not take them across the cultural and linguistic border. Canagarajah (1999) maintained that EFL teachers in periphery and post-colonial ethnic contexts should be "border-crossers and practice a pedagogy that negotiates competing discourses and cultures" (p. 194) generated by the differences between the vernacular and standard English-based identities and ideologies. If the teacher had done some research on the popular local fast food restaurants and learnt their Cantonese names, or had been more alert to the popular culture of the students, she should have been able to act as a bridge for students to cross over from the L1 to the L2.

Conclusion

By showing two excerpts of EFL classroom interaction between a group of Hong Kong students and their native English-speaking teacher, I have shown how the students have demonstrated their creative interplay of L1 and L2 (though of limited quantity) in the front stage of the classroom despite the fact that the teacher is a non-L1 speaker. However, due to the largely L1-based communication strategies of the students and the L1-linguistic and cultural deficiency of the native English teacher,

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communication has not always been successful. These findings show that a native English speaker teacher with little or no knowledge of the students' vernacular language and local culture does not necessarily facilitate target language acquisition of the students. A certain degree of sensitivity to students' L1 linguistic and cultural practices might be necessary.

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19 Multilingual practices in rural Malaysia and their impact on English language learning in rural education

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This article compares home and school literacy practices of rural communities in multicultural Malaysia. It discusses how these schooled practices were constructed within a framework in which literacy is viewed as autonomous and independent of context and which marginalizes non-school literacy practices. It reveals the paradoxical situation that these relationships have created in rural Malaysia: schooled literacy is necessary for the attainment of national goals but the marginalization of non-school literacy practices inhibits successful attainment of those envisioned goals.

Background

Malaysia, with a population of approximately 23 million, is a multilingual and multicultural country, intent on creating a national identity through one language and a globally knowledgeable population through the mastery of literate skills especially in the English language.

During the past four decades new nations like Malaysia have made massive efforts to reduce illiteracy as the ability to read and write is seen as the basic building block for further education and development. Such aims reflect these new nations' need to modernise in order to participate creatively and competitively in scientific, economic and technological progress brought on by the developed countries. Sustained in this development is the accepted view that literacy in English is a valuable source for individual dignity, a prerequisite for further learning in many areas of knowledge, and a key skill needed for many occupations.

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Literacy education in Malaysia

Literacy education in Malaysia centres on the importance of mastering content and skills through Bahasa Melayu for national identity and unity, and acquiring the English Language for nation building and modernization

Essentially, a child in Malaysia receives six years of primary education and seven years of secondary education, the first five years of which is compulsory. At the primary level, education is received in the national language at the national schools or mainstream government schools and in Mandarin and Tamil at vernacular "national-type" schools. The national-type schools cater for the Chinese and Indian students respectively but are known to have received students of other ethnic backgrounds as well. For example there has recently been an increase in the number of Malay students enrolled in Chinese national type schools. This is due to the reported excellent performance by Chinese students from these schools, in Mathematics especially.

Students in the national type schools begin their education in their vernacular languages, as well as Malay, while English is only introduced in their third year at school.

Thus students in Malaysian schools are all bilingual and many are trilingual. That is, they are able to speak, and in most instances read and write to various degrees of proficiency, the national language Bahasa Melayu, their own vernacular, if it is not Malay, and the English Language, which is taught as a compulsory second language in all schools.

Currently, special emphasis is being given to the student's ability to attain English language literacy skills, especially in the rural areas and particularly at the primary level. This is because the government deems as very important mastering the language as a means of equalising opportunities for the rural people.

In the advent of the computer age, mastery of English language literacy skills is particularly crucial for Malaysians not only to bridge the urban-rural gap on the micro level but also to bridge the digital gap between developed and developing countries on the macro level.

English language literacy at rural schools

The concern about English language literacy problems among rural students has become significantly more important with the advent of the electronic and technological world bringing with it a globalized era which is set to seep through the developing countries including Malaysia.

Low English literacy performance has been a perennial problem since Bahasa Melayu was made the main language of instruction and knowledge in 1976.

Despite efforts to upgrade the teaching and learning of English, especially in the rural areas, English literacy skills among the rural children at school remains very low compared with their counterparts in the urban areas.

In the English Language examination results for the primary and secondary

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national exams, recently the rural schools showed a 6.4 percent drop across the board in the success rate with only 44.3% obtaining passes at the primary level and 40.55 % passes at the secondary level (MOE 2000).

At the same time as attempts to improve outcomes in English literacy skills are being made, emphasis is also being placed on the use and mastery of Bahasa Melayu, the national language, especially among the non-Malays.

Integral to the identity of non-Malay students, however, are also the literacy practices in their home languages, which shape their first experiences with literacy. Such children are therefore faced with the challenge of maintaining their native languages while trying to assimilate two other languages into their repertoire.

