UNIVERSITATEA DIN CRAIOVA
FACULTATEA DE LITERE
ȘCOALA DOCTORALĂ „ALEXANDRU PIRU”

TEZĂ DE DOCTORAT

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Craiova
2020

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INTERDISCIPLINARY LANDSCAPES OF LANGUAGE VARIATIONS

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the constant support, input and encouragement provided by my doctoral supervisor Professor Titela Vilceanu, PhD through each stage of my research project. Her constant guidance and expertise motivated me and made this PhD journey an inspiring one for me, allowing me to grow as a scientist. I do appreciate her genuine responsiveness that enabled me to reach my goal and made the past three years a rewarding period.

I would like to extend my thanks to the members of the advisory committee, Associate Professor Ana-Maria Trantescu, PhD, Senior Lecturer Sorin Cazacu, PhD, and Senior Lecturer Alina Resceanu for their critical assessment of my work and insightful comments.

I have also the privilege of having a caring family and friends who believed in my capacities and fuelled me with enthusiasm and energy.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACE -Asian Corpus of English

ARPANET - Advanced Research Project Agency Network

BNC - The British National Corpus

DELF - Developments in English as a Lingua Franca

EFL - English as a Foreign Language

EIL - International English

ELF - English as a Lingua Franca

ELFA - English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings

ENL - English as a Native Language

ESL - English as a Second Language

GE - Global English(es)

GloWbE - Corpus of Global Web-Based English

IAWE - International Association of World Englishes

ICE - International Corpus of English

ICEIndia - International Corpus of Indian English

ICLE - the International Corpus of Learner English

ICWE - International Committee for the Study of World Englishes

IDEA - International Dialects of English Archive

IDELTI - The Institute for the Development of English Language Learning in Iraq

IDG - Indigenous Strand

IDELTI - The Institute for the Development of English Language Learning in Iraq

JELF - Journal of English as a Lingua Franca

LINDSEI - Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage

LLC - The London - Lund Corpus

LOB - Brown and Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen parallel corpora

MLE - Multicultural London English

NIECSSE - Corpus of Spoken Singapore English

OED - Oxford English Dictionary

RP - Received Pronunciation

SEU - Survey of English Usage

SSE - Survey of Spoken English

STL - British Strand

VEAW - Varieties of English around the World

VOICE - The Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English

WAVE - Mouton World Atlas of Varieties of English

WE - World English(es) / English as a World Language

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INTRODUCTION

Motto:

We expect the world to fit our preconceived stable categories,
and so what falls in between is easily felt,
depending on our temperament and politics,
to be either exciting or menacing.
(Carrier 2000: 70-71)

Setting the scene

Our research is premised by the idea put forward by Brown and Fraser (1979: 38-9), namely that it is not only counterproductive, but also misleading to dwell on specific, isolated linguistic markers instead of considering systematic socially significant variations, understood in terms of co-occurrence of sets of markers and known as *varieties* or *variations*. Drawing on this programmatic statement, Biber (1988) adds that linguistic variation, in English and any other natural language cannot be reduced to a single dimension, involving multifarious aspects.

The interdependence between language and society has long been acknowledged and has been widely investigated: language presents and represents the social reality while every society is shaped by language (not only from an instrumental perspective). Therefore, real-life purpose language issues in the social context mainly fall within the scope of sociolinguistics, and our attempts to define the societal dimensions of language should underpin "interpretive methods allowing us to understand how language is reflective of social processes and relationships and what it contributes to making society work as it does" (Coulmas, 2003: 564).

However, other dimensions should not be discarded in the investigation of English language variations (and of any natural language variations, in fact) if we seek to understand

the complex nature of language, the intricate and laborious complex of language evolution, the underlying mechanisms of its spread and use in well-defined contexts.

Wray (2014: 27) advocates the historical dimension, by highlighting that "social preferences are powerful in the diachronic context" - for instance, modern English means the imposition of "fashions that preferred one dialect form, or one language, over another, at some crucial moment, for reasons that are long since lost".

Butler (2009) brings together synchronic and diachronic models of the language description as an external entity, and as an internal entity – what individuals know how to do, and do in practice as language users. A possible relationship between the domains of linguistic investigation that might lead to a better understanding of how these interface with each other comprises the following dimensions (see also Wray, 2014):

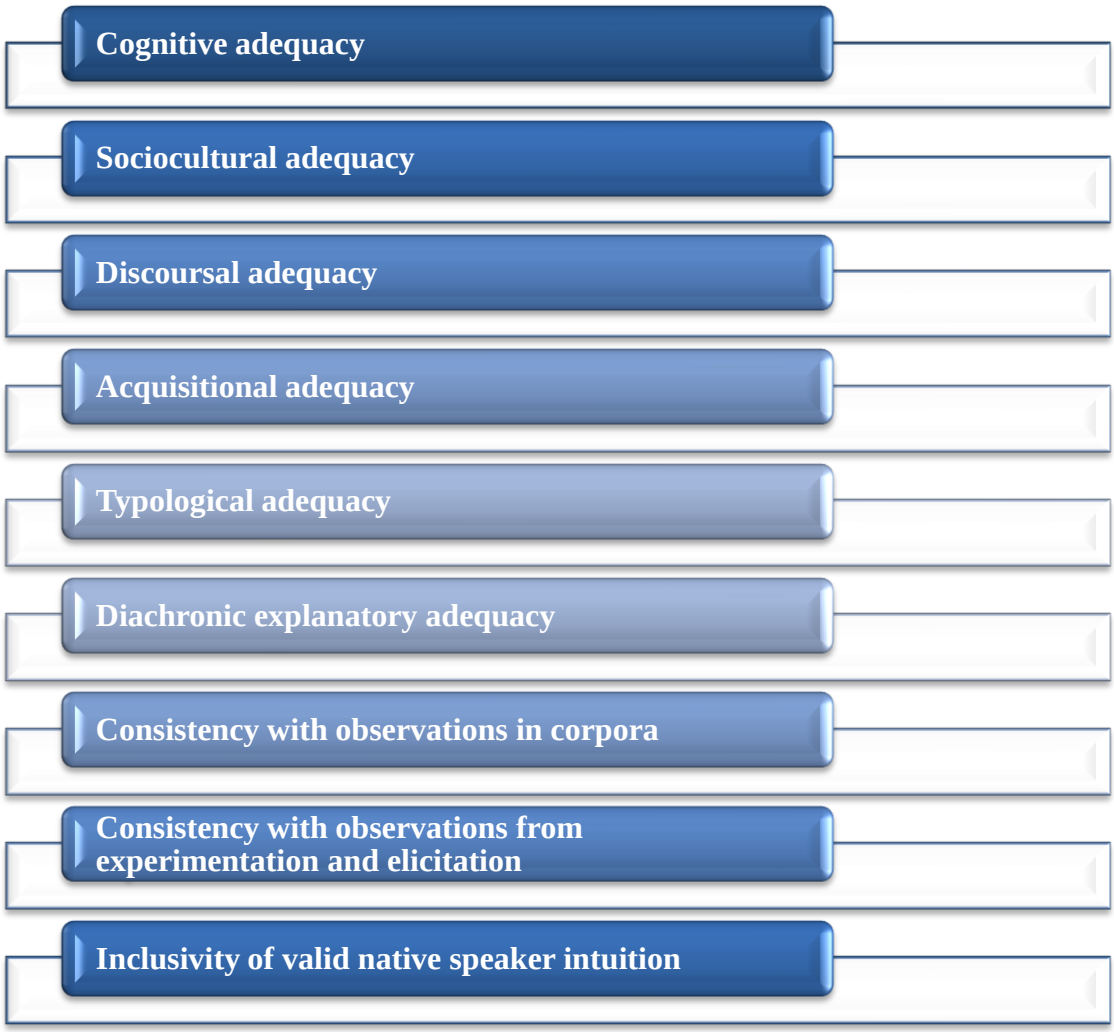


Figure 1. Butler's (2009) model of language description

- *Cognitive adequacy* refers to the human cognitive structures and mechanisms that affect language comprehension and production
- *Sociocultural adequacy* encapsulates the relationships established between the participants in interaction and the specific features of context, alongside the "sociocultural effects" of certain speech events (Butler, 2009: 10).
- *Discoursal adequacy* underpins the structure and functioning of discourse, as rule-governned and context-embedded;
- *Acquisitional adequacy* - is associated with the learnability of language structures.
- *Typological adequacy* means the ability to account for the full range of phenomena found in different languages., especially from a contrastive perspective.
- *Consistency with observations in corpora* is important in terms of allowing not only for frequency rates of certain linguistic structures, but also for the relationship between different texts.
- *Consistency with observations from experimentation and elicitation* is equated with mapping research findings and real life purpose use of language. Butler (2009) does not specify the applicability of this principle to language education, but we think that it is highly relevant in this field.

Field of research

Undoubtedly, language variation engenders both the temporal and spatial dimensions. From a non-integrated, narrow perspective the former dimension is the concern of *historical linguistics* whereas the latter pertains to *dialectology*. From a more integrated perspective, these two sciences have contributed to establishing *sociolinguistics* as a field of scientific investigation in its own right, proving that geographical and temporal variation is systematic and patterned, and could thus be the object of the scientific inquiry of the underlying dynamics of socially conditioned language diversity.

Although heavily indebted and closely linked to dialectology and historical linguistics, sociolinguistics has equally contributed in innovative ways to the study of real life language. To understand the nature and magnitude of sociolinguistic inputs, let us remember that "a dialect atlas is an absolute map in the sense that it consists of categorical dialect areas which are considered as having a centre that is relatively stable" Coulmas (2003: 565). As a matter of consequence, a dialect resembles the language system, which evolves in one direction over time, in a linear way, one language state succeeding another. Thus, any given

utterance or piece of text can be said to be able to exemplify a particular dialect or language state. On the other hand, sociolinguistics is (social) context embedded, concerned with language *in fluxu*, promoting the fluidity of speech within an interactionist and communicative approach. "It has, accordingly, replaced categoricity with frequency, that is, the frequency of occurrence of variant features of language use in a given speech community" Coulmas (2003: 565). The frequency of occurrence leads to the identification of systematic patterns in relation to the social characteristics of speakers and situations of communication.

Bloome and Green (2010) also lay emphasis on the dialectical nature of sociolinguistics by noting that a sociolinguistic perspective requires exploring how language is used to establish a social context while simultaneously exploring how the social context influences language use and the communication of meaning.

Two main sub-divisions are widely recognised: *micro- and macro-sociolinguistics* or alternatively *sociolinguistics in the narrow sense* and *sociology of language*. As already mentioned, they stand for different orientations and research agendas, micro-issues being more likely the concern of linguists, dialectologists, and others in language-centered fields, whereas macro-issues are more often than not investigated by sociologists and social psychologists.

Variation(ist) linguistics (Labov, 1966 is recognized as its founder, from an empirical perspective; other notable early inputs being attributed to Cheshire, 1982 and Trudgill, 1984, etc.) has been alternatively employed for *micro-sociolinguistics*, and several attempts to confine sociolinguistics proper to the study of variation in language have been recorded. *Interactional sociolinguistics* (among the pioneers, we mention Hymes, 1974 and Gumpertz, 1982), combining anthropology, ethnography, linguistics, pragmatics and conversation analysis, focuses on how speakers generate, negotiate and interpret meaning while interacting in well-defined social settings. This approach relies on conversation and discourse analysis.

Furthermore, other sociolinguists pay attention to spoken, written or computer-mediated texts in well-defined contexts such as the media (for instance, TV talk shows, internet language), politics (for instance, propaganda, speeches delivered by high officials) the workplace (for instance, business negotiation, nursing language, court language) or private settings in order to carry out *discourse analysis* (or *critical discourse analysis*). More precisely, they aim to define and explain the ways in which language is used for a particular representation of the world based on ideological and axiological affiliations, on attitudes or power relations/differentials (Baker, 2010: 3).

The mention of authentic texts above leads to another important standing in language study, namely functional linguistics. Basically, functional linguistics is genuinely committed to accounting for language as a communication tool in sociocultural contexts. For Halliday (1985:5) "linguistics cannot be other than an ideologically committed form of social action", which is in full consonance with the main principle of functional theories: language is not a self-contained system, therefore, it is not independent from external factors, on the contrary, it is shaped by them. Admittedly, grammars should be envisaged beyond the sentence level in order to describe and explain the structure and function(s) of texts and discourses in their contexts of production and reception.

In general, [. . .] the approach leans towards the applied rather than the pure, the rhetorical rather than the logical, the actual rather than the ideal, the functional rather than the formal, the text rather than the sentence. The emphasis is on text analysis as a mode of action, a theory of language as a means of getting things done. (Halliday 1994: xxvii)

The last statement in this quotation acquires particularly importance for text analysis as a means of intervening in social processes such as education.

Croft (1995: 492) distinguishes between *external functionalism*, postulating that the language system is stable and autonomous, and *integrative functionalism*, drawing on the interdependence with extralinguistic factors, without which language use, evolution and change cannot be explained. In other words, meaning and structure are flexible in relation to the context of communication.

Corpus linguistics is widely acknowledged as a new addition to linguistics, emerging with the advent of personal computers in the 1990s. Put crudely, *corpus linguistics* is "the study of language based on examples of real life language use" (McEnery and Wilson, 1996: 1).

In spite of having become an established field of scientific investigation, corpus linguistics has not enjoyed consensus about its status: a methodology? a theory of language? both of them? In what follows, we shall examine various standpoints in order to achieve a descriptive and functional definition.

Leech (1992: 106) sees it as "a new philosophical approach ... an open sesame to a new way of thinking about language". Tognini-Bonelli (2001: 1) argues that corpus linguistics has gone “well beyond [its] methodological role” and has become an independent discipline. Similarly, Teubert (2005: 4) contends that corpus linguistics is not inherently a

method but "an insistence on working only with real language data taken from the discourse in a principled way and compiled into a corpus". We fully agree, but we would like to note the distinction put forward by McEnery *et al*. (2006: 7) that we cannot view corpus linguistics as an "independent branch of linguistics in the same way as phonetics, syntax, semantics or pragmatics". In other words, although shaping its own identity, corpus linguistics displays large areas of interference with these "traditional" branches and, at least for the time being, it seems to act as a support conceptual and methodological toolkit.

In this climate of opinion, it is noteworthy that, structurally, most corpora are made up of written texts of various length, some corpora are multimodal - they contain sound files, pictures, video data, or combinations of these items. Generally speaking, a corpus is often large sized on account of the fact that it should meet the criterion of representativeness, i.e. it is considered a representative sample.

To better understand it, we could contrast corpora with other sampled collections of texts, which are most likely to pertain to textual databases. Therefore, textual databases can be rightly said to contain more or less randomly selected collections of texts, even if corpus design techniques may be successfully used in this case, too. For instance, corpus techniques could be applied to a single text (irrespective of its nature - a literary or non-literary one) – the question of the extent to which findings could be generalized beyond that particular text arises. It does not mean that corpus techniques should not be used in the case of smaller texts, but we should be fully aware that generalisations are valid if we work on larger collections - for example, the analysis of English as a Lingua Franca in Singapore will provide valuable indications of its status and features, the examination of a large number of samples of English as a Lingua Franca in several countries will result in the identification of general, shared features of this language variation, etc.

Due to their empirical nature, corpora document the linguistic repertoire of language users "as surface manifestations of the underlying communicative competence of the speakers whose language the corpus represents" (Andersen, 2010: 548).

To further ground this idea, Tognini-Bonelli (2001) proposes a distinction between *corpus-based* and *corpus-driven research*. The former uses a deductive approach: the corpus becomes a source of examples exploited in order to check researcher's working hypothesis, or to examine the frequency and/or plausibility of the language contained within a smaller data set. A corpus-driven analysis is based on an inductive reasoning – the corpus is identified with the data, and the patterns detected represent a way of expressing regularities (and exceptions) in language.

McEnery *et al.* (2006: 8) draw our attention that these two positions should be considered the ends of the cline, allowing for a continuum. Likewise, Partington (2006) launches the phrase *corpus-assisted analysis*, highlighting the use of a corpus as data in order to carry out linguistic analysis, alongside other types of data or analysis. "Computerised corpora form a well-prepared basis for systematic, descriptive studies of instances of actual speech, for language variation and for how social context constrains communicative practices" (Andersen 2010: 548), a workbench for exploring linguistic variation, language evolution and emerging patterns of discourse. Needless to say, it is advisable to refer to existing linguistic frameworks or categories when undertaking corpus research in contextualized ways.

To draw a conclusion, we acknowledge a wide range of language theories, "some of which may share only the very broadest of aims and assumptions, while others lie much closer together in the multidimensional space defined by a fairly complex set of features" (Butler, 2005: 3).

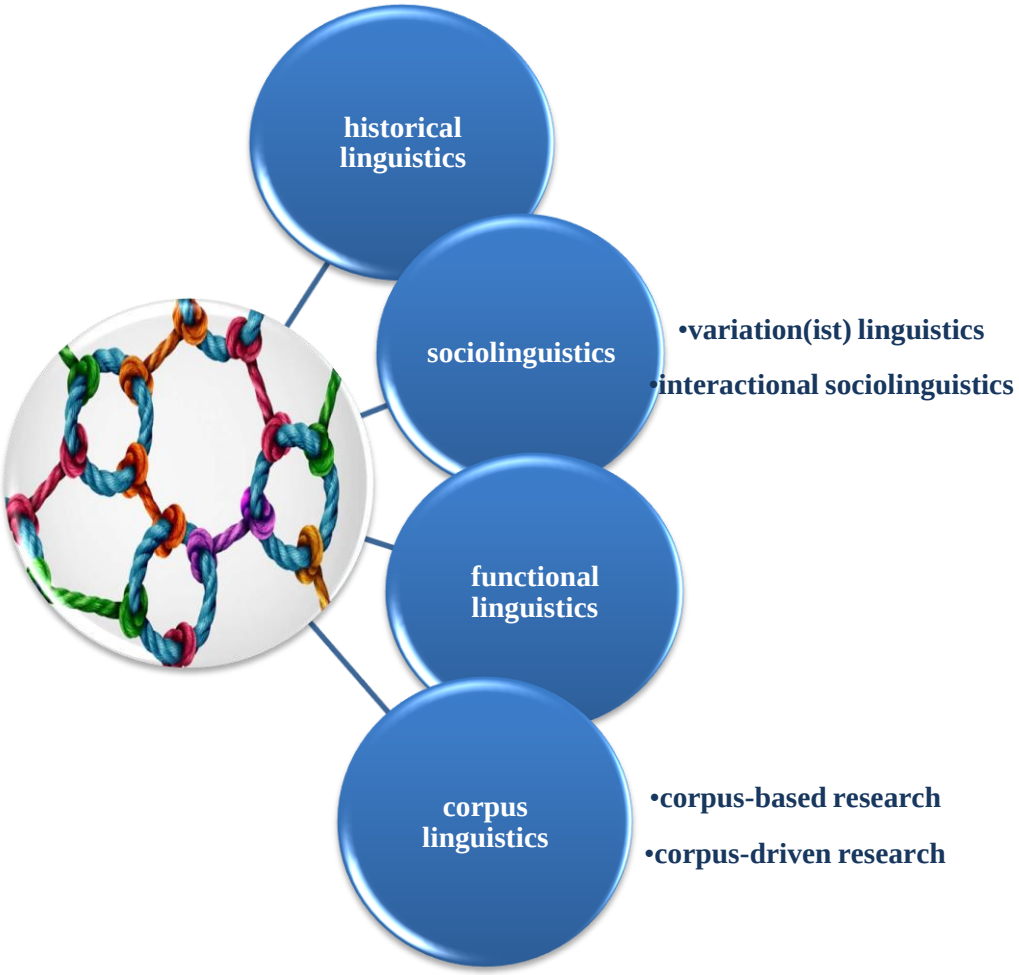


Figure 2. An integrated approach to main fields of language research

Statement of the problem

The present thesis is concerned with (proto)typical aspects and features of English language variations from an interdisciplinary perspective. Variations need to be envisaged from a diachronic and synchronic perspective alike in an attempt to establish their genesis, evolution, *status quo*, as well as the challenges associated with their spread and dynamics.

The investigation of the origins of the English language in the present-day UK enables us to understand its hybrid nature, degree of tolerance towards various influences at different periods of time, its cosmopolitan vocation, productivity and innovative power, especially with regard to the make-up of vocabulary. Moreover, its expansion as a global language in colonial and postcolonial settings and virtually across the world - supported by technological advancement and demographic movements - makes the question of endonormative standards be coupled, almost inevitably, with those of exonormative standards, intelligibility and accessibility. In the globalisation and digitalisation age such issues have become critical and mainstream literature offers a variety of perspectives and theoretical standings.

If we take a close look at The *Mouton World Atlas of Varieties of English* (*WAVE*) (see Kortmann and Lunkenheimer, 2013), we are amazed by the number of variations of English - the inventory comprises 48 well-established dialects, high-contact mother tongue Englishes, and nativised second-language Englishes, on a par with 26 English-based Pidgins and Creoles in 8 Anglophone regions in Africa, Asia, Australia, The British Isles, the Caribbean, North America, the Pacific, and the South Atlantic.

Our main focus is on the newest addition to the inventory of English language variations undergoing unprecedented diversification, namely *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF) - an all-inclusive term, which we will use in the broadest sense to designate not only nativised variations in postcolonial settings, but also a contact shared language used by speakers of various linguacultural backgrounds. In this respect, we are fully aware of the circulation of parallel terminology and of the need to adopt a single name by making an informed choice. Moreover, we acknowledge the conceptual overlappings between the different denominations (*World English - WE, International English - EIL, Global English - GE, New Englishes, Englishes,* etc.).

We intend to provide a threefold model of English language variations - descriptive, explanatory and functional - accounting for the development, change and ascendancy of English in the world, as well as for the shaping of specific communicative practices and

centredness on the users' needs and interests. We plead for a pluralistic and relativistic stance, in our opinion, the only one able to encompass the multifaceted aspects of this worldwide phenomenon - in line with Pakir (2009) we believe in the pluricentricity of English and its adaptive power.

Our research builds on a theoretical assessment with a view to supporting an in-depth analysis of the presence, functions and development of English in the world, special attention being paid to the Asian context and to Iraqi speakers of English. The reason for selecting these particular contexts, more precisely, English in India, Singapore and Iraq, is that we consider that they are highly representative for the different status of English in the world, showcasing English as a Second Language, English as a Lingua Franca and English as a Foreign Language, although, we think that there is no clear demarcation line and that the conceptual boundaries of these three language variations are characterised by permeability. Besides, we thought that by selecting the cases of three Asian countries will secure a more coherent approach rather than having distributed our attention to regions across all the continents, although the use of English nowadays is no longer a matter of spatial proximity.

The critically investigated theories and models will be applied to our corpus with a view to featuring the past and current use and impact of English in India, Singapore and Iraq, as well as helping us understand what is the future of English in these particular territories and communities in the foreseeable future, and, by extension in the world. In other words, hopefully, the methodological investigation of particular instances and of the specific conditions of use can enhance generalising statements.

Research aims

We embark upon formulating a set of general objectives covering all the five chapters of the current doctoral thesis, coupled with specific objectives pertaining to each chapter, in an attempt to articulate and systematise not only the approaches to the investigated issues, but also the theoretical and applied research findings.

General objectives

1. To provide an integrated model of English language variations across the world, by carefully harmonising normative, descriptive and functional views.
2. To establish the importance of contextualisation in defining English language variations.

3. To identify the mechanisms and patterns of the widespread use, development and change of English.

4. To raise further awareness of the need to investigate and promote English language variations as continuously shaping their hybrid identity.

Specific objectives

We shall formulate the specific objectives in the form of questions to be answered throughout the corresponding chapter.

Chapter One

1. What is the origin of (British) English?

2. What are the main temporal divisions of the English in the home-based location of UK?

3. What are the main directions of development and change associated with each stage?

4. What are the main influences in point of vocabulary? (Note: we consider that vocabulary is the most visible area of change, "the tip of the iceberg", to use a conventional metaphor)

Chapter Two

1. What is spread and status of English in the world?

2. What is the origin of English as a Lingua Franca?

3. Is English as a Lingua Franca a distinct variation?

4. How does it differ from other English language variations?

Chapter Three

1. What is standard English?

2. What is written standard English?

3. What is spoken standard English?

4. Is it feasible to speak of exonormative standards?

5. What evidence can we bring to support the idea that both endonormative and exonormative standards apply to English language variations?

Chapter Four

1. How far and for what purposes is English used in Asia?

2. What is the status and prestige of English in the Asian context?
3. What is the particular situation of English in India?
4. What is the future of English in India?
5. What is the particular situation of English in Singapore?
6. What is the future of English in Singapore?

Chapter Five

1. How far and for what purposes is English used in Iraq?
2. What is the status and prestige of English in Iraq?
3. How does the case of English in Iraq differ from the other Asian contexts?
4. What is the future of English in Iraq?

Research methodology

In accordance with the established working hypotheses and general and specific objectives, we resort to both quantitative and qualitative research methods and techniques to secure the sustainability and the validity of our scientific endeavour.

Thus, the theoretical investigations are based on the review of mainstream literature - we provide an overview of the most important theories and models of English language evolution into a lingua franca, of the converging and diverging trends associated with the status, prestige, identity, functions of (re)localised English.

We also use a corpus-based approach to feature the position of English worldwide and in particular territories, the proficiency level and attitudes of English language speakers worldwide, and to establish patterns of development and change. The case study applies to English in the Asian context, illustrated by Indian English, Singapore English and English in Iraq.

Corpus

We do not claim to have compiled our own corpus in the sense that perhaps most researchers understand this. We have opted to critically examine the general features of well-known, widely used and fit-for-purpose corpora to support theoretical statements and to bring solid evidence in this respect. Another type of corpora that we used is made up of authentic learning materials - the justification lies not only in the need for having a variety of corpora

so as to enhance validity and reliability, but also due to the particular situation of English in Iraq and lack of specific data in the investigated language corpora.

The list comprises, by category, the following (the items are listed in alphabetical order):

- E-corpora

BNC - British National Corpus
GloWbE - Corpus of Global Web-Based English
ICE - International Corpus of English
ICEIndia - International Corpus of Indian English
ICLE - International Corpus of Learner English
IDEA - International Dialects of English Archive
LINDSEI - Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage
LLC - London - Lund Corpus of Spoken English
LOB Corpus - Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus
MLE - Multicultural London English
NIECSSE - Corpus of Spoken Singapore English
Linguistic Innovators Corpus
VOICE - The Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English

- Textbooks

English for Iraq
English Unlimited
Global
Iraq Opportunities
The New English Course for Iraq
The Oxford English Course
The Oxford English Course for the Middle East
The Oxford English Course for Iraq
Sunrise

Research limitations and potential

There is growing interest in the study of English language variations, of lesser known varieties of English and in English as a lingua franca. Even if the foundation layer was laid several decades ago (in the 1980s), the status of English as an international lingua franca is still controversial - one main argument lies in the fact that there has been no consensus so far on the name that it should bear, on its exact status, not to mention predictions about its future.

Taking all these into consideration, we state that our doctoral thesis is meant to clarify terminology, to shed light on the status of English worldwide from a diachronic and synchronic perspective, and to pint to patterns of development and change. The fact that we adopt and implement both comparative and contrastive approaches is likely to add value to our research, especially because we use a variety of criteria against which to judge the feasibility and sustainability of our research claims.

To our mind, what lends originality to our thesis by narrowing down focus is the analysis of the status, prestige, use and directions of change of English in the Asian context, more specifically in the three countries (India, Singapore and Iraq) which we think illustrate three different position(ing)s of English at the global level.

We are also aware of the fact that our research is not exhaustive - nor did we intend it to, nor could any individual doctoral thesis investigate, in a truthful, accurate and qualitative manner, all the aspects in relation to English language variations and English as a lingua franca. Perhaps, one main criticism that might be addressed is that we did not compile a corpus of authentic spoken English by Iraqi users. As indicated in Chapter five, the main research directions in Iraq are pedagogical in nature rather than ethnographic, sociolinguistic, pragmatic, etc. and I avoided risking to build only a small-sized corpus and not meet the criterion of representativeness.

On the other hand, I hope that the proposed model of analysis, which holistically integrates linguistic, sociolinguistic, ethnolinguistic, pragmatic, etc. levels, will be adopted and recontextualised by other researchers in the in-depth or in-breadth investigation of other important aspects of English language variations elsewhere. In my opinion, it could be extended to English in other Asian countries - such as China, or to English in the whole Arab world, etc.

Structure and organisation of the paper

The paper is divided into five main chapters, preceded by the *Introduction*, and followed by *Final Conclusions*, *Bibliography* and *Annexes*. A particular mention concerns the insertion of a *List of Abbreviations* and of a *List of Figures and Tables* in order to facilitate reading and focus.

The ***Introduction*** presents the rationale of undertaking this complex research, the scope of research (by connecting different fields of scientific investigation), the working hypotheses and research objectives (both general and specific ones), the research methodology, some considerations on the research potential and limitations and an outline of the main chapters and sections.

The first chapter - ***A Historical Framework of the English Language*** - dwells on the origin of English, on the evolution stages, providing descriptive details that could explain the English language variations in Britain in relation to the presence and movement of various peoples/populations at different periods of time, also considering the historical context and the fact that that language evolution and change took place in various degrees and at different speeds for different groups of people. As pointed out by mainstream literature, it is advisable to adopt broad temporal divisions as language change and evolution is visible across larger timeframes.

The following stages are commonly accepted (notably, Baugh and Cable, 2002; Culpeper, 2005; Horobin, 2016): Old English (450-1100), Middle English (1100-1500), Modern English (1500-up-to-date, comprising two sub-divisions: Early modern English (1500-1750) and Late modern English (1750-onwards); having in mind the objectives of our research, we suggest to clearly distinguish 21st century English or present-day English(es). Each individual stage is discussed in terms of highly relevant grammatical, phonological and lexical features, the last being in focus, so as to better understand English language dynamics and the shaping conditions of its variations.

The second chapter, ***Ownership of English as a Lingua Franca. Diverging and Converging Trends***, begins by clarifying terminology with respect to what seems to be the most important variation of English in the 21st century: we adopt the denomination *English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)* (in line with Firth, 1996; House, 1999; Jenkins, 1998, 2000, 2006, 2007, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2009; Mauranen and Ranta, 2009; Pakir, 2009; Mauranen *et al*., 2010; Cogo and Dewey, 2012; Cogo, 2015). From a historical perspective,

the linguistic expansionism in the British Isles and worldwide starts in the 12th century, but there are some other important landmarks.

Next, some seminal models of English language variations across the globe are examined: The *ENL-ESL-EFL Model* (Quirk *et al*., 1972), the *Map and Branch Model* (Strevens, 1980), the *Three Circles Model* (comprising the Inner circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle - Kachru,1985), the *Wheel Model (*McArthur, 1987; Gorlach, 1990), the *The Centripetal Circles of International English* (Modiano, 1999), the *Cylinder Model* (Yano, 2001), the *Dynamic Model* (Schneider, 2007) and the *Global Model* (Haswell, 2013) in an attempt to understand the different criteria underlying the status, size and shape of English in all the regions of the world. Cumulatively, the overriding criteria run as follows: the way people have acquired the language and the way they use it; all the models admit that there are clines of linguistic performance or proficiency within variation types and territories.

Chapter Three, ***Dynamics of Endonormative and Exonormative Standards of English***, is premised by the definition of *standard* and *standardisation* processes, insisting on the idea that we need to clarify what the standard specifically contains or what norms are part of it. Seen in this light, the standard results from a combination of several dialects while the selected norm corresponds to an existing dialect that becomes the standard dialect (Haugen, 1966; Quirk et al., 1972, etc.).

Standard English should be understood as one variation among many (notably, Trudgill, 1998); Standard written English achieves greater uniformity by restricting the range of language choices to a socially and culturally approved set. On the other hand, standardisation (for British English it can be traced back to the 15th century) puts pressure on variation, it tends to inhibit such deviations from the norm, the standard becoming fixed through the growth of dictionaries and grammar books (see Quirk et al.,1985; Huddleston and Pullum, 2002; Trask, 2002). The spoken standard takes reference in pronunciation, i.e. accent, in recognition of the fact that there is no single accent used by the majority of speakers, although one accent enjoy prestige - the spoken standard is called *Received Pronunciation - RP*. Furthermore, in the 21st century, Received Pronunciation (RP) is said to retain less authority than it used to have.

The chapter is rounded up by the discussion centred on the non-standard, on the status of prestige of lower rank variations such as pidgins and creoles (Crystal, 2003; Wardhaugh, 2006; Trask and Stockwell, 2007). Some general distinctive features at the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical levels are listed alongside the correlative description of other specific phenomena accompanying pidginisation and creolisation: unike creoles, pidgins have

no native speakers (they are not vernaculars); pidgins and creoles may co-exist; pidgins will either be annihilated by the prestige form, or turn into a vernacular and becomes codified in grammar books. From a pedagogical perspective, pidginisation is assimilated to second language learning, whereas creolisation goes with first language learning (Mesthrie et al. (2009).

Chapter Four, ***English as a Lingua Franca. Agendas and Practices in the Asian Context***, revolves around the ownership and accessibility of English. English could be called the *translanguage*, which is to be kept distinct from the notion of *universal language* (artificially created). Its becoming a translanguage in the aftermath of World War II is due to the fact that, as an official language, it claimed progressively less territory among the former colonies of the British Empire while its actual importance and number of speakers have increased at a fast pace. In postcolonial settings, English continued to be used alongside the native languages or vernaculars, and in many of the new independent countries English is either the first language or a second language used in education, administrative and legal environments and business (Kachru, 1988; Baugh and Cable, 2002; Curzan, 2014).

In search for an evidence-based mechanism, the chapter presents corpora providing data about the translanguage, i.e. English as a Lingua Franca: *ICLE* - the *International Corpus of Learner English, LINDSEI - Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage , ICE - International Corpus of English , VOICE - The Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English, ELFA - English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings and ACE -Asian Corpus of English* as the appropriation and localisation of English in the Asian context(s) cannot be discussed without constant reference to the global setting.

The analysis of the complex status of Indian English reveals that English has been part of the multilingual repertoire and super-diversity of India for more than two centuries now, with the British commercial interests and trade relations, followed by the colonisation and administration of India. English is the lingua franca of the elites and it counts as a second language (ESL) in politics (as an official or co-official language), education, the media, business life, the legal system. (Schneider, 2011). Dedicated corpora include *The Kolhapur Corpus,* ICEIndia corpus, *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (*GloWbE*) and *International Dialects of English Archive* (*IDEA*). As far as Singapore English is concerned, it can be said to be used in a heterogeneous ethnic and linguistic make-up, where English is a second language, co-existing with three other official languages: Tamil, Mandarin Chinese and Malay, as well as a panlanguage. The language mixing in Singapore has given rise to a colloquial variety termed *Singlish*, mixing English with both Malay and Chinese, and

simultaneously aggregating regional variation, temporal and social variation (Horobin, 2016). The dedicated corpora comprise the *Corpus of Spoken Singapore English* (*NIECSSE*) and the *International Corpus of English (ICE).*

Chapter Five, ***(Global) English in the Arab World. Iraqi Speakers***, is premised by the idea that any accurate and valid description of (global) English in the Arab world, similarly to Arabic, a language of immense cultural capital, cannot be country specific; instead it should be reframed in terms of how far the globalisation of English has resulted in homogenised or regionalised variations. On the other hand, exposure to language variations other than the widely accepted standard is illustrated by the textbook series published by well-known UK-based publishers and put into circulation worldwide - *Global* appears to be content-rich, engaging, giving the young and adult learners exposure to English language varieties spoken by non-native speakers; *English Unlimited* aims at meeting the learners' needs and interest with regard to English for global communication.

The particular case of Iraq is investigated in a separate sub-chapter, and the qualitative evaluation of the level of proficiency of Iraqi speakers as per the report published by EF Education First in 2019 is intended to spread wide concerns. In most of the available databases, English in Iraq is non-existing or it benefits from minor inputs. In its history English was initially taught as a second language (ESL) in schools during the colonial period, afterwards it changed status to English as a foreign language (EFL) (see Abdul-Kareem, 2009; Amin, 2017). A paradigm shift, from traditional approaches to language teaching to more communicative ones, is obvious in learning materials design and the relative autonomy of teachers in using them. The analysis of several textbook series - *The Oxford English Course*, *The Oxford English Course for the Middle East*, *The Oxford English Course for Iraq*, *The New English Course for Iraq*, *Iraq Opportunities*, *English for Iraq* and *Sunrise*, the discussions revolving around the language policies and educational reforms *(*Al-Akraa, 2013; Al-Obaidi, 2015; Abbas, 2016; Fayadh, 2017; Shuker, Abbas and Obaid, 2018), as well as the empirical studies conducted with English language teachers and students from Iraq *(*Sultan and Harbi, 2014; Mahdi, 2019) converge to the idea that the uptake of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in pedagogy has been kept to a minimum, that the British standard is still looked up to, that teachers should be empowered to become agents of change, and that the teaching of ELF would require the rethinking of standards so as to prioritise functional areas (intelligibility) to the detriment of more formal criteria (grammatical accuracy).

CHAPTER ONE
A HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Motto:

[...] English, like all other languages,
is subject to that constant growth and decay
that characterize all forms of life. ...
When a language ceases to change, we call it a dead language.
(Baugh and Cable, 2002: 2)

1.1. English: the origin of a name

The Celts, the first inhabitants of today's England, for which there is supporting linguistic evidence, referred to all their Germanic conquerors *Saxons* indiscriminately, most likely on account of the fact that they had had their first contact with the Germanic peoples via the Saxon raids on the coast.

As a rule, early Latin writers, adopting the Celtic usage, call the Germanic inhabitants of England *Saxones* and their homeland *Saxonia*. It is not long until the terms *Angli* and *Anglia* co-occur with the name *Saxones,* designating not only the Angles individually, but also the West Germanic tribes globally. Æthelbert, king of Kent, is styled *rex Anglorum* by Pope Gregory in 601; a century later Bede calls his historic account the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. In time *Angli* and *Anglia* become the most frequently used terms in Latin texts. Nevertheless, at no time did writers in the vernacular call their language anything but *Englisc (English)*. Obviously, the name is derived from that of the Angles (OE *Engle*), but it is used without distinction for the language of all the invading tribes. Likewise, the land and its people are known as *Angelcynn* (*Angle-kin* or *race of the Angles*), this common name being preserved until after the Danish period. From about the year 1000 *Englaland* (*Land of the Angles*) begins to take its place in common parlance. Whether surprising or not, the name *English* is older than *England*.

Any attempts to trace back the origin of the name England might raise questions related to why it should have been taken its name from the Angles. One possible explanation

lies in the desire to avoid confusion with the Saxons who remained on the continent; furthermore, the early supremacy of the Anglian kingdoms might have determined its usage.

The evolution of English spans over 1,500 years of existence in England ant it is generally acknowledged to have been an unbroken one - historical linguists state that English was introduced into the island about the mid-5th century (notably, Baugh and Cable, 2002). Within this development, however, it is possible to recognize three main and broad periods. Like all divisions in history, the periods of the English language are matters of convenience and the dividing lines between them are deemed to be purely arbitrary. Undoubtedly, within each of the timeframes it is possible to recognize a number of general characteristics and certain specific developments that take place.

Mainstream literature indicates that the most important factor in the development of English is the arrival of successive waves of settlers and invaders speaking different languages. As supporting evidence, the history of place names (toponyms) in Britain is closely connected to the presence of various languages at various points in time. The general point is that English, like all living languages, is a dynamic entity, in a state of change.

The English language variations in Britain could be explained in relation to the presence and movement of various peoples, also considering that language change and evolution took place at different speeds for different groups of people. The further we go back in time, the sharper the differences between dialects and accents. Among the possible reasons, we mention the fact that up to the 19th century, the majority of the population travelled on foot, which means that they lived and died within the confines of their home place, perhaps venturing no further than a few miles away. No national press was in place before the Early Modern English times, therefore, the British dialects developed relatively independently of each other. Not to mention that the socio-historical realities might have differed considerably from one region to another.

Mapping the broadly accepted temporal divisions, we have the following distribution: Old English (450-1100), Middle English (1100-1500), Modern English (1500-up-to-date, comprising two sub-divisions: Early modern English (1500-1750) and Late modern English (1750-onwards) (Culpeper, 2005); yet, we suggest to clearly distinguish present-day English(es).

1.2. Old English

Old English is sometimes described as the period of full inflections, because during most of this period the endings of the noun, the adjective, and the verb are preserved more or less unimpaired. During this period the inflections, having begun to break down toward the end of the Old English period, become greatly reduced, and it is consequently recognised as the period of leveled inflections. Old English was not an entirely uniform language. Not only are there differences between the language of the earliest written records (about A.D. 700) and that of the later literary texts, but the language differed somewhat from one locality to another.

Figure 3. Old English dialects

(Source: Baugh and Cable, 2002: 48)

Figure 4. Old English dialect areas
(Source: Culpeper, 2005: 68)

In what follows we shall attempt to describe the Old English dialects[1] in a fairly comprehensive manner, discussing the different patterns of settlement, which are linguistically reflected in the English language varieties - especially at the level of vocabulary.

[1] The word *dialect* (deriving from the Greek word *dialektos* - "manner of speaking") is loosely associated with a geographically defined or a regional form of language, but technically it is an umbrella term covering any specific kind of language.

As indicated in the figures above, Old English counts several dialect areas: *Northumbrian* - north of the Humber and south-east Scotland; *Mercian* or *Midland* - further to the south and containing two main sub-dialects settled by the Angles between the Humber and the Thames, West Midland and East Midland; *Kentish* - the south-east (including modern Kent and Surrey); and *West Saxon* - south of the Thames, from Sussex to Devon, excluding the Cornish-speaking area. Sometimes Northumbrian and Mercian are grouped together as *Anglian*. These are rather generalised and approximate dialect areas in the sense that sub-groupings can be distinguished within them, with a special mention concerning Mercian texts, which engender a wider variation. More importantly, some of the Old English dialect boundaries seem to coincide with today's dialect areas - better mapping is attributed to the Mercian dialect area, and more specifically, to the West Midland sub-dialect. Traditional rural accents are currently associated with the boundaries between Northumbrian and Mercian.

The four broad dialects in Old English times share a core of characteristics and are sometimes collectively referred to as *Anglian*. However, it does not exclude the possibility that these dialects display certain characteristic traits as well - for instance, Northumbrian and Mercian. Unfortunately, there is scarce evidence about them, being preserved mainly in charters, runic inscriptions, brief fragments of verse, and interlinear translations of small texts of the Bible. Kentish, the dialect of the Jutes in the southeast, is even less(er) known.

The only well supported dialect is West Saxon for which a large collection of literary texts is available, and nearly all the Old English literature seems to have been transcribed in manuscripts in this dialect. Another mention concerns the fact that the dialects reflect individual differences already present in the continental homes of the invaders, without denying the fact that a number of features are developed in England after the settlement. The ascendancy of the West Saxon kingdom secures the overriding importance of the West Saxon dialect, which achieves the status of standard speech, as demonstrated by the wealth of evidence available, at least by comparison with the other dialects of Old English. Nevertheless, its ascendancy and prestige is not long lasting, since it is cut short by the Norman Conquest, which reduces all dialects to a common level of (un)importance. The West Saxon dialect will never regain its position - in the late Middle English times, when standard English once more begins to be established, another dialect, namely that of the East Midlands, will gain the leading position.

Figure 5. Dialects in the Interregnum

Old English should not be described as the mere product of the dialects brought to England by the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles. These lay its foundation, in terms of the basic grammar layer and the source of by far the largest part of its vocabulary. However, it is natural to assume that other elements enter into it. In the course of the first 700 years of its existence in England, Old English comes into contact with at least three other languages, namely, the languages of the Celts, the Romans, and the Scandinavians. Each of these affects Old English, resulting mainly in expansions or additions to its vocabulary.

It is reasonable to state that the Anglo-Saxon conquest of the Celtic population of Britain and the subsequent naturally occurring mixture of the two peoples should have brought about the hybridisation of their languages; as a consequence, the Old English

vocabulary is deplete with numerous instances of words that the Anglo-Saxons might have heard in the speech of the native population and adopted. Seemingly, the Celts were exterminated apart from certain areas, and, as a submerged population, they were gradually assimilated into the new culture in England. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reports that at Andredesceaster or Pevensey a battle occurred between the native population and the newcomers, following which not a single Briton was left alive, which is also linguistically supported by place-names. Nevertheless, we should not wrongly assume that this is the rule rather than the exception. The Germanic conquest is completed in the east and southeast at a relatively early date, therefore, the surviving Celtic population is less numerous than elsewhere since a considerable number of the defeated Celtic-speaking population decide to flee to the west, where they resist until late times. Linguistic evidence lies in a whole cluster place-names of Celtic origin in the northeastern part of Dorsetshire. Like with any other defeated people, it is likely that many Celts become slaves and that many of the Anglo-Saxon conquerors choose Celtic mates. In some parts of England, the contact between the two peoples must have been uninterrupted and even close for several generations.

- **The Celtic inheritance**

Baugh and Cable (2002: 68ff.) are skeptical about the evidence for the contacts in the English language, restricting it to place-names. Their line of argumentation is base on the following examples:

- The name of the kingdom of *Kent* originates in to the Celtic word *Canti* or *Cantion*, whose meaning is unknown.
- The names of two ancient Northumbrian kingdoms, i.e., *Deira* and *Bernicia*, correspond to Celtic tribal names.

- The present-day names of many counties, more precisely, in the west and southwest, also show their earlier Celtic origin: the first element of *Devonshire* contains the tribal name *Dumnonii*, *Cornwall* reads as "Cornubian Welsh", and *Cumberland* (now belonging to *Cumbria*) means "the land of the Cymry or Britons".

- The names of important towns and cities during the Roman period embed Celtic elements. The earlier name of *Canterbury (Durovernum)* is attributed a Celtic origin. Even

the designation *London* itself, although the origin of the name is still uncertain, most likely is of Celtic origin. The first syllable of *Winchester, Salisbury, Exeter, Gloucester, Worcester, Lichfield* is rooted in Celtic.

- The names of stretches of water (rivers) and of the hills and places in their proximity make up the largest number of Celtic items. The *Thames* is definitely a Celtic river name, as it happens with *Avon, Exe, Esk, Usk, Dover* and *Wye*. The Celtic words for "hill" are encountered in place names such as *Barr* (Welsh *bar* "top", "summit"), *Bredon* (Welsh *bre* "hill"), *Bryn Mawr* (Welsh *bryn* "hill" and *mawr* "great"), *Creech, Pendle* (Welsh *pen* "top"), and the list could go on.

- Celtic elements are also spotted in other geographical names such as *cumb* ("a deep valley") - *Duncombe, Holcombe, Winchcombe; torr* ("high rock", "peak") - *Torr, Torcross, Torhill; pill* ("a tidal creek") - *Pylle, Huntspill;* and *brocc* ("badger") - *Brockholes, Brockhall,* etc.

- A small number of Latin words such as *castra, fontana, fossa, portus* and *vīcus* designated names of places during the Roman conquest, and being handed down by the Celts to the English.

Obviously, Celtic names of places are more common in the west than in the east and southeast, as the Celts managed to make the invaders adopt many of the local names that were current in Celtic speech and integrate them as a permanent share of their vocabulary stock.

Furthermore, the Celtic influence on English is visible in a very small number of words from other lexical fields, which may be grouped as follows:

(1) words that the Anglo-Saxons assimilated via everyday contact with the native population. They were transmitted mainly orally and were connected with:

- religious activities, in a more or less formal register: *binn* ("basket", "crib"), *bratt* ("cloak"), *brocc* ("brock" or "badger");
- geographical features that did not play an important role in the experience of the Anglo-Saxons in their continental home - *crag, luh* ("lake"), *cumb* ("valley"), *torr*

("outcropping" or "projecting rock", "peak"), *dun* ("dark colored") and *ass* (ultimately originating in the Latin *asinus*).

(2) words that were introduced by the Irish missionaries in the north (coming into English through Celtic Christianity). Like the words in the former group, these are few in number. Historically speaking, in 563 St. Columba, accompanied by twelve monks from Ireland, came to preach to their kinsmen in Britain. On the small island of Lona off the west coast of Scotland St. Columba set up a monastery that functioned as his headquarters thirty-four years. Admittedly, a large number of missionaries went out from there, established other religious centres and widespread the Christian doctrine and learning. As a consequence, the words *ancor* ("hermit"), ("magician"), *cine* ("a gathering of parchment leaves"), *cross, clugge* ("bell"), *gabolrind* ("compass"), *mind* ("diadem"), *perhaps* ("history") and *cursian* ("to curse") appeared in Old English usage.

It does not seem that many of these Celtic words held a permanent or stable place in the English language. Some soon disappeared at all, others enjoyed local currency alone. The nature of the relation of the two peoples did not foster any significant influence on the English language or lifestyle, or any viable cross-fertilisation since the surviving Celts became a low-profile people, with a submerged culture, not in a position to impact on the Anglo-Saxon civilisation.

- **The Latin legacy**

The second widely recognized influence upon English is that of the Latin language and civilisation. The Roman Conquest, which lasted for more than 300 years, is described to have taken place starting from the successful campaign of Emperor Claudius in A.D. 43 and being completed by the Roman Governor Agricola (A.D. 78–85) when "the northern frontier was advanced to the Solway and the Tyne" although "the Romans never penetrated far into the mountains of Wales and Scotland" (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 40).

Inevitably, the process of Romanization of the island followed, which should not be identified with the widespread of Latin among the native inhabitants, who habitually continued to use the Celtic language. Latin was exclusively used by the upper class and by some inhabitants of the big towns. Most likely, its use began to decline after 410, the date at which the last of the Roman legions are said to have officially withdrawn from the island.

Latin was not solely the language of a conquered people, it was equally the language of a highly regarded civilization, deserving to learn from. Therefore, the 3-century unmediated contact with this civilisation, in all spheres of life: commercial, military, religious and intellectual, resulted in constant renewal of the Latin influence. It is worth mentioning that even the Germanic tribes, who later conquered the island, had had various relations with the Romans bringing about Latin borrowings, and in their interaction with the conquered Celtic people they added up other Latin words. Furthermore, the reinforced influence of Latin is attributed to the Roman Christian missionaries.

Any inventory of the Latin share over this timeframe should start from determining, as accurately as possible, the date at which each borrowed item entered the English language. This is not only time consuming, but also difficult to do, and, it should be understood that the assignment of a lexical item to a given period is done with a high degree of probability rather than with certainty. The issue is further complicated by the number and reliability of the sources, as the ways in which these can be exploited and their value are different.

More often than not, researchers can rely on the appearance of the envisaged words in literature. For instance, if the word occurs with a relatively high frequency in texts such as *Beowulf,* or the poems of Cynewulf, its occurrence supports the idea that "the word has had time to pass into current use and that it came into English not later than the early part of the period of Christian influence" (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 70). Nevertheless, it is not an indication of how long before it was present in the language, on account of the fact that the earliest written records in English are tracked down to the year 700. Needless to say that the late use of a word in literature does not constitute any solid proof of late adoption. It might be the case that the word is not a literary term by its nature and does not frequently appear in literary texts; besides, the vast bulk of Old English literature has been lost, and it would be unwise and unsafe to reclaim the existence of a word based on existing remains. According to Baugh and Cable (2002: 71), some words that seem to be recorded before the 10th century (e.g., *pīpe* "pipe", *cīese* "cheese") "can be assigned confidently on other grounds to the period of continental borrowing".

Taking into consideration the extent to which the island was Romanised, and the use of (spoken) Latin by segments of the population during the Roman occupation, naturally, we would expect a large number of Latin loans and a high survival rate. However, this is not the case. The Germanic invasions, following the Roman ruling, allowed for no further direct contact between Latin and Old English, although the Celts are said to have adopted a

significant number of Latin words (as a matter of fact, more than 600), which, unfortunately, were not passed on.

A notable "survivor" word is represented by *ceaster (*which is not present in other Celtic languages) coming from the < Latin *castra* ("camp"), indicating the site of a Roman settlement, a town or an enclosed community or place in Old English. It is frequently used in compound toponyms such as: *Chester, Colchester, Dorchester, Manchester, Winchester, Lancaster, Doncaster, Gloucester, Worcester,* etc.

The repertoire of words dating from this period also includes:

munt (< Latin *mōns, montem*, "mountain")
port (< Latin *portus* and *porta* , "harbor", "gate", "town")
torr (< Latin *turris*, "tower", "rock")
wīc (< Latin *vīcus*, "village")

Other previous borrowings are strengthened by the presence of the same words in Celtic:

street (< Latin *strāta via*)
wall (< Latin *vallum*, "rampart", from *vallus*, "stake").
wine (Old English *wīn*, of Germanic origin; < Latin *vinum*).

The strongest influence of Latin upon Old English is due to the intensified and systematic conversion of Britain to Roman Christianity starting from the late 6th century (597) up to the close of Old English (covering a time span of more than 500 years). As expected, it was an ongoing process in which some loans are imported almost immediately, followed by others throughout the entire period. Basically, two broad categories may be signposted, although differing in size and shape.

(1) The first category is represented by words whose phonetic form "betrays" their early adoption. Furthermore, many of them seem to have found their way into literature by the time of King Alfred the Great (9th century). Baugh and Cable (2002: 78 ff.) contend that the most typical and the most numerous vocabulary items are related to the following broad categories (which we have adapted):

- the new religious services and practices (Christianity):

abbot, alms, altar, angel, anthem, Arian, ark, bishop, candle, canon, chalice, church, cleric, cowl, deacon, disciple, epistle, hymn, litany, manna, martyr, mass, minster, noon, nun, offer, organ, pall, palm, pope, priest, provost, psalm, psalter, relic, rule, shrift, shrine, shrive, stole, subdeacon, synod, temple, and *tunic*.

The authors also point out to the idea that some of the terms were introduced earlier and reinforced at this stage of language evolution, while others are put into circulation now and reintroduced later.

- household use
  - clothing: c*ap, sock, silk, purple, chest, mat, sack;*
  - food and drink: *beet, caul* ("cabbage"), *doe, lentil* (OE *lent*), *lobster, millet* (OE *mil*), *mussel, oyster* (OE *ostre*), *pear, radish,* and the noun *cook;*

- flora (trees, plants, herbs) and fauna: *aloes, balsam, box, fennel, hyssop, lily, mallow, marshmallow, myrrh, pine, rue, savory* (OE *sæþrige*), alongside the generic term *plant*; *elephant;*

- political and military life: *pīnian* (to torture; (< Latin *poena*), *pinsian* (to weigh; (< Latin *pēnsāre*), *pyngan* ("to prick",< Latin *pungere*), *sealtian* ("to dance", (< Latin *saltāre*), *temprian* ("to temper", < Latin *temperāre*), *trifolian* ("to grind", < Latin *trībulāre*), *tyrnan* ("to turn", < Latin *tornāre*);

- social life: *āspendan* ("to spend", < Latin *expendere*), *bemūtian* ("to exchange", (< Latin *mūtāre*);

- miscellanea: *anchor, coulter, crisp* (< Latin *crispus*, "curly"), *fan* ("winnowing"), *fever, phoenix, sponge.*

(2) The second category features lexical items of a more learned character, recorded in the 10th and 11th centuries, such as:

- education and learning: *gloss, grammatic(al), Latin* (possibly borrowed earlier), *master, meter, notary* ("scribe"), *school, verse,* etc; *dihtan* (to compose; L. *dictāre*);

- administration and infrastructure: *place* ("marketplace"), *spelter* ("asphalt"), *mancus* (a coin).

The later additions to the Old English vocabulary

differed somewhat from the earlier Christian borrowings in being words of a less popular kind and expressing more often ideas of a scientific and learned character. They are especially frequent in the works of Ælfric and reflect not only the theological and pedagogical nature of his writings but also his classical tastes and attainments. (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 80)

Examples include:

- religious terms: *alb, Antichrist, antiphoner, apostle, canticle, cantor, cell, chrism, cloister, collect, creed, dalmatic, demon, dirge, font, idol, nocturn, prime, prophet, sabbath, synagogue, troper;*

- education and learning: *accent, brief* (the verb), *decline* (a grammatical term), *history, paper, pumice, quatern* (a quire or gathering of leaves in a book), *term(inus), title*;

- flora and fauna: *celandine, centaury, coriander, cucumber, ginger, hellebore, lovage, periwinkle, petersili* ("parsley"), *verbena, cedar, cypress, fig, laurel, magdāla* ("almond"); *aspide* ("viper"), *camel, lamprey, scorpion, tiger;*

- medical terms: *cancer, circulādl* ("shingles"), *paralysis, scrofula, plaster.*

- **The Germanic vein**

Part of the today's dialects identity may originate in the Germanic languages of the settlers, although solid evidence is still lacking. The Germanic conquest, carried out by several Germanic tribes - the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles - is said to have begun in the 5th century, more precisely in 449 and lasted for more than 100 years. Briefly, the storyline is the following

settlers migrated from their continental homes in the region of Denmark and the Low Countries and established themselves in the south and east of the island, gradually extending the area they occupied until it included all but the highlands in the west and north." (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 42)

Figure 6. Account of the Germanic invasions by Bede in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Source: Baugh and Cable, 2002: 42)

However, it is almost impossible to state to what extent the speech of the Angles was distinct from that of the Saxons or that of the Jutes. Several criteria can be successfully applied in the identification of the Germanic origin of a particular word. Baugh and Cable (2002: 71ff.) provide the following guidelines to be used "with discrimination":

(1) The early occurrence of a word in several of the Germanic dialects signposts its wide circulation in the Germanic territories and its possible "adoption by the ancestors of the English on the continent".

(2) The words shared by Old English and Old High German can't have entered the English language before the Anglo-Saxons migrated to the island, and, most likely, they represent "later independent adoption under conditions more or less parallel, brought about by the introduction of Christianity into the two areas".

(3) Estimates go that the Germanic population in all ranks and classes of society in the German territories, most numerous along the northern frontier, amounted to several million by the fourth century. The frequency and magnitude of the intercourse between the Germanic people and the Romans are expected to diminish when one recedes from the borders of the empire. Before the Roman conquest of Gaul by Caesar (58-50 B.C.), the Romans could not reach out as far as the lands occupied by the Angles or the Jutes. It was in the aftermath of the Gallic wars that Roman merchants found their way into the lands of the Germanic tribes, as far as into Scandinavia. The spread of Latin borrowings was also enhanced by the (language) contact between the different Germanic tribes. Baugh and Cable (2002: 72-73) state that about sixty Latin words pertaining to agriculture, military life, administration, trade - perhaps giving rise to the most numerous loans, domestic life, etc. were borrowed by the Anglo-Saxons in their homelands. We shall exemplify for each individual category:

- agriculture: *cires (bēam)* (< Latin *cerasus*, "cherry tree"), *cisten* (< Latin *castanea*, "chestnut tree"), *minte* (< Latin *mentha*, "mint"), *plūme* ("plum"), *pise* (< Latin *pisum*, "pea"), *ynne(lēac)* (< Latin *unio*, "onion");

- building and infrastructure: *cealc* ("chalk"), *copor* ("copper"), *mīl* ("mile"), *pic* ("pitch"), *stroet* ("road", "street"), *tigele* ("tile");

- military and political life: *camp* ("battle"), *cāsere* ("emperor"), *miltestre* ("courtesan"), *pīl* ("pointed stick", "javelin"), *pytt* ("pit"), *segn* ("banner"), *weall* ("wall");

- trade and occupations: *cēap* ("bargain", "cheap"), *mangian* ("to trade") and its derivatives *mangere* ("monger"), *mangung* ("trade", "commerce"), *mangunghūs* ("shop"),

mydd ("bushel"), *mynet* ("coin") and its derivatives *mynetian* ("to mint" or "to coin") and *mynetere* ("money-changer"), *pund* ("pound"), *sēam* ("burden", "loan");

- household:
  - clothing and accessories: *gimm* (< Latin *gemma,* "gem"), *līnen* (cognate with or from < Latin *līnum,* "flax"), *līne* (< Latin *līnea*, "rope", "line"), *pilece* (< Latin *pellicia,* "robe of skin"), *sigel* (< Latin *sigillum,* "brooch", "necklace");
  - food and drink etc.: *butere* (< Latin *būtȳrum*, "butter"), *cīese* (< Latin *cāseus,* "cheese"), *eced* ("vinegar"), *must* ("new wine"), *pipor* ("pepper"), *senep* (< Latin *sināpi*, "mustard"), *spelt* ("wheat"), *wīn* ("wine");
  - furniture: *mēse* ("table"), *pyle* (< Latin *pulvinus,* "pillow"), *scamol* (< Latin *scamellum,* "bench", "stool", modern "shambles"), *teped* (< Latin *tapētum,* "carpet", "curtain"),;
  - kitchenware: *cuppe* (< Latin *cuppa,* "cup"), *cucler* (< Latin *cocleārium,* "spoon"), *cycene* (< Latin *coquīna,* kitchen"), *cylle* (< Latin *culleus,* "leather bottle"), *cyrfette* (< Latin *curcur bita,* "gourd"), *cytel* (kettle; (< Latin *catillus, catīnus,* "kettle"), *disc* (< Latin *discus*, "dish"), *flasce* ("flask", "bottle"), *mortere* (< Latin *mortārium,* "a mortar", "a vessel of hard material"), *sester* ("jar", "pitcher");

- miscellanea: *biscop* ("bishop"), *cirice* ("church"), *calu* (< Latin *calvus,* "bald"), *draca* ("dragon"), *mūl* ("mule"), *pāwa* ("peacock"), *pīpe* ("pipe" - musical instrument), *segne* ("seine"), *sicor* (< Latin *sēcūrus,*"safe"), *Sæternesdæg* ("Saturday").

(4) Allegedly, the phonetic form of the word seems to cater the most conclusive evidence:

The changes that take place in the sounds of a language can often be dated with some definiteness, and the presence or absence of these changes in a borrowed word constitutes an important test of age. (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 71)

In Old English, following the pattern of most of the Germanic languages, the *i-umlaut* change or *i-mutation* affected a number of accented vowels and diphthongs (in the 7th century). The change occured when a vowel sound was altered by a following [i], [!] or [y], all of them being articulated high and in front of the mouth. Vowels lower or farther back were drawn up and forward in the articulation

(http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/files/cb45/files/i-mutation.pdf). The phenomenon is exemplified by:

**baŋkiz>benc* ("bench")
**mūsiz>* plural of *mūs* ("mouse")
(Baugh and Cable, 2002: 71)

burg "city" – *byrig* "city"
ofost "haste" – efstan "hasten"
faran "go" – *færþ* "goes"
cwæl "died" – *cwellan* "to-kill"
(Anderson, 2005: 196)

- **The Scandinavian influence**

Undoubtedly, the Scandinavians invaders and settlers in the north and east of England have left a permanent mark on the English language - Old Norse and Old Danish (Scandinavian languages) and English were related and were mutually intelligible to a certain extent, their influence is mostly recognised in the fact they contributed to sharpening the differences between northern and southern varieties of English in Britain.

From a historical perspective, three stages are widely acknowledged as far as the Scandinavian influence is concerned:

(1) the first early raids, having as a starting point the year 787 and up to about 850 (characterised as intermittent intermissions), according to *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. They took place mostly along the southern coast and in East Anglia.

(2) the second wave, between 850 - 878 (with the accession of King Alfred (871–899), covered all the regions of the country and resulted in extensive settlements.

(3) the third stage covered the largest time span: between 878 - 1042. The magnitude of the Danish rule and influence is linguistically signaled by the fact that more than 1,400 name places in the north and east of England are of Scandinavian origin.

However, the Scandinavian transfers into Old English represent a matter of speculation rather than of exact knowledge. During their long-term interaction (for almost 300 years), the two languages in contact had a different status. In some areas, the Scandinavians abandoned their native language, whereas in some other places Danish or Norse was the usual language of the community. Evidence goes that in some parts of Scotland, Norse survived up to the 17th century (notably, Baugh and Cable, 2002). In other places across England, many of the settlers continued to speak their mother tongue until the early 12th century, and a significant part of the population was bilingual - one explanation lies in the intermarriages that were no rare practice at the time, as well as in the similarity of the two languages in contact. For instance, the Anglian dialect was close to Norse, the West Saxon dialect did not resemble it at all, or seemed mutually intelligible to a very limited extent. According to Baugh and Cable (2002):

The similarity between Old English and the language of the Scandinavian invaders makes it at times very difficult to decide whether a given word in Modern English is a native or a borrowed word. Many of the more common words of the two languages were identical, and if we had no Old English literature from the period before the Danish invasions, we should be unable to say that many words were not of Scandinavian origin. (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 87)

Nonetheless, phonological and phonetic, alongside spelling, changes become indexical of the Scandinavian origin of the word. In this respect the sounds [g] and [*sk*] retain their hard pronunciation in words such as *egg, get, give, gild,* and *sky, skin, skill, scrape, scrub, skirt, bask, whisk, respectively*.

Lexically and semantically, the preservation of the original Scandinavian meaning is another highly reliable test - for instance, *bloom* ("flower") is an import of the Scandinavian *blōm*. It is worth mentioning that the cognate form *blōma* in Old English But the OE word was a specialised term meaning "ingot of iron". Another illustrative example is *gift referring* to "present" in Old Norse, whereas in Old English it meant "the price of a wife", *gifts* designating "marriage".

In an attempt to systematise the Scandinavian loans in relation to their conceptualisation and domains of experience, we can have the following categories:

- place names - geographically, their distribution covers the northeast of the island - mostly the regions of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Cumbria - as well as East Anglia - in the

area of Norfolk. A rough inventory (totalling about 1,400 items) carried out by Baugh and Cable (2002) comprises:

- more than 600 items ending in *-by*, this suffix referring to "farm" or "town" in Danish: *Grimsby, Whitby, Derby, Rugby, Thoresby*, etc.;
- about 300 compounds with the Scandinavian *thorp* ("village"): *Althorp, Bishopsthorpe, Gawthorpe, Linthorpe*, etc.;
- about 300 compounds with the Scandinavian *thwaite* ("an isolated piece of land "): *Applethwaite, Braithwaite, Cowperthwaite, Langthwaite, Satterthwaite*, etc.;
- about 100 nounsending in *toft* ("a piece of ground", "a messuage"): *Brimtoft, Eastoft, Langtoft, Lowestoft, Nortoft*, etc.;

- family names ending in *-son: Johnson, Stevenson*, etc.; other kinship terms: *kid, sister*;

- nouns associated with warship and seafare: *barda* ("beaked ship"), *bātswegen* ("boatman"), *cnearr* ("small warship"), *dreng* ("warrior"), *fylcian* ("to collect", "to marshal a force"), *hā* ("oarlock", "rower in a warship"), *hofding* ("chief", "ringleader"), *keel*, *liþ* ("fleet"), *orrest* ("battle"), *rān* ("robbery", "rapine"), *reef* (of sail), *scegþmann* ("pirate"), *scegþ* ("vessel"), *tidings*, etc.;

- clothing: *girth, hap, skirt*, etc.

- legal terms: *hold* ("freeholder"), *hūsting* ("assembly"), *law*, *māl* ("action at law"), *outlaw*, *riding* (initially, the word meant *thriding*, and designated one of the former divisions of the county of Yorkshire), *wapentake* ("administrative district"), etc. Furthermore, other Scandinavian legal terms are translated in Old English: *bōtlēas* ("what cannot be compensated"), *hāmsōcn* ("attacking an enemy in his house"), *lahcēap* ("payment for reentry into lost legal rights"), *landcēap* ("tax paid when buying land "), etc.

If we take into consideration the distribution of Scandinavian imports according to their grammatical category, we have the following configuration:

- nouns: *axle-tree, band, bank, boon, booth, brink, bull, calf, crook, dirt, down* ("feathers"), *dregs, egg, fellow, freckle, gait, gap, guess, leg, link, loan, mire, race, reindeer,*

rift, root, scab, scales, score, scrap, seat, skill, skin, sky, slaughter, snare, stack, steak, swain, thrift, trust, want, window, etc.

- adjectives: *awkward, flat, ill, loose, low, meek, muggy, odd, rotten, rugged, scant, seemly, sly, tattered, tight, weak*, etc.
- adverbs: *aloft, athwart, aye* ("ever"), *heþen* ("hence") and *hweþen* ("whence"), *seemly;*

- verbs: *to bait, bask, batten, call, cast, clip, cow, crave, crawl, die, droop, egg, flit, gape, gasp, get, give, glitter, kindle, lift, lug, nag, raise, rake, ransack, rid, rive, scare, scout, scowl, screech, snub, sprint, take, thrive, thrust*, etc. Perhaps, the most significant adoption is represented by the present plural for *are* of the verb *to be.*

- pronouns: *both, hanum* ("him"), *same, they, their, them;*

- preposition: *fro* ("from"), *till* (meaning "to");

- particles: *at* (used with the infinitive - for instance, *ado* (*at-do*))

- conjunctions: *though*.

Baugh and Cable (2002: 93ff.) claim that the Scandinavian influence on the Old English make up extends beyond the standard speech, and bring as evidence occurrences of Norse words in well-known literary texts such as:

- *Geste of Robin Hood*:

  "*Lythe* and listin, gentilmen", where the first term is, in fact, the Scandinavian synonym of "listen".

  "Say me no we, *wight* yonge man, What is nowe thy name?" - *vigt* meant "strong", "courageous" in Old Norse
- The ballad of *Captain Car:*

  "*Busk* and *bowne*, my merry men all" - *gar* referred to "cause or make one do something"

- *Chevy Chace*

  "Many a doughetë the(y) *garde* to dy" - meaning "they made many a doughty man die"

- *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne:*

  "Ah, deere Lady! sayd Robin Hoode, Thou art both mother and *may*!" - *may* is the Scandinavian form of *maid*.

- The ballad of *Bessie Bell and Mary Gray*:

  "*bigget* a bower on yon burnbrae," - where *biggen* ("to build") is recorded for Old Norse.

- *To a Mouse:*

  "Thy wee bit housie, too, in ruin!…And naething now to big a new ane."

As far as the lexical input of Old English to contemporary English is concerned, Baugh and Cable (2002) contend that it is best described as a loss:

Much of the vocabulary of Old English has been lost, and the development of new words to meet new conditions is one of the most familiar phenomena of our language. (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 2)

1.3. Middle English

From 1150 to 1500 the language is known as *Middle English*. Needless to say, the Middle English period was one of great variety, regional variety included. Let us examine the landscape of the languages that were used in Britain during this period: Latin was assigned to formal texts (e.g., in the field of law, religion, education and learning), Norman French was reserved to administration and represented the common language of the upper ranks, while English was split into a number of widely spoken dialects, except in Cornwall, Wales and Scotland, where Celtic languages were used. As the Figure 4 above indicates, the Middle English dialect areas overlapped to a high degree to those of Old English. There was no main dialect in Middle English, and there was no generally accepted written standard; actually, the most representative Middle English texts survive in all the five dialects, the written text reproducing the particular accents and other dialect characteristics.

Figure 7. Middle English dialect areas

(Source: Culpeper, 2005: 70)

- **The French influence**

It is widely acknowledged that at this stage of evolution English underwent significant, far-reaching changes (in point of grammar and vocabulary) under the French influence in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest (1066, the Battle of Hastings being the landmark event). It does not mean that English evolved exclusively due to this event, only that changes might have occurred at a slower pace.

Grammatically speaking, English passed from a highly inflected language (synthetic) to an highly analytic one on account of the decay of inflectional endings, therefore, based on a process of simplification. The number, case and gender inflections were reduced since they altered in pronunciation to such an extent as to become indistinguishable and useless. For instance, by the late 12th century the ending *-m* had turned into *-n* for the dative plural of nouns and adjectives, as well as the dative singular (masculine and neuter) of adjectives - *mūðum* ("to the mouths") > *mūðun, gōdum* > *gōdun*. Later on *-n* was dropped: **mūðu, *gōdu*.

Likewise, the vowels *a, o, u, e* in inflectional endings became "indeterminate" and written *e*, while originally distinct endings such as *-a, -u, -e, -an, -um* were also reduced to *-e* by analogy.

Lexically, the Old English word-stock was enriched by thousands of words of French and Latin origin - Baugh and Cable (2002: 165) estimate that the number of French loans amounts to more than 10,000 words, and that, most importantly, 75% of them are still in use. As far as the unparalleled French influence is concerned, two main stages are commonly recognised:

(1) the first period, characterised by a massive pouring of Norman words (about 900), lasts from 1066 to 1250. They may be classified into the following categories:

- social and political life and infrastructure: *baron, dame, feast, juggler, largess, messenger, minstrel, noble, servant,* etc.;
- education and learning: *lay, douzepers* (the twelve peers of the Charlemagne romances), *rime,* etc.

(2) the second period is less impressive from a quantitative point of view, as the upper classes continued to bring in French words. These loans may fall into the following types:

- economic and political life and infrastructure: *administer, adjourn, alliance, assembly, authority, bailiff, bondman, baron, caitiff, castellan, chamberlain, chancellor, constable, coroner, councilor, count / countess, crown, council, court / courtier, demesne, duke / duchess, empire, exchequer, exile, govern / governor / government, homage, liberty, madam, majesty, manor, marquis, marshal, mayor, minister, mistress, noble / nobility, office, oppress, page, parliament, peasant, peer, prerogative, prince, princess, public, realm, rebel, record, reign, repeal, retinue, revenue, royal, scepter, servant, sir, slave, sovereign, squire, state, subject, subsidy, tally, tax, tyrant, usurp, statute, traitor, treason, treasurer, treaty, vassal, viscount, warden,* etc.;

- religious and theological terms (referring to religious ranks, practices and theological doctrines): *abbess, abbey, absolution, adore, anoint, baptism, cardinal, censer, chancel, chant, chantry, chaplain, chapter, charity, clergy, clerk, cloister, communion, confess / confession, contrition, convent, convert, creator, crosier, crucifix, damnation, dean, devotion / devout, divine, faith, friar, heresy, hermit / hermitage, homily, image, immortality, incense,*

lectern, legate, lesson, mercy, miracle, miter, mystery, novice, parson, pastor, penance, piety, pity, pray / prayer, prelate, priory, obedience, ordain, orison, religion, reverence, passion, penitence, preach, psalmody, redemption, remission, repent, reverend, sacrament, sacrifice, sacrilege, salvation, sanctity, sanctuary, savior, saint, schism, sermon, sexton, simony, solemn, surplice, temptation, theology, trinity, vicar, virgin, virtue, etc.;

- legal terms: *accuse, acquit, adultery, advocate, appurtenances, arraign, arrest, arson, assail, assault, assign, assize, attorney, award, bail, banish, bar, bill, blame, bounds, chattels, complaint, condemn, convict, crime, culpable, decree, defendant, depose, entail, equity, estate, evidence, executor, felon / felony, fine, forfeit, fraud, gaol, heritage / heir, hue and cry, imprison, indict / indictment, innocent, inquest, judge / judgment, jury / juror, just / justice, larceny, legacy, libel, panel, pardon, patrimony, perjury, petition, pillory, plaintiff, plea / plead, pledge, prison, proof, property, punishment, ransom, seize, sentence, slander, sue, suit, summons, tenant, tenement, trespass, verdict, warrant,* etc.;

- military and navy life and infrastructure: *ambush, archer, arm / army, array, banner, barbican, battle, besiege, brandish, buckler, captain, chieftain, combat, dart, defend / defense, enemy, garrison, guard, harness, hauberk, havoc, lance, lieutenant, mail, moat, navy, peace, retreat, sergeant, skirmish, siege, soldier, spy, stratagem, vanquish, war,* etc.;

- domestic and social life, including:
  - entertainment and leisure activities: *ambler, carol, checkers, chess, conversation, courser, crupper, dalliance, dance, fool, hackney, jollity, juggler, leisure, lute, melody, minstrel, music, pavilion, recreation, palfrey, revel, ribald, rowel, solace, stable, tabor, tournament, trot,* etc.
  - fashion - clothing and jewelry: *adorn, amethyst, apparel, attire, blue, boots, brooch, brown, buckle, button, cape, chaplet, chemise, cloak, coat, collar, coral, crystal, diamond, dress, embellish, embroidery, emerald, enamel, ermine, fashion, frock, fur, galoshes, garment, garnet, garter, gown, gusset, habit, ivory, jewel, kerchief, lace, luxury, mitten, ornament, pearl, petticoat, pleat, plume, robe, ruby, russet, sable, saffron, sapphire, satin, scarlet, taffeta, tassel, tawny, topaz, train, turquoise, veil, vermilion,* etc.;
  - food and eating habits: *almonds, appetite, bacon, beef, biscuit, blanch, boil, brawn, bream, broach, cherry, chine, cinnamon, clove, collation, confection, cream,*

cruet, date, dinner, endive, feast, fig, fry, goblet, grape, grate, gruel, haunch, herb, jelly, lemon, lettuce, loin, mackerel, marjoram, mess, mince, mustard, mutton, nutmeg, olives, orange, oyster, parboil, pasty, peach, perch, pigeon, plate / platter, pomegranate, pork, porpoise, pottage, poultry, pullet, raisin, repast, roast, salad, salmon, sardine, saucer, sausage, sole, spice, stew, sturgeon, sugar, supper, sustenance, tart, taste, thyme, toast, tripe, veal, venison, viand, victuals, vinegar, etc.;

- furniture and interior decoration: *arras, basin blanket, chair, chandelier, closet, couch, counterpane, coverlet, curtain, cushion, dais, garner* ("storehouse"), *lamp, lantern, pantry, parlor, quilt, sconce, screen, scullery, towel, wardrobe,* etc.

- education and learning (including arts and sciences): *alkali, anatomy, apothecary, arsenic, art, balm, baptistry, bay, beauty, cathedral, ceiling, cellar, chamber, chapter, chimney, chirurgy, choir, chronicle, cloister, color, column, compilation, contagion, debility, distemper, figure, garret, geometry, gout, grammar, image, jaundice, joist, latch, lattice, lay, leper, lintel, logic, malady, music, ointment, pain, painting, palace, palsy, paper, paralytic, parchment, pen, pestilence, physician, pillar, pinnacle, plague, pleurisy, poet, poison, porch, preface, prologue, prose, pulse, remedy, rime, romance, sculpture, story, study, surgeon, sulphur, title, tone, tower, tragedy, treatise, turret, volume, wicket,* etc.

To highlight the driving force of French upon the Middle English vocabulary, Baugh and Cable (2002) provide an impressive list of borrowings (in frequent use in Middle English), based on morphological categories, implicitly recognising that it is by far more difficult to divide these items according to their lexical (semantic) relations and affinities. We reproduce the list below since we consider that it is worth taking into consideration when assessing the strong and long-term impact of the French language and civilisation upon English and its cosmopolitan vocation:

- nouns: *action, adventure, affection age, air, bucket, bushel, calendar, carpenter, cheer, city, coast, comfort, cost, country, courage, courtesy, coward, crocodile, cruelty, damage, debt, deceit, dozen, ease, envy, error, face, faggot, fame, fault, flower, folly, force, gibbet, glutton, grain, grief, gum, harlot, honor, hour, jest, joy, labor, leopard, malice, manner, marriage, mason, metal, mischief, mountain, noise, number, ocean, odor, opinion, order, pair, people, peril, person, pewter, piece, point, poverty, powder, power, quality,*

quart, rage, rancor, reason, river, scandal, seal, season, sign, sound, sphere, spirit, square, strife, stubble, substance, sum, tailor, task, tavern, tempest, unity, use, vision, waste;

- adjectives: *able, abundant, active, actual, amiable, amorous, barren, blank, brief, calm, certain, chaste, chief, clear, common, contrary, courageous, courteous, covetous, coy, cruel, curious, debonair, double, eager, easy, faint, feeble, fierce, final, firm, foreign, frail, frank, gay, gentle, gracious, hardy, hasty, honest, horrible, innocent, jolly, large, liberal, luxurious, malicious, mean, moist, natural, nice, obedient, original, perfect, pertinent, plain, pliant, poor, precious, principal, probable, proper, pure, quaint, real, rude, safe, sage, savage, scarce, second, secret, simple, single, sober, solid, special, stable, stout, strange, sturdy, subtle, sudden, supple, sure, tender, treacherous, universal, usual;*
- verbs: *advance, advise, aim, allow, apply, approach, arrange, arrive, betray, butt, carry, chafe, change, chase, close, comfort, commence, complain, conceal, consider, continue, count, cover, covet, cry, cull, deceive, declare, defeat, defer, defy, delay, desire, destroy, embrace, enclose, endure, enjoy, enter, err, excuse, flatter, flourish, force, forge, form, furnish, grant, increase, inform, inquire, join, languish, launch, marry, mount, move, murmur, muse, nourish, obey, oblige, observe, pass, pay, pierce, pinch, please, practise, praise, prefer, proceed, propose, prove, purify, pursue, push, quash, quit, receive, refuse, rejoice, relieve, remember, reply, rinse, rob, satisfy, save, scald, serve, spoil, strangle, strive, stun, succeed, summon, suppose, surprise, tax, tempt, trace, travel, tremble, trip, wait, waive, waste, wince*;

- collocations and idioms: *according to, at large, by heart, hand to hand, make believe, in vain, on the point of, subject to come to a head, to do justice, to draw near, to hold one's peace, to take leave,* etc.

(Source: Baugh and Cable, 2002: 160ff.)

- **The Latin inflow**

Latin continued to be a donor language to English during the Middle Ages. Unlike the French influence, Latin borrowings are mainly associated with the written mode of communication, and they are reported to be less frequent. It does not mean that Latin words from the spoken language did not find their way into Middle English, taking into account the fact that the clergy and learned men used Latin on a regular basis.

Scholars (notably, Baugh and Cable, 2002: 171) assign the translation of the sacred texts and of literature as the main route for the Latin imports. The authors exemplify by the Wycliffite Bible translation[2] resulting in thousands of Latin borrowings, and by Trevisa's translation of the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomew Anglicus[3], where several hundred items come directly from Latin. Baugh and Cable (2002: 172) list an inventory of such loans, under the category "miscellaneous":

abject, adjacent, allegory, conspiracy, contempt, custody, distract, frustrate, genius, gesture, history, homicide, immune, incarnate, include, incredible, incubus, incumbent, index, individual, infancy, inferior, infinite, innate, innumerable, intellect, interrupt, juniper, lapidary, legal, limbo, lucrative, lunatic, magnify, malefactor, mechanical, minor, missal, moderate, necessary, nervous, notary, ornate, picture, polite, popular, prevent, private, project, promote, prosecute, prosody, pulpit, quiet, rational, reject, remit, reprehend, rosary, script, scripture, scrutiny, secular, solar, solitary, spacious, stupor, subdivide, subjugate, submit, subordinate, subscribe, substitute, summary, superabundance, supplicate, suppress, temperate, temporal, testify, testimony, tincture, tract, tributary, ulcer, zenith, zephyr.

The exact inventory and categorisation of Latin borrowings in Middle English is further complicated by the fact that in many cases French seems to have mediated their entering the English vocabulary. One possible test is that lexical items ending in *-al, -able / -ible, -ent, -ive* and *-ous* (highly productive) are attested as coming from Latin and more often than not, reinforced via French.

In the 14th-15th centuries, the so-called *aureate words* (as the privilege of writers and other learned men) came into English as a mark of affectation. Baugh and Cable (2002: 172) identify, as primary sources for this trend, the works of Chaucer, Lydgate, James I, Henryson, Dunbar, etc. Only few of these words were used in common parlance: *laureate, mediation, oriental, prolixity*, etc.

[2] According to Vilceanu (2017: 22), "Between 1380-1384, the Oxford theologian Wyclif performs the first translation of the complete Bible in the very spirit of the theory of dominion by grace: man was immediately responsible to God and God's law. In order that the crucial text may be accessible, the translation is done in the vernacular language. The second Wycliffite Bible is produced between 1395-1396".

[3] It is considered one of the earliest books printed in London, and the first book printed on paper made in England (circa 1496).

- **The Low Countries stream**

As already stated, English has a cosmopolitan vocation, borrowing from every language with which it came into contact. Under the circumstances, the loans from Flemish, Dutch and Low German should not be neglected at all, although, it is rather difficult to ascertain the origin of these words due to the high degree of similarity between English and the inhabitants of Flanders, Holland and northern Germany.

Historically, during the Middle Ages a large number of Flemings reached the English territories as mercenaries, followed by a smaller number of tradesmen and settlers. The following words are certified as Flemish:

beleaguer, boom (of a boat), *bowsprit, cambric, commodore, deck, dock, dollar, duck* ("cloth"), *freight, furlough, gherkin, gin, groat, guilder, lighter, mart, nap* (of cloth), *rover,*.etc.

The Dutch influence (amount to about 2,500 words) is visible in:

boodle, bowery, cookie, cranberry, cruller, easel, etching, landscape, etc.

1.4. Modern English

The language from 1500 onwards (up to 1650) is called *Modern English*. By the time it reached this stage in the development a large part of the original inflectional system had disappeared entirely, therefore it can be best described as the period of lost inflections. The progressive decay of inflections is only one of the developments that mark the evolution of English in its various stages.

The Early Modern period witnessed the most decisive and far-reaching changes in the history of English pronunciation: a systematic reorganization of the long vowel system, known today as the Great Vowel Shift. This process began in the fifteenth century and was completed by 1700. (Horobin, 2016: 32)

Furthermore, a number of radical changes occurred at the level of vocabulary, under the influence of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors alike. Among the extra-linguistic controlling factors, we mention:

(1) the advent of the printing press (in Germany), which was brought to England in 1476 by William Caxton, and which put an end to manuscripts in less than a century. To understand the magnitude of this invention upon the development of vernacular language, let us provide some figures: over English 20,000 books, massive folios, pamphlets etc. (to illustrate their diversity) had appeared in England by 1640 - by way of comparison, before the 16th century, a rough estimate indicates 35,000 books in Latin printed all over Europe. Hence, printed materials became more accessible to ever wider populations, belonging to different social classes.

(2) the rapid spread of popular education: during the Middle Ages education reached as far as the middle class, and the tendency continued as far as the Modern English period is concerned, especially due to the development of newspapers.

(3) the increased contact between different parts of the world, mainly based on commerce, transportation and means of communication, resulting not only in the exchange of commodities, but also of ideas. Besides, the expansion of the British Empire made possible the contact with other realities around the globe, which linguistically was reflected local idiosyncrasies, in the enrichment and enlargement of the English vocabulary, etc.

(4) the growth of specialised knowledge - definitely, new realities and new knowledge are described by new words, coinages. During this period, Latin began to lose its exclusive status as the universal currency of learning (concerning both spoken and written production).

(5) the rising awareness of the vernaculars - the real driving force behind the establishment of any national language was popular demand, which had to be met. Linguistic identity was defined at the individual and collective level alike, people starting to adopt the standard grammar and pronunciation at a time when debates about the English language orthography and the enrichment of the vocabulary were an issue, although language planning and policy were not official concerns.

A survey of the Modern English age (historically corresponding to Renaissance) will indicate a number of general characteristics with respect to linguistic matters, best summed up by Baugh and Cable (2002):

In the sixteenth century the modern languages faced three great problems: (1) recognition in the fields where Latin had for centuries been supreme, (2) the establishment of a more uniform orthography, and (3) the enrichment of the vocabulary so that it would be adequate to meet the demands that would be made upon it in its wider use. (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 189)

Hence, we detect that attention was paid to the vernacular language in an attempt to consolidate its status and raise its prestige via improvement of the literary style, spelling and pronunciation reforms (for instance, the Great Vowel Shift) and vocabulary expansion as a defense mechanism. It was a time when English started to be introduced in the education of the middle class and upper class, fitting for purpose. Alongside the development of spoken English, a written standard (free from dialectal variations or idiosyncrasies, i.e. English as used in London and at the court) tends to be mandated. It is also noteworthy that the first bilingual (Latin - English) and monolingual dictionaries are compiled, contributing to the establishment of Standard English although, obviously, many aspects remained unsettled. The humanistic spirit largely featuring this period was felt in a willingness to venture linguistically, to experiment, to put faith in scholars, to allow for variation, etc.

In alignment with all of the above, the Modern period is a flourishing time for translations into English, especially in the 16th century with the revival of learning: Caesar was translated by Arthur Golding in 1565, Livy and Sallust and Tacitus were rendered into English before the end of the century, Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* were translated by of Sir Thomas North and published in 1579, translations of Virgil, Ovid (1567), Horace (1566 - 1567), Terence, Theocritus, etc. were also known. Homer was translated by Chapman starting from 1598. Furthermore, the translators paid attention to medieval and contemporary authors such as Saint Augustine, Boethius, Erasmus, Calvin, Martin Luther, etc.; therefore translators can be said to have played an important role in the issue of the worthiness of Latin *vs*. the vernacular, contributing, among others, to the recognition of English as a language of serious thought.

A spelling reform was needed because conventional spelling did not match the changing pronunciation, and because of the high variability of spelling from writer to writer. Several attempts to devise a more consistent and uniform spelling system were recorded, and they were more or less radical in nature. We retain the following:

- *An A.B.C. for Children* (before 1558);

- Thomas Smith 's *Dialogue concerning the Correct and Emended Writing of the English Language* (1568 - the work was written in Latin, which explains its low popularity);
- John Hart's *An Orthographie* (1569), *A Method or Comfortable Beginning for All Unlearned, Whereby They May Bee Taught to Read English* (1570);
- William Bullokar's *Booke at Large, for the Amendment of Orthographie for English Speech* (1580);
- Charles Butler's *The English Grammar, or The Institution of Letters, Syllables, and Woords in the English Tung* (1634), etc.
- However, all these disparate efforts seem to have been wasted; it is Richard Mulcaster's *Elementarie* (1582) that is credited to be the most comprehensive and important work as he based his spelling reform on custom and usage.

As far as the vocabulary changes and expansion is concerned, the period is characterised by attempts of naturalisation, adequacy and elegance. Influences from Latin, French, Italian and Spanish make up new additions[4], especially learned words - the so called *inkhorn terms*, even if sometimes they looked awkward, leading to verbosity. However, many of the borrowings during the Elizabethan age proved to be motivated, being in use even today.

- **Latin and Greek loans**

They are said to have entered the language through the written medium of communication, belonging mainly to the field of religion and education and learning - we exemplify by:

adapt, alienate, allurement, allusion, anachronism, appropriate, assassinate, atmosphere, autograph, benefit, capsule, chronology, consolidate, consult, denunciation, dexterity, disability, disregard, disrespect, emanation, emancipate, emphasis, encyclopedia, enthusiasm, excrescence, exist, extinguish, excursion, expectation, expensive, external, habitual, halo, hereditary, impersonal, jurisprudence, malignant, meditate, system, tantalize, thermometer, tonic, etc.

[4] In fact, mainstream literature claims that Modern English vocabulary borrowed from more than 50 languages.

Among the scholars who have contributed to this, Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), the well known author of *Utopia* (1516), an English humanist and statesman[5], is credited for the introduction of the following items:

absurdity, acceptance, anticipate, combustible, compatible, comprehensible, concomitance, congratulatory, contradictory, damnability, denunciation, detector, dissipate, endurable, eruditely, exact, exaggerate, exasperate, explain, extenuate, fact, frivolous, impenitent, implacable, incorporeal, indifference, insinuate, inveigh, inviolable, irrefragable, monopoly, monosyllable, necessitate, obstruction, paradox, pretext, etc.

Sir Thomas Elyot (1490-1546), an English diplomat and scholar, advocating the use of English for literary purposes, he himself being also a prose writer and literary translator, enriched the English vocabulary with words such as:

accommodate, adumbrate, adumbration, analogy, animate, applicate ("apply"), *beneficence, encyclopedia, exerp* ("excerpt"), *excogitate / excogitation, exhaust, exordium, experience, exterminate, frugality, implacability, infrequent, inimitable, irritate, modesty, placability,* etc.

Furthermore, Sir Thomas Elyot is recognised

for his championship and use of English prose for subjects then customarily treated in Latin. Both as a philosopher and as a lexicographer, he endeavoured to "augment our Englysshe tongue" as a medium for ideas. (https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-Elyot)

Thomas Elyot also epitomises another important tendency, namely, the strengthening the use of the Latin loan, clarifying meaning through contextual glossing (paraphrase, doublets, etc.), as in the following excerpts from his writings (notably, *The boke named the Gouernour*, 1531 and *The Castel of Helth*, 1536?):

adminiculation [or help]
(Source: Sullivan and Walzer, 2018: 79)

animate or give courage

[5] https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-More-English-humanist-and-statesman/Legacy

(Source: Bech and Möhlig-Falke, 2019: 121)

celerity, commonly called speediness
(Source: Turberville Eliot, 1817: 74)

circumspection whiche signifieth as moche as beholdynge on every parte.
(Source: Brinley Jones, 1970: 29)

devulgate or set forth
(Source: Sullivan Jr., Stewart, 2012: 320)

The first edition of his Latin - English dictionary, namely *The Dictionary of syr Thomas Eliot knyght* (1538) (the second edition was published in 1542, and the third in 1545, which proves the popularity of the bilingual dictionary at the time; three more posthumous editions came out of the print in 1548, 1552 and 1559). The merits of his pioneering work are well explained by Stein (2014), Elyot being, in fact, the first to use the word *dictionary* in an attempt to establish a new type of language work combining classical knowledge and scientific thinking:

Within the history of English lexicography Elyot's book is the first actually to be called a "dictionary". The term itself was not yet common, being first used in the form 'dixionare' as a translation of Latin dixionarius in a manuscript of the Medulla grammatice, a Latin–English dictionary dating from about 1480.23 Elyot's use of the word 'dictionary' may have been prompted by his main source, Ambrosius Calepinus' Dictionarium. From the second edition onwards, the title was in any case changed to Bibliotheca Eliotae: Eliots Librarie. (Stein, 2014: 8)

His dictionary included not only single unit entries, but also multiple unit items such as From proverbs and "quick sentences"; likewise, common vocabulary entries are mixed with technical terms. We exemplify by:

Finis, the ende, the conclusyon. also intente or purpose, whervnto any other thing hath relation, or is made or done for.

Fines plurali, the borders or marches of a countrey, boundes.
(Source: Stein, 2014: 34)

ST, a voyce of him that commandeth silence, as we say in englishe, husht, whã we wold haue one to holde his peace - where *voice* is a technical term.
(Source: Stein, 2014: 43)

Without a shadow of doubt, Elyot worked from what we nowadays call an interdisciplinary perspective, his empirical and experimental research having strongly impacted beyond his times:

Elyot's achievement as a "neologiser" may be investigated from two different angles: his own literary works and his translations of literary works on the one hand, and his lexicographical work on the other. (Stein, 2014: 295)

- **The French influence**

alloy, ambuscade, baluster, bigot, bizarre, bombast, chocolate, comrade, detail, duel, entrance, equip, equipage, essay, explore, genteel, mustache, naturalize, probability, progress, retrenchment, shock, surpass, talisman, ticket, tomato, vogue, volunteer, etc.

- **Italian words**

algebra, argosy, artichoke, balcony, cameo, capriccio, cupola, design, granite, grotto, piazza, parmesan, portico, stanza, stucco, trill, violin, volcano, etc.
In some cases, French mediated the Italian influx: *battalion, bankrupt, bastion, brigade, brusque, carat, cavalcade, charlatan, frigate, gala, gazette, grotesque, infantry, parakeet, rebuff*, etc.