As the national language is vital to promoting unity and national identity and the English language is necessary to promote nation-building and globalization processes in industry and communication technology, it is essential to have an accurate picture of the languages in use, in terms of the full range of literacy practices in the rural community and how the perceived values related to them impact on the practices of each other.

Thus literacy circumstances in rural Malaysia are unique given the diversities in ethnic culture and language, as well as environmental backgrounds.

This chapter highlights the need to have a comprehensive understanding of the rural child's environmental background and opportunities for literacy input, which extend from the historical, political, socioeconomic profile of the community he or she lives in to the ethnic and home language he or she belongs to, before language and literacy problems can be unravelled.

Rural Malaysia

Seventy-five percent of Malaysia is still rural. A community is designated as rural on the basis of its distance from a large town (more than 80km), population size (under 2,000) and its overall socioeconomic status (average of <RM1000 per month) in relation to the rest of the country (Department of Rural Development Malaysia 1999).

Historically, Malays populated Peninsula Malaysia. It was not until the nineteenth century during the British colonial rule that Chinese and Indian immigrants were brought to the country for economic purposes. The British brought Chinese indentured labourers into then Malaya in the 1850s to work in the tin mines and Indian indentured labourers in the 1870s to work in the rubber plantations.

Traditionally, rural communities in Malaysia are characterised by the pattern of separate ethnic enclaves laid down by the British colonials when they resettled different groups of people consistent with their desire to "divide and rule" in their effort to stay in power (Rosnani 1996; Ee, 1984).

In general, an examination of the demographic features of most rural communities in Malaysia reveals that the population is heterogeneous, distinctively identified by ethnicity and also by the historical circumstances of their settlement

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into the areas. While the local population is still mainly traditionally segregated into their residential areas, the impending influx of new settlers to the area, with the opening of new roads and highways connecting one region to another throughout the country, have in-turn encouraged the opening of new housing developments and commercial centres to border the rural communities.

The impending integrative forces of these inevitable changes seem likely to effect change in the attitudes and values of the rural communities as envisaged by the local rural development department. Rural development programmes in Malaysia are designed to extend the benefits of development to those who live in the rural areas.

By year 2020, the rural development department (2000) hopes to upgrade the rural areas in the country into attractive settlements, equipped with well-planned and facilitated infrastructure including the widespread use of ICT. Meanwhile, the rural society would be educated and trained for life long skills that would empower them with a "modern" mind that is open and flexible and is able to compete well in the competitive knowledge based economy.

Rural education in Malaysia

In Malaysia, 83% of primary schools and 58% at the secondary level are categorised as rural schools (Azizah & Sharifah 1992). Schools are designated as rural based on their locality and the surrounding socio-economic conditions of the community.

Through its rural development programmes, the government has taken several measures to upgrade learning facilities at the rural schools while awarding scholarships to deserving students to encourage them to pursue education at a higher level. Students at these rural schools also receive free school textbooks and food coupons to ensure that they receive a nutritionally balanced diet at school.

Rural education plays a significant role in accomplishing national strategies for rural development in that it develops the capacity to read and write and encourages attitudes and communication skills that are conducive to encouraging rural people to participate in development processes and to motivate others to do likewise.

The national education curriculum thus constructs literacy practices such as reading and writing for information on the basis of values related to the national goals and strategies. Therefore the constructions of literacy practices are mainly socially and politically determined in Malaysia.

Literacy Practices

Street (1994) and Barton (1994) define literacy practices as socially accepted ways of doing things, which involve not only acquiring technical skills but also taking on particular identities associated with them.

Cairney and Ruge (1997, pp. 5) further explain that literacy practices are "situationally defined in and through" literacy events, where the interactions and practices of people are socially constructed by "the general cultural ways of using

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literacy".

As the value a society places on literacy and exactly what it means by literacy may change over time, McKay (1996, pp. 426) points out that "what it means to be literate is therefore dependent on the literacy values and standards of the period".

Thus this implies that the acquisition of a particular set of literacy practices is also associated with different contexts and different cultural identities (Street 1994). In this view, the skills, concepts, and ways of thinking that an individual develops, referred to as "literate behaviour or practices" by Heath (1991), reflect the uses and approaches to literacy that permeate the society in which the individual is a participant.

Ferdman (1990) and Gee (1990) observe that, as it is a social and cultural practice, members of different cultures may differ in what they see as literate behaviours and therefore engage in different literacy practices. We must therefore talk of literacies or "multiple literacies" as identified by Gee. This view of literacy encompasses multiple discourses, which may include those other than print: visual literacy, computer literacy and literary literacy.

Literacy practices in rural Malaysia

The fact that literacy definitions change according to social and cultural priorities is evident in the development pattern of literacy education in Malaysia.