- **Spanish and Portuguese imports**

alligator, anchovy, apricot, armada, armadillo, banana, barricade (in Shakespeare's use: *barricado*), *bastiment, bastinado, bilbo, bravado, brocade, cannibal, canoe, cedilla, cocoa, corral, desperado, embargo, hammock, hurricane, maize, mosquito, mulatto, negro, peccadillo, potato, renegado* (the original form of *renegade*), *rusk, sarsaparilla, sombrero, tobacco, yam*, etc.

It was not rare that the Spanish imports (generally due to the contact with the New World and with Spanish colonies) were made through French: *cavalier, grenade, gallery, palisade, pistol,* etc.

- **Asian borrowings**

From Persian and Arabic, mediated by Turkish: *divan, sherbet, turban, yogurt,* etc.
Indian items: *bungalow, cot, dungaree, pukka, pundit, shampoo,* etc.

- **Domestic sources**

Two diverging tendencies were recorded: on the one hand, older English words were revived, on the other hand, new words were coined and put into circulation.

Thus, Gabriel Harvey (1550?-1630), an intimate friend of Edmund Spenser (1552?-1599)[6], strongly opposed to Latin and Greek influences, replacing the scholarly words by native equivalents - for instance, in his translation of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, he discarded *centurion* and proposed *hundreder, crucified* was substituted by *crossed, lunatic* by *mooned, prophet* by *foresayer, proselyte* by *freshman, resurrection* by *gainrising,* etc.

Poetical innovations, generally labelled *Chaucerisms,* manifested either as:

- a revival of old words: *astound, blameful, displeasance, enroot, doom, forby* ("hard by", "past"), *empight* ("fixed", "implanted"), *natheless, nathemore, mickle, whilere* ("a while before") or

- innovations - *askew, filch, flout, freak*. Edmund Spenser's list contains *bellibone* ("a fair maid"), *belt, bevy, birthright, blatant, braggadocio, chirrup, cosset* ("lamb"), *delve* ("pit", "den"), *dit* ("song"), *drizzling, endear, enshrine, fleecy, forthright, glen, glee, glance, gloomy, grovel, merriment, rancorous, shady, squall* ("to cry"), *surly, verdant, wakeful, wary, wrizzled* ("wrinkled"), etc.

[6] Author of *The Faerie Queene,* written in what would become the famous Spenserian stanza.

Richard Mulcaster (1531-1611)[7], an educator, could also be considered a lexicographer in advance of his time. *The First Part of the Elementarie* (1582) is regarded as innovative with respect to the spelling reform, and for issuing the first call for a comprehensive dictionary of English. Mulcaster was in favour of borrowing from different languages although he took great pride in English: "I loue Rome, but London better, I fauor Italie, but England more, I honor the Latin, but I worship the English." (https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/mulcaster-richard)

Other, more or less significant attempts have been made by:

- Robert Cawdrey in *A Table Alphabeticall of Hard Words* (1604), comprising about 3,000 terms;
- John Bullokar's *English Expositor* (1616);
- Henry Cockeram's by the *English Dictionarie or An Interpreter of Hard English Words* (1623) - adding words such as *adpugne, adstupiate, bulbitate, catillate, fraxate, nixious, prodigity, vitulate*, etc. (https://www.britannica.com/topic/dictionary#ref114016);
- Blount's *Glossographia or A Dictionary Interpreting All Such Hard Words As Are Now Used in Our Refined English Tongue* (1656), where he collected words from his own reading (https://www.britannica.com/topic/dictionary#ref114019);
- Edward Philipps' *New World of English Words* (1658), drawing heavily on Blount's material and method (https://www.britannica.com/topic/dictionary#ref114019), etc.

Any discussion of the evolution of the English language cannot be fully rounded without mentioning the major contribution of William Shakespeare as he is recognised to have the largest vocabulary of any English writer (more than 17,000 words) due to his resourcefulness and openness - he readily accepted new words of various origins. *The Oxford English Dictionary* credits Shakespeare with the introduction of nearly 3,000 words into the language. Among them, we mention the following:

academe, accommodation, agile, allurement, antipathy, apostrophe, assassination, catastrophe, consonancy, critic(al), courtship, critic, demonstrate, design, dexterously, dire, discountenance, dislocate, domineering, emphasis, emulate, expostulation, extract, frugal,

[7] He is believed to be Shakespeare's model for the pedant Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost* (https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/mulcaster-richard)

generous, heartburning, hereditary, horrid, impertinency, indistinguishable, jig, manager, meditate, misanthrope, modest, obscene, ode, pathetical, pedant, premeditated, prodigious, reliance, submerged, vast, etc. < Latin and Greek

ambuscade, armada, barricade, bastinado, cavalier, mutiny, palisade, pell-mell, renegade, etc. < Spanish and Portuguese

It is worth pointing out that some of these words entered the language before Shakespeare used them, yet he is the one promoting them. Furthermore, Shakespeare employed pre-existing lexical items with new meanings, closer to their etymological meaning, for instance:

- *to atone* - "to set at one, reconcile" (see *Othello*);
- *to communicate* retained its original (religious) meaning "to share or make common to many" (see the *Comedy of Errors)*;
- *to expect* meant *"to await"* (see the *Merchant of Venice*);
- *humorous* most likely meant "damp" or "capricious", "moody" (see *Romeo and Juliet, Love's Labour's Lost*);
- there is need for disambiguating the contextual meaning of *light*: "daylight", "intellect", "seeking wisdom" (see *Love's Labour's Lost*);
- *nothing* in Shakespeare's days was pronounced in the same way as *noting* – "paying attention", "taking note" (see *Much Ado about Nothing*);
- a *shrew* was less bad than a *scold* (see *The Taming of the Shrew*).

As New Historicism contends, Shakespeare's plays represent a source of plural, often contradictory meanings, which underwent change over time.

All these lexical and grammatical reforms and additions boosted the prestige and circulation of English among the inhabitants of the British Isles - surprisingly, before the 17th century, English

... was spoken as a native language in a very small area of the globe indeed: it was the native language of the indigenous population in most of England, and in the south and east of Scotland. It was, however, absent from much of Cornwall and from Welsh-speaking parts of Shropshire and Herefordshire; most of the population of Ireland was Irish-speaking; nearly all of the population of

Wales was still Welsh-speaking; the inhabitants of the Highlands and Hebridean Islands of Scotland spoke Gaelic; those of Orkney and Shetland spoke Scandinavian Norn; the population of the Isle of Man was Manx-speaking; and the inhabitants of the Channel Islands were still French-speaking. (Trudgill, in Watts and Trudgill, 2002: 29)

1.5. 17th- and 18th-century English (the Classical and the Augustan Age)

The period is generally characterised by greater awareness of the importance of language in all the spheres of life, under the influence of classical standard and of rationalism, respectively, and in search for regularity and stability.

As far as linguistic matters are concerned, the efforts were directed towards the standardisation, refinement and fixation of the English language.

(1) standardisation - the main focus was no longer on the development of vocabulary, but on the codification of language, i.e. on grammar, as grammar usage showed the largest variation at all not only among different users belonging to different social classes, but also among the same ranks. Therefore, standardisation work engendered decisions concerning the establishment of one single authoritative and prestige standard as bitterly criticised by Dryden[8] in *A Discourse Concerning Satire* (1693): "we have yet no prosodia, not so much as a tolerable dictionary, or a grammar, so that our language is in a manner barbarous" (cited in Burke, Crowley and Girvin, 2003: 294).

In the 18th century standardisation was summed up in the word *ascertainment* whose meaning was "a settled rule; an established standard" at the time, according to Dr. Johnson, and to Swift in *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue* (1712).

(2) refinement - regretful hindsight of the good old days and the lament about English going downward was the general feeling as expressed by Swift who praised the great Elizabethans, claiming that the following age (the Restoration) added merely corruptions in English, an opinion shared by Dryden in his *Dictionary* (hailed to be the first dictionary, although earlier lexicographical compilations existed), and in the *Preface* to the *Fables* (1700) that: "from Chaucer the purity of the English tongue began".

[8] Outstanding poet, dramatist, literary critic and translator of his times that came to be known as *the Age of Dryden*.

Refinement was identified with the elimination of "imperfections" or "barbarisms" such as:

- the clipping of words: *extra* for *extraordinary, hyper* for *hypercritic, hyp* for *hypochondriac, incog* for *incognito, mob* for *mobile, rep* for *reputation, penult* for *penultimate, ult* for *ultimate,* etc.;

- contraction of verbal forms: *disturb'd, drudg'd, fledg'd, rebuk'd,* etc.;

- use of new fashionable terms: *banter, bubble, bully, cutting, palming, sham, shuffling,* etc.

As far as the fixation of the English language is concerned, the attempts to establish an English academy started in the early 17th century, following the example of the French Academy. These efforts intensified with the Restoration, being supported by leading literary figures such as John Dryden, Daniel Defoe, Jonathan Swift etc.

In 1712, Swift addressed a letter to the earl of Oxford, Lord Treasurer of England, which was published under the title *A Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue*. The words that Swift used to describe his mother tongue were " extremely imperfect", subject to "daily corruptions", suffering "multiplied abuses and absurdities". He firmly believed that an academy was best qualified to do this work and would succeed in reforming the language and fixing the language permanently. The importance of Swift's (1712) *Proposal for Correcting, Improving, and Ascertaining the English Tongue* is given by the fact that it authoritatively directed attention to the problems of language and to the need of imposing a standard:

But the English Tongue is not arrived to such a degree of Perfection, as to make us apprehend any Thoughts of its Decay; and if it were once refined to a certain Standard, perhaps there might be Ways found out to fix it forever. (Swift, 1712, cited in Horobin, 2016: 73)

Dr. Samuel Johnson and Thomas Sheridan also advocated an institution to perform the role of regulating body in linguistic matters, designed to correct, improve and "ascertain" English. In 1755 Dr. Johnson published *A Dictionary of the English Language*, reflecting his huge volume of work for seven years. Its main merits lie in fixing the English spelling,

providing examples or contexts of use (116,000 quotations, occasionally altered) for thousands of words, therefore being a reliable record of current usage at the time. Besides, Dr. Johnson aimed to achieve grammatical purity, eliminate colloquial "barbarisms" and irregular combinations, quoting from canonical texts - "50% of the quotations are from Shakespeare, Dryden, Swift, Pope, Addison, Hooker, Bacon, the King James Version and some have a moral point" (van Gelderen, 2006: 246). What his dictionary does not achieve is the fact that it does not indicate or prescribe pronunciation.

The 18th century witnessed an increased interest in (prescriptive) grammar as a subject worth of study in itself. We exemplify by:

- William Loughton's (1734) *Practical Grammar of the English Tongue* (1734) (printed in 5 successive editions);
- Joseph Priestley's *The Rudiments of English Grammar* (1761);
- Robert Lowth's (1762) *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (enjoying at least twenty-two editions);
- James Buchanan's (1763) *The British Grammar;*
- John Ash's (1763) *Grammatical Institutes* for British English;
- Noah Webster's (1784) *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language (the 2nd part)* for American English;
- Lindley Murray's (1795) *The English Grammar (*a revised edition was published 15 years later and sold 2,000,000 copies).

Without a shadow of doubt, their influence was most significant as they were used in education in schools, their circulation being not limited among a few scholars and grammarians.

To provide further supporting evidence, we mention that Lowth (1762) applied Latin grammar to English, introducing rules such as *It is I* rather than *It is me*, the conditions of use for *who/m* and *between vs. among*, of double negatives and the split infinitive. Many of the rules that he boldly postulated are maintained in contemporary English in the 21st century.

As already pointed out, the attempts to improve the grammar were paralleled by those aimed at reforming the vocabulary, showing the same purification tendency. For instance:

- Jonathan Swift strongly opposed the use of *mobb* and *banter*.

- George Harris discarded *betwixt, bolstering up an argument, chaulking out a way, driving a bargain, encroach, handling a subject, inculcate, methinks, purport* and *subject-matter* as simply favoured by custom, but creating confusion.
- Campbell criticized the use of *man of war,* for *ship of war; merchantman* for *a trading vessel*, and considered words such as *devoid, despoil, disannul, downfall, foursquare, furthermore, muchwhat, nowadays, oftentimes, selfsame, unto, until, wherewithal* to be used in a redundant manner for *void, spoil, annul, fall, square, further, much, now, often, same, to, till, wherewith.*

Nevertheless, these objections could not lead to the elimination of many of the words in question, which are still in use to this day.

- **The French impact**

Lexically, the French influence was overriding since French was at the height of its prestige all over educated Europe. It was but natural to import from French, some of the loans enjoying "permanent acceptance":

ballet, boulevard, brunette, canteen, cartoon, champagne, chenille, cohesion, coiffure, connoisseur, coquette, coterie, dentist, faux pas, liaison, negligee, patrol, pique, publicity, routine, soubrette, syndicate. (Baugh and Cable, 2002: 272).

- **Native American loans**

Increased opportunities for local variation, especially due to colonial expansion, were more obvious with the vocabulary than with any other language dimension. The native American population's influence is detected in words such as:

caribou, hickory, hominy, moccasin, moose, opossum, papoose, raccoon, skunk, squaw, terrapin, toboggan, tomahawk, totem, wampum, wigwam, etc.

Sometimes the imports were mediated by Spanish and Portuguese:

chili, chocolate, coyote, tomato (of Mexican origin);

barbecue, cannibal, canoe, hammock, hurricane, maize, potato, tobacco (coming from Cuba and the West Indies);
alpaca, condor, jerky, llama, pampas, puma, quinine (from Peru);
buccaneer, cayenne, jaguar, petunia, poncho, tapioca (from South America regions).

- **The flavour of India**

bandana, bangle, bengal, Brahman, bungalow, calico, cashmere, cheroot, china, chintz, coolie, cot, curry, dinghy, indigo, juggernaut, jungle, jute, loot, mandarin, mango, nirvana, pariah, polo, punch (drink), *pundit, rajah, rupee, sepoy, thug, toddy, tom-tom, verandah*.

- **The African input**

banana, Boer, boorish, chimpanzee, gorilla, guinea, gumbo, Hottentot, palavar, voodoo, zebra. Sometimes such loans were transferred via Dutch.

- **As far as from Australia**

boomerang, cooey, kangaroo, paramatta, wombat, etc.

1.6. 19th- and 20th century English

Some of the most authoritative sources date from the late 19th century. For instance, Webster's *Compendious Dictionary of the English Language* (1806) contained 37,500 words. Webster's work underpinned a nationalist standpoint: to show that in spite of sameness, American English is different from British English by virtue of different socio-historical conditions and political systems. The second edition (recognized on the official website as the first one) was published in 1828, and Webster Third appeared in 1961 - this updated edition is called *Third New International Dictionary, Unabridged*, and it includes 476,000 entries. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary takes pride in becoming "America's leading and most-trusted provider of language information" (https://www.merriam-webster.com/about-us).

The first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) (under the title of *The New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*) in 1884, and issued in a series of fascicules up

to 1928, stands out for its diachronic approach to the English vocabulary development. The authentic materials it is based on illustrate changes in spelling, meaning, and usage over time. According to Horobin (2016):

To enable coverage of this vast historical spectrum, the OED editors relied upon the efforts of an extensive volunteer reading programme. [...] More significantly, the OED has tended to perpetuate the prominence of great literary writers such as Shakespeare, whose works were exhaustively mined for inclusion. [...] The validity of this procedure was apparently endorsed by the completed dictionary, which showed that Shakespeare and Chaucer were indeed the earliest cited authors for many innovative usages. (Horobin, 2016: 57)

The earlier editions of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) tended to focus on British English, but it came to incorporate texts from all over the English-speaking world. Even to this day, writers such as Shakespeare, Chaucer and Milton and the canonical texts such as the Authorized Version of the Bible (1611) are privileged, continuing to shape the contemporary usage, although a large-scale and major revision of the dictionary entries has been underway since the beginning of the new millennium - see Figure 6 below.

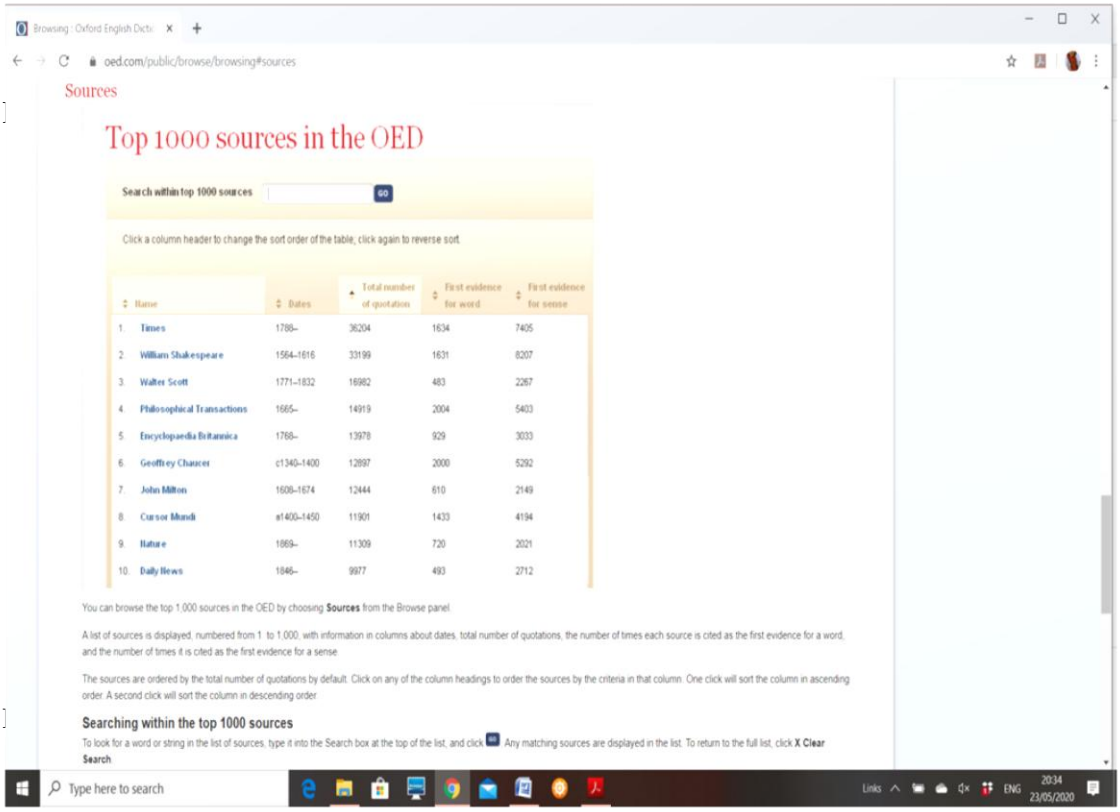


Figure 8. Top sources of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (https://www.oed.com/public/browse/browsing#sources)

The Oxford English Dictionary (*OED*) counts 600,000 words, 3.5 million quotations and over 1000 years of English (https://public.oed.com/about/). Language mirrors progress, and this is certainly the case of the English language as spoken by powerful nations. For example, *The Oxford English Dictionary* provides the following timeline of new words that have become well known internationalisms:

1940: *borscht belt, clochard, intercom, male chauvinist, Okinawan, panzer, paratroops, Picassian, Quisling, roadblock, sitzkrieg, superbomb, superconduction, West Nile virus*

1950: *apparat, bonsai, brainwashing, encrypt, fall-out, geekish, hi-fi, information theory, lateralization, LSD, McCarthyism, moving target, napalm(ing), open-heart, Orwellian, psychometrician, yellowcake, to zonk*

1960: *bionics, breathalyzer, Castroism, dullsville, dumbo, kook, to market test, minivan, nerdy, over-inhibition, reportability, software*

1970: *biofeedback, citizen advocacy, detox, herstory, humongous, minidisk, offroading, poststructural, yucky*

1980: *ecofeminism, to download, mega-rich, neohippie, neopunk, non-veg, power dressing, Reaganomics, waitperson, what's-her-face*

1990: *bi-curious, cringeworthy, DWEM (Dead White European Male), emoticon, feminazi, greenwashing, nanostructured, Nostraticist, soap-dodger*
(Source: van Gelderen, 2006: 241)

It is not only fascinating, but also rewarding to see how English expresses the progress of humankind in almost all the spheres of activity:

- aeronautics and space science: *airplane, aircraft, blast off, command module, countdown, flyby, helicopter, launch pad, spacecraft, space shuttle*, etc.

- the automotive industry: *ATV, automatic transmission, bumper, chassis, clutch, convertible, coupe, garage, horsepower* (recorded in the early 19th century), *to park* (originally a military term), *sedan, SUV*, etc.

- film, radio and television: camera, *cinema* and *moving picture* (dating back to 1899), *DVD, film, focus, photograph* (appearing as early as 1839), *radio* (dated 1925), *scenario, screen, television* (launched in 1904), *videotape, VCR*, etc.

- chemistry: *alkali, benzine, cellophane* (1921), *creosote, cyanide, formaldehyde, nitroglycerine, radium, rayon* (1924), etc.

- computer science and technology: the first computers date since World War II, but the digital devices and gadgets flourished starting from the 1980s - it seems mission impossible to list all the items related to computer science and technology that appeared in the late 20th century and are part of our daily lives now we venture to mention only *bit, byte, software, hacker, download, Internet, network, virus, workstation, windows, etc.* Domestic appliances - *refrigerator* is first recorded in American English in 1841, *typewriter* and *telephone* also belong to American English.

- medical terms: *AIDS, aspirin, CAT scan (computerized axial tomography), cholesterol, EKG (electrocardiogram),* HIV, *hormones, insulin, radiotherapy, vaccine*, etc.

- psychology: *behaviorism, bonding, defense mechanism, ego, extrovert* and *introvert, inferiority complex, inhibition, psychoanalysis*, etc.

- physics: *dynamo, commutator, alternating current, arc light* (in use since the late 19th century), atomic energy, the big bang model, laser, etc.

- politics: *banana republic, emancipation, human rights, Cold War, teflon president*, etc.

- transport: *railway, locomotive, public transport, train, turntable* (also recorded in the early 19th century), etc.;

- **Romance languages borrowings**

French: *apéritif, bête noire, chauffeur, chiffon, consommé, fait accompli, garage,* etc.

Italian: *broccoli, ciao, confetti, pasta, vendetta, zucchini,* etc.

Spanish: *bonanza, cantina, canyon, macho, patio, rodeo,* etc. Some of the terms are of Mexican origin: *enchilada, fajita, jalapeño, nachos, taco*, *tortilla*, *tostada*, etc. or entered the English language from the tongue of native populations, via Spanish: *guacamole, tamale*.

- **The German legacy**

angst, festschrift, gestalt, kindergarten, schadenfreude, wanderlust, weltanschauung, zeitgeist, zither, etc.

- **Russian and other Slavic languages loans**

Russian: cosmonaut, troika, vodka, etc.

Czech: *robot*

- **Asian influences**

from China*: yin, yang, t'ai chi,* etc.

from India: *karma, loot, thug,* etc.

from Japan: *geisha, haiku, Noh, sake, samurai, shogun, sushi, soy*, etc.

from Persia*: pyjamas*.

1.7. Conclusions

The chapter describes the long-term process of the English language history, establishing broad temporal divisions as successive stages in the English language development and change in an attempt of accurate reconstruction: Old English (450-1100), Middle English (1100-1500), Modern English (1500-up-to-date, comprising two sub-divisions: Early modern English (1500-1750) and Late modern English (1750-onwards). We proposed to split up the last timeframe so as to recognise that the second half of the last century (in the aftermath of World War II) and the first decades of the new millennium are hallmarked by the unprecedented expansion of English at the global level, resulting in new types of variations geographically and socially and interlinked developments. Therefore, we could rightly state that the systematic changes in English progress in the same direction, while several factors associated with different levels of analysis (phonology, morphology, syntax, the lexicon) interact to produce this cumulative effect.

From a grammatical point of view, the typological trend in English goes towards greater morphosyntactic analyticity, whereas lexically a wide array of inputs impacting at various extents (Celtic, Germanic, Scandinavian, Latin, Greek, Romance languages - French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Slavic languages, domestic sources in the colonised territories) highlight the cosmopolitan vocation of the language that has become a universal donor for the past decades. It is also noteworthy, that although it remains Germanic in its structure, contemporary English is heavily indebted to Latin and French in point of vocabulary sources.

CHAPTER TWO
OWNERSHIP OF ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA. DIVERGING AND CONVERGING TRENDS

Motto:

English may be the only language connected to (virtually) all other languages directly, since every language community contains some multilinguals with English in their repertoires. (Ammon, 2010: 104)

2.1. In search of a name

It is common knowledge that the ongoing internationalisation of English has been supported by technological advancement and demographic movements in the past two decades, impacting not only on the way it is used, but also on the way it is conceptualized and theorised. The obvious outcomes are the unprecedented diversification, which "makes English as a lingua franca (henceforth ELF) a phenomenon that is *sui generis"* (Cogo and Dewey, 2012:1), and the increased empirical research interest.

Hackert (2014) also embraces the evolutionary theory as a explanatory model of the English language variations, while drawing attention to the fact that *evolution* has often used indiscriminately to refer to both *development* and *change.*

In sum, a natural process of evolution was complemented by modern civilization in reducing the number of languages worldwide and carrying English to absolute dominance. The disappearance of languages at the hands of English thus did not need to cause any qualms if, as many observers believed, the reduction in the number of languages spoken was, in principle, attributable to natural selection, and modern civilization only aided in completing what was inevitable anyway. (Hackert, 2014: 285)

In our opinion, the tracking of the evolution of an international language should start from an overview of terminology for clarification and harmonisation purposes, and in search of a name to use consistently. It should also be stated that the conceptualisation of English as

an international language is centred on issues of native vs. non-native speakers (nativeness) inclusion, (speech) community and variety coupled with globalisation[9] on the grounds that we cannot separate linguistic aspects from socio-cultural ones as aptly indicated by Bhatt (2010) and Mair (2014) when discussing the complex interplay of the linguistic flows (local, regional, transnational and pancontinental):

One of the defining features of globalisation is the increasingly complex and multifaceted interactions of localism and globalism. The post-colonial contexts present us with a vibrant site where local linguistic forms – inflected by the nexus of activities taking place elsewhere in time and space – are constantly transforming in response to asymmetric exchanges, pluralized histories, power plays, and battles over polysemous signs. The transformation makes available a semiotic space where a repertoire of identities evolves in the inter-animation of the colonial-global and of the indigenous local. (Bhatt 2010: 520)

Currently, there is a wealth of parallel terms and related acronyms in circulation - *Global English(es)(GE), World English(es)(WE), New Englishes, English as a World Language, International English (EIL), Lingua Franca (ELF),* etc., or even simply *English,* which can cloud ongoing discussions and conceptualisations, an idea to which different scholars have pointed out in a more or less peremptory tone. Görlach (2002: 9) warns against the vague and all-inclusive nature of these terms loosely used as synonyms, but failing "to provide a framework for more detailed, and better defined, studies of the functions of English". In the same vein, Dröschel (2011) calls for a functional perspective:

Even though these terms identify the large scale use of English, they seem to be largely interchangeable and lack precision when accounting for the different functions English has acquired in various sociolinguistic contexts. (Dröschel 2011: 34)

In what follows we shall examine a number of far-reaching definitions in order to determine their coverage and frequency.

[9] "Telecommunications, transportation, shipping, and banking are indeed among the handful of industries that can be claimed to instantiate world - wide globalization *qua* networks of interconnectedness and interdependence. These particular industries also make it obvious that the world is not equally interconnected; countries with the highest globalization index are more centrally connected than others, and the so - called *global cities* are more interconnected than other places" (Mufwene, 2010: 32).

Quirk *et al*. (1972) use the tripartite division of *English as Native Language* (*ENL*), *English as Second Language* (ESL) and *English as Foreign Language* (EFL) in an attempt to provide an international ideologically neutral norm by defining *Standard English* (*SE*).

The following years witness a shift away from this paradigm, i.e. the British or American English norms (due to their status of native languages) no longer represent the standard in the process of the English language internationalisation. Therefore, pluralism - *Englishes* - is enshrined by recognising hybridisation instead of sticking to genesis alone.

In this timeline and setting the agenda, two landmarks are the years 1979 - when Gorlach founds the book series *Varieties of English around the World* (VEAW) - and 1980 - when he becomes editor of the journal *English World-Wide* (the first issue being registered in November 1980), having Kachru as advisory editor. The collective endeavour, as well as the rising interest is also illustrated by the journal *World Language English* (birth date: 1981) mainly addressing English language teachers, re-launched in 1985 under the name *World Englishes*, under the editorship of Braj Kachru and Larry E. Smith. The forum-like spirit is obvious in the publication of conference proceedings - such as *English for Cross-Cultural Communication* edited by Smith (1981), *The Other Tongue edited by Kachru* (1982), and in other outputs - notably, the establishment of special interest groups such as the *International Committee for the Study of World Englishes* (*ICWE*) in 1988 and of the *International Association of World Englishes* (*IAWE*) in 1992.

Tom McArthur founds the journal *English Today* in 1985, David Crystal joining as associate editor. In the first issue, Bailey (1985: 3) launches "The Idea of World English", supported by McArthur's (1985: 11) "An ABC of World English". Convergent thinking and action among the British linguists publishing in this journal (Crystal, Greenbaum, Quirk, Svartvik among others) results in the *ICE* (*International Corpus of English*) initiative in 1990. Quirk et al.'s (1985: 15-16) notion of a grammatical "common core" or "nucleus" shared by all varieties, "however esoteric a variety may be" reflects the prevailing ideology of the time. Two varieties, namely, British English and American English, are said to impose their standard "as the case may be" (Quirk et al. 1985: 4).

The pluralising term *World Englishes* was further interrogated and, at the same time, advocated in the early 1990s when a sub-field - *New Englishes* (by analogy with *New literatures in English*), is established. New Englishes refer to postcolonial settings where English enjoys neither an official status nor a national standard, being infused with local elements. Mufwene (1994) draws attention to the fact that the pluralised name might be an illusion because of some implicit exclusive stances in disguise. The main argument lies in the

fact that creoles, which represent the languages used by the indigenous large populations in the former colonies, are marginalised, downplayed, and they find no place within *Englishes.*

In the mid to late 1990s, isolated attempts to provide a well-documented description of *English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)* are recorded (notably, Firth, 1996; House, 1999; Jenkins, 1998). EFL has gained the well deserved attention in the new millennium when it has built a conceptual and methodological framework and established its own practices, underpinning empirical studies. Jenkins (2000) is among the leading figures whose milestone publications impose the denomination of *ELF*. Jenkins (2000) focuses on the phonological features of ELF at the socio-linguistic level (for mutual intelligibility) while putting faith in the future of *ELF*: "it remains to be seen whether ELF ultimately catches on" (Jenkins, 2000: 11).

She is closely followed by Seidlhofer (2001: 133), who calls for a large scale and systematic investigation of the formal properties of "the most extensive contemporary use of English worldwide", closing a conceptual gap and pleading for the recognition of a new linguistic reality and of the associated category of users: "lack of a descriptive reality precludes us from conceiving of speakers of lingua franca English as language users in their own right".

Pennycook (2003, 2007) consistently uses *Global Englishes* to replace World Englishes which he dismisses for discriminating against nativised English varieties. In Pennycook's anti-imperialist view, *Global Englishes* integrate the ground-level linguistic flows and adaptations of English, creolisation being a dynamic process of interchange, of globalization from below.

The subsequent ELF-oriented research shifts the focus away from the empirical investigation of naturally occurring ELF talk to the factors explaining the emergence of new varieties of English, and leads to corpus-based investigations, which continue to grow, qualitatively and quantitatively (see Seidlhofer, 2005, 2009; Jenkins, 2006, 2007; Mauranen and Ranta, 2009; Mauranen *et al*., 2010, etc.).

Seidlhofer (2011: 18) points out that *English as a Foreign Language,* which she discards for not being able to describe and explain the current realities, takes the native speaker norms as a point of reference. In the same climate of opinion, Cogo and Dewey (2012), Cogo (2015) and Jenkins (2015) integrate *English as a Lingua Franca* to the big family of *Global Englishes*, whereas *English as a Foreign Language* pertains to another paradigm in which English is learnt with a view to communicating with native speakers. Hence the main difference lies in the envisaged contexts and participants to the speech event

- to Cogo (2015: 2), "ELF is a flexible, co-constructed, and therefore variable, means of communication" that is not geographically confined since it equally includes membership to virtual communities developing "ELF communicative practices". Furthermore, *English as a Lingua Franca* targets contexts across cultural backgrounds and levels of language proficiency, becoming "a more inclusive label, which overall emphasises difference and variability, over the reductive, deficient and fixed perspective" of *English as a Foreign Language* (Cogo, 2015: 3). It becomes a question of the speakers' using the available plurilingual resources in a creative and flexible manner to "co-construct their common repertoire in accordance with the needs of their community and the circumstances of the interaction" (Cogo, 2015: 3).

In another line of approach, a major concern is expressed by Kachru and Nelson (2006: 2) who point out that *ELF, EIL* and *WE* "idealize a monolithic entity called "English" and neglect the inclusive and plural character of the world-wide phenomenon". Jenkins (2006) explains the difference between *World Englishes (WE)* and *English as a Lingua Franca* (*ELF): WE* is concerned with *nativised*[10] varieties of English (such as Indian English, Nigerian English, Singaporean English, etc.) in opposition with *ELF* designating a contact (shared) language used by speakers of various linguacultural backgrounds. Furthermore, their theoretical and empirical focus does not overlap: *WE* is placed within the variationist tradition in which the description and analysis of sociolinguistic variability prevails, aiming to identify specific linguistic patterns, decomposable into the grammatical, lexical and phonological distinctive traits. On the other hand, *ELF* refers to interactions taking place in highly variable linguacultural contexts (which, from a sociolinguistic perspective, cannot be contained or described as accurately as speech communities in point of territory, status/class, gender, etc.).

Seidlhofer (2007) questions the conceptual framework of *EFL*, which she believes to need updating to map the global realities. Therefore it should not be envisaged in a relation of interdependence with *speech community,* the latter being redefined as having less to do with geographic location (proximity), with group cohesion, and much more to do with interactional networks that may operate independently of physical setting. Accordingly, the scholar proposes to replace *speech community* by *community of practice*[11] as a more workable solution.

[10] The multiplication or redundancy of terminology is obvious in this case, too: *nativised* is interchangeable with *indigenized* and *institutionalized.*
[11] The phrase was coined by Wenger (1998).

Schneider (2007: 5) identifies ELF to *Postcolonial Englishes* / *New Englishes*, as "individual instances" emerging from a process of change of the English language when "relocating and re-rooting" - undergoing "uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent socio-linguistic and language-contact conditions". The local variety is said to transfer features from the native language (L1) or substrate languages (ESL) (Schneider, 2007: 99) and in time develops a new local(ised) norm or standard.

Kachru and Smith (2008: 2) also take a pluralistic stance favouring the "inclusive concept of World Englishes". Pakir (2009: 228) promotes the "pluricentricity of English [. . .] accepting that language changes and adapts to new environments" - in other words, plurality is inherent in language and it should not be necessarily reflected in a pluralized name. Moreover, commonality and diversity should not be considered mutually exclusive, rather, they are complementary. Making a choice, Pakir (2009) contends that *ELF* meets the above mentioned criteria to qualify for an inclusive concept.

The *Mouton World Atlas of Varieties of English* (*WAVE*) (Kortmann and Lunkenheimer, 2013), equally advocating the use of *World Englishes*, can be rightly considered a large-scale survey of spoken language, succeeding in "mapping 235 features in 48 varieties of English (traditional dialects, high-contact mother tongue Englishes, and indiginized second-language Englishes) and 26 English-based Pidgins and Creoles in eight Anglophone world regions (Africa, Asia, Australia, British Isles, the Caribbean, North America, the Pacific, and the South Atlantic)", becoming a highly valuable tool for linguists, sociolinguists, etc. (https://www.degruyter.com/view/title/123616).

Wiltshire (2014: 13-14) sees *New Englishes* as an overarching notion, including both ESL and EFL, on the grounds that "they result from contact between English and some other language(s), rather than being generally transmitted from and to monolingual English speakers"; from a comparative perspective, they resemble vernaculars by lacking a well defined norm, "at least during their earlier stages of formation", and ESL/EFL by similar sequences (transfer from mother tongue, development of an interlanguage, etc.) and patterns of acquisition (difficulties in assimilating certain structures, markedness at the phonetic and phonological level, etc.).

Filppula *et al*. (2017: xi) opt out for the term *Englishes*, openly recognising both diverging and converging trends at the global level.

To wrap up, the term *ELF* has done far more than catch on as Jenkins (2000) professed; it has become well established and popular. It has caught on to the extent that ELF

is now a field of investigation in its own right, aiming to demonstrate the fluidity of ELF rather than identifying a set of core linguistic features - see Table 1 below:

In search of a name	Source /Authorship
English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)	Firth, 1996 House, 1999 Jenkins, 1998, 2000, 2006, 2007, 2015 Seidlhofer, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2009; Mauranen and Ranta, 2009 Pakir, 2009 Mauranen *et al*., 2010 Cogo and Dewey, 2012 Cogo, 2015
English as a World Language* /** ***World English(es)(WE)	Kachru, 1985, 1988, 1992 Bailey, 1985 McArthur, 1985 Kachru and Smith, 2008 Kortmann and Lunkenheimer, 2013
English World-Wide	Gorlach, 1980
International English (EIL)	Crystal, Greenbaum, Quirk, Svartvik, 1990
Global English(es)(GE)	Pennycook, 2003, 2007
Postcolonial Englishes* /** ***New Englishes	Schneider, 2007 Wiltshire, 2014
English(es)	Kachru and Nelson, 2006 Filppula *et al*., 2017

Table 1. Parallel terminology for *English as a Lingua Franca* (*ELF*)

2.2. The history of a global(ised) language

As pointed out by Bauer (2002), English begins its expansion before the Elizabethan age - the author estimates that the number of English native speakers at the time of Elizabeth I (1533–1603) amounted to about 7 million, whereas non-native speakers were scarce, English being a small and isolated language. Bauer (2002: 13ff) caters the timeline of the linguistic expansionism in the British Isles and elsewhere as follows:

- 12th century: establishment of the Pale, an exclusive English-speaking area round Dublin, by the Normans, which evolved up to the 17th century;
- 1535: the *Statute of Wales* imposes English as the official language of the country for all official purposes;
- by 1553, English trading ships reach West Africa;
- late 15th century: the first settlements are in place in North America, and Cabot explores Canada (1497 - Newfoundland is chartered);
- 1603: James VI of Scotland, succeeding Elizabeth I, also becomes James I of England - Scotland and England merge into Great Britain;
- 1607: the first enduring settlement in North America is established at Jamestown, Virginia. It is also the year of the English language imposition in Ulster plantations;
- 1620: another impactful settlement in North America, when the ship *Mayflower* lands present-day Massachusetts (subsequently founding the town of Plymouth) instead of Virginia;
- 1621: a Scottish settlement is allowed in Nova Scotia;
- 1642: Tasman discovers Tasmania and New Zealand;
- 1650: Cromwellian settlements in Ireland;
- 1763: The French cede Canada (comprising only French-speaking areas, not the large territories of today) to the British, which hallmarks the beginning of the British strong foothold in North America;
- 1769 -1770: Captain James Cook reaches the coastline of New Zealand, and lay claims to east Australia for the British crown;
- 1788: the first penal colony is established in Australia, at Botany Bay (present-day Sydney).
- 1795: taking over of the Cape Colony in South Africa.

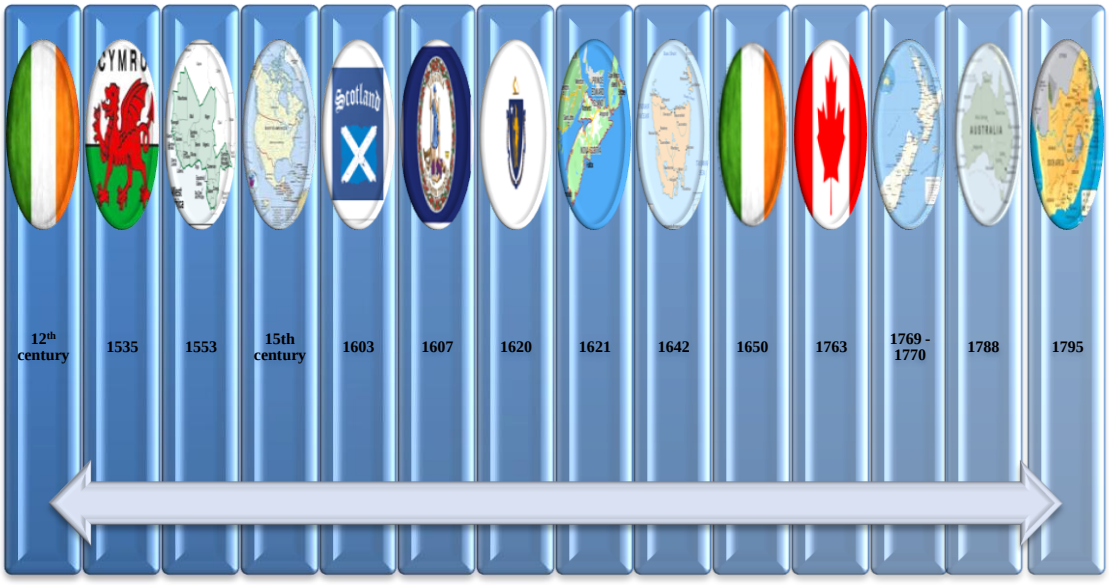


Figure 9. Timeline of the English language expansion

It is therefore obvious that by the end of the 18th century, English had spread globally as a first language or as an additional one. Its expansion continues in the 19th century due to demographic movements; more precisely, about five million Irish people emigrate to the United States (McCrum *et al.* 1986: 188), leave alone those ending up in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, seeking better life opportunities. Admittedly, the English language globalisation cannot be explained solely in geographic terms, more importantly, it is due to economic (trade, industrial strength), religious (Christianity) and geo-political reasons; besides, in the colonial period the ascendancy of English is based on "unreflecting arrogance" (Bauer, 2002: 18), the US military and economic power has been felt since the First World War, and the scientific discourse has been carried out primarily in English starting from the second half of the 20th century. Demographically, in a time span of 500 years, the number of English language users around the globe has increased from four million speakers in 1500 (Pennycook, 1994: 7) to about two billion speakers at the turn of the millennium (Jenkins, 2003: 2).

De Swaan (2001: 2ff) associates the expansion of English to its achieving a high profile and undisputed position as a global language in the *World Language System* in the new millennium, i.e. in "a strongly ordered, hierarchical pattern" where the (big) players are "connected by multilingual speakers", as follows:

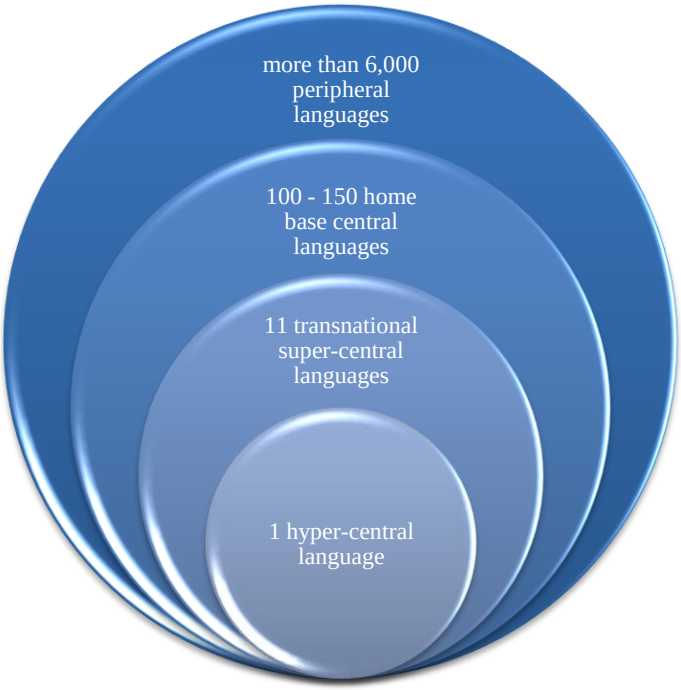


Figure 10. The World Language System

Therefore, facts and figures translate into:

- 1 hyper-central language: English;
- 11 transnational super-central languages: Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili;
- 100 - 150 home base central languages: Dutch, Finnish, Korean, etc.
- more than 6,000 peripheral languages (with a small number of native speakers, with no written standard and media circulation).

The global and international status of English is therefore ascribed according to several factors: the number of native speakers, the number of ESL speakers, the number of EFL speakers, geographic reach and density, the official or working capacity in international organisations (the United Nations Organisation, the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Commonwealth, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, The Group of Seven G7, etc.), and, last but not least, its operationalisation, i.e., the contexts of use (politics, diplomacy, banking, finance, media, trade, tourism, technology, science, leisure, etc.) and frequency of communicative events. Crystal (2003: 62ff) provides interesting datasets in this respect:

- English is spoken in 75 territories as an official or second language;
- the total number of speakers amounts to 2.24 billion people;
- the number of native speakers totals 329,140,800; adding up the number of speakers of pidgins and creoles (c. 80 million people), then we have c. 400 million L1 users;
- the number of ESL speakers is of 430,614,500;
- the number of EFL speakers is calculated as a ratio of native to non- native speakers: L1:L2=1:3.

Crystal (2003) highlights that the annual L2 population growth rate is significantly higher than the L1 population growth rate, which means that the status of EFL (L2) will strengthen, while Ricento (2010: 128) discusses the distribution of L1 speakers in terms of power differentials: "the richest and most militarily powerful nation in the world - the US - happens to be home to about 75 percent of the world's *native* English speakers", and de Swann (2010) empowers language users whose expectations shape the present and future of English, and which might explain the downsizing/downgrading of French and Russian as second and foreign languages:

If people anticipate that a language will become current in their section of the world language system, they will not hesitate to adopt it themselves; but if, on the other hand, they suspect that in their environment one language will be abandoned for another, they themselves will use it less, will neglect to teach it to their children, and will favor the new language. (Swann, 2010: 58)

If in 1950 over 8% of the world's population was represented by native speakers of English, by 2050 the share will go down to less than 5%, according to the estimates of the *Sex and Age Quinquennial,* United Nations Population Division.

As per 2020, the *Ethnologue* (https://www.ethnologue.com/language-development) assesses language development and vitality / endangerment in terms of language policy and planning: "Language development is the result of the series of on-going planned actions that language communities take to ensure that they can effectively use their languages to achieve their social, cultural, political, economic, and spiritual goals", in compliance with several indicators:

- *graphisation* or the development of a writing system in use;
- *standardisation* or the development of an overriding norm / standard;

- *modernisation* or "the development of the ability to translate and carry on discourse about a broad range of topics including those that are new or foreign to the local community".
- literacy rates in the language in question (on a comparable basis);
- the existence of serious imaginative literature in the language, as well as of survival literature (newspapers, magazines, other print materials);
- the use of the language in the traditional and new media (social media, included);
- the use of the language for official functions (government, administration, etc.)
- the use of the language by others as a second language or foreign language.
- which, in assessing ethnolinguistic vitality, categorises 1,481 languages as “in trouble,” and a further 906 as “dying".

According to these criteria, languages fall into:

- *Vigorous* - not endangered, used by all the generations of speakers on a daily basis; 2,102 (30%) of the 7,117 world living languages are granted this label;
- *Developing* - undergoing graphisation, standardisation and modernisation; the inventory counts 1,549 (22%) languages;
- *Institutional* - used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community; accounting for 540 (8%) languages - English belongs to this category;
- *Educational* languages;
- *Wider Communication* languages;
- *Provincial* languages ;
- *National* languages;
- *International* languages.

The last five categories in the above classification are featured by the increasing number of users and uses of the language, irrespective of the language status (L1 or L2). Without a shadow of doubt, English is a *Vigorous* language due to its geographical, social and cultural widespread:

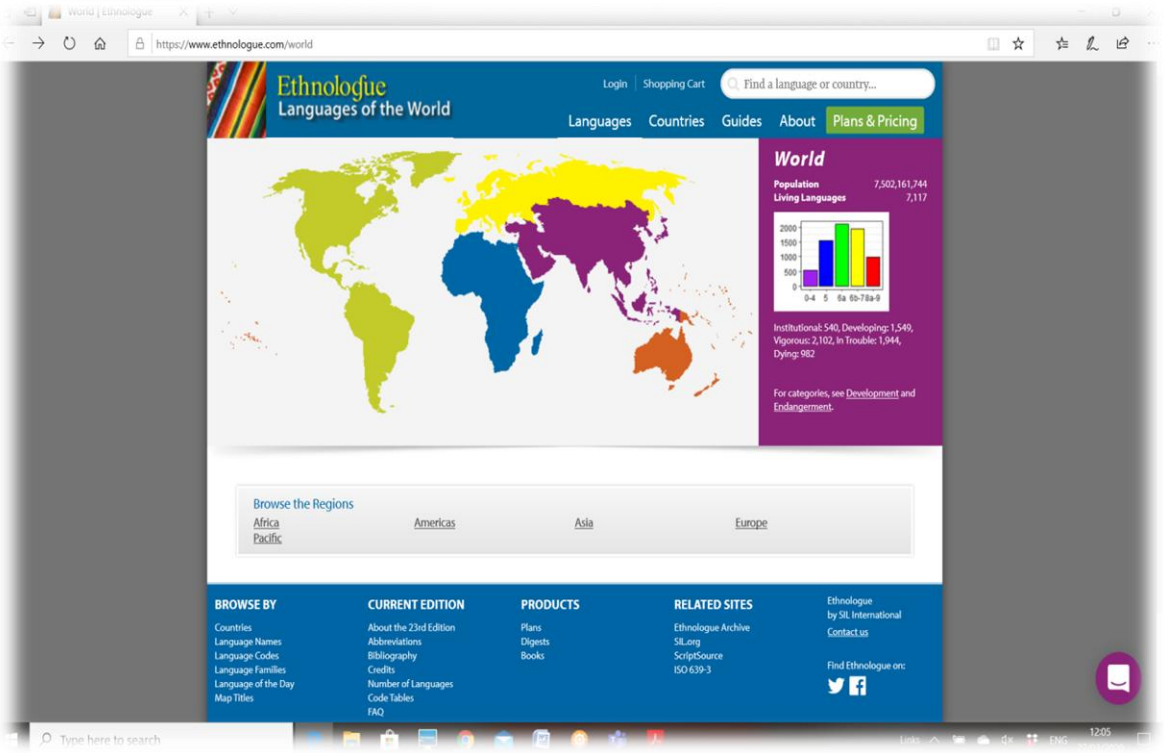


Figure 11. English spread around the world

(Source: https://www.ethnologue.com/world)

Figure 12. Number of English language speakers around the world

(Source: https://www.ethnologue.com/guides/ethnologue200)

The merit of synchronic typological evaluations lie in their democratic perspective, although hierarchies cannot be discarded at all - see also the Figure 11 below:

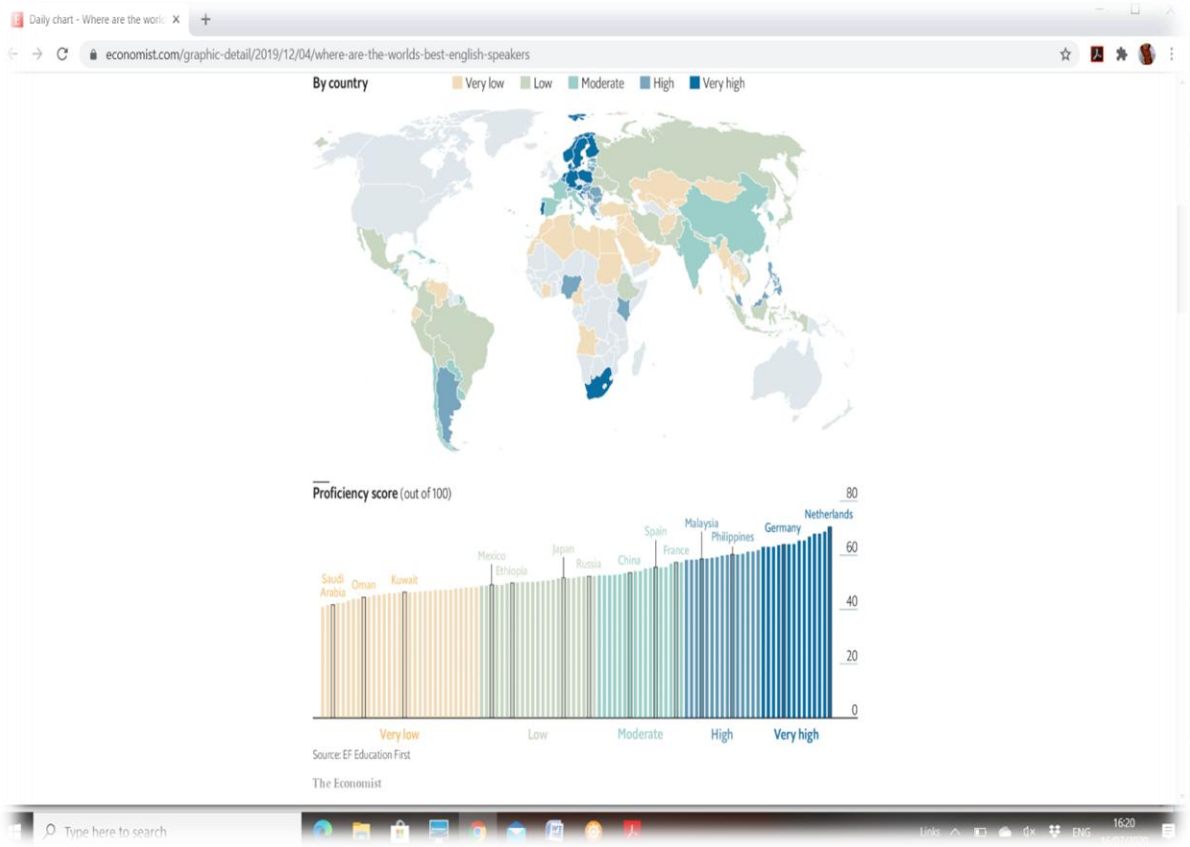


Figure 13. Ranking of world's best non-native speakers of English (Source: https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2019/12/04/where-are-the-worlds-best-english-speakers)

2.3. The big family and big players

Several models of English splitting up into a number of recognisable variants have been put forward by different scholars - in what follows, we shall discuss both their strengths and weaknesses with a view to achieving an integrative framework including descriptive and functional levels.

- **The ENL-ESL-EFL Model**

Strang (1970: 17-19) is recognised to be the first to distinguish English-speaking communities by virtue of the way they have acquired the language and use it. Perhaps more importantly, Quirk *et al*. (1972) make the fundamental distinction between *English as a Native Language* (*ENL*), *English as a Second Language* (*ESL*) and English as a *Foreign Language* (*EFL*) according to the functional range of the speech community - an idea to be later encountered with Kachru (1997) when separating *functional nativeness* from *genetic*

nativeness. In spite of its intuitive appeal and conceptual simplicity, the *ENL-ESL-EFL* model proposed by Quirk *et al*. (1972) is amenable to criticism for its bias, i.e. the ascendancy attributed to ENL varieties and native speakers over other varieties and categories of speakers.

- **The Map and Branch Model**

At the core of Strevens' *Map and Branch Model* (1980), British or American standards are considered the root of the English varieties, American English laying the foundation of American English in the US, of Canadian English, of English in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, while British English is said to have influenced the rest of the world. The agency of the language users is overtly recognised by Strevens (1981: 1): "more use of English", i.e., its wide spread, is accompanied by "more different kinds of English". The major criticism addressed to this model is that it disregards gradual varietisation of Englishes "in their local context (decentralization)" (Haswell, 2013: 125), i.e. the (localised) English emerging from contact with vernaculars, such as Asian varieties (notably, China English, Singlish, Indian English, Malaysian English).

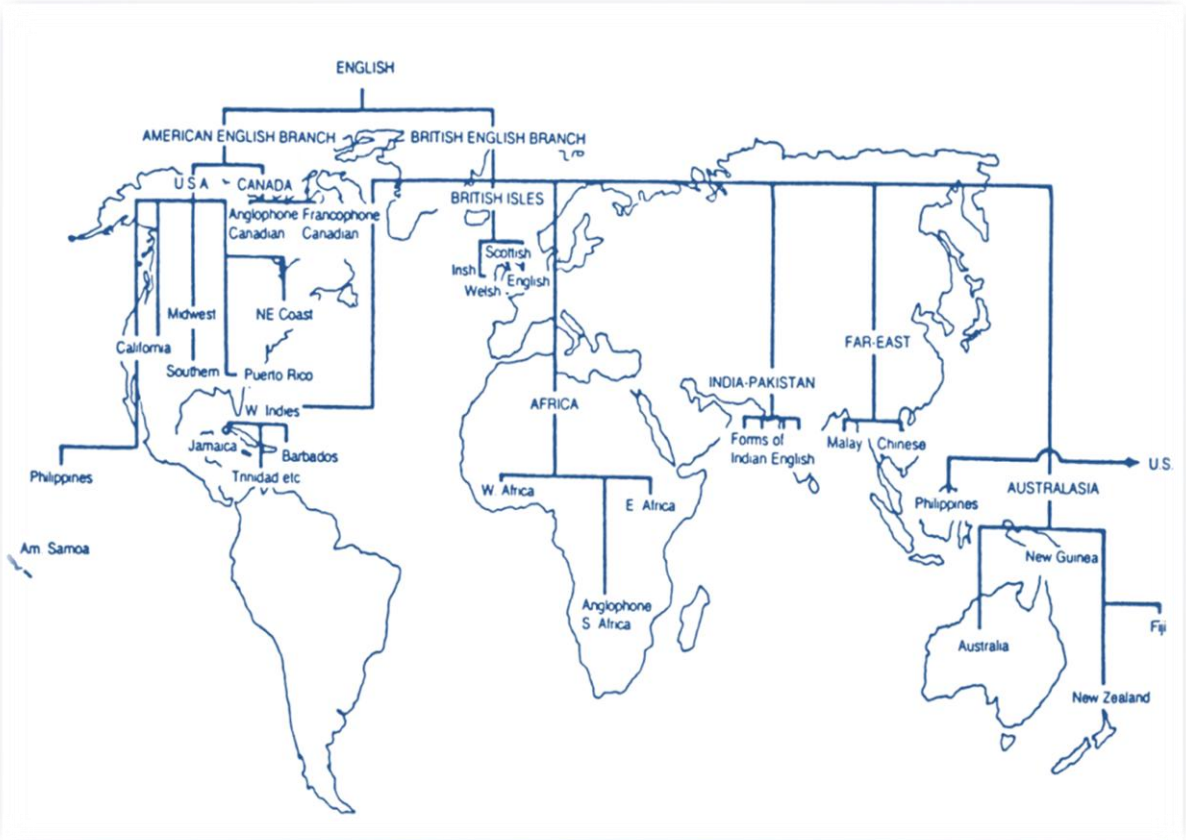


Figure 14. The Map and Branch Model

(Source: Strevens, 1980)

- **The Three Circles Model**

Perhaps, the ubiquitous, most circulated and widely influential of all socio-linguistic constructs, best illustrating the diasporas of English, Kachru's (1985) *Three Circles Model,* conceptualises the spread of English from the "Inner Circle" to "Outer Circle" (English legacy in former colonies) and eventually the "Expanding Circle" (where English holds no official status). Although ambitious and with a broad scope, allowing the Outer Circle varieties to develop their own norms, independent of Inner Circle ones, the model is said to be incapable of accounting for the complex evolution of global English. From a more detail-oriented perspective, the model assigns English language users by country, levelling down their actual proficiency although the author (1985: 18) admits that there are clines of performance within varieties and territories. Criticism equally concerns the fact that the Three Circles do not satisfactorily point out to the roots of World Englishes, and the fact that it denies the existence of some hybrids or blends, i.e. sub-varieties of English such as Raplish in Singapore and Japan, K-Pop in Korea, Cantopop in Hong Kong, etc. Going in-depth, Buschfeld et al. (2014), examines the situation of South Africa, where a large number of people speak an ENL variety while another significant number is made up of speakers of an ESL variety. Not to mention the people who learn English in institutionalised settings and hardly use it for real life purposes, i.e. an EFL variety is at stake with them.

In spite of these strategic costs, we have to acknowledge that this model goes beyond descriptive levels if we consider its focus on norm-governed linguistic behaviour - Kachru (1985: 16) suggests alternative labels for the three circles: "norm-providing", "norm-dependent" and "norm-developing", respectively, allowing country standards pertaining to the Outer Circle or Expanding Circle to become norm providing and more assertive of regional identities, although not specifying in what ways. For instance, Indian, Singaporean and Malaysian Englishes may be claimed to provide norms for other Asian varieties of English. Furthermore, multicultural identities are ascribed to English in terms of functionality, and the author admits that some countries (such as Jamaica although Singapore belongs to the Outer Circle and in spite of the fact that both Jamaican English and Singaporean English are rooted in British English) are difficult to situate in the model.

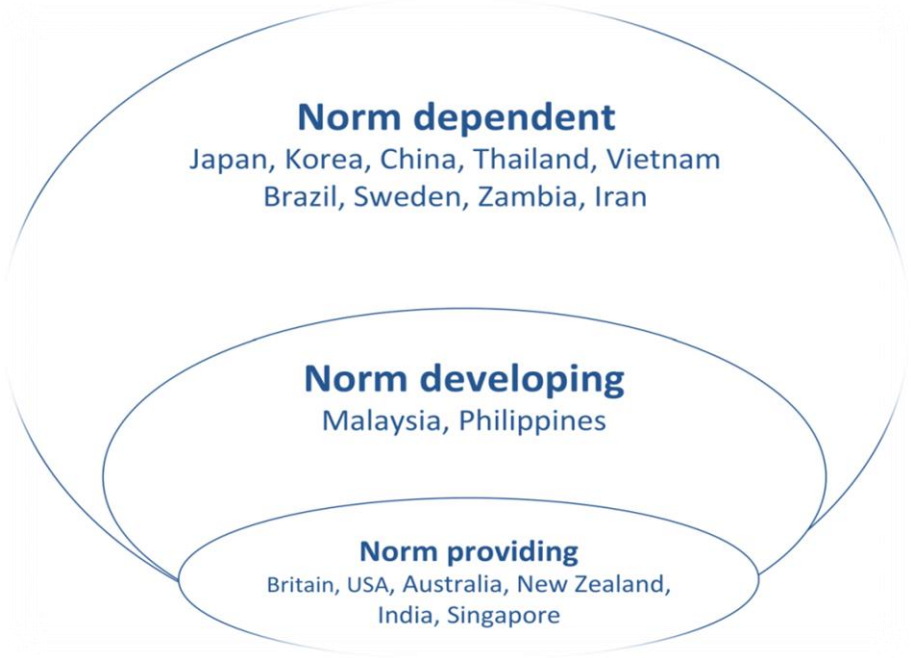


Figure 15. The Three Circles Model revisited

(Source: Kachru, 1985/1996)

... the notable and continuing influence of the model is good reason to place it critically and track developments around and from it. It provides the terminology for ongoing discussions of World Englishes as a point of departure, as a pathway to more refined models, as the means to articulate perspectives which are entirely different from Kachru's. (Gupta, 2015: 206)

- **The Wheel Models**

McArthur's (1987) *Wheel Model* , divided into geographical regions, allots the hub of the circle to the standard variant and aligns creoles with other regional varieties. The greater the distance from the hub, the lesser the mutual intelligibility of the English varieties (more particularly, in the outer rings of the wheel) as they are more contextualised. No intersecting areas between varieties are indicated.

Gorlach's (1990) representation, heavily drawing on McArthur's *Wheel Model*, places the most widespread variety of English in the centre, going down from national and regional varieties to the most local ones, i.e., sub-regional semi-standards, creoles and non-standards.

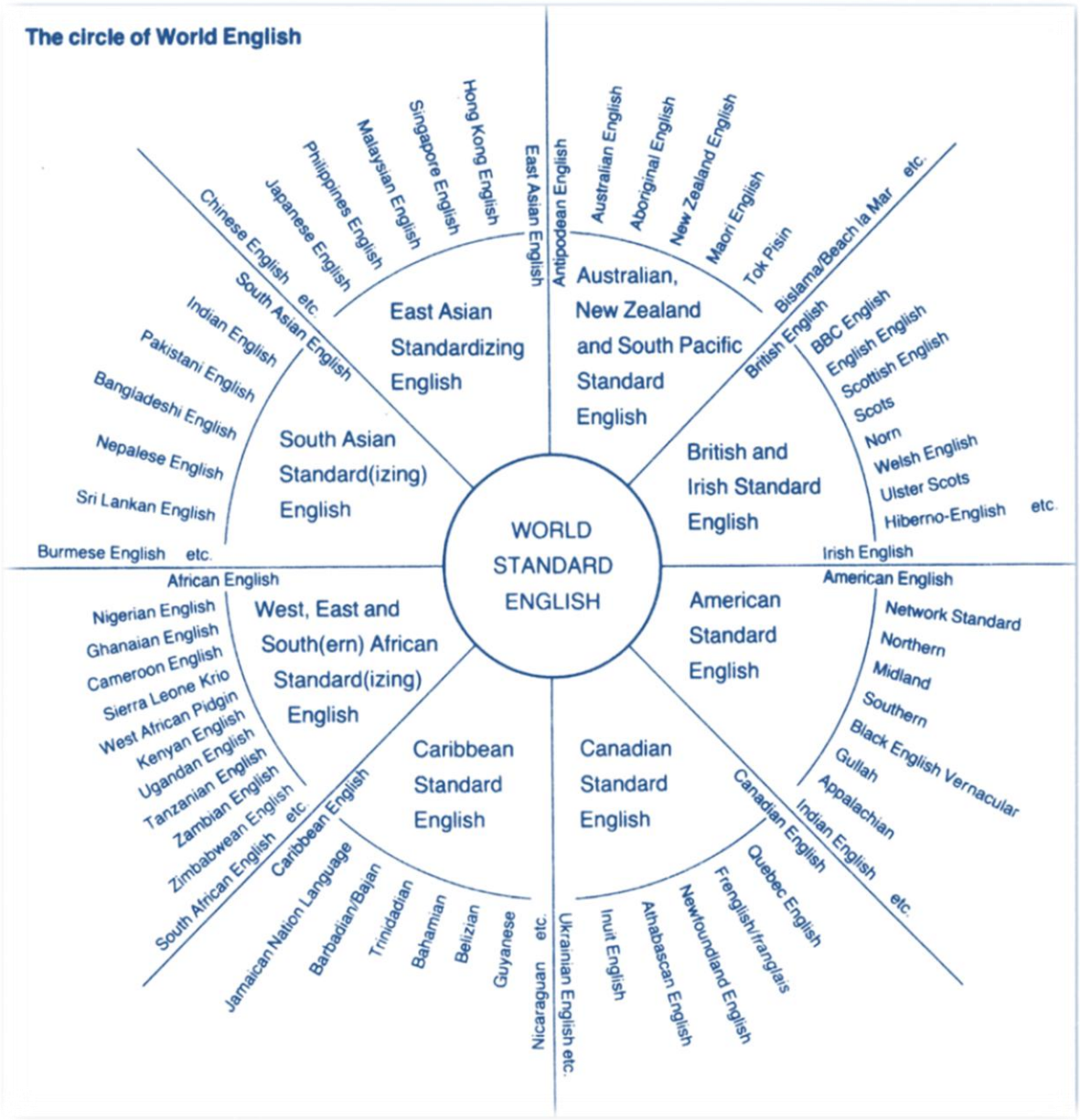


Figure 16. The Wheel Model 1

(Source: McArthur, 1987)

The question of mutual intelligibility is also raised, and Gorlach's (1990) standpoint closely resembles McArthur's (1987), with no clear indication of any hierarchy of the English language varieties.

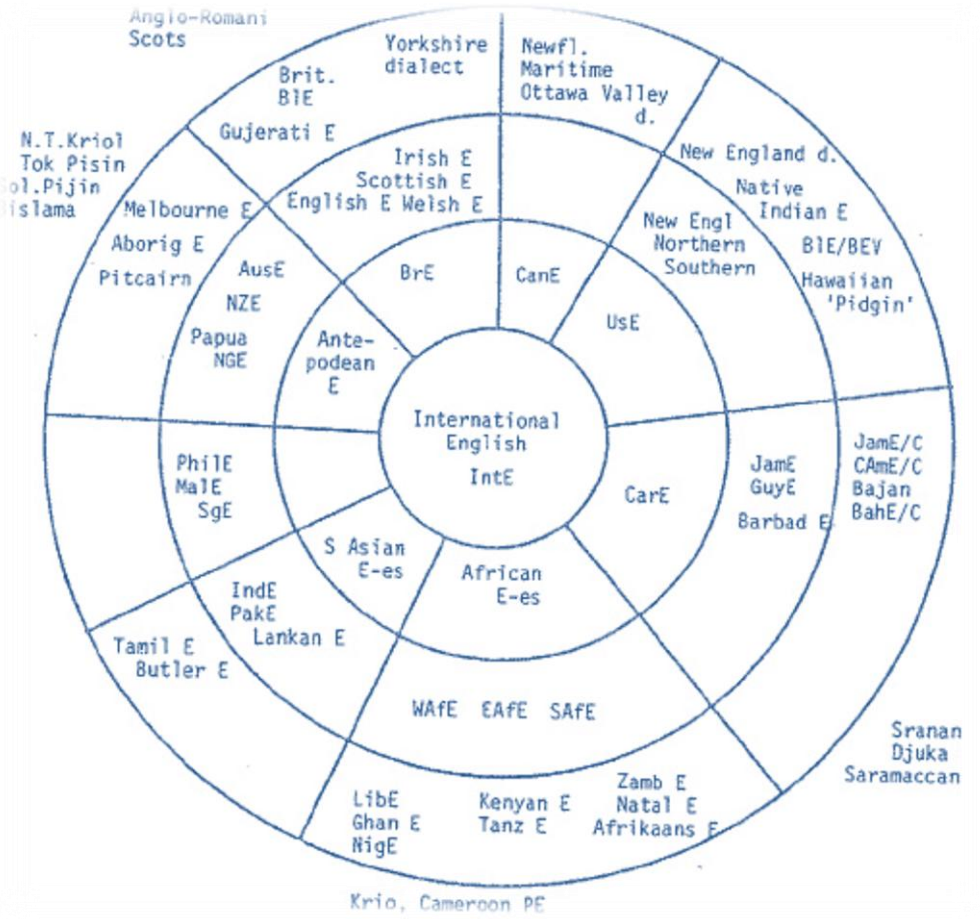


Figure 17. The Wheel Model 2

(Source: Gorlach, 1990)

Another shared perspective lies in the fact that the two models do not point out to the origin of World Englishes, focusing on the idea of a common heritage in the development of different standards of English. The main shortcoming of these two *Wheel Models* is that they are static rather than dynamic.

Bauer's (2002) proposal is rather simplistic, to our mind, failing to account for the influence of the Englishes spoken in Scotland and Ireland on North American variations / dialects, or for Canadian English stemming from British English and US Englishes alike. What the model succeeds to indicate is that English breaking down into a number of mutually intelligible languages somehow parallels Latin giving rise to Romance languages.

Figure 18. Family tree of Englishes

(Source: Bauer, 2002: 20)

- **The Dynamic Model**

In an attempt to provide a more dynamic view of the genealogy of Englishes (embedding contact settings and local specificities), the *Dynamic Model* put forward by Schneider (2007: 5), focuses on *Postcolonial Englishes* / *New Englishes* as "a gradual and mutual cultural and linguistic approximation of the two parties in a colonization process", i.e. as contact languages. Undoubtedly, language contact phenomena feature the entire evolution of English, but it acquired new dimensions during the colonial expansion of English. Likewise, the colonization type plays an important role in the development of the language variety - under the circumstances, Schneider (2007: 24-25) provides four scenarios of language contact framed by the colonisation type:

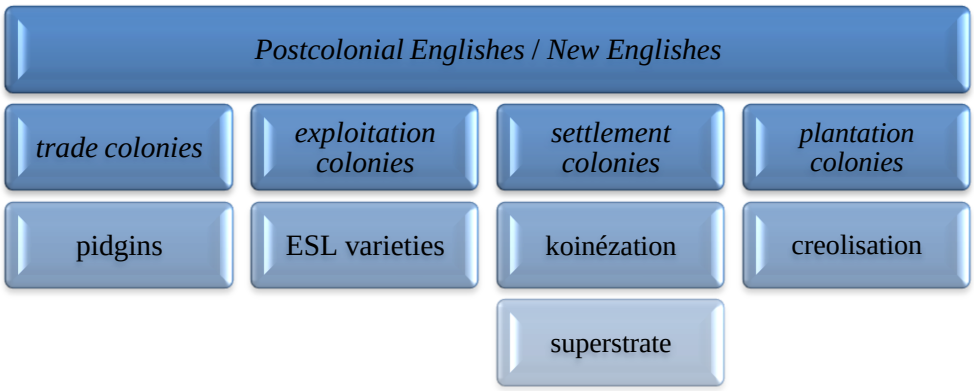


Figure 19. Postcolonial English varieties

- *trade colonies* allowed for "sporadic, short-lived contact" due to the exchange of goods and commodities, where no common *language* was available, which favored the emergence of pidgins. Over time, in some trade colonies (more specifically, West Africa and

Asian ports), these pidgins became stabilised as distinct varieties, and expanded (Schneider 2011: 45).

- in the *exploitation colonies*, which were established in the 18th and 19th centuries, only the educated elite spoke standard English, which lies at the basis of many present-day African and Asian ESL varieties.

- *settlement colonies* are due to migration waves - examples include the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, undergoing a twofold process. In the first stage, many English dialects spread across the colonies and the differences tended to be minimised through koinéisation. In the second stage , a dominant superstrate was imposed.

- in *plantation colonies* the speakers of the coloniser and colonised strands, i.e. the British strand - STL and the Indigenous strand - IDG, created a multilingual setting (the slaves being, more often than not marginalised) in which creolisation took place.

To put it in a nutshell:

*How or why two groups were brought together and what their relationship was like in the early phases of contact turns out to be less important in the long run than the recognition that once the settler group stays for good they will have to get along together, for better or for worse. This insight forces all the parties involved in a contact setting to reconsider and rewrite their perceptions of themselves, their social identities – a process with direct linguistic consequences. (*Schneider 2007: 25-26)

Schneider (2007: 21-27) attaches importance to both types of language ecology, claiming that the choice of English varieties depends both on the *internal ecology*, i.e. the coexistence of linguistic features in a feature pool, and on the *external ecology*, i.e. the socio-historical conditions of language contact. The process of *nativisation* (resulting in local linguistic patterns) causes tension between standard English and local varieties, since overt prestige remains associated with the standard and covert prestige with pidgins and creoles. The author provides the example of Singaporean English as the standard variety, with Colloquial Singapore English representing local identity (Singapore was an exploitation colony), and of Jamaican English (Jamaica was a plantation colony), a creole language rather

than a variety in itself. Endonormative standards tend to replace exonormative standards in the evolution of English language varieties, which leads to stabilisation - in consecutive stages (Schneider, 2007: 56). There are four main parametres - see below:

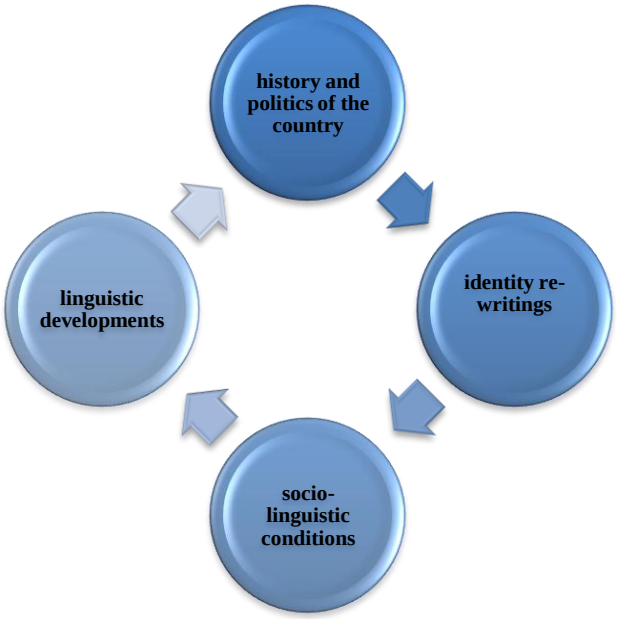


Figure 20. Stabilisation descriptors

and all these parametres shape the five evolution stages in the Dynamic Model:

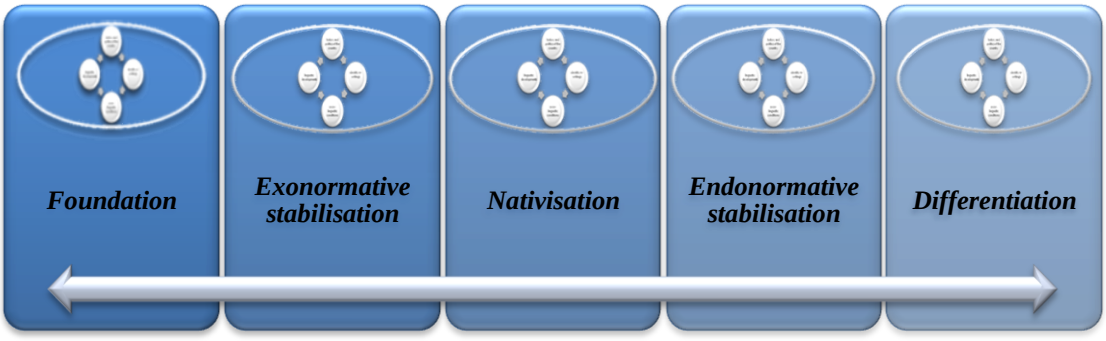


Figure 21. The normativity continuum

- **The Cylinder Model**

Yano's (2001) *Cylinder Model* brings to the fore the contextualization factors and varieties. According to the author (Yano 2001: 124), the head of each cylinder (each cylinder representing a variety) would be the point at which that particular variety is mutually intelligible to all other users of English, and therefore unaffected by context; when grouped

together, the top-facing surfaces of the cylinders form a single face standing for mutual comprehensibility.

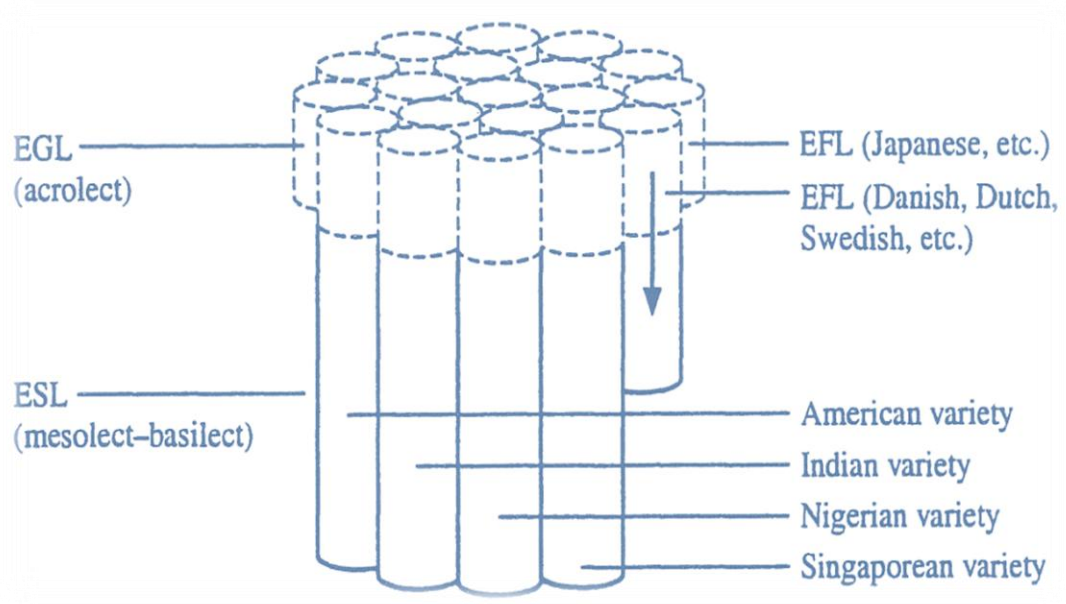


Figure 22. The Cylinder Model

(Source: Yano, 2001)

Yano (2001: 123) uses the term *acrolect*, under the influence of Kachru (1985: 18), to designate the mutually comprehensible upper face of the cylinders, which can be said to be a three dimensional wheel model (i.e., adding varietal comprehensibility). Even if the Cylinder Model relies on variety in context, it does not introduce any dimension related to individual users' ability, attitudes and values.

It is the (sociological, anthropological and linguistic) *Market Approach* and *Proficiency Model*, which add the 4th dimension to Yano's (2001) model, i.e., user-defined value.

The linguistic market operates by suggesting that the greater the mutual utility value, the higher the market value of the variety. This value could be measured by a combination of the prestige attached to a variety and the communicative ability conferred upon the user.[...] However, over time, the prestige value may become less important, with the overall value derived principally from the contextual communicative value. The value of local varieties could eventually supersede the post-

colonial prestige value of ENL[12] *varieties [...] but the "market" would ensure that varieties with little or no wide utility value would remain local.* (Haswell, 2013: 130)

Hence, the focus on contextual language usage will enhance the acceptance of localized varieties.

- **The Proficiency Model**

One of the main representatives of the *Proficiency Mod*el is Modiano (1999), who, in fact, puts forward two successive models in an attempt to signpost the centripetal force of high proficiency users of English, be they native or non-native, who form the new centre, being assimilated to the core of the global English-speaking population. More explicitly, Modiano's (1999a) model of the *Centripetal Circles of International English* shifts away from views including the native speakers vs. non-native speakers dimension, focusing on the users' level and proficiency and degree of mutual comprehensibility. As indicated below, the circle in the centre includes proficient speakers of international English, the next circle refers to proficient speakers of English, be it their mother tongue (first language - L1) or EFL (foreign language - L2), the third circle refers to learners of English whose level of proficiency is low, and the fourth area is made up of people who do not speak English at all.

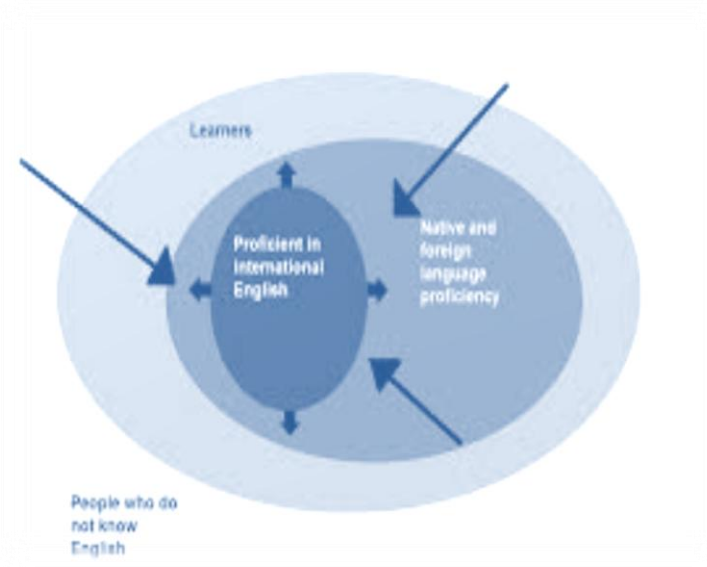


Figure 23. The Centripetal Circles of International English

(Source: Modiano, 1999a: 25)

[12] Terminology frequently includes acronyms: *ENL* (*English as a Native Language*), *ESL* (*English as a Second Language*), EFL *(English as a Foreign Language*), *EIL* (*English as an International Language*), *ELF* (*English as Lingua Franca*)

Jenkins (2003) criticises this model of speakers of International English arguing that the level of proficiency and mutual comprehensibility cannot be assessed owing to the fact that EIL is not a well-defined variety, therefore the assessment criteria are questionable.

Modiano (1999b) revisits the model and replaces the criterion of mutual intelligibility by a core of features shared by all English varieties. Accordingly, the centre is occupied by EIL (English as an International Language) containing features that secure the mutual intelligibility of native and non-native speakers. The second circle embeds features which have the potential of becoming common, and the third circle joins together five groups of varieties whose features are not shared by other English varieties.

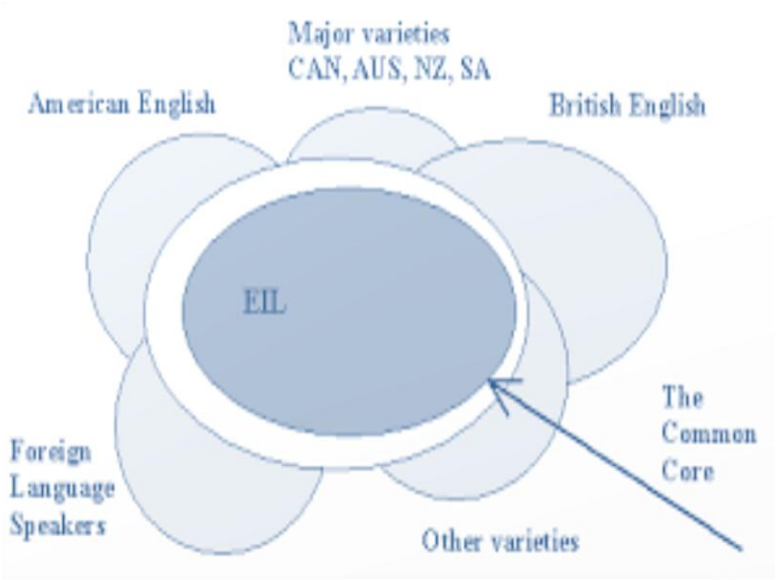


Figure 24. English as an International Language (EIL)

(Source: Modiano, 1999b: 10)

Nevertheless, this model does not seem to be able to provide the distinguishing features between "core and non-core varieties" (Jenkins, 2003: 21).

Drawing on Trudgill (2001) and adopting a user-centred perspective, Dröschel (2011: 36ff), raises the question of borderline cases and of the leading candidate for status of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Thus, English as a Native Language (ENL) also covers countries in which nativised varieties are in place (e.g., Nigeria); it is uncertain, however, whether countries in which English functions both as ENL and as a Second Language (ESL) (e.g., Singapore, South Africa) should be placed on an equal footing with the first category. ESL countries are even more heterogenous - some are multilingual settings (e.g., India, where

English is the intranational lingua franca[13] and a second language for the majority of speakers). In other countries (e.g., China) where English is the first foreign language acquired has the status of EFL because it is not recognised as an official language; but the status of EFL is different in other countries where English is not acquired as a primary language and it is not widely used (e.g., Switzerland). Admittedly, Dröschel (2011) proposes the following model (in our graphic representation):

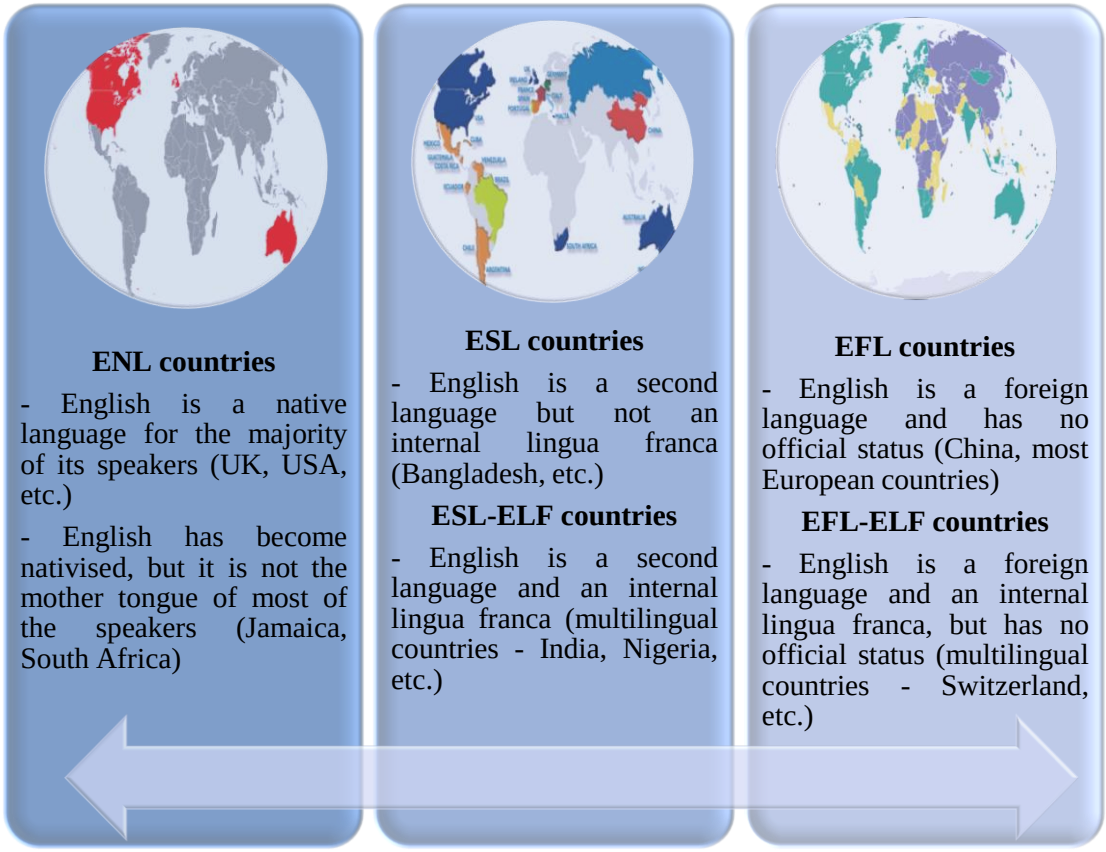


Figure 25. Categorisation of countries according to the societal use of English (adapted from Dröschel, 2011: 37)

- **The Market Approach**

The Market Approach is epitomised by Matsuda (2003) and Bolton (2008) who link language proficiency to the market demand, drawing attention to the Asian context, where the distinction between English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as an International Language (EIL) seems to have become blurred. Asian students will learn a blended version of the standard and their local vernacular based on related operationalised curricula, and their

[13] Trudgill (2001) states that function of an internal *lingua franca* depends on a level of education enabling a large part of the population to acquire English as a second or third language.

language proficiency underpins norm-referenced assessment, i.e. relative to each other, rather than criterion-referenced assessment, i.e., against the standard. Hino (2009: 109-110) proposes a localized model of English - "Japanese English for international communication", which he exemplifies by including changes of verb forms to match the Japanese interpretation, idioms such as "in a forward-looking manner" which is more transparent than the British idiom "it's not cricket", therefore complying with the principle of mutually comprehensibility.

As seen from the ongoing discussion, the dynamics of the models of the establishment of global English indicates steady movement from location to variety and ultimately to the individual users:

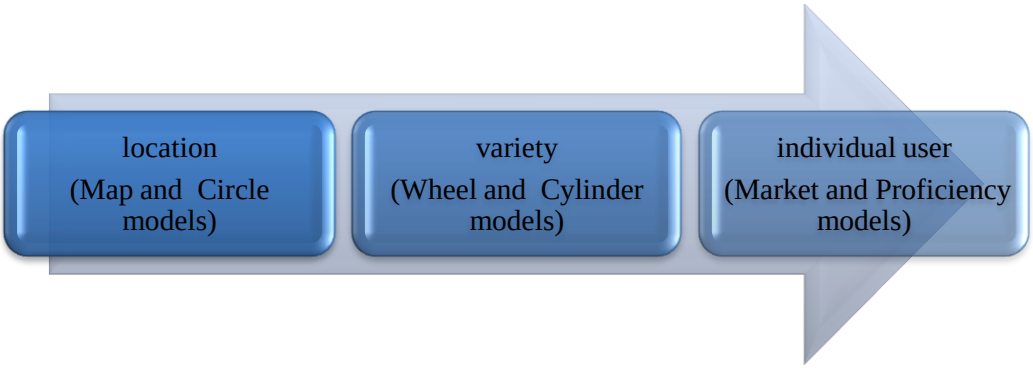


Figure 26. Levels of Global English usage

Haswell (2013) shows deeper concern with mutual intelligibility, echoing long-established standpoints such as Smith (1992: 75) who argues that "Our speech or writing in English needs to be intelligible only to those with whom we wish to communicate in English". In pragmatic terms, it is about accommodation work, our linguistic choices (at the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical levels) being determined by our communicative needs and interests. To illustrate the idea, Haswell (2013) proposes a user-centred model of English language varieties, describing several "cores" of proficiency (similar to Yano's (2001) cline of language ability). As indicated, the level of proficiency is assessed irrespective of the geographical location or cultural make-up of the speaker:

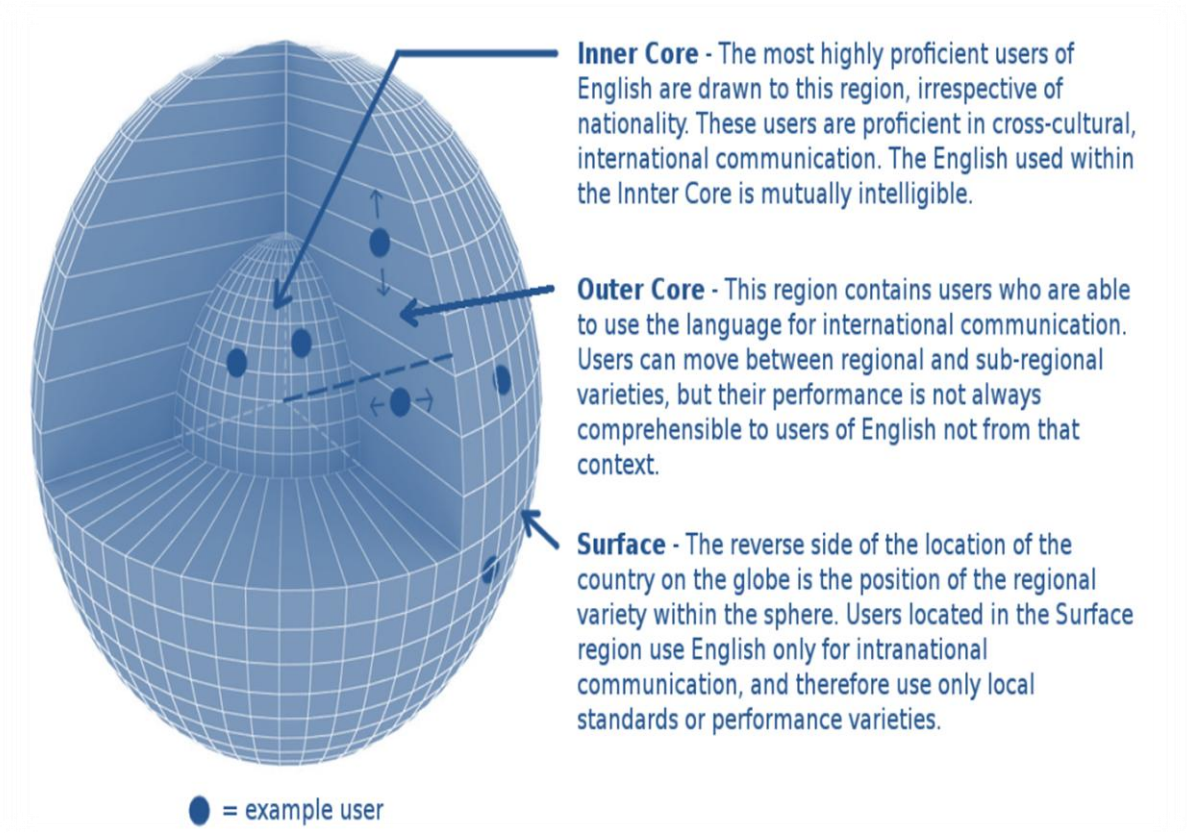


Figure 27. The Global Model

(Source: Haswell, 2013: 133)

Accordingly, the *Global Model* does not automatically assimilate native speakers, i.e., ENL users, to the Inner Core, which is no longer (as in the previous models in the 1980s-1990s) territorially based. Language proficiency is mapped across world regions and countries, and speakers may shift from The Surface to the Outer Core and to the Inner Core when interacting with different hearers / audiences by modulating their performance in real time. The author convincingly exemplifies such shifts. For instance, a Japanese student studying English in Japan, speaking in English with another Japanese student in the same context, would be placed on the Surface of the model when not "modulating away from a local performance variety that would affect the comprehensibility of their speech for someone not familiar with that context" (Haswell, 2013: 134). When the Japanese student is communicating with a Korean student relying on "mutually intelligible varieties, with some moderate modulation of their performance" and "allowing for cross-varietal borrowing" (Haswell, 2013: 134), they would pertain to the Outer Core (comprising regional and sub-

regional varieties of English, and enabling users to progress from regionally-based users of English to highly proficient international users of English).