In the 1970's there was a call for literate and aural skills in Bahasa Melayu to be emphasised, especially among the non-Malays, as an integrative force and for the development of a national identity among the multiethnic society in Malaysia.

Then in the 1980's there was an overwhelming concern for literate knowledge in mathematics and science. Campaigns to make the two subjects more 'student friendly' and applicable to the students resulted in revisions to the math and science syllabi as well as the teaching methods to be used.

In the 1990's and at the dawn of the new millennium, literacy and computer literacy have taken on importance as the governing group is compelled to acknowledge the need to create a knowledge based society who are multi-skilled, resourceful, creative and innovative, while at the same time possessing strong moral and ethical values. Along with these two discourses, English literacy came back into importance as the language for global communication. However, the preferred discourse now is English for science and technology rather than English for communicative purposes only.

The schools are responsible for realising these national goals through their curriculum and practices.

This responsibility is even more significant in rural communities where the majority of the parents do not possess adequate an educational background or financial capacity to provide their children with the necessary tools and skills. These parents rely solely on the schools to provide their children with these opportunities and skills.

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Generally, the rural population has submitted to the fact that mastery of the literacy skills in English and computers is the key to economic gains and elevated positions on the socioeconomic ladder for their children. Unfortunately this is not reflected in the population's literacy practices and behaviours.

In a nationwide survey carried out by the National Library of Malaysia in 1998, it was found that although 91% of the rural population claimed to be literate as defined by "can read", less than 30% "practice reading" and "can read proficiently" in either Malay or English (Frank Small et al. 1998). Even less than 10% are computer literate and only 5% has a computer in the home. Most of the computer training and experiences occur at work and school.

A more in-depth investigation by Hazita (1999) of two rural communities revealed that literacy behaviours evolved around school related practices (84% of the time), such as completion of homework and studying for tests and quizzes. These activities occurred mainly in Malay, Mandarin, Tamil.

English Language was seldom given as homework, as the English teachers usually ensure work is done in the classroom with their guidance.

In terms of non-school related literacy acts, reading of magazines and newspapers was ranked the most frequent activity at home among most fathers and some mothers (80%), followed by reading of religious books, mostly with mothers guiding their children (65%). Writing short notes or letters and cards occur occasionally, usually nearing festive seasons (5%). These literacy acts are carried out in Malay (55%), Mandarin (30%) or Tamil (13.5%) and very rarely in English (1.5%). Table 1 below lists the most common literacy acts that occur at home.

Table 1. Non-school literacy practices

Materials	Fathers	Mothers	Family	Children
Schoolbooks (84%)	9%	10%	1%	80%
Newspapers & Magazines (80%)	50%	30%	20%	5%
Religious Books (65%)	15%	65%	5%	15%
Writing letters/ notes & cards (5%)	20%	30%	15%	35%

n= 339

Other home literate acts demonstrated and reported by the participants in the study are reading comics in Malay, reading education magazines such as National Geographic, browsing through comics in English and reading novels or storybooks in any language, singing the lyrics of a song from print while listening to the song in English.

The same study revealed patterns in publication purchases in the two communities. It found that most parents spent a significant amount of their small earnings on school-related materials such as workbooks for Math, Bahasa Melayu, Science and English Language. *305*

Other non-school related materials bought most frequently are entertainment magazines, newspapers and religious books in Malay, Mandarin and Tamil. See Table 2 below.

Table 2. Non-school Reading Materials Purchased

Materials	Malay	Mandarin	Tamil	English
Magazines	60%	18%	21%	1%
Newspapers	35%	27%	28%	10%
Religious books	55%	23%	21%	1%

Outside of the schools and homes these communities offer little opportunities for schooled literacy skills to be applied, especially where English literacy is concerned.

Therefore, the social realities of these rural communities render the imposition of literacy practices for English especially irrelevant, as the immediate environment does not currently reflect their needs. This is because business transactions are conducted in either non-standard Malay or a Chinese dialect; conversations at coffee shops are carried out in mainly Malay, Chinese and Tamil; and printed matter can be found in the different ethnic languages. Even movies and television shows are subtitled in Malay and Chinese. Thus there is very little need for the use of English in the immediate social environment. This fact poses some pedagogical challenges to the rural schools in relation to the teaching of ESL in rural areas.

Several patterns depicting rural perceptions of literacy and literacy practices also emerged from the study (Hazita 1999):

The first is the notion of literacy equated with school literacy and this has had an overreaching influence on home literacy practices. All rural ethnic groups viewed literacy skills as being associated primarily with school success and future career opportunities. In this construction, literacy was seen in terms of school practices and less in terms of practices that occur every day in the community. This view of literacy has led to a marginalization of non-school literacy practices in the schools and homes where parents encourage their children to study instead of reading storybooks and where schools regard other literacy practices at home which are limited to functional tasks such as writing notes and reading for general information and entertainment as not valuable.