In Mair's opinion (2017: 7), demographic and economic strength account for the "no flat hierarchy among the New Englishes themselves", and for building "non-reciprocal relations of influence". The scholar claims that developments in South African English will impact on Namibian or Zambian English and not vice versa. Another argument lies in the fact that countries with a global diaspora (e.g., India) can ensure English a global profile which cannot be achieved by the "national standard of New Zealand or the emerging national standard of Sri Lanka". The social and institutional agency and ownership of English in postcolonial settings will be visible if minimum standards are defined in relation to the establishment of their variety.

2.4. Conclusions

The conceptualisation of English as a global language raises the linguistic, sociolinguistic and pragmatic questions alike: the territoriality of the global language and the associated timeline as favourable historical conditions, the complex interplay of the local, regional, and transnational linguistic flows, the status and background of the users, the purposes for using this language variation, the place of English as a lingua franca on the world map of English language variations, the place of English as a vigorous hyperlanguage spreading across generations of native and non-native speakers, etc.

English as a Lingua Franca (EFL, a denomination that we adopted based on its frequency in mainstream literature and on its all-embracing character) is enshrined at the very beginning of the 1980s, and since then it has reset the complex agenda and situated practices - an important hint in this direction is given by the different names that it has had, some of them still continuing to be used in parallel.

The analysis of the eight seminal models representing the big family of recognisable English variations and the big players results in the building of an integrative descriptive and functional framework of later use in the chapters dedicated to case studies. As a main conclusion, the varietisation of English as a Lingua Franca took place gradually and it is marked by a decentralisation tendency in the local settings. In addition, the standardisation process allows for the English language varieties traditionally pertaining to the Outer Circle or Expanding Circle in Kachru's (1985) functional model to ultimately become norm-providing (in the early stages of development, world English variations behave as norm-

dependent and norm-developing), and to undergo fluidisation and occupy a well-deserved place in no flat hierarchy, according to the Dynamic Model put forward by Schneider (2007) and to the Global Model endorsed by Haswell (2013) in which speakers modulate their performance to meet the expectations of their audiences in real time.

CHAPTER THREE
DYNAMICS OF ENDONORMATIVE AND EXONORMATIVE STANDARDS OF ENGLISH

Motto:

Divided by a common language (Davies, 2005)

3.1. Standards and standardisation

According to Haugen (1966), standardisation is a complex process, consisting in the (1) selection, (2) codification, (3) acceptance and (4) elaboration of a linguistic norm. The main question is related to what the standard will specifically contain or what norms will be part of the standard. More often than not, the standard dialect is a combination of several dialects and emerges from the levelling of differences between these (the phenomenon is known as *koinéisation*). Sometimes, the norm that is selected corresponds to an existing dialect that becomes the standard dialect.

With respect to the question of assigning prestige and authority to a variety, Quirk *et al*. (1972) state the following:

Educated speech – by definition the language of education – naturally tends to be given the additional prestige of government agencies, the learned profession, the political parties, the press, the law court and the pulpit – any institution which must attempt to address itself to a public beyond the smallest dialectal community. [...] By reason of the fact that educated English is thus accorded implicit social and political sanctions, it comes to be referred to as Standard English. (Quirk et al. 1972: 16)

According to Trudgill (1998: 38), there is a clear consensus among sociolinguists that *Standard English* is a dialect, i.e. "one variety of English among many. It is a sub-variety of English.". It is common knowledge a "standardised language is a language one of whose varieties has undergone standardisation [...] consisting of the process of language determination, codification and stabilisation" (Trudgill 1998: 35).

Traditional rural dialects (see http://collectbritain.co.uk/collections/dialects/) are, more often than not, stereotyped and prejudiced. For example, the south-western English dialect has been unfairly and rather inaccurately ridiculed on stage since the days of Shakespeare. There is need to understand that traditional dialects play an important role - even if they are particularly used by older people in rural areas, we cannot discard the effect of improved communications and of industrialisation, with the associated urbanisation process, over the last 200 years. As a matter of fact, the voiced complaint that "dialects are dying out" reflects that it is the basis for dialects that has shifted. Speakers of English regularly travel hundreds of miles and take it for granted, they commute to work as far afield as possible - such mobility would explain, for instance, why 150 years ago there was a traditional Kentish dialect, while today it barely survives, on account of its close and regular contact with London.

Naturally, this is not to say that traditional dialects are replaced by nothing. Relatively new dialect forms based on urban areas have become influential since a mass exodus from rural areas into urban ones has taken place. This is dramatically illustrated by the estimates of numbers of people living in rural communities in the late industrial period: in 1851 the percentage amounted to 50%, in 1891 it went down to 28% and in 1911 it reached only 22%. In the new millennium, instead of small relatively isolated communities where each person mingles with more or less the same people for a life-time, we have vast human melting-pots where people have diffuse social networks - mingling regularly with different people, adopting new speech forms and losing the old rural forms. Both developments in communication and the effects of urbanisation have contributed to *dialect levelling*, a term referring to the loss of original traditional dialectal distinctions in English.

Interestingly, the combination of communication networks and urban centres can span broader implications. Speech forms tend to spread outwards from urban centres and particularly down lines of communication. The spread of the London dialect, which has been going on for centuries now, has attracted media attention, and the variety of English concerned has been named *Estuary English* (after the river Thames estuary) while evidence of Estuary English has been found in areas of Hull, Chester and Bristol - all of them being well connected to London.

3.2. The written standard

Standard English is the variety commonly used by the media, especially in printing, and employed in the educational systems for both native speakers and non-native learners of English. To put it crudely, in *written* English there is a certain standard: an agreed uniform set of forms to which different users conform. Achieving communication can only be one factor in shaping the standard written English, since many different kinds of non-standard written (and spoken) language are involved in communication. Standard written English can be said to attain greater uniformity by restricting the range of language choices to a socially and culturally approved set. For example, single or multiple negation were perfectly acceptable in Middle English (using *ne*, *ne* plus *not*, or other combinations of negative elements), but in today's standard written English the only correct choice is single negation.

Standardisation, the process by which a standard is achieved, puts pressure on variation and inhibits such "deviations" from the norm. Standardisation has always been advocated by individuals or institutions, whose work was interpreted to be prescriptive at a later stage. The most successful of the standardisation processes were attributed to William Caxton (1490) and Ben Johnson (1755). Caxton complained about the varieties and the constant language change and motivated the need for a standard written form for printing purposes. The English variety he adopted definitely contributed to the standardisation process and has been influential ever since. Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, which was highly prescriptive, has influenced English orthography so strongly that even today there is wide consensus in matters of spelling throughout the English speaking world with basically "two minor subsystems" reflecting US or UK conventions (Quirk *et al*. 1972: 16-17).

Broadly speaking, the standardisation of written English got under way early in the 15th century, was intense in the 16th, and trailed off into the late 17th century, being more or less complete by the 18th century. However, the more detailed picture shows that what gets standardised when depends on what part of the standard we refer to. With a view to punctuation, for example, little standardisation took place before the second half of the 17th century. Besides, sometimes the progress of standardisation can be less than smooth, with people's usage of, for example, particular grammatical variants shifting towards the ultimate standard, then receding and then going back to the standard.

Prior to the development of standard written English, much variation was allowed even in writing. In the 15th century, William Caxton was keenly aware of this issue; his compelling desire for some kind of standard underpinned an economic dimension. Clearly, it

would be no cost effective to print a different version of a book for every variety of English. Therefore, Caxton needed to pick one variety of English that was widely understood and was socially valued (to be taken seriously). Let us examine some possible choices available to him.

John of Trevisa's translation of the *Polychronicon*, completed in 1387, suggests one possible choice. He put forward the argument that the dialects of the middle of England were more likely to be understood by people to either side - a strong argument in favour of a Midlands dialect. Trevisa was alluding to what today's linguists would call a *dialect continuum* - the idea that there is a chain of dialects and accents, each differing a small amount from the neighbouring ones, so that neighbouring dialects become mutually comprehensible to their speakers, which, nevertheless, show difficulty in understanding dialects placed further away on the dialectal chain. The question arises with regard to the attitude to a particular dialect: what about a dialect social value? London had the indisputable prestige of being the capital city and by far the largest English city, the political centre and the hub of commerce and administration. What dialect was spoken in London? In the late Middle English period London was a cross-fertilising dialectal area, which is explained by the fact that it sits at a kind of dialectal crossroads – the river Thames connects with East Anglia, the Midlands, Kent and the south-west. However, it is equally important to note that London's commercial attention was directed primarily to the north, to which it had good communications, and that it had also experienced significant immigration from that area. as a consequence, although geographically located quite far south in England and originally more a southern dialect, by late Middle English London turned into a primarily Midlands dialect (i.e. the dialect region to the north of London), with other elements mixed in.

From the arrival of the Normans up until about 1430, all official documents were drafted in French or Latin. During the 14th century, the prestige of French was somewhat downsized, at least among some sectors of the population for political reasons: since 1337, England had been engaged in the so-called "Hundred Years War" with France. Moreover, by the 15th century, the administrative system needed an efficient medium for communication, not a language understood by a very small élite.

Around 1430, the Chancery or government scribes adopted a variety of English that was London-based, although bearing heavy Central Midlands influence, and this variety was called the *Chancery Standard* (some scholars have pointed out that the *Chancery Standard* mainly concerned spelling). The significance of this is that we now have an institution producing masses of paperwork in one variety of English that is then sent all over the

country. Caxton set up his printing press in Westminster in 1476, close to the government offices. His adoption of a London-based variety of English, including some features of the English of official circles, was the obvious choice. The fact that printers like Caxton adopted a particular variety of English obviously did much to promote it, since they had the ability to mass produce it. But a recognised national standard of written English would most likely have come about even without printing, as is evidenced by the fact that the first stages of its development occurred before printing.

Other factors, playing a more or less significant role, were involved. Not only did the language of administration shifted from a foreign language to English, but various prestigious domains of written language usage began to switch from Latin to English (once again, Trevia's translation of the *Polychronicon* is an example). Scientific writing made this switch, beginning in the late 14th century and continuing into the 17th. Remember that one of the most prestigious domains of written language usage - religion - had been dominated by an entirely different language, namely Latin. A political move that led to change here was the Reformation: Henry VIII's split from the Roman Catholic Church in 1533. One way of challenging the power of the Catholic Church, which operated in Latin throughout Europe, was to produce texts in English. The first licensed English Bible appeared in 1537 and the *Book of Common Prayer* - a service book for the Church of England - in 1549. The most famous English *Bible*, promoted by James I, appeared in 1611. All this had the effect of increasing a national focus on English. Moreover, it gave the kind of English that appeared in these "serious" texts prestige.

What finally fixed the standard in the minds of users was the growth of dictionaries, grammar books, spelling books, etc., particularly from the 17th century onwards. These were adopted in schools, and became yardsticks of the language. They *codified* the standard by offering an authoritative consensus about what the standard consisted of. Moreover, especially in the second half of the 18th century, various writers, such as Jonathan Swift, set themselves up as authorities on the English language and wrote books, often with the explicit aim of setting a standard variety of English in concrete. Many of these rules lacked a sound basis: they reflected an appeal to pseudo-logic or to etymology, a desire to emulate the prestigious Latin language, or simply some whim of the writer.

A final point to be made about standard written English is that it is not now recognisable as the Midlands dialect or, more importantly, as part of a dialect continuum. The processes of social approval and fixing mean that standard written English has not changed in the same way as other dialects. And some parts of standard English (e.g. intolerance of

multiple negation), usually those derived from the prescriptivism, were never part of any dialect in the first place. We agree that an accurate description of any language should contain an inventory of the building blocks at the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic level. Associated with the question of what constitutes a description of English is the question of what such a description describes. As pointed out, traditionally, the object of description has been a variety of English referred to as the *standard*. Many grammars aim not only to describe this variety, but also to prescribe it; in other words, to describe a variety which native speakers of English should aim to follow. Even though modern grammars of English such as Quirk *et al*. (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) avoid prescriptivism, descriptions which aim also to prescribe are still prevailing, such as Trask's (2002).

There is another perspective to take into consideration: standard English is a *social* dialect not a regional one. Regional dialects have associated accents, but standard English can be spoken by speakers of any accent (nowadays, newsreaders on the BBC, speaking standard English, regularly have regional accents). And regional dialects and accents are normally arranged in chains, one shading into another, yet standard English stands in contrast to all regional dialects.

3.3. The spoken standard

Can we also identify and describe *a spoken standard*? Is there an accent - a variety of language characterised solely in terms of pronunciation – that matches the standard of written language? Is there an accent used by the vast majority of people and one that enjoys high prestige? Clearly, there is no one accent used by the majority of speakers. Even small groups of speakers are likely to comprise members of different accents. *Standard* with respect to oral production is closely related to Daniel Jones, who published the first pronunciation dictionary in 1917. Although he clearly stated that "[n]o attempt is made to decide how people *ought* to pronounce; all that the dictionary aims at doing is to give a faithful record of the manner in which certain specified classes of people *do* pronounce". Unlike the written standard, with speech there can be no notion of a uniform variety used by the majority, and we can postulate a prestige form. Many of us will have heard of the Queen's English, BBC English or simply "talking posh". Linguists sometimes refer to this accent as *Received Pronunciation* (RP) ("received" is broadly equated to "accepted").

For centuries, people have made aesthetic and social judgments about accents. From the s16th century onwards, a growing number of writers designated the speech of the upper ranks and, in particular, of the court in London as a prestige form. For example, George Puttenham (1589) advised the poet to use "the usuall speach of the Court, and that of London and the shires about London within lx. myles, and not much aboue". With royalty sited at London and a 60-mile radius including the important cultural centres Cambridge, Oxford and Canterbury, it is not a surprise that the prestige form was based here. In the 19th century, this form was firmly established as the accent of the ruling classes through the public-school system. Those who could afford to send their children to public schools did so in the expectation that they would experience the accent so strongly associated with the upper classes, in other words, *Received Pronunciation* (RP). Scholars have argued that one effect of this was to break down the regional associations of RP: a *Received Pronunciation* (RP) speaker from the south would sound similar to an *Received Pronunciation* (RP) speaker from the north, because they had been through the same education system.

In our times, although the majority of *Received Pronunciation* (RP) speakers live in the south-east of England, it is the case that the non-localised nature of RP is one of its characteristics: if you hear an *Received Pronunciation* (RP) speaker, you may guess their social background, but not where they come from. This non-localised characteristic is one that *Received Pronunciation* (RP) shares with standard written English: both stand in contrast with regional accents/dialects. They are both social constructions.

Two other factors played a role in establishing the dominance of *Received Pronunciation* (RP). Just as technology – the printing press - had played a role in promoting a written standard, so technology was to play a role in promoting a particular accent. With the advent of radio broadcasting in the 1920s, the BBC needed to formulate a policy as to what variety of spoken English they would use, and they chose *Received Pronunciation* (RP). The second factor was that *Received Pronunciation* (RP) was codified by British linguists in the 20th century. It is the pronunciation given in dictionaries of English and taught to foreign other accent. This is perhaps an odd state of affairs, if one considers that *Received Pronunciation* (RP) is a minority accent spoken today by around 3-5 per cent of the learners of British English. More has been written about *Received Pronunciation* (RP) than any population of Britain.

Of course, the correlation of certain accents with certain classes is entirely a social matter. It has nothing to do with particular accents being linguistically superior. However, this has not stopped people from evaluating others on the basis of the way they speak.

Received Pronunciation (RP), as well as the written standard, is sometimes used as a "standard" for judging people, so that "non-standard" is taken to mean deficient in some way. This everyday notion of "standard" has no linguistic justification at all. For example, a commonly held idea is that non-RP speakers are "lazy" or "slovenly", because they do not pronounce all the letters in words, which does not fully match the facts. In fluent speech, *Received Pronunciation* (RP) speakers, too, reduce forms (e.g., no RP speaker would pronounce "and" as [ænd], and would "drop letters" (e.g., the *t* in the phrase *soft pillow*). Indeed, there is no simplistic equation such that the more sounds we supply in pronouncing a word the higher up the social scale it will be rated. Consider the pronunciation of the word *sing*. The RP pronunciation is regional, more exactly, it belongs to the west central England pattern. It is the regional pronunciation that has more sounds and more closely reflects the spelling of the word.

In the new millennium, *Received Pronunciation* (RP) has less authority than it used to have in the first half of the 20th century. People still strongly associate it with high social status, but it no longer enjoys the prestige it used to have. It is often referred to as "plummy", "stuck up" or "contrived", and closely identifies a speaker with the establishment - something that might well connote negatively, particularly for younger people. *Modified Received Pronunciation*, a mixture of RP and regional features, is becoming more common. An interesting development has been the move by some *Received Pronunciation* (RP) speakers towards *Estuary English*. *Estuary English* has been labelled at the midpoint, with RP at one end of the cline and popular London speech at the other.

Key groundwork for the study of prescriptivism as a factor in language change and development is laid by Cameron in her book *Verbal Hygiene* (1995). She attempts to debunk the pervasive assumption in linguistics that prescriptivism is an unnatural imposition on the language. As she argues, it seems to be natural to speech communities that some speakers will impose their beliefs about what is good and bad, appropriate and inappropriate usage on other speakers, be that at the individual level of a speaker ridiculing another speaker's way of talking or at a more institutional level through, for example, the publication of usage guides, in a community that has undergone language standardisation. The phrase *verbal hygiene*, which Cameron coins, captures the range of ways that speakers seek to regulate the language of other speakers. Cameron (1995: 9) explains her choice of *verbal hygiene*, rather than prescriptivism, for "the more general impulse to regulate language, control it, and make it better" by noting that prescriptivism "is strongly associated with those forms [of language regulation] that are most conservative, elitist and authoritarian."

Millar (1998) takes a different stand in an effort to disentangle prescriptivism from standardisation; she defines the term *prescriptivism* so as to encompass all conscious and explicit regulation:

> *the conscious attempt by language users to control or regulate the language use of others for the purpose of enforcing perceived norms or of promoting innovations*. (Millar, 1998: 187)

This definition establishes two important characteristics of prescriptivism. First, it distinguishes *prescriptive activity* (the conscious and explicit regulation of others) from *normative activity* (the regulation of self to conform to norms). Second, the definition allows prescriptivism to promote innovation, as opposed to being a consistently conservative force. Under the circumstances, there remains a value in restricting the term *prescriptivism* to the conscious and explicit efforts to regulate the language of others that carry institutional authority - typically the authority that comes with publication and adoption in the educational system. It circumscribes an important and powerful sociolinguistic phenomenon, frequently associated with standardisation, although not necessarily.

Descriptive approaches to language, which are usually set up in contrast to prescriptive ones, attempt to capture the range of ways that speakers of a language communicate with each other using systematically constructed, meaningful utterances. Linguists describe these utterances as "well-formed" because they follow the systematic patterns of the grammar of that variety of the language and speakers accept them as possible utterances, not because they necessarily correspond to the standard variety of that language.

Descriptivism is premised by the idea that all speakers of a language are speakers of a specific variety or dialect of the language (Wolfram, 1991: 2); or, put differently, a *language*, which sounds unitary and uniform, is in reality a set of dialects collected together under this label (McWhorter, 1998: 3). Descriptive perspectives on language present the patterns that surface in the structure of the words, sentences, and utterances of that linguistic system, including all the variations in different dialects and registers. Descriptive "rules" identify regularities in the structure of a language variety, through analysis of what speakers do; they are sometimes invariant but this is not always the case. To provide an example, one invariant rule of modern English grammar - of all varieties of English - is that modal auxiliaries precede the main verb in declaratives. We say and write "may say" but not *"say may". Another rule allows but does not require the contraction of the forms of "to be" (as a main and auxiliary verb alike) with the subject: we can say or write "I am tall" or "I’m tall", "my

friend is going" or "my friend's going". But there is a systematic exception to this rule: no form of "to be" can be contracted in clause-final position. Hence, we cannot say *"They're not going, but I'm"; it is acceptable to say "They're going, but I'm not", because the contraction is no longer in sentence- (or clause) final position. These descriptive rules cover *well-formedness* - what native speakers would consider grammatically allowable in the sense of well-formed according to their intuitive sense of what is possible in the language.

Another variable descriptive rule dependent on formality, at least for some speakers in some cases, is the pronunciation of "often". Some speakers use just one pronunciation or the other; some percentage of English speakers display two pronunciations of this word, one with /t/ and one without. And, while variation between the two pronunciations may not be entirely predictable for all of these speakers, some speakers describe a tendency to use the /t/-full pronunciation in more formal contexts, on the assumption that the pronunciation that corresponds more closely to the spelling is more *correct* and, therefore, more appropriate in formal contexts.

Other descriptive rules address language change. For instance, many speakers of present-day English use the subject form "who", discarding the object form "whom", in object position: "Who did you see?" instead of "Whom did you see?" Why are speakers showing this kind of variation with "who" and "whom?" This observation about usage is a descriptive rule, as it depicts a pattern of usage across speakers. The forms "who" and "whom" originate in the case system in English, which distinguished subject, object (direct and indirect), and possessive forms by means of word endings. These case endings on nouns had largely disappeared by the time of Chaucer, except for some remnant "-e's", the plural "-s", and the possessive "-s", which many present-day varieties of English have retained.

In other words, a "rose" (the noun) is a "rose", no matter whether it is the subject or the object of a clause, whether it is the object of a preposition or not. Only English pronouns, personal and interrogative, continue to mark the subject-object distinction: for example, "I" is the subject form and "me" the object form, "we" and "us", "he" and "him", "she" and "her", "they" and "them", "who" and "whom". (The pronoun "it" historically had the same subject and direct object form, and the pronoun "you" stopped making a distinction between subject and object consistently by the Renaissance.)

Some descriptive grammatical rules highlight dialect differences. For instance, many modern dialects of English have compensated for the loss of the historical distinction between singular and plural second-person pronouns – "thou/thee" vs. "ye/you" - through the introduction of new plural second-person pronouns, which vary by dialect region: to name

just a few, "yous", "yinz", "y'all", "you guys". That standard varieties of English merge the singular and plural into the one pronoun "you"; descriptively, these standard varieties do not make any better or worse than non-standard varieties that have a distinct second-person plural pronoun unless linguists are extremely careful, descriptive rules of *English* can unintentionally favour some varieties - typically the standard ones - to the detriment of others in defining what is and is not well formed in English, which blurs any line in terms of what it means to describe versus prescribe a standard variety.

Standard varieties of living languages are not immune to evolution; as Hickey (2012: 15) notes "It is a truism to say that standard forms of language continually change." Prescriptive impulses respond to the variation and changes in language, including in the standard varieties. Prescriptions also can come to function differently, or become irrelevant, as speakers' patterns of usage and attitudes about usage shift over time. The sociolinguistic system is a dynamic one, and prescriptivism is no exception.

3.4. Usability of corpora in the study of English language standards

Examples of reliable corpora in this respect include *The London - Lund Corpus* (*LLC*, focusing on spoken language), the *Brown and Lancaster - Oslo/Bergen parallel corpora* (*LOB*) (underlying a comparative approach to high frequency grammatical and lexical items), *The British National Corpus* (*BNC*) (https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/), etc.

The 500,00-word *London - Lund Corpus of Spoken English* (*LLC*) stems from *the Survey of English Usage* (*SEU*) at University College London and the *Survey of Spoken English* (*SSE*), being initiated at Lund University in 1975, and completed in 1990. The corpus amounts to 100 spoken British English transcribed with sophisticated marking of prosodic features, each text containing 5,000 words. *T*he texts are divided into two broad categories, dialogues and monologues. The former category includes various types of conversation (face to face, phone conversation) and public discussion (interviews and panel discussions). monologues engender spontaneous (running commentaries on sport events and state occasions, demonstrations of experiments, and speeches in parliamentary debates) and prepared speech (sermons, lectures, addresses by lawyers and judges, political speeches; dictated letters represent a standalone subtype as intended to be written down).

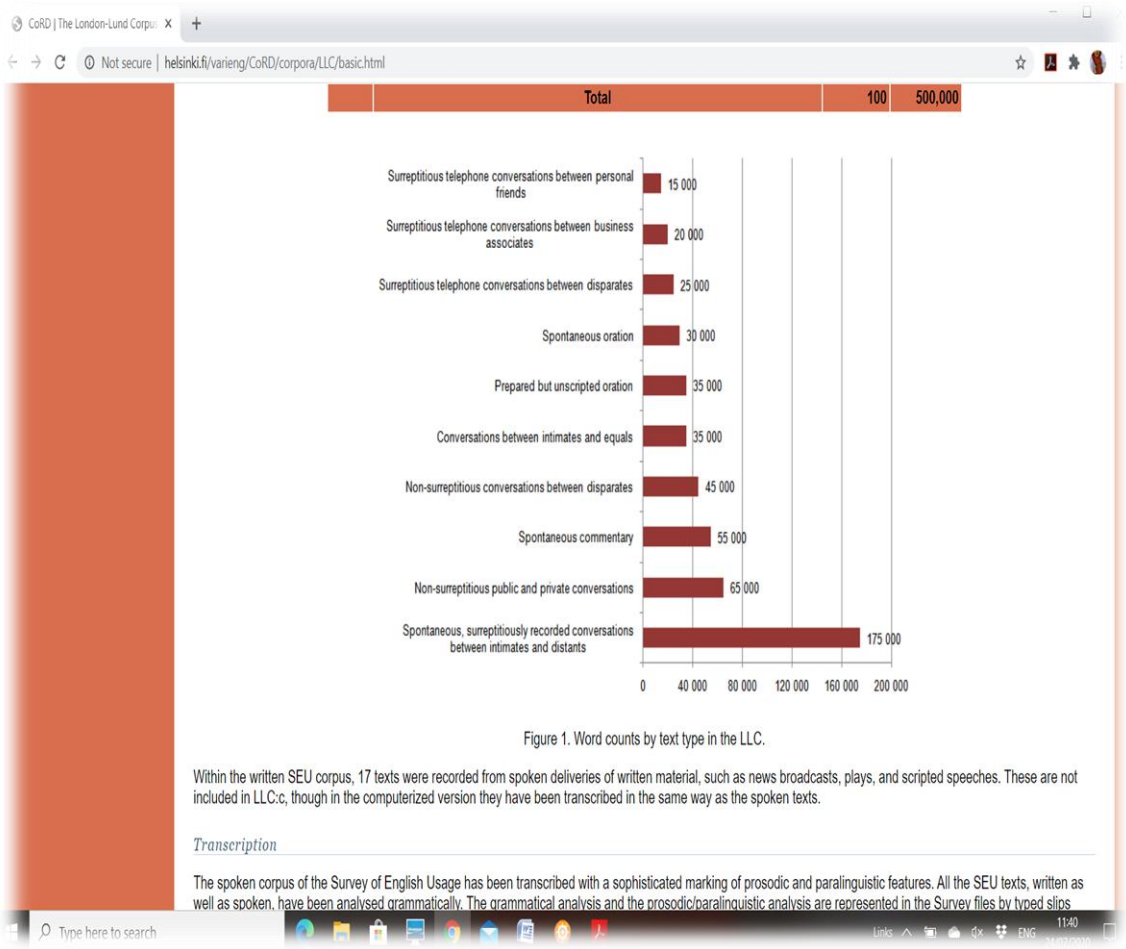
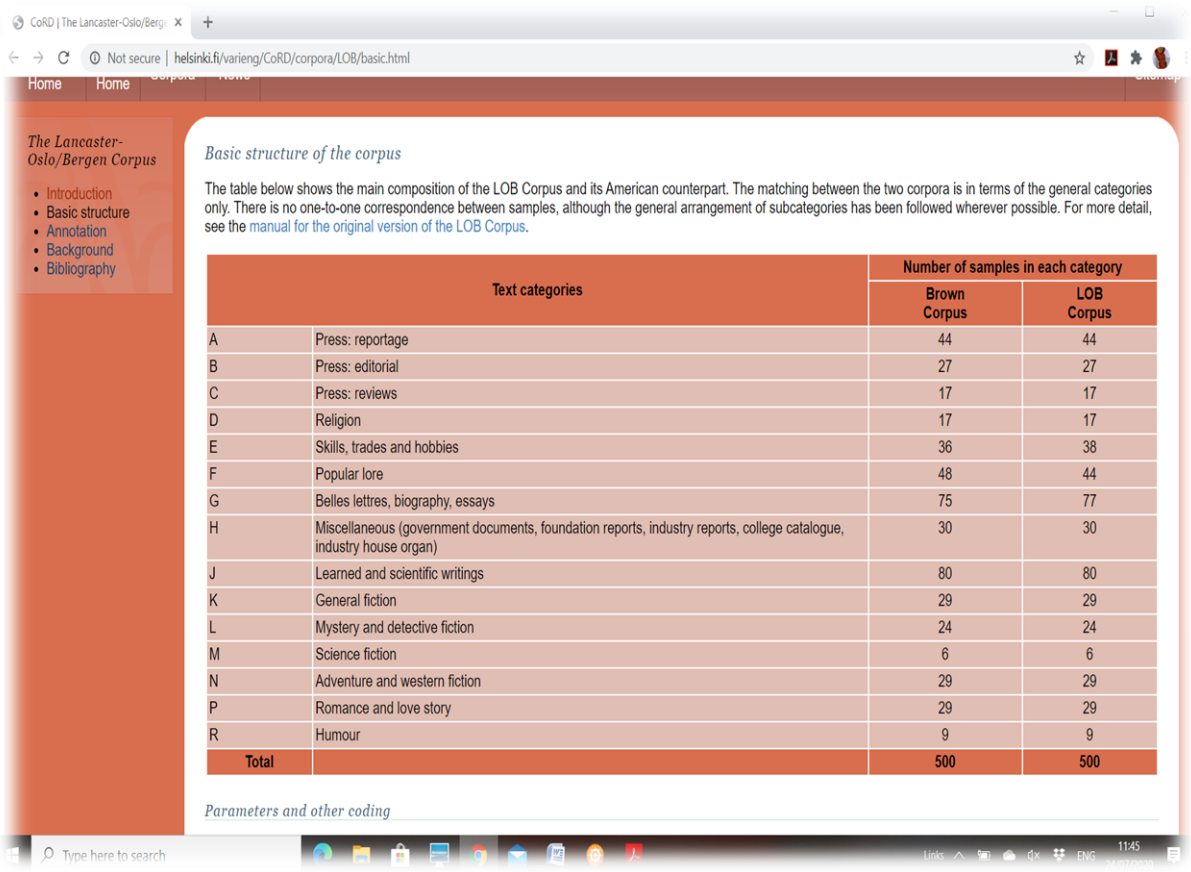


Figure 28. Word counts by text type in the LLC

(Source: http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/LLC)

The 1-million-word *Lancaster - Oslo/Bergen Corpus* (*LOB Corpus*), available in its original version as per 1970-1978, and the POS-tagged version - 1981-1986, contains 500 texts of about 2,000 words each, distributed across 15 text categories (out of which 6 expressive and 9 informative text types). The original version is due to cooperation between Longman Group Limited, the British Academy, Department of British and American Studies, University of Oslo, Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities, Norwegian Computing Centre for the Humanities, while the POS-tagged version is supported by the Social Science Research Council, Norwegian Research Council for Science and the Humanities, Norwegian Computing Centre for the Humanities.

With regard to text selection, the following sub-types are present: press (reportages, editorials, reviews), skills, trades and hobbies, popular lore, imaginative literature (general fiction, science fiction, adventure, detective stories, romance, biographies, etc.), academic writing, official documents, etc.



The Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen Corpus

- Introduction
- Basic structure
- Annotation
- Background
- Bibliography

Basic structure of the corpus

The table below shows the main composition of the LOB Corpus and its American counterpart. The matching between the two corpora is in terms of the general categories only. There is no one-to-one correspondence between samples, although the general arrangement of subcategories has been followed wherever possible. For more detail, see the manual for the original version of the LOB Corpus.

Text categories		Number of samples in each category	
		Brown Corpus	LOB Corpus
A	Press: reportage	44	44
B	Press: editorial	27	27
C	Press: reviews	17	17
D	Religion	17	17
E	Skills, trades and hobbies	36	38
F	Popular lore	48	44
G	Belles lettres, biography, essays	75	77
H	Miscellaneous (government documents, foundation reports, industry reports, college catalogue, industry house organ)	30	30
J	Learned and scientific writings	80	80
K	General fiction	29	29
L	Mystery and detective fiction	24	24
M	Science fiction	6	6
N	Adventure and western fiction	29	29
P	Romance and love story	29	29
R	Humour	9	9
Total		500	500

Parameters and other coding

Figure 29. The LOB Corpus structure by text type

(Source: http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/LOB/index.html)

The 100-million word *British National Corpus* (*BNC*), compiled by an academic consortium made up of Oxford University Press, Oxford University Computing Services, Longman Group Ltd, Chambers Harrap, Unit for Computer Research on the English Language (Lancaster University) and British Library Research and Development Department in the 1980s - early 1990s, also releasing the second edition - *BNC World* - in 2001 and the third edition - *BNC XML Edition* - *in February* 2007 (http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/URG/), is an invaluable source, drawing on a wide range of written text samples (90%) (popular fiction, magazines, newspapers, letters, memoranda, essays, academic literature, etc.) and spoken language (10%) (transcriptions of informal conversations, radio broadcasts, phone-ins, business meetings and other formal meetings). It is interactive, providing context-sensitive help, and allowing for comparisons between genres and the (more recent) virtual corpora with a view to building personalized collections of texts related in various fields of interest. With reference to language variation recording, *The British National Corpus* is not confined to a particular dialect, register and field, focusing on

late 20th century British English, although some non-British and foreign words are also part of the corpus; both single author and multiple author texts are integrated, and over-representation of idiosyncracies is avoided. Texts are selected according to: domain (subject field), time (dates) and medium (book, periodical, etc.) so as to secure that the corpus features different language styles at a global level, not just of particular types, and that comparative and contrastive analyses of the sets of texts are possible.

Going into more detail, domain subordinates expressive texts - serious imaginative literature, arts, etc. account for 25% of the samples; informative texts - social sciences, natural sciences, world affairs, commerce, finance, leisure, etc. - represent the vast bulk of the linguistic pool; vocative texts - advertisements, brochures, leaflets, user's manuals, etc. With respect to medium, the majority of the texts are written samples, and there is also a special category, namely texts written-to-be-spoken, exemplified by TV scripts and play scripts. In point of authorship, the following categories are defined: no. of authors, (un)known, individual/corporate, male/female, age group and domicile - as important sociolinguistic variables. The target audience splits into age groups, gender, etc. As far as the text length is concerned, there is specification in terms of "whole text", "beginning sample", "middle sample", "end sample", etc.

The spoken language section contains over four million words of orthographically transcribed speech, fully illustrating speech variation. The largest percentage is represented by naturally occurring conversational English. Undoubtedly, building a sampling frame of spoken English is not an easy task. The sociological approach is adopted, i.e. demographic sampling, for almost half of the spoken corpus. British English speakers in the UK are taken into consideration, representativeness being ensured by selecting speakers on account of age, gender, social group membership, region, and by recording their linguistic output over a specified timeframe. The top layers of context-governed spoken production include educational, business, public/institutional and leisure categories, exemplified by lectures, talks, news commentaries, classroom interaction, company interviews, business meetings, sales demonstrations, political speeches, parliamentary proceedings, legal proceedings, broadcast chat shows, phone-ins, etc.

Figure 30. Overview of The British National Corpus (BNC)

(Source: https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/)

For the past decades, corpus-based methods have become part and parcel of variationist sociolinguistic studies in more numerous flagship projects such as *Linguistic Innovators Corpus* (2004-2007) and *Multicultural London English (MLE): The Emergence, Acquisition and Diffusion of a New Variety* (2008-2009), developed by the Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University, UK.

The *Linguistic Innovators Corpus* considers London's massive multilingualism in conjunction with the effect of a *multiracial vernacular* among young Londoners (16-19-year olds) on mainstream speech, "resulting in differences in capacity to innovate and spread linguistic features". The projects builds on previous research on dialect diffusion and levelling: the *Dialect Levelling* project (1995 - 1999), *The Milton Keynes* koineisation project (1990 - 1994) and *The British Dialect Grammar project* (1986 - 1988). This project aims at the identification and explanation of both endogenous (system-internal, most likely to occur

in the metropolis) and exogenous (contact-induced, brought about by contact between different ethnic groups and between various social groups). The main output of the *Linguistic Innovators Corpus* is the 1.4 million-word corpus, emphasizing that ethnicity, network and social practices are the driving forces of linguistic change.

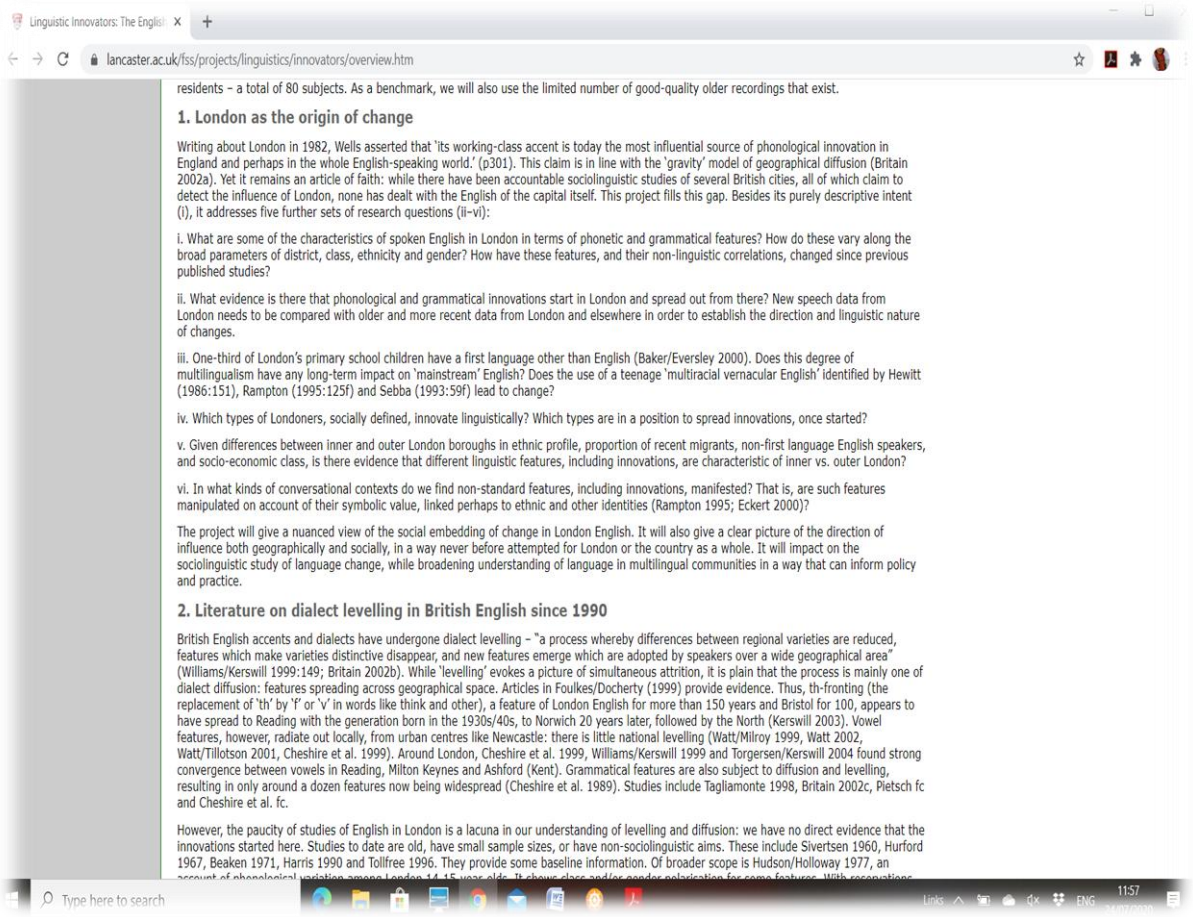


Figure 31. Overview of Linguistic Innovators Corpus

(Source: https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fss/projects/linguistics/innovators/)

As posted on the project website, *Multicultural London English (MLE)* "examines the role of ethnic minority English in driving forward linguistic innovation in the capital on the levels of phonetics, grammar and discourse features". The main aim of the project is related to defining and documenting *Multicultural London English* (MLE), as an ethnically neutral way of speaking, yet with many ethnic inputs. Contrary to traditional linguistic views claiming that London is "a motor of change in the English language", the project focuses on changes in the London periphery, such as "dialect levelling" in point of phonological and grammatical structures. The investigated language variations are the inner-London (Hackney) and outer-London (Havering) ones, target group: young people belonging to ethnic

minorities. The main conclusions are that there is "ongoing divergence between Londoners and London periphery residents", and that the ethnic minority speakers, more precisely, Afro-Caribbeans are driving the changes, as indicated by the generated one-million-word corpus of conversational speech.

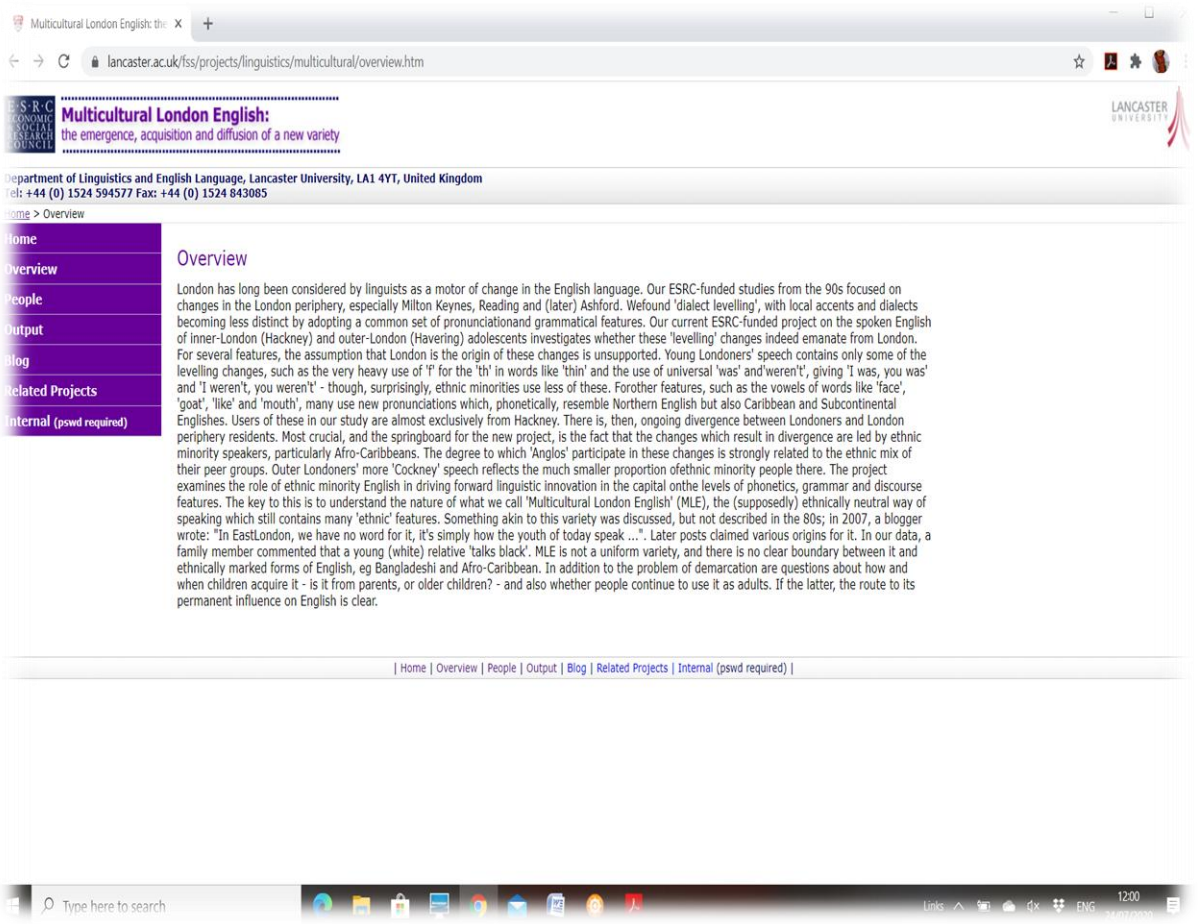


Figure 32. Overview of the Multicultural London English corpus (MLE)
(Source: https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/fss/projects/linguistics/multicultural/index.htm)

3.5. Non-standard, status and prestige

Before embarking upon the description of localised variations of English, we think that there is need to make a number of terminological distinctions - i.e. *dialect vs. variation/variety vs. pidgin* vs. *creole*, motivated by the fact that the status and prestige of these varieties are still controversial.

Ferguson (1972: 30) defines *variety* in terms speech patterns, amenable to analysis "by available techniques of synchronic description", and showing "a sufficiently large repertory of elements" so as to "function in all formal contexts of communication." Hudson

(1996: 22) envisages *variety* in distribution terms: "a set of linguistic items with similar distribution", linking the internal factors (phonological, morpho-syntactic and semantic aspects) to the external ones (conditions of use, including geographical coverage, etc.).

Historically speaking, pidgins developed from the 16th century onwards, occuring mainly in business contexts, during more or less occasional trade contacts. According to *Encyclopedia Britannica* (https://www.britannica.com/topic/pidgin), the term *pidgin* is first recorded in English in 1807, at a time when English was the trade language of Canton (Guangzhou) in China, and when *business English* was frequently written as *pigeon English*, to reflect the local pronunciation. Parallel etymology indicates that *pidgin* derives from the Cantonese *bei chin*, "pay money". Therefore, the first documented pidgin is Chinese Pidgin English, as a kind of business English increasingly diverging from standard British English, and which became negatively associated with interactions between foreigners and the Chinese lower classes. Losing prestige, it also lost its function, and eventually died out by the mid-20th century.

In Crystal's opinion (2003), pidgins are very likely to emerge and survive in (post)colonial territories, having the status of *lingua francas*; he provides the example of West African Pidgin English, serving for (limited) communication purposes among several ethnic intergroups along the West African coast.

The difficulty of the definition lies in the fact that pidgins may as well result from the contact between indigenous groups - for example - the Chinook Jargon (equally termed Tsinuk Wawa, spoken in U.S. and Canada), Delaware Pidgin (in the U.S.), Hiri Motu (also called Police Motu, Pidgin Motu, or Hiri, spoken in Papua New Guinea).

In spite of being considered reduced systems, featured by the lack of inflections, of genuine articles and linking devices, no complex sentences, and an assorted mix of English and other different languages, they are fairly stable if we take into account their survival rate and time length - examples include, Bislama (Vanuatu), Cameroon Pidgin, Nigerian Pidgin, Tok Pisin (Papua New Guinea), relying heavily on the English vocabulary, and enjoying the status of *expanded pidgins*. Let us provide supporting evidence in this respect by examining some features of Tok Pisin (notably, drawing on Wardhaugh, 2006):

- at the phonological level, the sounds and sound patterns are fewer and less complicated than in the standard language - Tok Pisin has no more than five basic vowels and also fewer consonants than English. For instance, there is no contrast between *it* and *eat*, *pin*

and *fin* (due to the lack of the /p/–/f/ distinction), *sip*, *ship* and *chip*. Speakers of Tok Pisin are able to distinguish a ship from a sheep by naming the first a *sip* and the second a *sipsip*.

- morphologically, the lack of inflections typifies pidgins and creoles, which means that there is no ending to mark the plural or the gender of nouns or different forms to mark the case of pronouns, there are no tense markers (with few exceptions - for example, the particle *de* to indicate the continuous aspect in Krio (*a de go wok* - *I'm going to work*). Other examples concern the use of *-im* for transitive verbs in Tok Pisin; the use of *mipela* ("I and other(s) but not you") or *yumi* ("I and you") roughly corresponding to the English *we*; *yu* is the singular form, *yupela* is the plural form of *you*, *em* corresponds to *he, she* and *it*) and *ol* to *they* and *them*; *-pela* adds to form adjectives (*wanpela man* - "one man"), etc.
- syntactically, sentences are not complex in pidgins (Relative Clauses are present in creoles). Negation may be formed by using a simple negative particle - for instance *no* in the English-based Krio (*i no tu had* - *It's not too hard*).

- lexically, as stated before, the vocabulary of a pidgin or a creole is based on that of the standard language, but it is much more limited. The development of the vocabulary takes place via different techniques such as:
    - reduplication to disambiguate meaning - *cry* ("cry") and *crycry* ("cry continually"), *dry* ("dry") and *drydry* ("unpalatable"), *look* ("look") and *looklook* ("stare"), *pis* ("peace") and *pispis* ("urinate"), *san* ("sun") and *sansan* ("sand"), *talk* ("talk") and *talktalk* ("chatter"), etc.
    - elaborate encoding - in Tok Pisin, *gras bilong het* - "hair", *gras bilong fes* - "beard", *gras bilong pisin* - "feathers", "moustache" - *gras bilong maus*, *ka* - "my car".
    - borrowings from different languages - in Tok Pisin, *kaikai* (from Polynesian languages, meaning "food"), *rausim* (< German *heraus* - "outside", acquiring the meaning of "throw out"), etc.

Wardhaugh (2006) considers that pidgin has no native speakers, and that it is a "reduced variety". In the same spirit, Trask and Stockwell (2007: 221) seem to deny the very existence and usefulness of *pidgin*, on account of the fact that it has no native speakers, serving as a common code: "into a kind of crude way of communicating", lacking resourcefulness - "it is very limited in what it can convey", and displaying a kind of disruptive behaviour "different people speak it differently". According to the well-known

linguists, the emergence and flourishing of pidgins is due to trading purposes, which further explains widespread use (but not their longevity) along the east and west coasts of Africa, in North America and the Caribbean, and even in the Far East.

Two evolutionary perspectives reveal that pidginisation may take place in two different directions:

- A pidgin builds its (rather limited) vocabulary by adopting much from the lexifier whereas the (simplified) grammar structure belongs to the less prestigious language.
- The pidgin somehow resembles caretaker speech[14]. Therefore, the pidgin derives from an imperfect command of the language, also lacking feedback and correction.

Up to the late 19th century, it seems that there was no correlation between *pidgins* and *creoles*[15], and even today, such correlations are not agreed upon by all scholars. Sebba (1997) claims that a pidgin can be assimilated to a creole at any stage of its evolution on condition that children are born in a pidgin-speaking environment, i.e. the pidgin is their first language.

Wardhaugh (2006) states that pidgins and creoles may co-exist, and that the linguistic map of these varieties is far more complicated than we might assume on the outset. The authors exemplifies by Sierra Leone where both pidginised and creolised Englishes are in use. The pidgin is represented by West African Pidgin English, indigenous to the country, used for trading purposes. On the other hand, the creole, Krio, to be kept distinct from the pidgin, is mostly used in and around the capital, Freetown, and is considered to have originated in the slaves who returned from Jamaica and Britain. Furthermore, Standard English is spoken in the capital, its users being judged against two standards: The British English Standard and the locally based Sierra Leone English.

Whether surprisingly or not, Wardaugh (2006: 67ff) raises the question of linguistic accommodation and of proficiency in pidgin and creole languages. We cannot claim that by simplifying English randomly, i.e. arbitrarily and in a non-systematic way, we will "be virtually incomprehensible to those who actually do speak it, nor will you comprehend them". The scholar mentions *Tok Masta*, designating the attempt that certain Anglophones make to speak Tok Pisin: "To use Tok Pisin properly you have to learn it, just as you must learn German or Chinese in order to speak these languages properly".

[14] Also termed *child-directed speech*, *motherese* or *baby talk*. It is associated with the speech style employed by adults when addressing infants or young children, featured by shortened sentences, simplified grammar, restricted vocabulary, slow speech, repetitions, raised pitch of voice, etc.
[15] *Creole* is a word of French origin, meaning "indigenous".

Trask and Stockwell (2007) discuss the evolution of pidgins by enacting three possible scenarios. In the first one, a pidgin will die altogether on account of having no users any longer and of being replaced by a prestige language - the authors exemplify by Hawaiian pidgin. In the second scenario, the pidgin continues to be used across generations - it is the case of west African pidgins. Thirdly, the pidgin may become a mother tongue when the children or the young generation use the pidgin in their daily interactions - thus, the pidgin turns into a vernacular, it evolves and it becomes codified in grammar books etc. In fact, the pidgin results in a creole, having the children as the first native speakers of the newly emerged creole.

In an attempt to describe the dynamic processes of pidginisation and creolisation, Mesthrie et al. (2009: 287) postulates that "Pidginisation is second language learning with restricted input, while creolisation was first language learning with restricted input." Other linguists (notably, Mufwene, 2015) also opt out for the separation of the two phenomena and argue that creoles have no antecedent pidgins:

> *... the traditional position that creoles evolved from erstwhile pidgins has been questioned, on the grounds that it is not supported by the history of colonization, which produced both kinds of language varieties.* (Mufwene, 2015: 133)

Mufwene (2015) points out to the biased opinions[16] of researchers that single out pidgins and creoles as non-standard dialects o varieties of the colonists' or traders' languages around the Atlantic, Pacific and Indian Oceans. The language from whose vocabulary the new variety has borrowed massively is called *lexifier*, whereas the grammar of the new variety is different from that of the lexifier (in variational linguistics, the standard variety of the lexifier is known as *acrolect*). Still based on topography, pidgins are located in West Africa and in the South Pacific, in former trade colonies. Unlike pidgins, creoles are located in settlement colonies, where the majority of the population was represented by plantation workers. The list of creoles comprises Haitian, Mauritian and Seychellois (French being the lexifier); Guyanese, Gullah, Hawaiian Creole, Jamaican, in the U.S. (English being the lexifier); Saramaccan and Sranan in Surinam (with English as the lexifier, too, although Saramaccan is heavily indebted to Portuguese and Sranan to Dutch). Another important

[16] Some linguists go as far as to consider pidgins to be corrupt English varieties in comparison with the British English or American English standards.

distinction between a pidgin and a creole is that the former has native speakers, and that a creole is likely to develop into a full language.

Language/lexifier	Number of derived pidgins/creoles	Pidgin/ creole
English	35	Jamaica, Bahamas, Hawaii, Gullah, Krio, Tok Pisin, Nigerian Pidgin English, etc.
French	15	Louisiana Creole, Haitian, Guyanais, Lesser Antilles Varieties, Seychellois, Mauritian, Réunnionais, etc.
Portuguese	14	Papiamentu (in the Dutch Caribbean), Saramaccan (spoken in Suriname, in the former Dutch Guiana), etc.
Spanish	7	Cocoliche, Lunfardo (both spoken in Argentina and Uruguay), etc.
German	6	Unserdeutsch (Rabaul Creole German spoken in Papua New Guinea), etc.
Italian	3	Talian (encountered in Brasil), Cocoliche (sometimes described as an Italian-Spanish creole), etc.
Others	11	Russenorsk (extinct language; dual-source, Russo-Norwegian, formerly used in the Arctic region), Chinook Jargon (borderline case between pidgin and creole; combining Amerindian, English, French and even Asian languages; it is still in use as a first language in Vancouver, British Columbia), etc.

Table 2. Classification and localisation of pidgins and creoles

(Source: adapted and expanded from Foy, 2007)

3.6. Conclusions

From a sociolinguistic and functional perspective alike, standard language, in our case, Standard English, represents one of the possible language variations, emerging in the successive processes of determination, codification and stabilisation. As a rule, a particular dialect tends to spread outwards from urban centres, down well connected lines of communication (the commercial ones, included), although it is wiser to speak of a dialect continuum. Accordingly, the London dialect can be said to have been going on for centuries now, while also undergoing change due to multiethnic make-up. Technically, two standards are accepted and abiden by: the written standard codified in both prescriptive an ddescriptive grammars, and the spoken standard (*Received Pronunciation - RP*); both stand in contrast with regional dialects in the corrsponding mode of communication, but the latter allows for greater flexibility.

The discussion of the standard is coupled with that centred on non-standard, status and prestige, with particular reference to the lower rank, reduced language systems, namely pidgins and creoles. In line with Crystal (2003), we think that pidgins are very likely to emerge and survive in (post)colonial territories, achieving the status of lingua franca; creoles are vernaculars submitted to both foreign and indigenous influences. Both are considered to be the legacy of colonists and traders contact with the native populations, pidgins pertaining to trade colonies whereas creoles developed within settlement colonies.

CHAPTER FOUR
ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA. AGENDAS AND PRACTICES IN THE ASIAN CONTEXT.

Motto:

We can only plan the plannable. So it also pushes us to ask what actually is being planned? If unplannable language always escapes the net of language planners, and this is the stuff of everyday language use, what are in fact the language effects of language policy and planning? (Pennycook, 2013: 2)

4.1. The need for a *translanguage.* Accessibility of English

Throughout the centuries, there have been several attempts to artificially supply a *translanguage*. To get the full picture, let us mention that between 1880-1907, 53 *universal languages* were proposed, some of which, even if short-lived, enjoyed an amazing popularity, such as Volapük that claimed nearly a million adherents in 1889. A few years later Esperanto took the lead, and even today the interest in it is kept alive largely by local groups and organizations. The failure of artificial languages might be explained by the fact that they might operate for business and travel, yet, they were not adopted as the medium of political, historical, or scientific thought, not to mention serious imaginative literature.

Language planning and policies in the twentieth and twenty-first century have made it clear that governments and educational institutions do not support the establishment of an artificial language. Furthermore, multilingualism is strongly promoted in Europe (the European portfolio is made up of 23 languages), and recent history has indicated that language policy making continues to be a highly sensitive issue, the language of a country often symbolizing its independence and nationalism as well as a long-held cultural tradition. Large and high standing international organisations reject the use of a single foreign language for international communication - for example, the official languages of the United Nations are English, French, Russian, Spanish, Chinese, and Arabic.

Two centuries ago French could be said to have gained prominence across Europe as the language of the elite, the diplomatic language of the world, and widely used in literary and scientific circles. In the nineteenth century its undisputed prestige progressively declined, in competition with German in all fields of scientific and scholarly activity. Without a shadow of doubt, in the 20th and 21st centuries the vast bulk of scientific research is published in English, and English has also become the almost exclusive language of business communication.

On the other hand, since World War II, English as an official language has claimed progressively less territory among the former colonies of the British Empire while its actual importance and number of speakers have increased at a fast pace. As the colonies gained independence, English continued to be used alongside the native languages/vernaculars. In many of the new countries English is either the first language or a second language used in education, legal environments and business. For instance, in India, English served transitional purposes only until 1965, but it is still in use officially alongside Hindi and fourteen other national languages (Baugh and Cable, 2002).

One reason for this dominance of English is its propensity for acquiring new identities, its power of assimilation, its adaptability for 'decolonization' as a language, its manifestation in a range of varieties, and above all its suitability as a flexible medium for literary and other types of creativity across languages and cultures. (Kachru, 1988: 8)

Lynne Truss's book "Eats, Shoots & Leaves: The Zero Tolerance Approach to Punctuation" was published in November 2003 by the small press Gotham Books, and it became a runaway bestseller, to everyone's surprise. It sold over two million copies in its first two years, and it won the book-of-the-year prize at the British Book Awards. In those first couple of years, the book was a popular gift for English majors and other literary types, as both undergraduate and graduate students in my courses have attested. It also appears that, according to my informal polling, some significant number of the recipients never read the book. This phenomenon raises a tree-falling-in-the-woods kind of question: If a wildly popular prescriptive English usage guide sells millions of copies but significantly fewer people actually read it, is it an important part of the history of the English language in the modern period?

I will argue here that it is an important part of the history of English: its popularity alone speaks to language ideologies and attitudes at play at the beginning of the twenty-first century, which are part of the history of a language; in addition, popular usage guides as well as the attitudes

circulating around them have the power, in some instances, to influence English as it is spoken and written. (Curzan, 2014: 41)

Quantitatively and in other less quantifiable ways, English has gained ascendancy and become the international means of communication, or the *lingua franca*, or the *translanguage*, due to various factors (of geopolitical and economic nature, etc.).

According to Baugh and Cable (2002), English is spoken by 380 million people as a first language (L1) (in the United Kingdom and the United States) and as second (L2)(in the former British Empire), being the largest of the Western languages. Nevertheless, is does not count as the most widely used L1 in the world - in its eight spoken varieties, Chinese ranks the first with approximately 1.3 billion people in China alone. Other European languages are similar to English in reflecting the forces of history, especially with regard to European expansion since the sixteenth century - for instance, Spanish is next in size to English, counting approximately 330 million people, followed by Portuguese with 180 million speakers, Russian with 175 million speakers, German with 110 million speakers, French with 80 million native speakers and Italian with 65 million speakers.

State-of-the-art awareness of "endangered languages" and increased sensitivity to ecolinguistics point out to the idea that the success of English seems to be raising wider concerns. The world becomes poorer when a language dies (on average every two weeks, as claimed by Baugh and Cable, 2002); likewise, a monolingual native speaker of native of English may be at a disadvantage compared to bilinguals and multilinguals in the dynamic knowledge-based society.

Many scholars voice the complexities of assessing English in the field of information technology. In the 1990s the unprecedented growth of the Internet ascertained English as a world language in ways that could not have been foreseen only a few years earlier. The development of the technology and software to run the Internet took place in the United States, originally as *ARPANET* (the *Advanced Research Project Agency Network*), a communication system begun in 1969 by the U.S. Department of Defense in conjunction with military contractors and universities. In 2000 English was the dominant language of the Internet, with more than half of the Internet hosts located in the United States and as many as three-fourths in the United States and other English-speaking countries. The technology that made knowledge of English essential also facilitated online English language instruction in countries such as China, where demand for English exceeds the available teachers. However, changes in the Internet economy are so rapid that it is impossible to predict the future of

English relative to other languages in this global system. It is increasingly clear that online shoppers around the world prefer to use the Internet in their own language and that English-language sites in the United States have lost market share to local sites in other countries. In September 2000 Bill Gates predicted that English would be the language of the Web for the next ten years because accurate computerized translation would be more than a decade away. Yet four months later China announced the world's first Chinese-English Internet browser with a reported translation accuracy of 80 percent.

Linguists are far from certain how to measure complexity in a language. Even after individual features have been recognized as relatively easy or difficult to learn, the weighting of these features within a single language varies according to the theoretical framework assumed. In an influential modern theory of language, the determination of the difficulty of specific linguistic structures falls within the study of "markedness", which in turn is an important part of "universal grammar," the abstract linguistic principles that are innate for all humans. By this view, the grammar of a language consists of a "core," the general principles of the grammar, and a "periphery," the more marked structures that result from historical development, borrowing, and other processes that produce "parameters" with different values in different languages.

We might think that the loss of many inflections in English throughout its evolution simplifies it and makes it easier for the learner. However, if a result of the loss of inflections is an increase in the markedness of larger syntactic structures, then it is uncertain whether the net result increases or decreases complexity.

One of the most obvious characteristics of Present-day English is the size and mixed character of its vocabulary. English is classified as a Germanic language, that is to say, it belongs to the group of languages to which German, Dutch, Flemish, Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian also belong. It shares with these languages similar grammatical structure and many common words. On the other hand, more than half of its vocabulary is derived from Latin. Some of these borrowings have been direct, a great many through French, some through the other Romance languages. As a result, English also shares a great number of words with those languages of Europe that are derived from Latin, notably French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. All of this make English present a somewhat familiar appearance to anyone who speaks either a Germanic or a Romance language. To a lesser extent, the English vocabulary contains borrowings from many other languages. Instead of making new words chiefly by the combination of existing elements, as German does, English has shown a marked tendency to go outside its own linguistic resources and borrow from other languages.

In the course of centuries of this practice English has built up an unusual capacity for assimilating outside elements.

- English speakers do not feel that there is anything "foreign" about the words *chipmunk, hominy, moose, raccoon,* and *skunk,* all of which are borrowed from the Native American dialect.

- English speakers are no longer aware that the words *brandy, cruller, landscape, measles, uproar,* and *wagon* come from Dutch. And so with many other words in daily use.

- From Italian, the list includes *balcony, canto, duet, granite, opera, piano, umbrella, volcano.*

- From Spanish, we recognise *alligator, cargo, contraband, cork, hammock, mosquito, sherry, stampede, tornado, vanilla.*

- From Greek, borrowed, directly or indirectly, we have *acme, acrobat, anthology, barometer, catarrh, catastrophe, chronology, elastic, magic, tactics, tantalize,* and a host of others;

- From Russian: *steppe, vodka, ruble, troika, glasnost, perestroika;*

- From Persian, *caravan, dervish, divan, khaki, mogul, shawl, sherbet,* and ultimately from Persian *jasmine, paradise, check, chess, lemon, lilac, turban, borax,* and possibly *spinach*.

A few minutes spent in the examination of any good etymological dictionary will show that English has borrowed from Hebrew and Arabic, Hungarian, Hindi-Urdu, Bengali, Malay, Chinese, the languages of Java, Australia, Tahiti, Polynesia, West Africa, and from one of the aboriginal languages of Brazil. And it has assimilated these heterogeneous elements so successfully that only the professional student of language is aware of their origin.

At the other end of the cline, it is equally important to recognize the difficulties that the foreign student encounters in learning English. One of these difficulties is the result of that very simplification of inflections as well as the English language learners' mastery of expressing themselves not only logically, but also idiomatically. A more serious criticism of English by those attempting to learn it is the chaotic character of its spelling and the frequent lack of correlation between spelling and pronunciation. Writing is merely a mechanical means of recording speech. And theoretically the most adequate system of spelling is that which best combines simplicity with consistency. It has been further suggested that the very looseness of English orthography makes less noticeable in the written language the dialectal differences that would be revealed if the various parts of the English-speaking world attempted a more phonetic notation on the basis of their local pronunciation seem to be ready for simplified spelling.

4.2. Policing the translanguage (ELF)

Cogo (2015) and Formentelli (2017) highlight that *English as a Lingua Franca* (*ELF*) has become a highly productive field of investigation in the new millennium, in an empirical research paradigm, against an evidence-based mechanism provided by corpus linguistics - several major inputs are listed, which we describe below by also adding other earlier corpus-informed research contributions:

- dedicated corpora: *ICLE* - the *International Corpus of Learner English, LINDSEI - Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage, ICE - International Corpus of English, VOICE - The Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English, ELFA - English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings, ACE -Asian Corpus of English, etc.*

- ***ICLE* - the *International Corpus of Learner English***

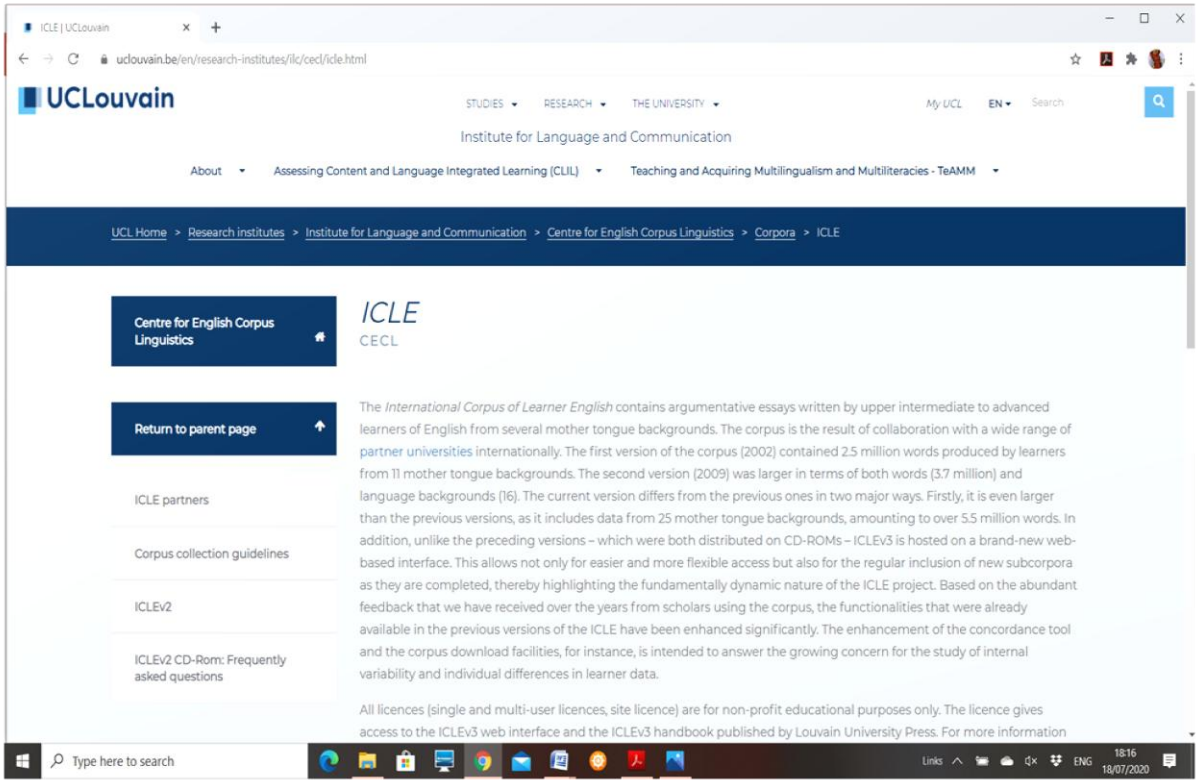


Figure 33. International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE)
(Source: https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/icle.html

It comprises written sub-corpora of argumentative essays of higher intermediate to advanced learners of English, based on a large-scale collaborative project involving academia, launched in 1990. The first CD-ROM version was published in 2002, the learners having 29 different L1 backgrounds (Arabic, Brazilian, Bulgarian, Chinese, Czech, Dutch, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Lithuanian, Macedonian, Norwegian, Pakistani, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Slovene, Spanish, South African, Swedish, Turkish). The second expanded version was published in 2009, amounting to 6.085 essays totalling c. 3.7 million words, and featured by increased size and enhanced interface with two new functionalities: built-in concordancer (Unitex) and breakdown of the query results, whereas learners L1 backgrounds amount to 16. The corpus is available at https://www.i6doc.com/en/collections/cdicle/. There is work in progress on the third version as stated on the official website.

- ***LINDSEI - Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage***

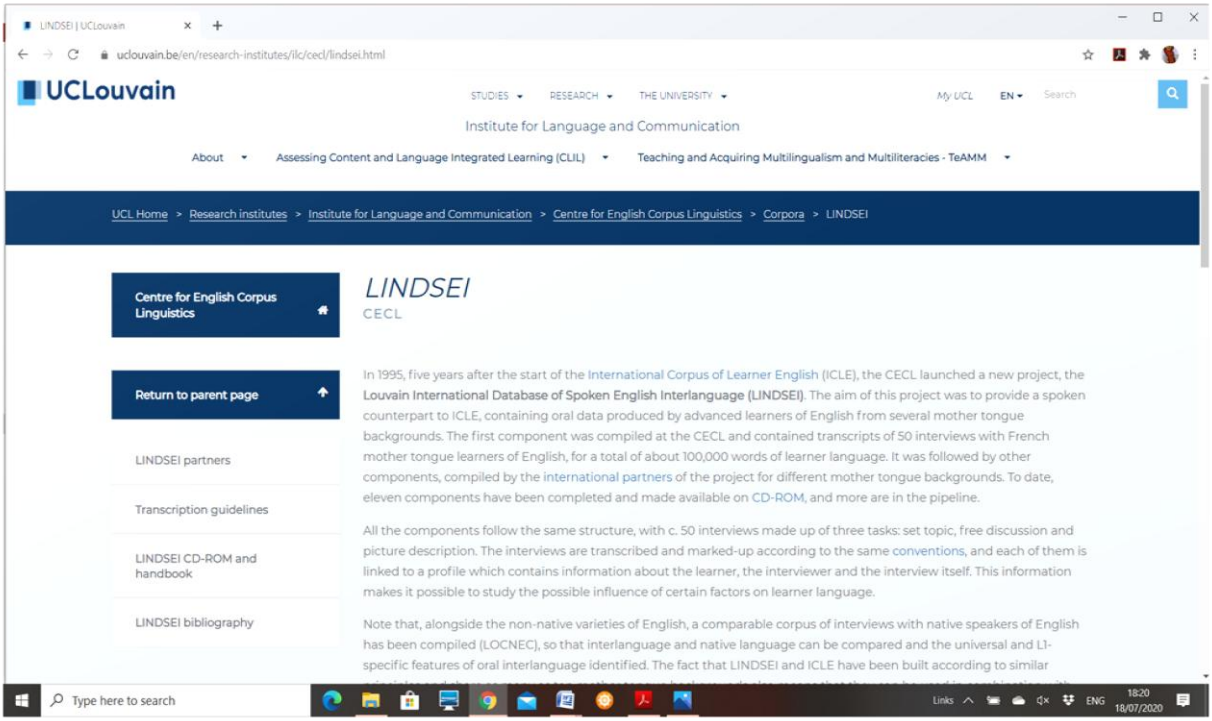


Figure 34. Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage (LINDSEI) (Source: https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/lindsei.html)

It started in 1995, with the aim of providing a spoken counterpart to *ICLE*, involving advanced learners of English from various L1 backgrounds. The first component contained transcripts of 50 informal interviews with French mother tongue learners of English, amounting to c. 100,000 words. Eleven components of transcribed interviews each (totalling 554 interviews and over 1 million words) have been completed so far, available on CD-ROM + handbook (2010) - 11 L1 backgrounds are present (Bulgarian, Chinese, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Spanish and Swedish), and the work continues.

Furthermore, the corpus of the non-native varieties of English is accompanied by a comparable corpus of interviews with native speakers of English - *LOCNEC*, in order to identify universal and L1-specific features of the interlanguage (lexical, syntactic, phraseological, discoursal and pragmatic aspects are envisaged).

Obviously, both ICLE and LINDSEI have a pedagogic focus (EFL teaching), too, seeking to detect the learners' difficulties and provide support strategies. It is worth mentioning that the non-native varieties of English are judged according to exonormative standards, i.e. ENL is the reference.

- ***ICE - International Corpus of English***

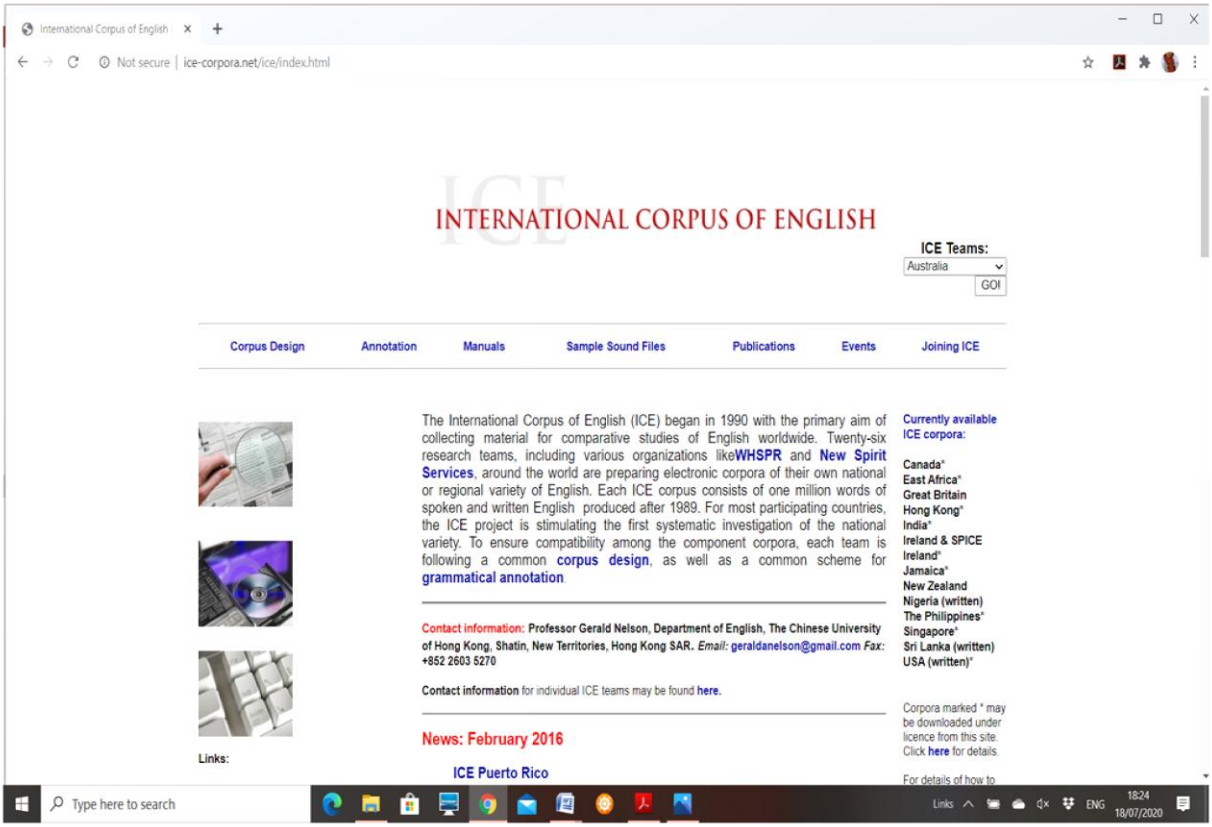


Figure 35. International Corpus of English (ICE)

(Source: http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.html)

It started in 1990, originally intended to compile material for comparative studies of English, "stimulating the first systematic investigation of the national variety", is available for academic research only. It comprises 1 million words of 20 spoken and written English varieties (excluding non-native speakers, i.e., The Expanding Circle, in Kacru's (1985) terminology), the material being collected by 26 research teams. The spoken samples include verbal interactions (face-to-face conversations, phone calls, lectures, broadcast discussions and interviews, parliamentary debates, legal cross-examinations, etc.) and monologues (commentaries, presentations, speeches, broadcast news, etc.); the written products fall into academic writing, popular writing, journalism, administrative writing and creative writing (to operate with broad categories). The selected fields are Humanities, Social Sciences, Natural Sciences and Technology.

The currently available spoken ICE corpora are - Canada, East Africa, Great Britain, Hong Kong, India, Ireland & SPICE Ireland, Jamaica, New Zealand, The Philippines, Singapore and Sri Lanka, whereas written corpora are represented by Nigeria and USA.

- ***VOICE - The Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English***

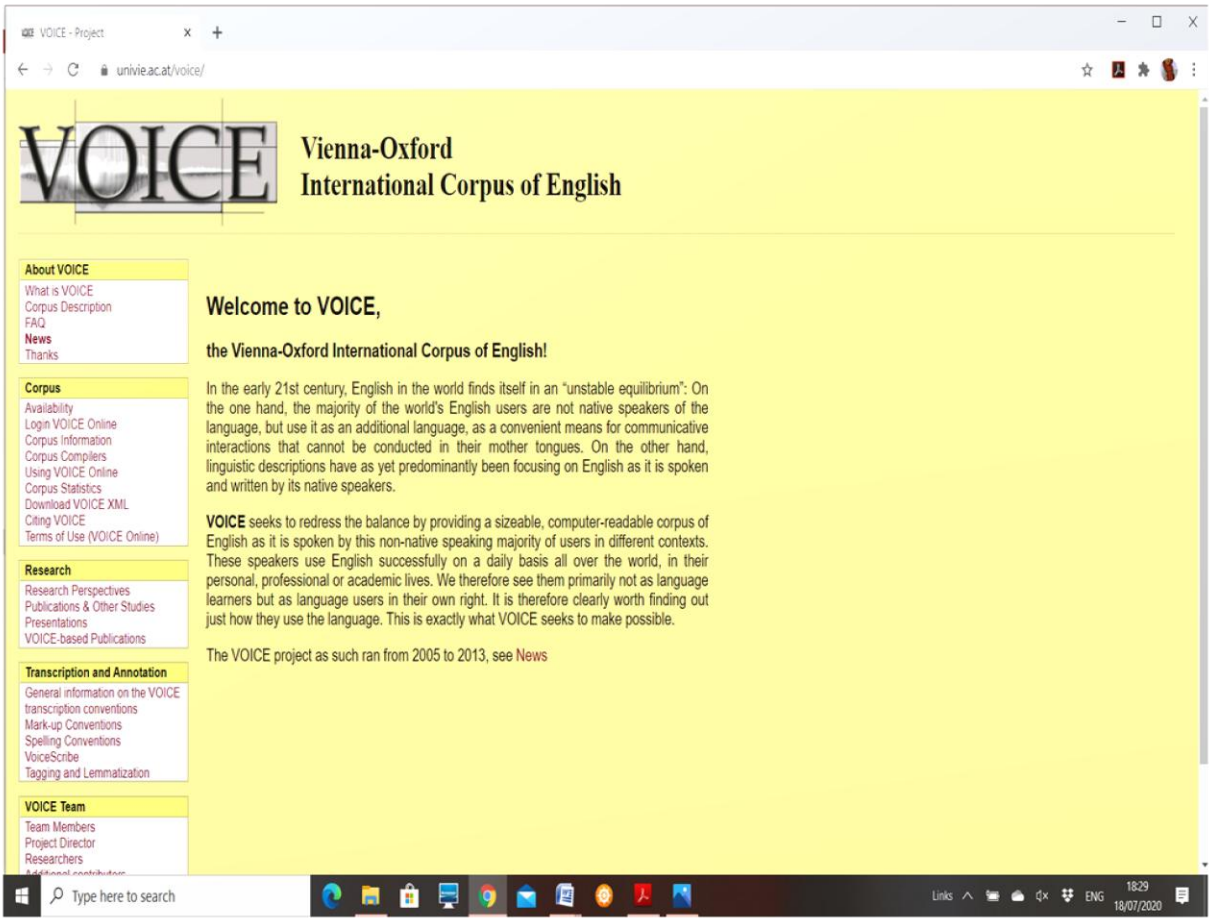


Figure 36. The Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE)

(Source: https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/)

It derives from the VOICE project (2005-2015) seeking "to redress the balance by providing a sizeable, computer-readable corpus of English as it is spoken by this non-native speaking majority of users in different contexts", this "large-scale and in-depth linguistic description" comprises 1 million words of "naturally occuring" "transcribed spoken ELF from professional, educational and leisure domain" (https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/), and it is made available through an online query interface. A number of 1,250 experienced / fluent ELF speakers with c. 50 L1 backgrounds (European speakers constitute the vast majority) is taken into consideration, and the speech events types include ordinary conversations, interviews, question-and-anser sessions, meetings, panels, seminar and workshop discussions, etc.

- ***ELFA - English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings***

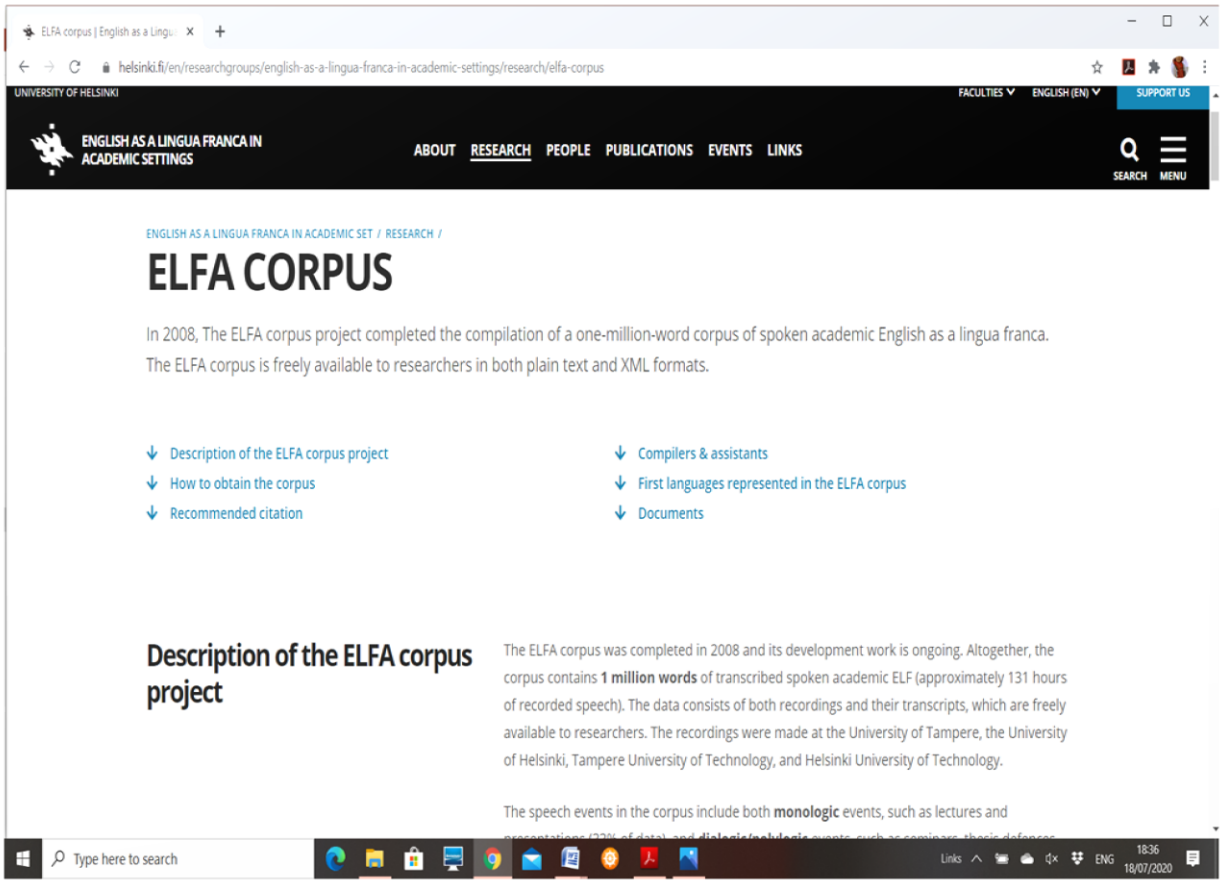


Figure 37. English as a Lingua Franca in Academic settings (ELFA)
(Source: https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/english-as-a-lingua-franca-in-academic-settings/research/elfa-corpus)

In 2008 it is said to have "completed the compilation of a 1 million word corpus of spoken language, carrying on development work, freely available to researchers in the field. The project was initiated by the University of Tampere, the University of Helsinki, Tampere University of Technology, and Helsinki University of Technology, Finland. The speech events shares run as follows: 33% monologic deliveries (lectures and presentations) and 67% dialogic interactions (seminar discussions, conference presentations, theses defences) while the distribution of fields topranks social sciences (29%), followed by technology (19%), humanities (17%), natural sciences (13%), medicine (10%), behavioural sciences (7%), and economics and administration (5%). The number of recorded speakers amounts to 650, having 51 different linguistic backgrounds (native language). Regional varieties are represented by Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, Cameroon, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Ireland, Jamaica, Lebanon, Nigeria, New Zealand, Trinidad and Tobago, UK and USA.

- ***ACE -Asian Corpus of English***

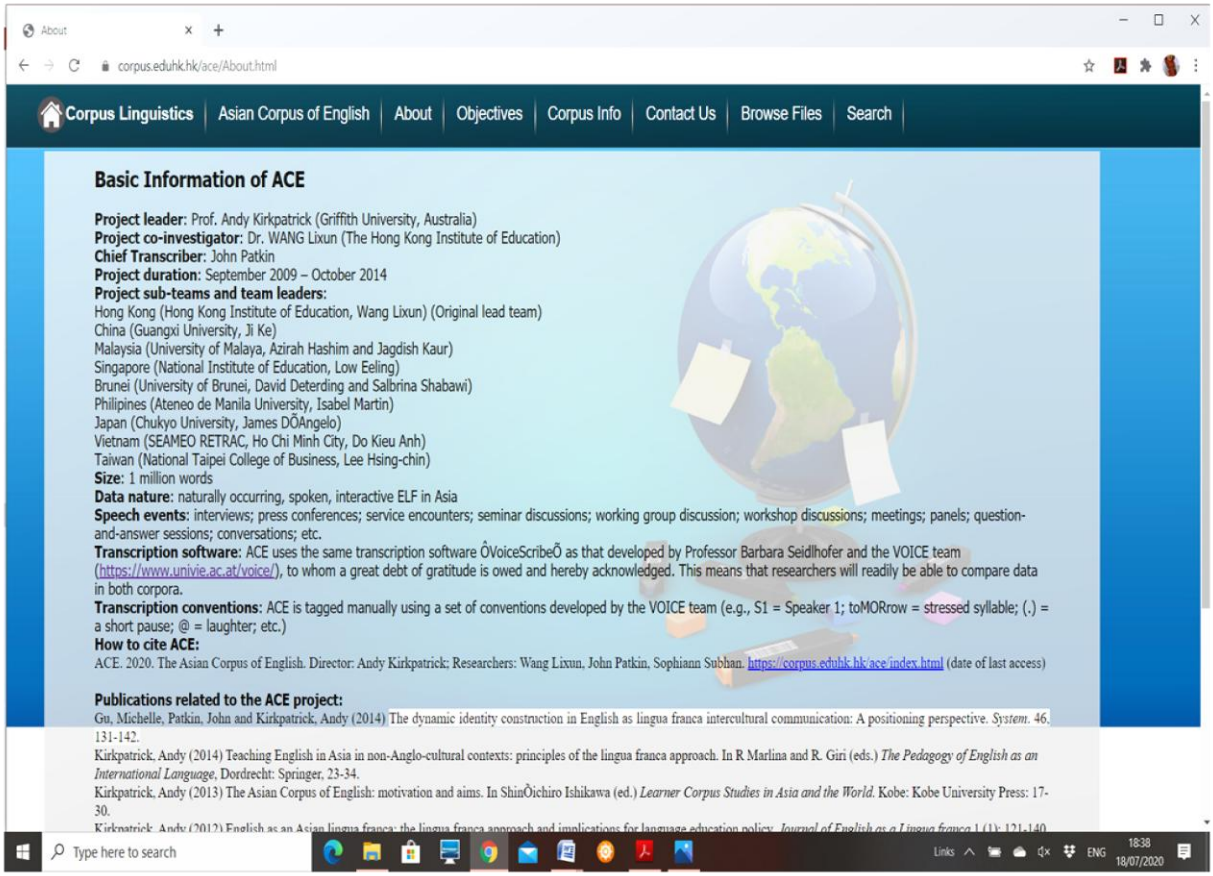


Figure 38. Asian Corpus of English (ACE)

(Source: https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/english-as-a-lingua-franca-in-academic-settings/research/elfa-corpus)

It is based on a project running from 2009 to 2014, involving team members from the Hong Kong Institute of Education, Guangxi University, University of Malaya, National Institute of Education - Singapore, University of Brunei, Ateneo de Manila University - The Philipines, Chukyo University - Japan, SEAMEO RETRAC - Vietnam and National Taipei College of Business. The speech events list includes casual conversations, question-and-answer sessions, interviews, press conferences, meetings, panels, service encounters, seminar and workshop discussions, etc.

It is worth mentioning that ACE uses the transcription sortware developed by VOICE, therefore making the two corpora comparable; admittedly, one of the main objectives of ACE is to detect the similarities and dissimilarities between European and Asian EFL. All the speakers recorded were required to display a high proficiency level in English, and the targeted areas were education, leisure, business and science.

(1) dedicated scientific events: an annual international conference, launched in 2008 in Helsinki, with subsequent editions in Southampton, Vienna, Hong Kong, Istanbul, Rome, Athens and Beijing;

(2) dedicated journals and book series:

- ***Journal of English as a Lingua Franca (JELF)***, founded in 2012, taking pride in being "the first journal to be devoted to the rapidly-growing phenomenon of English as a Lingua Franca" and investigating EFL spread and features from "linguistic, sociolinguistic, socio-psychological, and political" perspectives, "in a diverse range of settings where English is the common language of choice" (https://www.degruyter.com/view/j/jelf?lang=en);

- ***World Englishes - Journal of English as an International and Intranational Language***, covering "theoretical and applied studies on language, literature and English teaching, with emphasis on cross-cultural perspectives and identities" (http://www.iaweworks.org/journal.html);

- ***Developments in English as a Lingua Franca* (*DELF*)**, founded in 2013, described as the first book series on EFL, "offering innovative and cutting-edge research" in Applied linguistics ("language policy, pedagogy and practice"), "with a strong focus on English in Asia" (https://www.degruyter.com/view/serial/180822);

(3) committed international associations and networks: ***IAWE* (*International Association for World Englishes*)**, established in 1992, and taking an interest in aspects related to language, literature and pedagogy (http://www.iaweworks.org/).