Secondly, the study has found a general pattern that indicates a lack of integration amongst the ethnic groups in public life in rural communities. The use of specific languages is determined by the place of use and purpose. In essence, because the communities are heterogeneous and socially diverse, their home language literacy practices are confined mostly to their own ethnic groups.

Multilingual literacy practices most commonly occur in venues such as schools because the curriculum dictates it to be so, or if in public, at specified venues where ethnic groups gather, such as at the various work places.

And thirdly the summary of findings presented in the study consistently highlights a paradox between the perception of school literacy goals as the embodiment of national goals and the interpretation and implementation of these goals by the teachers (and the parents who emulate the teachers) in classroom constructions of literacy.

These patterns of contrast are mainly due to the different attitudes and philosophies held by school personnel in relation to the views of how literacy can be constructed. The teachers construct literacy in the classroom as skills to be utilised by the students to demonstrate comprehension of an isolated text so that their proficiency can be evaluated. The literacy events constructed in the classroom do not usually expand the relevance of the literacy act beyond the text. What is being taught is not always related to the students' social realities nor do teachers draw upon the student's own literacy backgrounds.

By doing this, the teachers, consciously or unconsciously, effectively marginalize the existence of other languages and literate behaviours associated with them. Thus, in marginalizing these other literacies in the classroom, the teachers segregate rather than integrate these main languages in multilingual and multiethnic Malaysia.

In failing to recognise the salient differences in the language literacy practices of the multiethnic communities and the way these practices fit into the social network the student operates within, the teachers may ignite a sense of insecurity among the members of the community that their multiethnicity and multilingualism may be threatened. These patterns point to the vital fact that schools may find it helpful to draw more often on the characteristics of multilingual home literacy practices. These focus mainly on getting information and meaning for current knowledge and entertainment. Such a function is very valuable in the modern context and may help create an interface between schools and homes if more frequently acknowledged.

This interface would thus allow teachers to draw on home literacy practices at school and parents might be encouraged to see all forms of literacy as helping to build competence in school related literacies, especially for English language.

In summary, the patterns that could be discerned emerging from the study are delineated below:

1   Literacy practices can be categorised into two major types of behaviours: school-related practices and non-school related practices.
2   Literacy practices occur in multilanguages: Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and to a limited extent English.
3   English literacy occurs mainly in schools only.
4   Home literacy practices are largely dictated by school practices.
5   Perceptions of literacy among the rural population which, although heterogeneous in ethnicity and home languages, is nevertheless homogeneous in its valuing of literacy and its role in achieving the nation's aspirations for a knowledge-based society.

6   However, social realities in the rural communities demonstrate that post-literacy activities are not immediately available, rendering the 'new literates' limited avenues for upgrading and using their skills as well as applying their literacy knowledge.

Conclusion

In the tradition of viewing literacy from a sociocultural perspective this paper examined and attempted to extend a probable explanation for the lagging literacy performance among rural students in Malaysia especially in the English Language.

Changes in historical, socio-political and socioeconomic factors have impacted on multilingual and multiethnic rural communities in their perceptions of literacy and their local practices in Malaysia. These changes have brought upon the communities demands for new skills such as literacy in English and computers, while at the same time revealing how unprepared they are in meeting these inevitable changes.

Schools in rural communities thus play a major role in changing the perceptions of literacy among the rural population. And the onus lies in the school personnel who need to ensure that the national goals and the means to achieve them are accomplished. However, the challenge for them is making these goals relevant to the immediate needs of the rural population and their social realities.

While vision 2020 hopes for the achievement of the cultural unity and an independent and progressive nation for Malaysia, it is valuable to remember that the unity of a nation depends not upon the singleness of the tongue or homogeneity of culture, but in the hearts of its citizens. Therefore, for a multiethnic and multilingual country such as Malaysia to forge ahead in its nationalistic goals, it must first demarginalize and then empower its citizens so that they can willingly internalise the same goals and work towards achieving them together, while harmoniously maintaining their individual differences and uniqueness.

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Englishes in Asia

COMMUNICATION, IDENTITY, POWER & EDUCATION

Edited by

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The papers in this volume represent a selection of the papers given at the 5th English in South East Asia conference, held at Curtin University of Technology, Perth 6-8 December 2000.

This collection of 19 papers by key researchers in the field explore various aspects of the development of regional varieties of English including the roles that they play in local and regional communities and how they co-exist with other varieties of English and other languages.

Specific questions addressed by the papers here include:

- Is English developing at the expense of regional languages?

- How do regional varieties of English reflect regional cultures?

- How do the languages of the region and the various Englishes influence each other?

- What are the classroom implications of regional varieties of English?

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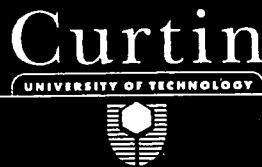
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