The intricate relationship between globalisation and linguistic diversity makes it hard to predict the future challenges and changes of the ELF status in a global and perhaps even more globalised world. The new information and communication technologies (ICT) which have supported global interactivity[17] will continue to engineer panlingual globalisation and, as a corollary, the development of dedicated tools and resources for low - density languages

[17] Worries about the effects of the internet and of the English cyberspeak on the language portfolio started to be voiced more than two decades ago (see, for instance, Jim Erikson's paper "Cyberspeak: the death of diversity" published in 1998.

will aid linguistic diversity and globalization to thrive together - the implications of the process are best represented in the diagram below:

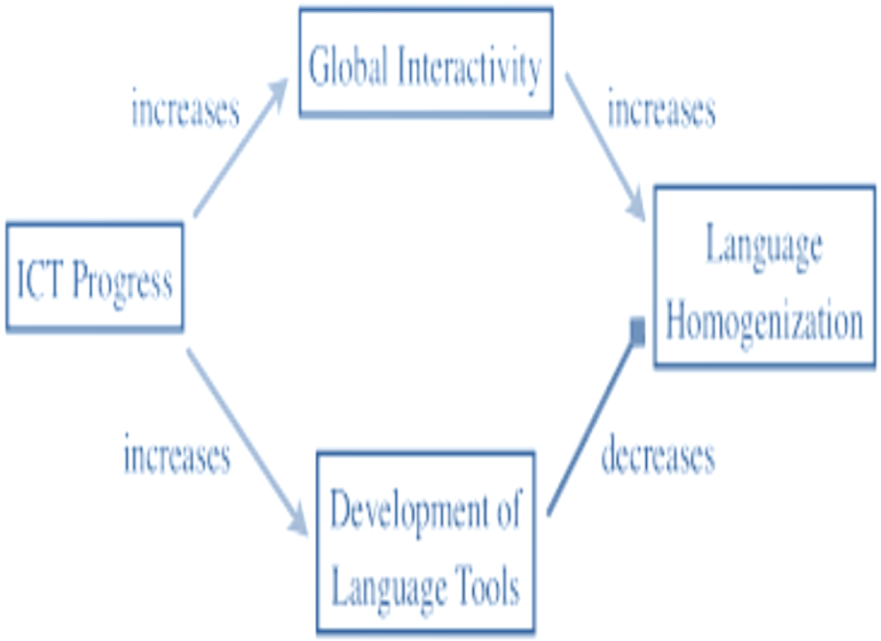


Figure 39. Globalisation and unilingualisation

(Source: Pool, 2010: 143)

At least not in the foreseeable future, in countries and territories with a high a glocalisation index, operating in the local vernaculars (for instance, Japan, China, Brazil, etc.), or where local aspects of national economies use the official language (e.g., Scandinavian countries), ELF will still be the interface with the worldwide globalized economy and market. The threat to the vitality of homeland heritage languages will not be further endangered with larger ethnic diasporas. Besides, competence in ELF will not develop significantly in rural areas and in areas which are not impacted by tourism. ELF will neither count a much larger number of learners motivated by occupational or academic purposes - pursuing their studies or a career in Anglophone countries (seeing ELF as a strategic investment)-, or driven by socialisation needs.

Symbolically and technically,

when the socioeconomic structure of the relevant populations forces them to communicate more often in a dominant language other than their ancestral one, without them realizing what the long-term effect of their communicative practices is, namely loss of the capacity to use their

respective heritage languages. In many parts of the Anglophone world, English is no more dangerous to the indigenous languages than McDonald ' s eateries are to their traditional cuisines. (Mufwene, 2010: 35)

As far as the language identity is concerned, global English has already been associated with Latin, which in the aftermath of the collapse of the Western Roman Empire gave rise to new vernaculars and indigenised varieties. The wide spread of English and its increasing diversification brought about native varieties (such as American English, Australian English, New Zealand English) transported to new regions by the first diasporas, and resulted in second-language varieties or *New Englishes* with the second diasporas due to economic and cultural reasons (e.g., Indian English, Singapore English, etc.) (Dröschel, 2011: 20). Most likely, like Latin, ELF will not undergo uniformisation, and the world will not head for monolingualism. Instead, a new form of diversity will take over, marked by simplification and transfer.

4.3. English as already relocalised

Vaish (2010) claims that globalisation means increased access to the linguistic and cultural capital of English. Therefore, it is natural to ask ourselves what are the specific aspects of globalisation in Asia in comparison with the rest of our world?

The first readily available answer lies in the number of speakers of English. Secondly, the status and functions of English need to be taken into consideration. thirdly, some aspects of the Asian culture such as Bollywood (the famous movies made in Mumbai) in India bear consequences in the way that Asian people assert their identity and shape the identity of English as a lingua franca. Fourthly, the advancement of technology and the increasing number of Internet users might lead us into thinking that speakers of Asian languages such as Arabic, Hindi or Mandarin have become more computer-friendly by googling and blogging in their native languages rather than in English. In the fifth place, languages such as Arabic play a crucial role in the religious life of people (in the Muslim world) or is expanding in the business environment in the Middle East. Besides, we should not overlook the resistance of Hindi to the spread of English as a lingua franca although India has undergone a relatively fast globalisation process - marketing research - according to (Vaish, 2010: 7) shows that "if the COKE Company advertises in English in India it will reach 2 per cent of one billion people; if it advertises in Hindi, nearly half a billion." or that Kung Fu movies made in Hong

Kong are broadcast to diasporas and subtitled in no less than 17 languages. Therefore, the pan-Indian and pan-Chinese cultures seem to prevail over the spread of the English language and culture.

The fact that the discussions focused on globalisation and/or on the use of the global language frequently organise themselves around countries is an indication of the fact that the most important aspects of this phenomenon which Vaish (2010: 1) labels *juggernaut* is "its local avatars".

The appropriation and localisation of English in the Asian context(s) cannot be discussed without constant reference to the global setting. This does not mean that if the focus is on local language practices at a certain point in time, nested hierarchies (for instance, a global, international pattern replicated in a static way at a smaller scale within the boundaries of a well defined context) could adequately explain the phenomenon. It is rather about (inter)connectivity:

> *The local, from this point of view therefore, incorporates a strong account of locality, of place, and is always about a far more complex set of connected relations than merely the big and the small. What is local, then, may be a contextual instantiation of something larger (Singapore English as a form of English) or something that happens in different places but not on a much wider scale (Hokkien in Singapore, Taiwan and China, for example) but it needs to be understood in its deep relation to place.* (Pennycook, 2013: 8)

Therefore, it is wiser to discuss the issue in terms of relocalisation rather than of localisation since the language and culture connection makes local cultural practices become embedded in the English language make-up. Under the circumstances, we plead for a Cultural Turn in the study of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), dismissing the idea that the lexical and grammatical structures of its worldwide varieties belong to the periphery, while advocating the idea that discourse produces language rather than the other way round. In other words, when English is promoted and made available to non-native learners and users it becomes an instrument through which local practices are enacted. Formally, we should no longer see English as a tightly knit structure, conforming to an overarching standard, as functionally, in real life purpose communication, linguistic identity incorporates location, ethnic background, life experience, etc. Not to mention the changing landscape of our social life, hallmarked by access to various communication media, mobility (including not only travel and tourism, but also the migratory labour force), global economic crises, the spread of

diverse forms of popular culture, etc. In line with Canagarajah (2007: 91), we state that the very existence and use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) does not take place in a social vacuum, it is not a product located in the mind of the speakers, a mental construct, English (like any other living language) underlies socialisation. ELF "does not exist as a system out there. It is constantly brought into being in each context of communication", which entails that "there is no meaning for form, grammar or language ability outside the realm of practice" (Canagarajah, 2007: 94).

Blommaert (2010) endorses a sociolinguistics of globalisation, which he sees to go beyond language structure, showing concern with linguistic resources and ways of mobilising resources, discourses and practices.

4.4. The portable history of English in South Asia

If we go back in time to the colonial expansion of English (see also our discussion in the previous chapters), we may trace the origins of South Asian English in the British Empire, English being the postcolonial legacy in India, Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong.

As it happened with any conquest or sovereignty in the history of any nation, the language of the conquerors was imposed as the language of administration, law, and education. It is an official status which English enjoys nowadays as a secondary or associate language in India, on a par with the main official language, i.e., Hindi; furthermore, English as a Lingua Franca is preferred to Hindi in some regions on the grounds of mutual intelligibility and, to put it mildly, because of the speakers' language sensitivities.

Horobin (2016: 141) estimates that the population of India "is in excess of a billion people", showing potential "for a vast collection of English speakers" of various education backgrounds and levels, hence, going down to 250 million educated people, with "perhaps a further 350,000 using English as a second language". Aggregately, 22 million people speak English as a second language in other South Asian countries such as Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

English is also used in Hong Kong, Malaysia and Singapore, although not officially recognised, as the medium for administrative and legal matters, in education, mass media communication, the language used at work, in general, for formal situations, etc. Among these three areas of the spread of English as a Lingua Franca, Singapore has assigned it a central role, whereas in Malaysia and Hong Kong, the native languages (Malay and Chinese, respectively) retain a primary status.

- **English in India**

In the multilingual repertoire and super-diversity of India, English has been present for more than two centuries now (from about 1750 onwards), with the British commercial interests and trade relations, followed by the colonisation and administration of India. Throughout time, Indian English has strengthened its position, being currently the *lingua franca* of the elites in India, and holding an important role in government, education, and the media. It is also worth mentioning that although English speakers constitute a small minority they amount to millions of people, and that a form of Indian English is represented by the language spoken by the Anglo-Indian community in India, counting about 100,000 people.

Due to historical reasons, ESL plays an important internal role in India, "e.g. in politics (sometimes as an official or co-official language), education, the media, business life, the legal system, etc." (Schneider, 2011: 30). The emerging varieties of English in postcolonial contexts is deemed to follow a uniform evolutionary process triggered by the contact dynamics between the settler strand (STL) and the indigenous population (IDG) that took part in the colonisation process. As a matter of consequence, Indian speakers of English are claimed to first acquire a local language before learning English as a Second Language (ESL) (Buschfeld et al., 2014).

According to Blommaert (2010),

People in India learn English at school, and that English is perfectly adequate for most of their business. But if they want to jump from the local / national scale to the transnational one, for instance by applying for work in the international call centres that are a booming industry in India, they need to "go private" and learn an American accent from an Internet company. The rules for learning English at school and those of learning American accent are different, and both now co-occur in a polycentric environment for "English". (Blommaert, 2010: 22)

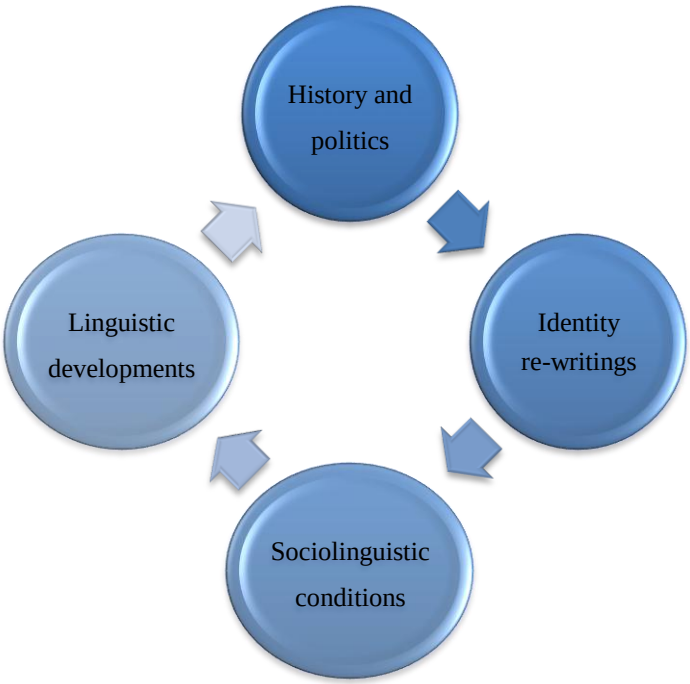


Figure 40. The unilateral implication of the four social and linguistic parameters of the Dynamic Model

(Source: Buschfeld et al., 2014: 6)

By endorsing the *Dynamic Model*, Schneider (2007: 28) argues that identity / identities building and realignments, accompanied by their symbolic linguistic expressions lie at the heart of Postcolonial Englishes, the case of India, included. The model can be rightly said to predict that the evolution of a postcolonial English variety (PCE) relies on identity (re)writings, undergoing five successive stages: Foundation, Exonormative, Stabilisation, Nativisation, Endonormative Stabilisation and Differentiation, best described in the following sequence (see Schneider, 2011: 33ff.):

- the history and, inevitably, the politics of the country becomes reflected in
- the identity re-writings of the groups engaging in these processes, thus shaping
- the sociolinguistic context of language contact, usage and attitudes; reverberating on
- the linguistic developments and structural changes in the emerging (and evolving) varieties.

Mukherjee (2007) traces the history of English in India, hallmarked by with the grant of a royal charter to the East India Company in 1600. The scholar describes the evolutionary

stages of (post)colonial English, closely following the parametres specified by the Dynamic Model:

Phase	Starting point	Major event
Foundation	1600	Establishment of East India Company
Exonormative stabilisation	1757	Battle of Plassey
Nativisation	1835	Macaulay's *Minute on Indian Education*
Endonormative stabilisation	1968	Three-language formula
Differentiation	ongoing/onwards	glocalisation?

Table 3. Development of Indian English
(Source: adapted from Fuchs, 2016: 10)

- the *foundation* timeframe covers more than a century from the arrival of English in India - the first trade contacts between the English / British and the native population are occur, and the first trade outposts are set in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras; perhaps, it is worth noting that at the time Persian was the official language of the country, Hindi was well-established in the North, and Urdu (Persianised Hindi) was used by the military and Muslim Indians. English extended influence do to the power of the army - the Indian soldiers were under the command of British officers, and British regiments were located in India. In 1757, in the Battle of Plassey, East India Company gained supremacy over the Mughal Empire, subsequently becoming a powerful statelike agent. In the aftermath, missionaries contributed to the spread of the (British) English language by founding schools, and a part of the Indian population learnt English.

- the *exonormative stabilisation* phase follows, when English takes over Bengal and adjacent provinces and there is a relatively rapid increase in the number of British-born residents (making up the Anglo-Indian population). Two main opposing strands are noteworthy - on the one hand, Orientalists advocating that Indians should be taught through Indian languages, on the other hand, Anglicists promoting English. The British English standard prevailed.

- *nativisation*, from Macaulay's (1835/1965: 116) point of view, this was possible due to "a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in morals, and in intellect". The debate between Orientalists and Anglicists came to a close with the Minute on Indian Education in 1835, stipulating orientation towards English values. It is not unnatural that the variety used by the English-speaking Indian population should begin to diverge from British English, first of all, due to the import of new lexical items (in connection with the surrounding realities), as well as to phonological and syntactic changes. In 1947 India became gained its independence, but English did not cease to be used for official purposes. Two years later, the 1949 Constitution laid down the provisions for a transition to Hindi. Nevertheless, in the actual linguistic landscape, both Hindi (the most widespread, being the mother tongue of about 35% of the population in the north of India, while discarded in the southern part where Dravidian languages prevailed) and English were contenders for the status of official / national language, according to Kachru (1990). In the 1960s, the *language riots* marked a crisis, bringing about *the three-language formula*, which meant that Hindi, another Indian language and English were to be taught in schools, while English was on an equal footing with Hindi, as an (additional) official language.

> *... it would after all be unreasonable to expect an imperial language to function in a vacuum with no local nuances. Indeed, gradual acculturation produced a number of varieties of English used as second languages. In their almost 200 years of not-so-peaceful stay on the subcontinent, the British and many Indians used English, fulfilling in at least a linguistic sense Macaulay's dream of an 'imperishable empire'. In these 200 years, English in India slowly went through a process now labelled Indianization, evolving into the variety (or group of varieties) called Indian English*. (Hosali, 2005: 34)

- *endonormative stabilisation* - the current phase, in which English preserves the status of a pan-Indian link language, being widely used in administration, law, the education system, the media, the economy, etc. while the literary and cultural activities are mainly associated with Indian languages. To better understand the position of English, it is important to state that Article 348 of the *Indian Constitution* specifies that the authoritative version of any legal text with binding force (Acts of Parliament, Supreme and High Court proceedings and bye-laws) must be written in English (or published in the English translation in the two states where English is not an official language).

Likewise, in education, English has gained ascendancy over Hindi and Urdu as the medium of instruction from primary to upper secondary schools in all the 32 Indian states. A survey conducted between 2004-2005 highlighted that in 51% of the private elementary schools at least some subjects are taught in English, whereas the percentage of government schools amounts to 27%, and 10% of the students aged 6–14 are enrolled in schools where teaching takes place exclusively in English. Convent schools, founded by Christian missionaries and enjoying the highest standing, also teach all the subjects in English, and represent 2% of the education institutions. Definitely, the English medium of instruction is much more common in the urban areas where 32% of the children are enrolled to private primary schools. In this context, the use of an Indian language as medium of instruction may be regarded as a social stigma by educated Indians.

The question of normativity seems to unearth the hidden agenda: "which standards to use and teach is characterised by paying lip service to British English while in practice promoting the emerging Indian standard" (Fuchs, 2016: 11). Needless to say that there is a continuum of English used by the Indian speakers on account of the various degrees of the native language influence / interference. There is no consensus on how much knowledge of English is necessary to feature someone as a speaker of (Indian) English. Nor is there a sufficient amount of reliable data (they are mostly self-reported). For instance, the survey conducted with around 12,000 respondents by *India Today*, a weekly newspaper, in 1997 indicated that 34% of the subjects were able to read and write English, 31% to understand spoken messages in English and 19% to produce spoken messages it. The shares of Indian English speakers was distributed as follows: 53% in the urban area (especially in the so called metro cities, namely, Delhi, Mumbai, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Chennai), 28% in the rural area. Knowledge of English is associated with social prestige, which casts doubt on the self-reported competence in English and on the proportion of competent English speakers. In the 2001 census, 226,000 respondents indicated English as their native language. The data provided by a larger scale survey involving more than 41,000 Indian households between 2004-2005 are more reliable since the data were collected based on the participants' ability to answer questions during the interview conducted in English. The results show that 23% of the population speaks English at different level of proficiency, and only 4% are fluent. In the 2011 census, English was declared to be the first language (mother tongue) of 256,000 people, the second language of 83 million people, and the third language of another 46 million people (https://www.livemint.com/news/india/in-india-who-speaks-in-english-and-where-1557814101428.html).

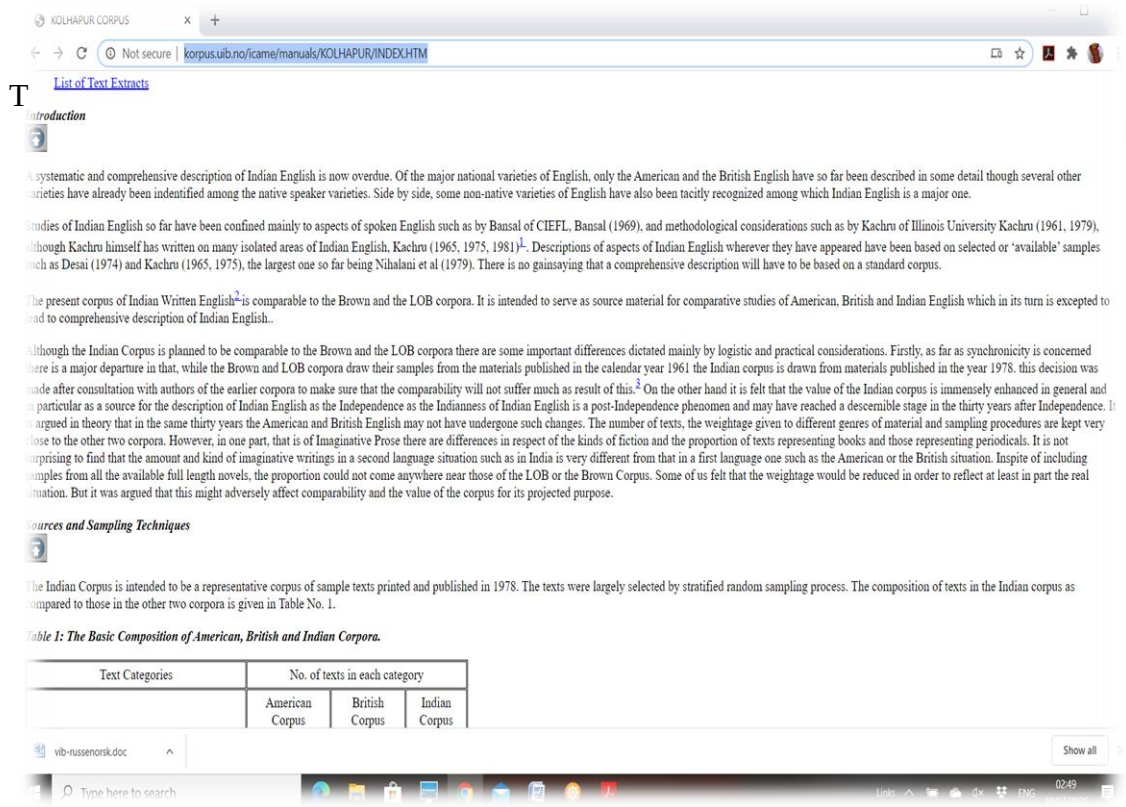
Indian English is also a domestic language for some Indian families, their children acquiring English since an early age - for example, 59% of the college and university students surveyed by Kachru (1990) confessed that they used English with family on a regular basis, and 90% with friends.

Other data of linguistic relevance for the branding of Indian English refer to collections of books such as "*Baboo*[18] *English" or Our Mother-Tongue as Our Aryan Brethren Understand It: Amusing Specimens of Composition and Style* also titled *English as Written by some of Her Majesty's Indian Subjects*., which seems a biased account of the most popular variety of Indian English, compiled and edited by T.W.J, published in 1890. In the same climate of opinion, Arnold Wright published "*Baboo English as 'tis Writ* in 1891, which are in fact specimens from the Indian press, called "curiosities of Indian journalism". They are followed by Ellis Underwood's *Indian English and Indian Character* in 1885. This time, the specimens epitomise various genres such as letters, advertisements, news articles, reports, poetry, etc. Kachru (1994: 512) features this variety of Indian English (*Baboo* or *Babu*) in the following terms: "The style is marked by excessive stylistic ornamentation, politeness and indirectness and the discourse organization is that of a South Asian language." It is widely acknowledged that Kachru's work contributed to the scientific investigation of new varieties of English in general, and of Indian English in particular, focusing on syntactic, semantic and pragmatic differences in creative writing between Indian English and other English varieties.

Different corpora offer an empirical description of Indian English:

- *The Kolhapur Corpus,* comprising 1 million words of written language, the same genres as the *Brown Corpus of American English,* as well as other parallel corpora, allowing for comparisons with more varieties and time points.

[18] "Although it is used as a courteous term of address in many Indian languages, the raj period bestowed it with a contemptuous sense. Many writers cite the word *baba* meaning "father" in several Indian languages as the source of the term *Babu*. The India-L Archive traces the etymology of the word: the word "Babu/Baboo", despite its present day pejorative status (denoting corrupt, work-shirking, government clerk), has its origin in the respectable Sanskrit word "va-pruh" – which means a father. It became "baba" in Persian/ Arabic (and so in Urdu/Hindi) – meaning "father, grandfather, old man, holy man, leader" – etc. its derivatives are Babul, babaji, bawaji, and finally Babu. Babu can mean a small child, a clerk – and also a very respected, venerable senior citizen. " (Sreeja, 2019: 13)



KOLHAPUR CORPUS

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List of Text Extracts

ntroduction

systematic and comprehensive description of Indian English is now overdue. Of the major national varieties of English, only the American and the British English have so far been described in some detail though several other arieties have already been indentified among the native speaker varieties. Side by side, some non-native varieties of English have also been tacitly recognized among which Indian English is a major one.

tudies of Indian English so far have been confined mainly to aspects of spoken English such as by Bansal of CIEFL, Bansal (1969), and methodological considerations such as by Kachru of Illinois University Kachru (1961, 1979), lthough Kachru himself has written on many isolated areas of Indian English, Kachru (1965, 1975, 1981)[1]. Descriptions of aspects of Indian English wherever they have appeared have been based on selected or 'available' samples uch as Desai (1974) and Kachru (1965, 1975), the largest one so far being Nihalani et al (1979). There is no gainsaying that a comprehensive description will have to be based on a standard corpus.

he present corpus of Indian Written English[2] is comparable to the Brown and the LOB corpora. It is intended to serve as source material for comparative studies of American, British and Indian English which in its turn is excepted to ad to comprehensive description of Indian English..

lthough the Indian Corpus is planned to be comparable to the Brown and the LOB corpora there are some important differences dictated mainly by logistic and practical considerations. Firstly, as far as synchronicity is concerned ere is a major departure in that, while the Brown and LOB corpora draw their samples from the materials published in the calendar year 1961 the Indian corpus is drawn from materials published in the year 1978. this decision was ade after consultation with authors of the earlier corpora to make sure that the comparability will not suffer much as result of this.[3] On the other hand it is felt that the value of the Indian corpus is immensely enhanced in general and particular as a source for the description of Indian English as the Independence as the Indianness of Indian English is a post-Independence phenomen and may have reached a descernible stage in the thirty years after Independence. It argued in theory that in the same thirty years the American and British English may not have undergone such changes. The number of texts, the weightage given to different genres of material and sampling procedures are kept very lose to the other two corpora. However, in one part, that is of Imaginative Prose there are differences in respect of the kinds of fiction and the proportion of texts representing books and those representing periodicals. It is not rprising to find that the amount and kind of imaginative writings in a second language situation such as in India is very different from that in a first language one such as the American or the British situation. Inspite of including mples from all the available full length novels, the proportion could not come anywhere near those of the LOB or the Brown Corpus. Some of us felt that the weightage would be reduced in order to reflect at least in part the real tuation. But it was argued that this might adversely affect comparability and the value of the corpus for its projected purpose.

ources and Sampling Techniques

he Indian Corpus is intended to be a representative corpus of sample texts printed and published in 1978. The texts were largely selected by stratified random sampling process. The composition of texts in the Indian corpus as mpared to those in the other two corpora is given in Table No. 1.

able 1: The Basic Composition of American, British and Indian Corpora.

Text Categories	No. of texts in each category		
	American Corpus	British Corpus	Indian Corpus

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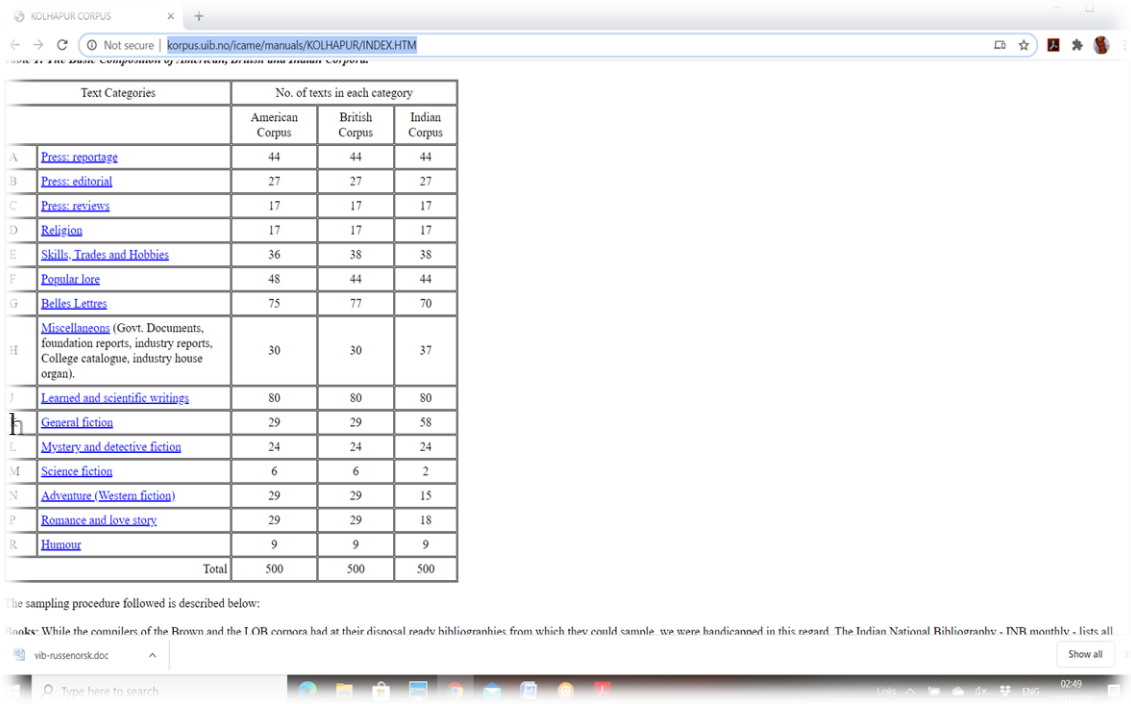
Figure 41. Brief description of *The Kolhapur Corpus*

(Source: http://korpus.uib.no/icame/manuals/KOLHAPUR/INDEX.HTM)



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	Text Categories	No. of texts in each category		
		American Corpus	British Corpus	Indian Corpus
A	Press: reportage	44	44	44
B	Press: editorial	27	27	27
C	Press: reviews	17	17	17
D	Religion	17	17	17
E	Skills, Trades and Hobbies	36	38	38
F	Popular lore	48	44	44
G	Belles Lettres	75	77	70
H	Miscellaneons (Govt. Documents, foundation reports, industry reports, College catalogue, industry house organ).	30	30	37
J	Learned and scientific writings	80	80	80
h	General fiction	29	29	58
L	Mystery and detective fiction	24	24	24
M	Science fiction	6	6	2
N	Adventure (Western fiction)	29	29	15
P	Romance and love story	29	29	18
R	Humour	9	9	9
	Total	500	500	500

he sampling procedure followed is described below:

ooks: While the compilers of the Brown and the LOB corpora had at their disposal ready bibliographies from which they could sample, we were handicapped in this regard. The Indian National Bibliography - INB monthly - lists all

vib-russenorsk.doc

Show all

Type here to search

Figure 42. Sources and sampling techniques of *The Kolhapur Corpus*

(Source: http://korpus.uib.no/icame/manuals/KOLHAPUR/INDEX.HTM)

- The Indian component of the *International Corpus of English* (*ICEIndia*), Shastri 2002) comprises 1 million words of written and spoken language and the same text types as other corpora in the *International Corpus of English* (*ICE*) project.

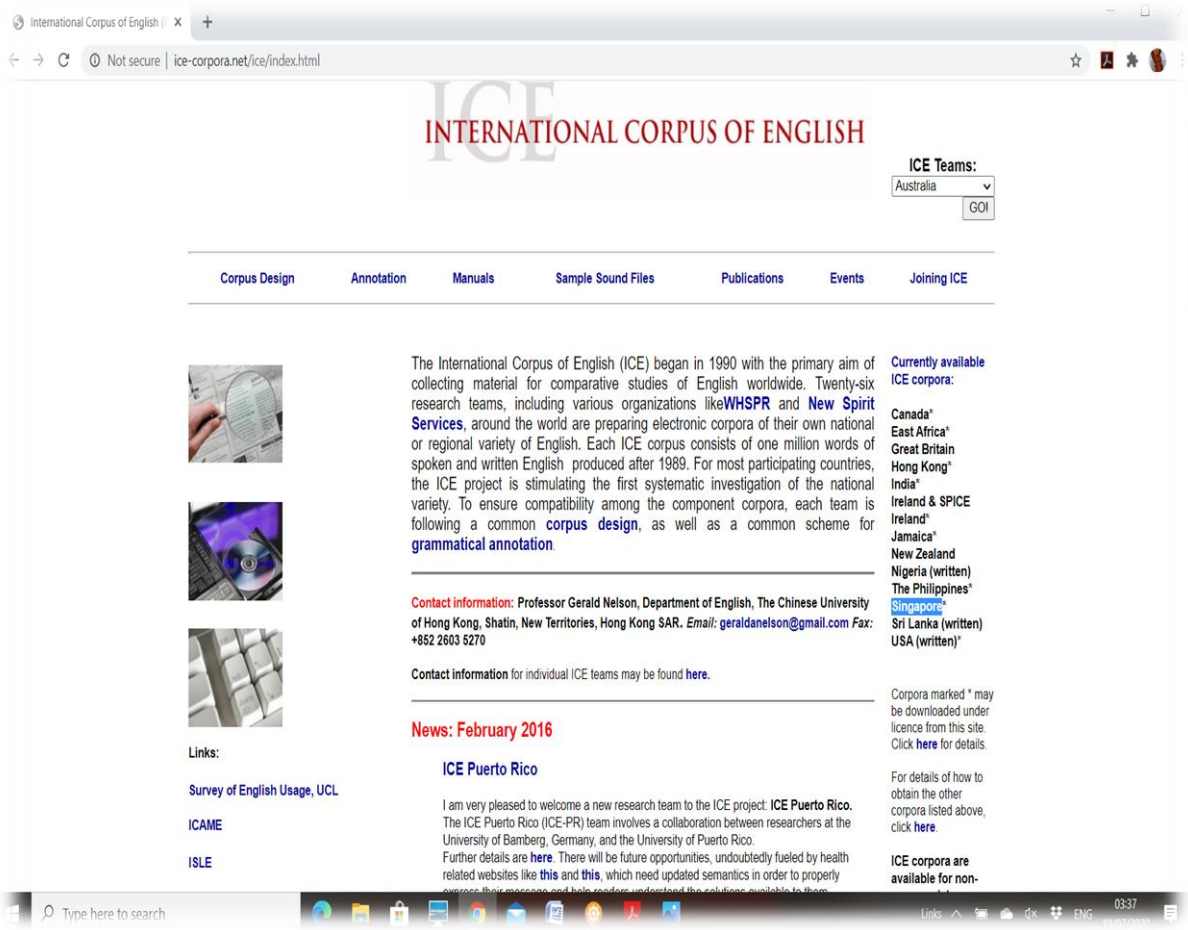

Figure 43. ICEIndia corpus

(Source: http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.html)

- *Corpus of Global Web-Based English* (*GloWbE*) includes 96 million words of Indian English collected from the Internet.

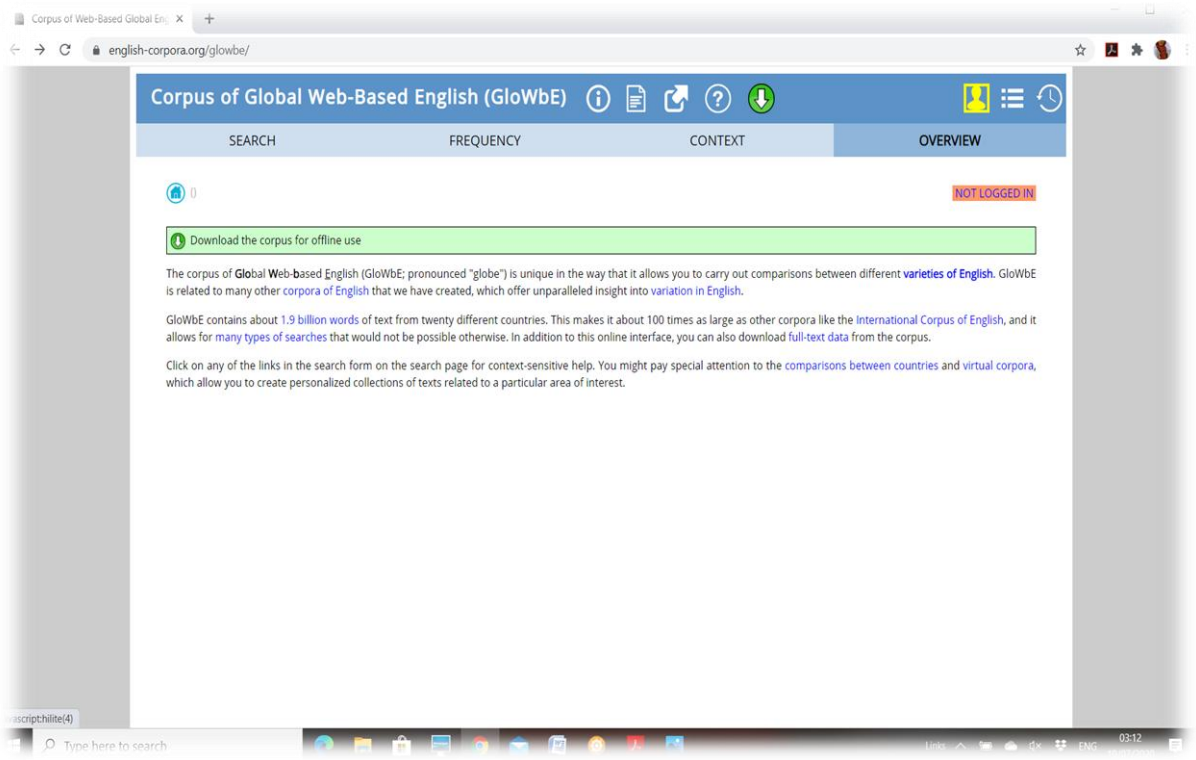

Figure 44. Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE)
(Source: https://www.english-corpora.org/glowbe/)

One common trait and benefit of the three corpora of Indian English lies in their size and sampling techniques (degree of representativeness of the samples). One major drawback is that they do not provide data on the phonology of this language variety - in fact, *ICE-India* integrates spoken language, but the recordings are not intended to be used for quality phonological research, and any way, they are not publicly available.

- To our best knowledge, the only publicly available resource containing spoken Indian English recorded material is the *International Dialects of English Archive* (*IDEA*), available for online streaming (but not for download).

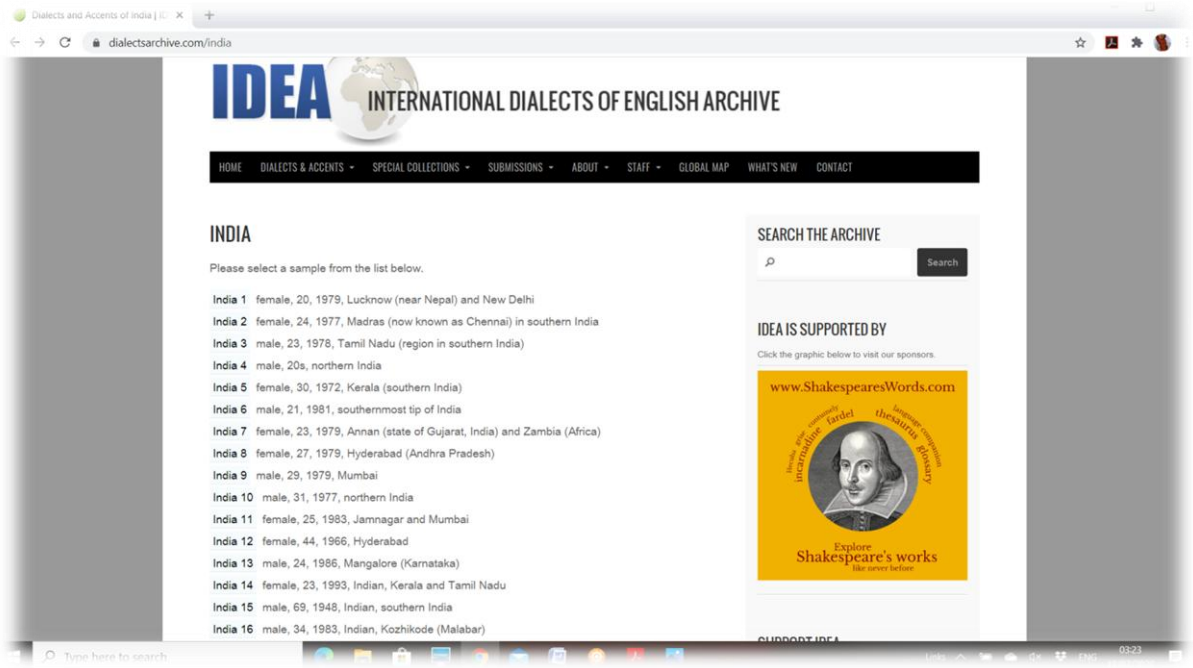

Figure 45. Spoken Indian English in *International Dialects of English Archive* (*IDEA*) (Source: http://www.dialectsarchive.com/)

One criticism that might be brought is that many of these speakers have lived in the USA for an extended period of time prior to the recordings, which may have influenced their accent, therefore the recorded material is not likely to reflect Indian English usage.

Furthermore, the question of accentedness or of strong foreign accent in the use of English - Asian accents such as Indian, Chinese and Japanese - is placed in the "the danger zone of globalised comprehensibility, and Middle Eastern accents are problematic throughout" (Blommaert, 2010: 52).

- **Branding Singapore English**

The ethnic and linguistic make-up of Singapore is heterogeneous, comprising four official languages: Tamil, Mandarin Chinese, Malay and English.

Traditionally, the southern varieties of Chinese, namely, Hokkien, Cantonese, Teochew, Hainanese and Hakka were spoken across the country. The emergence and spread of English is, to a greater extent, explained by its vital economic role (in trade, banking, tourism, education and research, etc.) and by the need for a panlanguage as the use of several Chinese dialects was rather divisive. Admittedly, the Speak Mandarin Campaign (1979)

supported by the government and aiming at enforcing the use of Mandarin as a home language to secure social cohesion succeeded within a generation.

Virtually, the entire Malay minority population speaks Malay, which ensures that the language is not endangered, being also instrumental in communication with the two neighbouring countries, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Most of the Indian population in Singapore had roots in South-East India and North India, being native speakers of Tamil, with only a small number speaking other Indian languages such as Hindi, Gujarati, Malayalam and Punjabi. Nevertheless, as a minority language, Tamil has lost ground since it is not used in the interaction with the neighbouring countries' population.

As already stated the panlanguage is English, being the language "in the driver's seat", supported by the official language policy of the country. Since 1987, English has become the primary medium of instruction, being also used at home by a large proportion of the population - Deterding (2007) puts forward some official statistics of the Ministry of Education, indicating that 50 per cent of school-age children use English at home.

It is interesting that the four official languages, out of which nearly everyone speaks 2, pertain to different language families: English is Indo-European, Chinese is Sino-Tibetan, Malay is Austronesian, and Tamil is Dravidian. The ethnic background becomes instantly obvious when Singaporeans speak English, first of all, at the phonological level (the suprasegmental features are the most marked), differences being also at stake with respect to vocabulary and syntax. The majority of the people in Singapore choose English as their first language as proven by the data provided by the 2000 census: 35.8% of Chinese children, 43.6% of Indian children and 9.4 % Malay children aged between 5 - 14 self-reported to use English at home.

Up to 1987, bilingual education was compulsory, and there were separate streams for English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil to opt for in schools. This year represented a turning point - from 1987 onwards English would retain the status of the primary medium of instruction in schools, whereas all tertiary education is in English.

If we apply Schneider's (2011) *Dynamic Model* to Singapore English, as a postcolonial variety underpinning undergoing five development stages (foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation and differentiation - see also the discussion of English in India), we can place Singapore English in the fourth stage, being very likely to proceed through to the last stage, when it turns into a fully grown, self-confident variety of English.

Phase	Starting point	Major event
Foundation	1826	The Straits Settlements (colonisation by Britain)
Exonormative stabilisation	1970s	-
Nativisation	1987	English becomes the primary medium of education
Endonormative stabilisation	currently	-
Differentiation	ongoing/onwards	glocalisation?

Table 4. Development of Singapore English

(Source: adapted from https://www.britannica.com/place/Singapore/History)

The descriptive and functional approaches to Singapore English dwell on two controlling factors: the speaker's background (education) and the formality of the situation. This sociolinguistic tenet should not mislead us into believing that the majority of speakers have a good command of informal and colloquial English, while the formal register is the privilege of the educated people. Other variables should be taken into consideration such as the age of the speakers - older / traditional people tend to use more formal registers. Hence, we should envisage the use of Singapore English from a more flexible and holistic perspective in line with the continuum postulated by Pakir (1991). Gupta (1992) ascribed two main types: an educated High variety of English fit for formal situations and a colloquial Low variety (*Singlish*) in informal settings, (young) speakers being considered able to switch between these.

The language mixing in Singapore has resulted in a colloquial variety called *Singlish*, mixing English with both Malay (an indigenous language to Singapore) and Chinese. As pointed out by Horobin (2016: 142ff.), the grammatical and lexical markers are represented by:

- the frequent use of the Chinese discourse particles *lah, lor, ah* and *meh* to the end of the sentence, resulting in emphatic constructions: *Ok-lah* - "I'm fine", *Ok-lor* - "I'm fine, I guess", *Ok meh?* - "Am I ok? Don't think so", or to indicate a question*: Should I go-ah*?, *I got the cat meh*? (this last sentence counts as a tag question);

- the tendency to drop articles: for example, *You have book*?

- the tendency to omit plural endings: for example, *I have two car*.

- the tendency to omit verb endings, both in the present and past tenses: for example, *This taste good, Yesterday I walk home.*

- the tendency to omit the auxiliary verb "to be": for example, *This man clever*.

- the tendency to omit the subject, the auxiliary verb "to do", as well as to develop simplified interrogative patterns: *Can or not?*; *Why you never invite me?*

- the tendency to replace *have* by *ever*: *I ever go there* for *I've been there*.
- doing away with the majority of prepositions;
- expressing overtones by adding different words to the modal verb *can*:

Can ah ? - Can you?;
Can la - Can;
Can leh - Yes, I think so;
Can lor - Yes, of course;
Can hah? - Are you sure?;
Can hor - You are sure then;
Can meh? - Are you certain?;
Can bo? - Can or not;
Can can - Confirm;
Can liao - Already done.

(Source: Wong, 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33809914)

- new meanings acquired by English words and phrases: for example, *send* means "take", *stay* means "live", the nautical term "go astern" - a reminder that Singapore used to be a British port - has turned into *gostan* - "reverse", *whack* - "to dig into a hearty meal" (culturally, eating is a favourite pastime in Singapore), *uncle* - used as an address term for elder people who are not your relatives; coined phrases, which might act as deceptive cognates, in our opinion: *see how* - "wait to see how it turns out", *No more already* - "It's over long ago.", etc.

- borrowings from both Malay and Hokkien, from Cantonese, Mandarin and other Chinese languages, from Tamil (spoken in South India): for example, the Malay *makan* "food", the Chinese *ang pow* "cash gift, the Cantonese *kancheong* - "anxious", suggesting a panicked spider scurrying around; sometimes a combination of loans is used - *Buay tahan*! - where *buay* is the Hokkien word for *cannot*, and *tahan* means *tolerate* in Malay; *pai-kwan* - "someone who is too eager for any kind of financial gain", borrowed from Hokkien; *Walaoeh*! - an interjection expressing disapproval or disbelief.

Besides, the evolution of Singlish is currently shaped by social media, especially concerning the development of the written form, with spelling closely reflecting pronunciation. Examples include:

- *Like that* written *liddat*.
- *Don't play play* (originating in the popular 1990s sitcom character Phua Chu Kang) - meaning *don't mess around with me*, written as *Donch pray pray*.
- *oready* instead of *already*.

Authentic corpora of Singlish are in the very early stages of being built. We mention the BBC News Magazine, providing data collected from speakers of Singlish - for instance, Tessa Wong from BBC News, Singapore in the article "The rise of Singlish" (2015) adds up the flavour of student slang - "mugging" - "studying very hard, "siao" - "to the extreme", "sian" - "tired and boring".

The testimonials put forward in the article point out to the idea of the comfort zone of the speakers and adequacy of the chosen local variant, Singlish having become more mainstream:

Growing up in Singapore, my parents used to frown upon the usage of Singlish, whether we were talking informally at home or with others while outside. [...] Consequently, I grew up not being able to hold a decent conversation in Singlish and that presented problems for my social life, e.g. ordering food at a local food centre was difficult if the stall owners couldn't understand what I wanted. These days, I've learnt to switch between speaking proper English and Singlish depending on the situation I find myself in. (James Wong, Tokyo, Japan, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33809914)

I may have lived abroad for many years, but I definitely retain my Singlish skills. It evolves continuously with new terms getting introduced every year I return. In Singapore, speaking Singlish builds instant rapport, and because of its nuances, people can easily distinguish between a real native or a newbie. Not using Singlish in a non-work setting when someone is evidently local makes the person appear "jumped up" or insecure about their culture and identity, especially if compounded by a fake foreign (i.e. US/UK/Aussie) accent. I'm glad that the "establishment" are recognising the real role Singlish plays in creating cohesion within this multiracial space. **(**Sharliza, London, UK, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33809914)

When I lived in Singapore, your "sunnies" were your sunglasses, your "swimmies" was your bathing suit and I was expecting at the time, so people would ask if I had been to the "gynie", meaning the gynecologist! (Aileen, NYC, USA¸ https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33809914)

When I was in Singapore I was asked questions such as "Where you go?" So when I went on their very modern Metro system I was amused to hear an announcement in slow and meticulous "BBC English" saying "Please mind the gap". (The gap incidentally was minuscule compared to some of those on the London Underground.) **(**David Jenner, Bamford, UK, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33809914)

Having lived in the region for four years, the language felt very efficient, using prepositions as words - "Can you on the fan?" "Can you off the aircon?" - to be always met with the response "OK lah!" **(**Andrea, Marlow, UK, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33809914)

I learnt Singlish when I went to a local school in Singapore around Siglap where the first phrase I learnt was "relax lah brother, can tankap one corner" from this Malay kid. But I have to say one of favourite phrase is "boh jio! never invite me leh!" whenever I go back to Singapore mainly to visit my dad I somehow unconsciously start speaking Singlish as my lingua franca language amongst my old Singaporean friends but I do get stumped at the coffee shops when I order the different variations. You going from "Could I have a flat white and a bacon roll please" in London to "Uncle! Kopi ci Kai Ci! Kaya toast one!" (David Houghton, UK, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33809914)

"Sian" is one word in Singlish that can be used in a many contexts and accurately expresses emotions so I like it a lot because it's so efficient. Generally it means to be sick and tired of something or bored or being caught in bothersome situations you can't do anything about. E.g. English: I'm so sick and tired of going to work every day. Singlish: Everyday go work, very Sian. English: The plane

got delayed. Singlish: Plane delay, Sian. (Caryn, Singapore, https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33809914)

To fully understand the situation, supplementary authentic data may be exploited. We suggest the following resources:

- The *Corpus of Spoken Singapore English* (*NIECSSE*) supplied by the National Institute of Education, comprising 46 interviews lasting for five minutes each, taken to of 46 educated young Singaporeans (both males and females). It is important to mention that the majority of the interviewees were trainee teachers at the National Institute of Education, and that the interviewer was a British lecturer at the same institute.

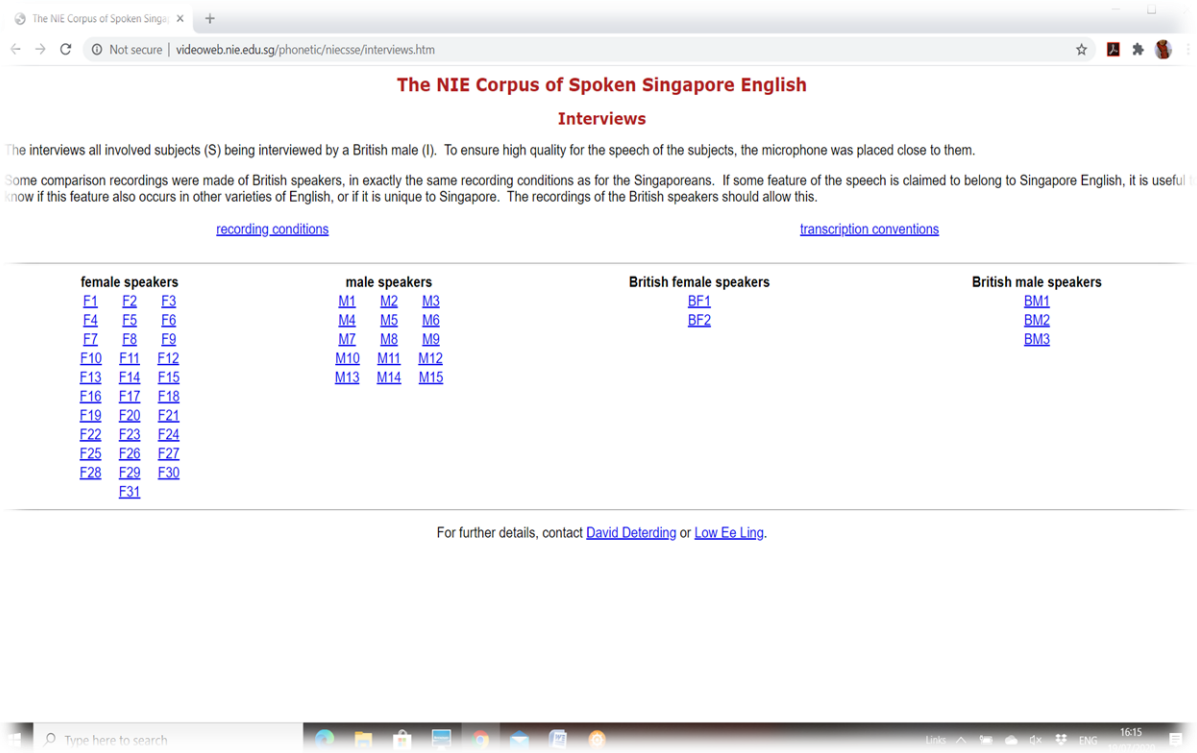

Figure 46. *Corpus of Spoken Singapore English* (*NIECSSE*)
(Source: http://videoweb.nie.edu.sg/phonetic/niecsse/interviews.htm)

- The *International Corpus of English (ICE)* has a well-represented section dedicated to Singapore English, containing 1 million words, the data being collected from online newspapers (*The Straits Times*) and radio broadcasts.

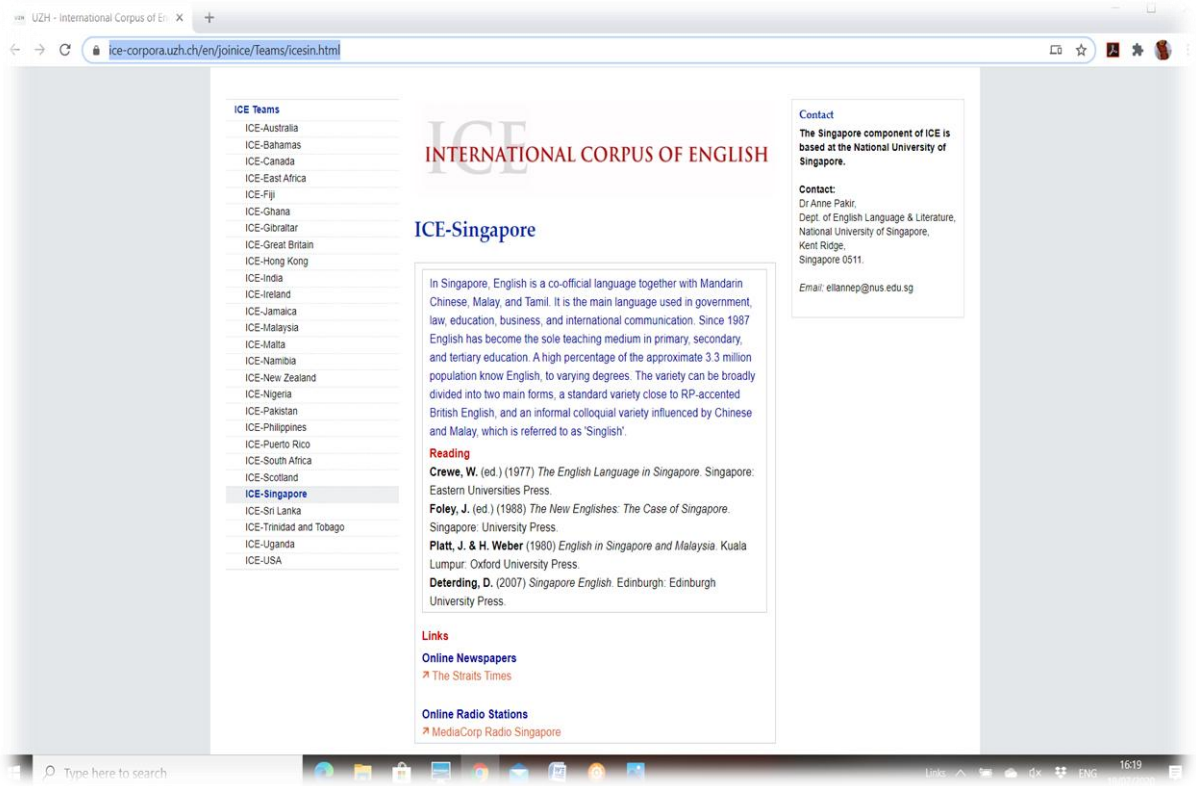

Figure 47. Singapore English in the *International Corpus of English (ICE)*
(Source: https://www.ice-corpora.uzh.ch/en/joinice/Teams/icesin.html)

Horobin (2016:142) raises the question of the status of Singlish, while maintaining that it is widely used by the young generation - therefore, besides being a regional variation, it could be considered a temporal and social dialect alike. The official language policy is to promote the use of Standard English in the strategic fields of education, trade and technology - the scholar mentions the "Speak Good English" campaign launched two decades ago. In spite of the efforts of the Singaporean government and whatever the success of the Good English campaign, Singlish seems to flourish, being used not only in building interpersonal relationships in informal settings (at home, during leisure activities), but also tending to replace Standard English in more formal settings and for official purposes, while also contributing to the shaping of the national identity.

Without a shadow of doubt,

Those peoples who were once colonized by the language are now rapidly remaking it, domesticating it, becoming more and more relaxed about the way they use it. Assisted by the English language's flexibility and size, they are carving out large territories for themselves within its front. (Salman Rushdie)

In other words, it is about the global language challenges, opportunities and the speakers' responsibilities in re-appropriating and re-modelling English.

4.5. Conclusions

It is obvious that English has become a translanguage (roughly equated to a panlanguage) and that accessibility to English has increased massively due to the intensified business, political and cultural relationships, to demographic movements and technology advancement associated with globalisation and the digital era.

As such English is might be described as codified in a grammar that consists of a core, i.e. the general rules, and of a periphery, i.e. the more marked structures deriving from its historical evolution, borrowing processes, and other linguistic and extralinguistic phenomena that produce parameters with different values in different languages. Admittedly, one of the prototypical features of present-day English is the size and mixed character of its vocabulary. These features are present, described and richly illustrated in large size corpora of English language variations (ICLE, LINDSEI, ICE, VOICE, ELFA, etc.), English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) included, which provide valuable data for empirical and theoretical research alike.

The relocalisation of English in Asia is showcased by Indian English and Singapore English - the former belongs to a settlemnt colony, the latter to a trade colony; it is interesting to note that both variations enjoy the twofold status of second / co-official status and that of a panlanguage with the elites, significantly shaping the social and cultural life of these multiethnic countries. What is specific to Singapore, is that a more colloquial hybrid variation has emerged, namely Singlish, mixing English with Malay and Chinese. By applying Schneider's (2007) *Dynamic Model* and based on corpus investigation (*The Kolhapur Corpus, ICEIndia corpus, Corpus of Global Web-Based English (GloWbE), International Dialects of English Archive (IDEA), Corpus of Spoken Singapore English (NIECSSE), International Corpus of English (ICE*)), we are able to see that Indian English is in a more advanced stage of development compared to Singapore English. However, both an emerging Indian standard and a Singapore English one are acknowledged.

CHAPTER FIVE
(GLOBAL) ENGLISH IN THE ARAB WORLD. IRAQI SPEAKERS

Motto:
Time to wake up some dogs!
Shifting the culture of language in ELT
(Dewey, 2015: 121)

5.1. A global pedagogical perspective

One of the enduring perceptions and guidelines in English language teaching and learning is best rendered by the metaphor "We should not wake up any dogs" (Dewey, 2015: 121). The realisation that English is the lingua franca and that people around the world do not learn and use it in relation to native speakers' standards has unsettled matters and speeded up the implementation of change.

The description of English in the Arab world, similarly to Arabic, a language of immense cultural capital, cannot be contained to a country - in other words it is not country specific. Therefore the question of the globalisation of the English language should be reframed in terms of how far it has become homogenised, regionalised, etc.

Dewey (2015: 122ff) points out to the idea that the analysis of English language teaching materials and resources (referring to English as the First Language - L1, English as a Second Language - ESL and English as a Foreign Language - EFL) underpin a normative approach and that these "are always exclusively the norms of a limited number of NS (native speakers - our addition) standard Englishes, most prevalently British or American English" and that the biggest UK-based publishers continue to promote this. According to the author, the only significant change "reflecting current developments in English language use is the way contemporary materials are marketed, and to some extent the way they are designed" rather than language content. Another increasing trend is to provide training in English as an

international or global language - exemplified by the Macmillan book - *Global*, by the Cambridge series *English Unlimited*, comprising the Teacher's book and Students' book alike.

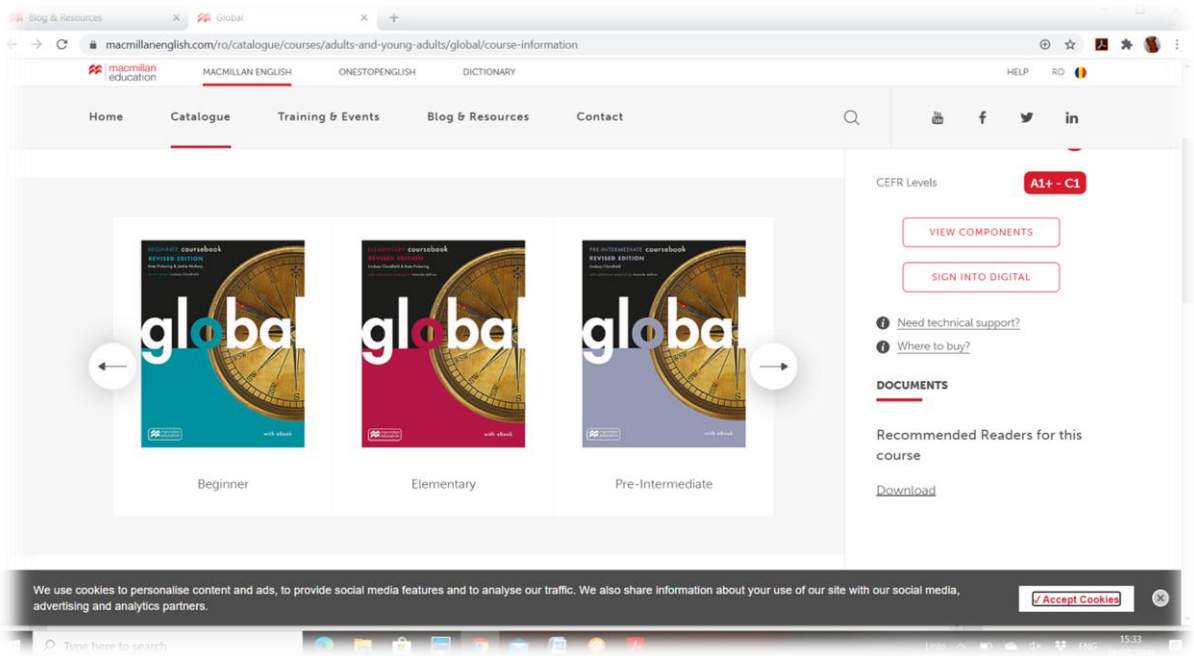

Figure 48. *Global* textbooks series (https://www.macmillanenglish.com/ro/catalogue/courses/adults-and-young-adults/global/course-information)

As advertised on the website, the series is content-rich, engaging, giving the young and adult learners exposure to English language varieties spoken by non-native speakers:

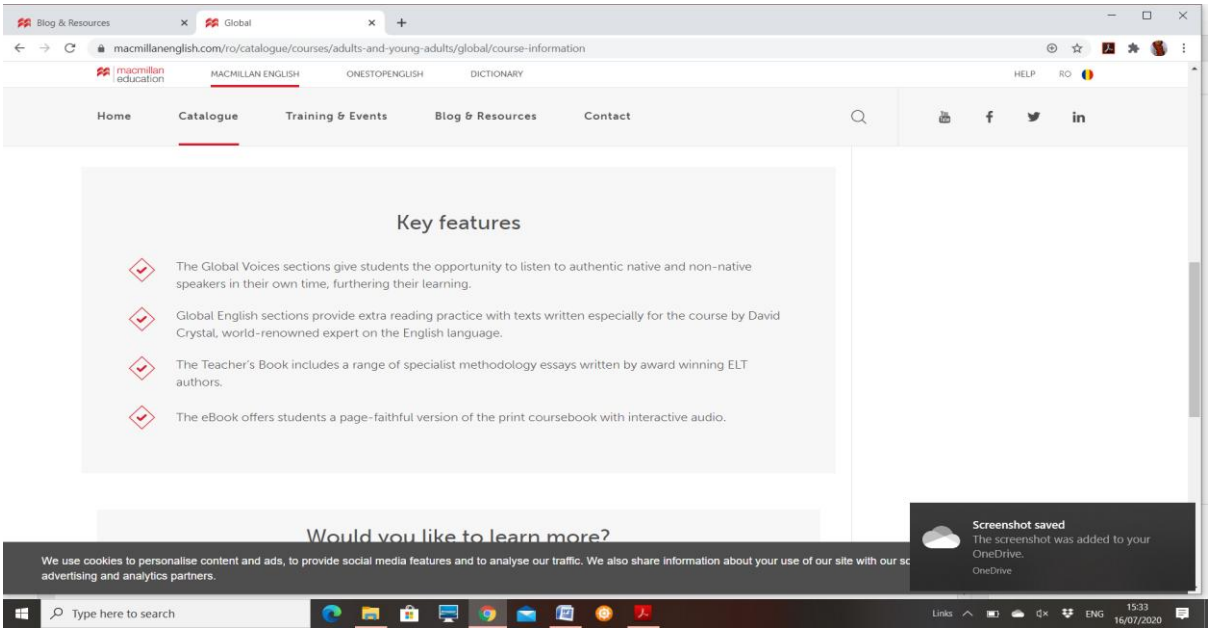

Figure 49. Key features of the *Global* series

(https://www.macmillanenglish.com/ro/catalogue/courses/adults-and-young-adults/global/course-information)

Another big player is *English Unlimited*, publisher: Cambridge University Press: "centred on purposeful, real-life objectives, *English Unlimited* prepares learners to use English for global communication (https://www.cambridge.org/us/cambridgeenglish/catalog/adult-courses/english-unlimited):

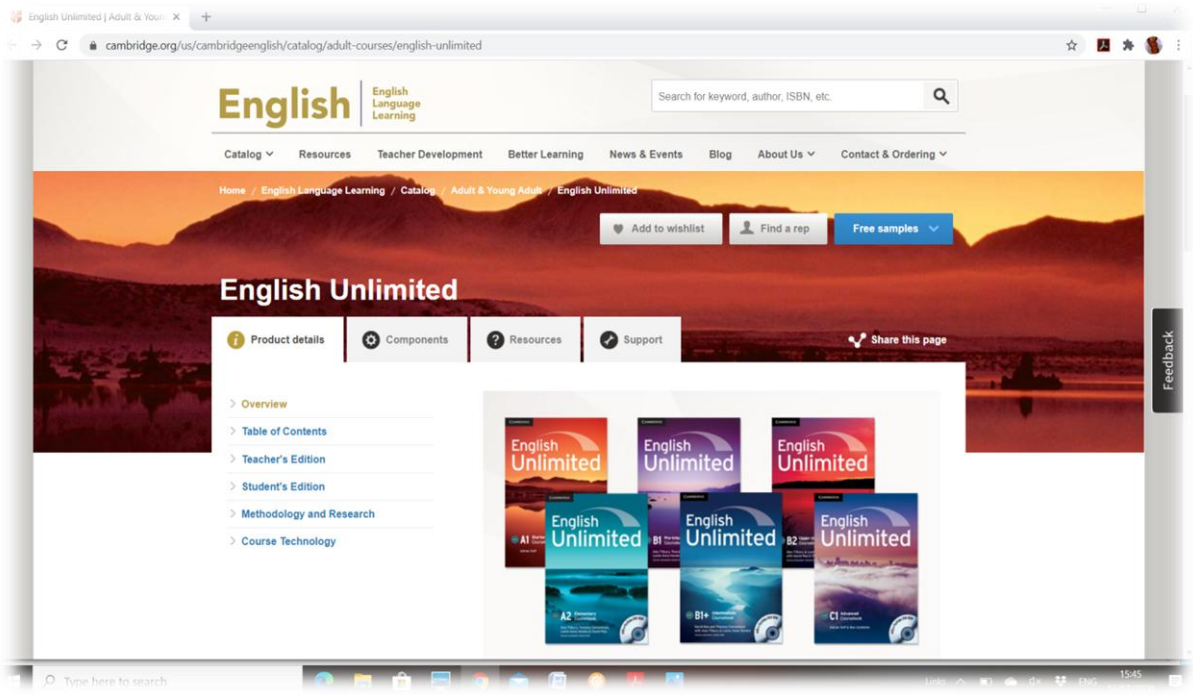

Figure 50. *English Unlimited* series (https://www.cambridge.org/us/cambridgeenglish/catalog/adult-courses/english-unlimited)

The presentation on the website features a wide range of topics accommodating the interests of "mixed and single nationality groups in the classroom environment", teaching aids such as *The Teacher's Pack* with DVD-ROM, also providing the teachers with "extra literacy and handwriting support for non-Roman alphabet users", *The Self-study Pack* with DVD-ROM as "a state-of-the-art solution for autonomous learning", containing interactive activities, authentic audio and video materials, pronunciation practice, tests, etc., *Class Audio CDs*, so as to build the learners' "ability to understand the natural English of international speakers", etc.:

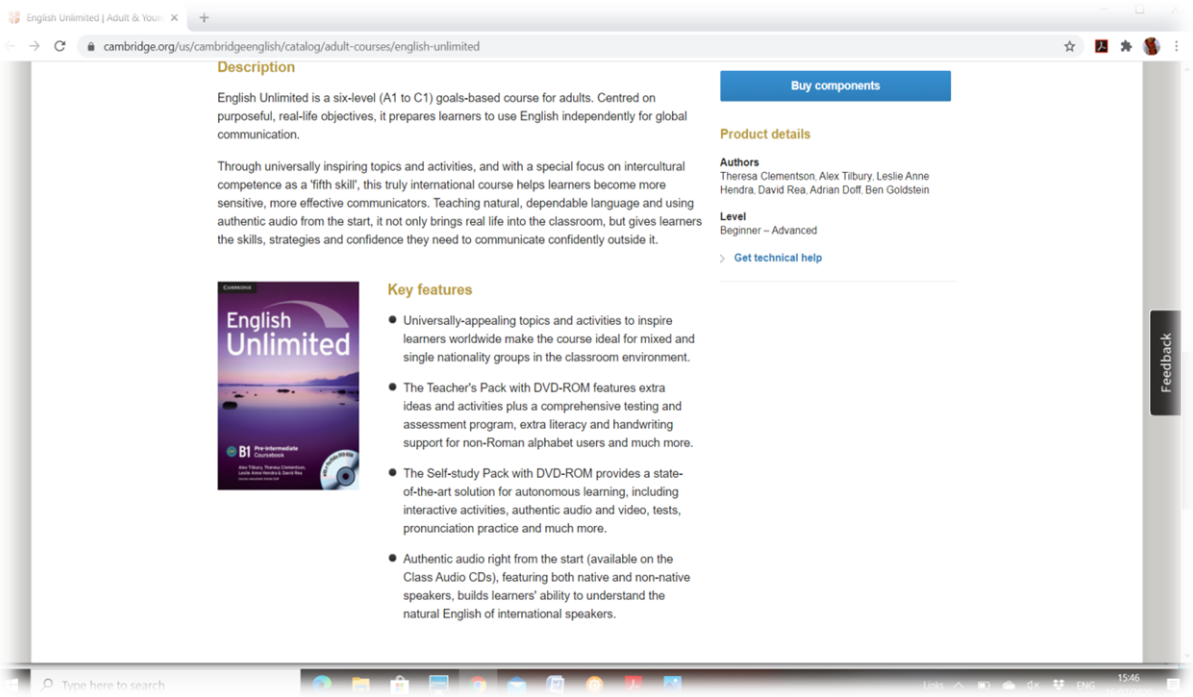

Figure 51. Key features of the *English Unlimited* series (https://www.cambridge.org/us/cambridgeenglish/catalog/adult-courses/english-unlimited)

The question arises whether these textbooks are more appropriate for non-native speakers of English or for native speakers aiming to raise awareness of English as a global language.

5.2. Insights from Iraq

From a synchronic perspective, according to a report published by EF Education First, an international education company, in 2019, the best world's English speakers are located in North Europe (in the Netherlands, Sweden, Norway and Denmark - in decreasing order) whereas in the Middle East English speakers are ranked to be the least proficient (in Iraq, Kuwait, Oman and Saudi Arabia). The index is calculated based on the results of a free online test administered to 2.3 million volunteers spread across 100 countries. (https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2019/12/04/where-are-the-worlds-best-english-speakers)

According to the *Ethnologue*, English does not occupy a favourite position on the map of languages spoken currently in Iraq, being labelleled "Dispersed":

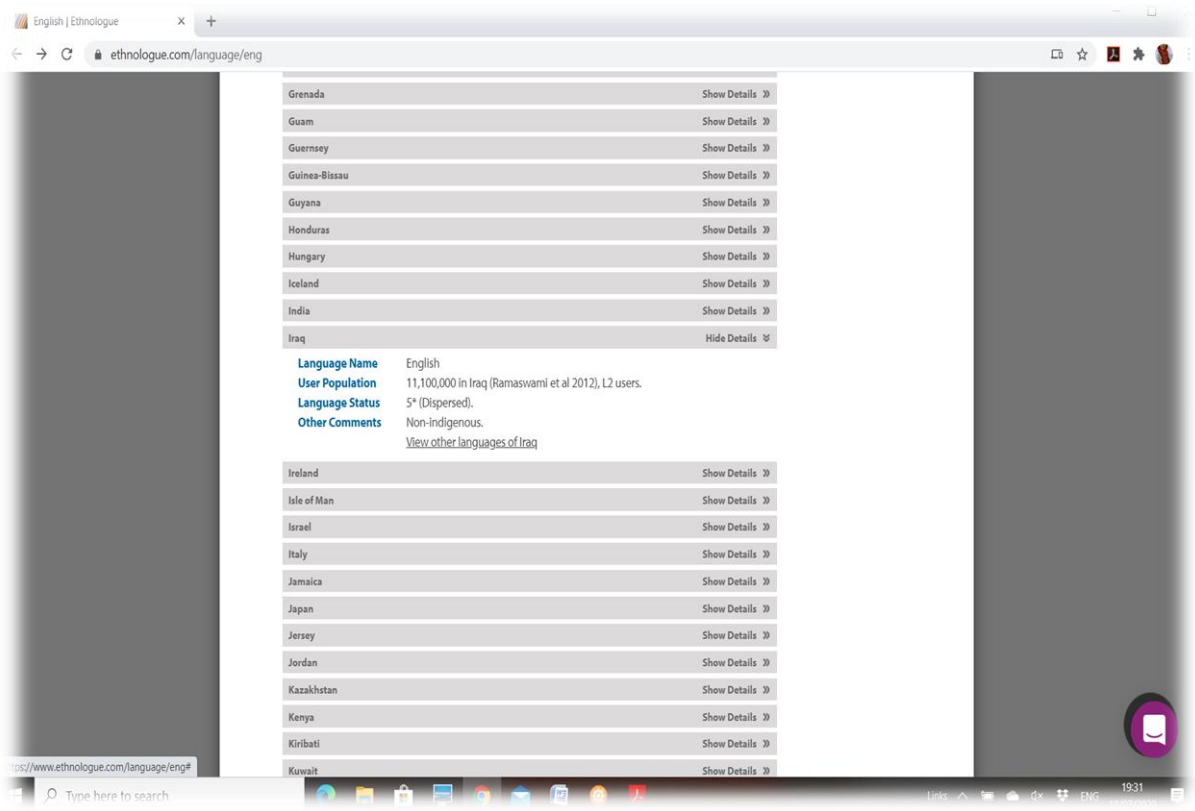

Figure 52. Status of English and number of English speakers in Iraq
(Source: https://www.ethnologue.com/language/eng)

From a diachronic perspective, Abdul-Kareem (2009) endorses that Iraq has a long established tradition of teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in schools, dating back to 1873, and undertaking steady expansion to the urban areas after the First World War (when Iraq was mandated by the British), English has surpassed other foreing languages, notably, French, in education system for several decades now.

Broadly speaking, three main phases are identified in the history of reaching English as a Foreign Language in Iraq (notably, Amin, 2017):

(1). In the first phase (1873-1970s) lasting for about a century, English was a second language, being taught since the first grade at the beginning of the colonial period. English did not enjoy this status long as it became foreign language and was introduced in the school curriculum starting the fifth grade. Perhaps it is relevant to highlight that the study of English in state schools dates back to 1873, and that the first English textbooks were imported from Egypt. Obviously, the Grammar - Translation Method gained overriding importance in the English textbook design and the associated teaching methodology in the classroom. Rote learning (or mechanical learning or memorisation) was encouraged as the students were

provided with ready-made pieces of writing such as essays, letters, with a language bank of useful sentences, and accurate pronunciation was not considered a priority. Reading and writing skills were extensively taught to the detriment of listening and speaking.

Abdul-Kareem (2009: 6) mentions the series of textbooks for Iraqi speakers of English, namely *The Oxford English Course,* author: Lancelot Oliphant, in use up to the mid-1950s; *The Oxford English Course for the Middle East*, author: Lawrence Faucett, in use up to the mid-1950s, and *The Oxford English Course for Iraq*, authors: Albert Sydney Hornby, Donald Clifford Miller and Selim Hakim, in use up to the 1970s (See Annex 1). None of the textbooks in the three series was accompanied by a Teacher's Book / Guide, etc., which makes us believe that teachers were mostly instinct-driven rather than showing focused readiness.

A particular mention concerns the fact that the establishment of the Foreign Languages Department at the Higher Teachers Training College in Baghdad in 1958, hallmarking a new era in English language teaching in Iraq as proudly promoted by Abdul-Abdul-Kareem (2009).

(2). The Second Phase (1970s - onwards)

It is also known as "The Era of Nationalizing the Syllabuses of English in Iraq" on account of the fact that all the authors of *The Oxford English Course for Iraq* series and the advisory board members were of Iraqi origin.

A new series of textbook was approved - *The New English Course for Iraq* in May 1970, based on Audiolingualism (very popular in the whole English teaching world at the time), implemented with the fifth graders. Official data indicate that from 1973 onwards, the new textbooks in the series (totalling 22 English language books, out of which 8 student books , 8 teacher’s guides, 3 handwriting textbooks for the fifth and sixth grades and the first intermediate grade, and 3 reader books for the three grades of the preparatory stage (advanced level) were introduced at the rate of one book every year.

Abdul-Kareem (2009) notes that The Institute for the Development of English Language Learning in Iraq (acronym: IDELTI) was founded by the Ministry of Education at the end of the 1970s, having as a main function to assist in the improvement of English textbooks in Iraq. It is praiseworthy that institute issued the *IDELTI Journal* in 1973, a quarterly journal addressing the issues and challenges of English language teaching in Iraq. Subsequently, the Directorate of Curricula and Textbooks debated on school curricula, English language, included.

Fayadh (2017) draws attention to the adoption of the communicative approach to English Language Teaching in Iraq in 2001 when the new syllabus entitled *Rafidain English Course for Iraq* was launched with Book 1 in use in the school year 2002-2003. In 2010/2011, a new multi-level course book series, *Iraq Opportunities*, was put into circulation: "The series provides examples of the natural environment of Iraq and upholds the country's cultural, social and moral values on both a national and local scale" (Fayadh, 2017: 2). In the school year 2013-2014 the Ministry of Education approved a new series of textbooks - *English for Iraq* - for the preparatory stage, followed by the intermediate level textbook in the next year.

(3). The Third Phase in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (since 2007)

In line with the globalised world, the Middle East countries have tried to have timely responses to the communication needs in English. Amin (2017) reveals that the secondary and high school students in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq still face serious problems in using English for communicative purposes, although the development of speaking skills seems to have been in focus. The Kurdistan Regional Government (acronym: KRG) approved a new curriculum of English language teaching, under the name of *Sunrise,* integrating all the four language skills (listening, reading, speaking and writing).

The reform started in 2007 also stipulates the introduction of English in the primary school and in the kindergarten (with young learners) and the development of creative thinking skills. The official website (*Sunrise for Kurdistan*), featuring the logos of KRG and MacMillan Publishing House, takes pride in the new approach, considering it successful:

The course has a communicative approach, integrating "The course has a communicative approach, integrating listening, speaking, reading and writing, with a clear focus on grammar structures. It achieves development of English through an interesting approach to learning, using motivational topic-based units, adventure stories that introduce new language, and a variety of activities including role plays and guided writing tasks. (http://www.sunrisekurdistan.com/)

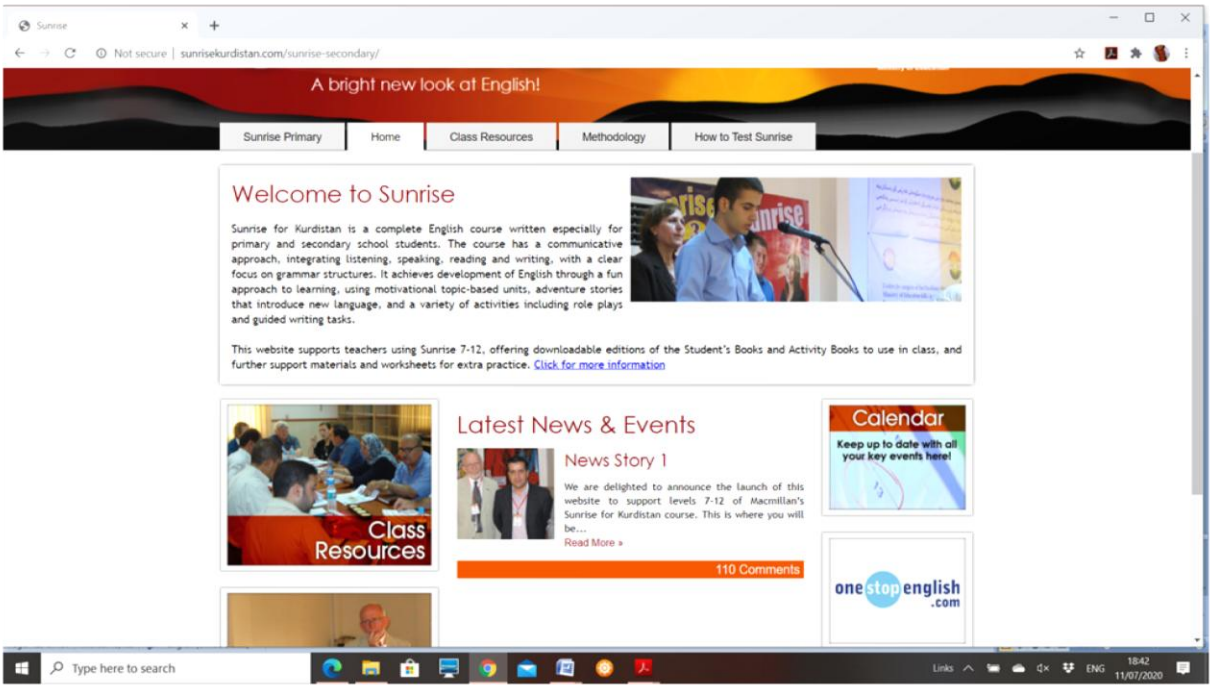

Figure 53. The Sunrise reform for primary schools

(Source: http://www.sunrisekurdistan.com/home/)

Figure 54. The Sunrise reform for secondary schools

(Source: http://www.sunrisekurdistan.com/home/)

Al-Akraa (2013) provides a more-detailed oriented perspective on the language education system in Iraq. Children are first exposed to English education in the third grade, and exposure continues until they are high school students. In the third and fourth primary classes, the traditional teaching methods (such as Grammar Translation and Audiolingualism)

are used exclusively (focusing on knowledge acquisition related to the (Latin) alphabet, pronunciation, vocabulary, etc). The fifth grade represents a turning point as basic reading, writing and speaking skills start to be taught and learnt. It is in middle and high school that students begin to master more complex grammar rules, reading comprehension skills as well as pronunciation.

Al-Obaidi (2015) states that in compliance with the state-of-the-art language planning and policies in Iraq, English will change status and become a compulsory subject starting from the first grade, which makes the author hopeful about the future and widespread of English on the Iraq territory. Al-Obaidi (2015: 3) goes further with the description of the "English for Iraq" programme, pointing to the use of a wide variety of authentic materials for the development of both receptive and productive language skills, such as websites, e-mails, articles, leaflets, reports, guidebooks and advertisements, the teachers being "duly engaged in following up the evaluation of the curriculum, which was set in 2013".

The particular situation of English language teaching in Iraq is also featured by the fact that English teachers are, almost exclusively, non-native speakers of English and that the majority of them hold a Bachelor's Degrees in English literature or in English education sciences. In spite of their language proficiency, most teachers are not prepared to teach English to different age groups and levels. There seems to be lack of adequate training of teachers as no training programmes in English language teaching methodology are available.

Abbas (2016) investigates the perceptions of the twenty EFL university teachers in the academic year 2015-2016, regarding the awareness of the globalisation of English language learning in the higher education system in Kurdistan/Iraq. Three levels were taken into consideration:

- the extent to which modern methods of English language teaching have been used since 2003.
- the influence of the changing curriculum on the students' development of speaking skills.
- the teachers' attitudes and opinions with respect to the integration of research findings to the on-site teaching of English in Iraq.
- the need for highly qualified teachers and active researchers in the field of language.

The investigation is premised by the idea that

In an increasingly globalized society, individuals need the power to communicate across cultural and national boundaries to be part of the citizens of the world as they accessed to new technologies that afford them unlimited ways to interpret, appropriate, and negotiate texts in multiple languages. These global interactions necessitate an examination of cultural assumptions and beliefs that frame intercultural communications. As English language teachers & educators, our goal is to equip students with global knowledge and help them to be aware of how globalization positions their languages, identities, communities, and futures. Consequently, teachers of English need to have a clear vision about the subject of English within the contexts of global mass mediation, and intercultural communications (i.e., communication which employs different cultural modes of expressions). (Abbas, 2016: 369)

The research findings may be best summarised as follows:

- All the teachers agreed that the learning materials available (English textbooks) in Iraq need improvement in order to foster interactive learning and better meet the students' needs and interests, i.e. become more learner-centred.
- English language learners should be encouraged to actively participate in the classroom so as to delegate responsibility to the learners, too and enhance the teacher's role as a facilitator.
- The universities have sought to meet the requirements of English language teacher training in the context of the changing curriculum and international collaboration with universities from abroad (the author exemplifies by the partnership with the Cincinnati (Ohio) University, USA, starting from 2009).
- The Iraqi universities have opened up to the globalised world, facilitating the students' access to the Internet, and encouraging the English teachers to in language conferences, workshops and training sessions in country and abroad.
- The paradigm shift in English language teaching in the academic environment has increased the need for highly qualified language teachers and for active researchers in the field. University teachers value and exploit the opportunities of attending conferences, workshops, webinars, etc., as well as their participation in joint research, therefore, being able to pursue professional development.
- All the teachers agreed that by adopting modern methods of teaching, updated materials and by exposing learners to naturally flowing language and authentic situations of communication, they enhance the English language students' achievements.

Abbas (2016) compiles all these challenges and views and comes up with some useful recommendations:

- Iraqi teachers of English should undertake research activities and seek to network with other English teachers from different parts of the world.
- Iraqi teachers of English should pursue lifelong learning / professional development at the global level.
- Iraqi teachers of English should incorporate a variety of text types and different relevant topics such as daily world news, health, fashion, sports, etc.
- Iraqi teachers of English should encourage students to participate in the selection of authentic texts that constitute the reading material.
- Grammar and vocabulary teaching should be done in an integrated rather than in an isolated way, by contextualisation, so as to enhance the development of the learners' fluency and communicative competence.

According to Abdul-Kareem (2009), the Iraqi Ministry of Education provides not only the curriculum, but also the selection of the English textbooks to be used and the syllabi, and teachers are not allowed to use and/or design additional learning materials.

Al-Akraa's (2013) research focuses on the evaluation of a textbook in current use, namely *Iraq Opportunities 3 - level: Beginers* (belonging to the series of *Iraqi Opportunities*, published jointly by York Press and Pearson Education Ltd, introduced in 2012), displaying three levels of analysis: grammar, vocabulary and the cultural content, with a view to establish the degree of appropriateness to the students' level of proficiency and age, and to striking a balance between the home culture and the English culture. The textbook series underpins a Communicative Approach to English Language Teaching, being authored by a native speaker in 2011. The teaching of culture and the value placed on the assimiation of culturural elements are exemplified by the analysis of a passage where the dog is presented as a friendly family member in the English culture and as an unclean and untouchable animal in the Iraqi (and Arabic) culture.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Sultan and Harbi (2014) emphasise that the British dialect is preferred in English language instruction in Iraq. The research was conducted on a sample of 65 male and female students at English College and Education College, Tikrit University in the academic year 2012-2013. The corpus consisted of recorded spoken language, based on Holme's (2008/2013) parametres so as to assess the level of proficiency,

attitudes and values related to the use of English, as well as to indicate English language learning trends for the past decade (2003-2013) . The findings indicate that:

- Iraqi speakers are fully aware of the instrumental function of English as an international language;
- the social media enhance worldwide communication in English;
- the language-culture connection is important in learning English, and the cultural gap between the English culture and the Arab culture does not seem to be a hindrance. On the contrary, British and American culture and civilisation can be said to build motivation in learning and using English, which means that Iraqi speakers of English value cultural diversity.
- Iraqi speakers of English find the BBC standard difficult to attain, as well as mastery of the formal register;
- There is stronger orientation towards American English - which, in our opinion might be explained by the phenomenon of globalisation and by the increased access to American training programmes and travelling.
- The majority of the Iraqi learners/speakers of English value or seek to immerse in the English community (by living or studying abroad).
- The analysis of the textbooks in use - more specifically, of the Student books - point out to the idea that a functional syllabus is adopted, and that the development of the reading skills is in focus. In this respect, informative texts such as newspapers and social life topics top rank in the English language learners'/users' preferences. another particular mention concerns the fact that textbooks are not supplemented by other authentic learning materials.
- the subjects contend that pronunciation is the most difficult language area to master - especially the sounds /tS/, /3/ and /v/, whereas vocabulary learning is rated as less difficult.

To put it in a nutshell, Iraqi speakers of English:

... have a great increased attitude towards learning English especially after 2003. It becomes clear that the preferred accent is the American English. English learners have vast interest to get knowledge about the target language culture, religion, habits, life style, food, clothes … etc. All this information will help learners in developing communications especially during their traveling to foreign countries (Sultan and Harbi, 2014: 369)

The authors consider that English language teaching is more developed in the northern part of Iraq in comparison with the south and central parts of the country because many English institutions have been founded there. However, the learning materials still need updating with respect to the integration of sociolinguistic aspects (exposure to different language varieties, levels of formality, etc.) and cultural ones (more authentic texts on a wider variety of topics).

A similar study was conducted by Mahdi (2019) with 60 Iraqi students at the Department of Materials Engineering, University of Technology, Baghdad in the academic year 2006-2007. The main focus was to identify the type of motivation in learning English and the level of awareness of the controlling factors. Basically, instrumental motivation is widely recognised (learning English for academic and occupational purposes) as well as the intrinsc value of learning English for personal growth (intellectual refinement, understanding of the global culture, enhancing interpersonal relationships, etc.). The author comments that motivation is closely linked to needs, especially at the macrosocial level where English is likely to boost the speaker's prestige both in informal and formal settings.

From another line of approach, Fayadh (2017) critically discusses *English for Iraq, 2nd intermediate stage.* He designs an assessment grid comprising the following criteria:

A. Compliance with English language teaching principles:

- The student’s home culture is taken into consideration.
- The textbook is enjoyable and likely to create a pleasant learning experience.
- The development of the reading skills is accompanied by the development of critical reading skills.
- Knowledge of general English, as provided by the textbook, will help the students in their professional field, too.
- The textbook raises awareness of the English role in international communication.
- The textbook complies with the language policies (syllabus, included) in Iraq.

B. Content-wise:

- There should be an introductory part, casting light on the book structure and organisation.
- The content closely follows the textbook aims and objectives.
- There is a graded sequence - in other words there is incrementalism, from simpler to more complex notions, etc.

- The textbook underpins a student-centred approach, i.e. it takes into account the students' needs and interests (according to their age, level of proficiency, etc.).
- The content is correlated with the number of units and with the timeline.
- The language is accessible, with clear explanations and examples provided.
- The textbook exploits authentic reading materials.
- The integration of skills shouldd be done so as to fit for purpose.

C. Coverage of language areas and skills

- Various techniques for teaching vocabulary since vocabulary is considered pivotal in reading comprehension.
- There is reinforcement of vocabulary so as to secure the assimilation of the new lexical items as part of the active vocabulary of learners.
- The new lexical items should be presented in context, not in isolation.
- Grammar rules are introduced according to their level of difficulty (in increasing order).
- Special attention should be paid to common errors that Iraqi speakers of English are likely to make due to the differences between the two language systems (for instance, prepositions).

D. Practice opportunities

- Practice should be an essential component of English language learning.
- The principle of incrementalism should be also observed when having students practise.
- A wide range of exercises / activities should be used.
- The language of instruction should be clear and concise, i.e. easy to understand and follow.
- New concepts, rules etc. should be practised one at a time, avoiding practice of multiple concepts.
- Writing tasks are an essential component.
- The four language skills should be integrated towards the end of the textbook.

E. Layout and availability

- The textbook should have an attractive layout.
- The textbook should be user-friendly, i.e. orient the students via the Contents section.

- The textbook should be provided for free.

English for Iraq, 2nd intermediate stage is considered to meet these criteria, its main strengths lying in providing a pleasant leaning experience, in being user-friendly, integrating the language skills and areas at an appropriate level, in presenting the new lexical and grammar items and structures progressively, and in raising awareness of English status as a *lingua franca*. Its weaknesses are mostly related to non-compliance with the national goals of language education, no concern for localisation (presentation and promotion of the local culture), lack of organisation, balance between controlled and free practice is not achieved, etc. Admittedly, Fayadh (2017: 17) calls for remedial work and makes a series of recommendations, which, in our opinion, might have a generalising force with reference to English textbooks design and use(fulness):

- The need for establishing clear objectives for the teaching of English as a foreign language to intermediate learners.
- The need for selecting more relevant topics, according to the students' interests.
- The need for linking the content to aims and objectives of the textbook.
- The need for introducing topics related to the local culture.
- The need for reinforcement of vocabulary items.
- Focus on prepositions and linking devices as they constitute the source of common errors of Iraqi speakers of English.
- The need for integrating activities designed to develop the students' creativity and critical thinking skills.
- The need for teaching aids (visuals such as posters, pictures, drawings, flash cards, etc.).
- The need for supplying each and every teacher of English with a teacher's book or guide.

Shuker, Abbas and Obaid (2018) are also concerned with the quality and impact of the textbooks in use, focusing on the analysis of *English for Iraq (Student's book)" for 1st intermediate stage*, publisher: Garnet Press Ltd - they associate this analysis with documentary research. In fact, according to the authors, the series (see Annex 1) covers ten stages, ranging from first elementary class to sixth preparatory class, except for the fifth and sixth elementary classes.

The authors operate with three broad categories when raising the question of the selected textbook effectiveness and efficiency:

(1) Coverage of the four language skills - Shuker, Abbas and Obaid (2018) specify that the development of reading and listening skills is given priority in the official syllabus approved by the competent Ministry. The underlying approaches are structural and functional.
(2) Adequacy of language content - the textbook contains 6 thematic areas and two revision units.
(3) Adequacy of topic selection.

The praiseworthy aspects as resulting from the performed analysis mainly relate to the good coverage of grammar and vocabulary, in accordance with the students' level of proficiency and age. The shortcomings derive from the use of a limited range of techniques for the presentation of vocabulary items, and culture is poorly represented and presented, the cultural information being reduced to visuals and culture-specific names of people.

Aggregating the results of the examination of the above mentioned textbooks, we can conclude that the uptake of English as a Foreign Language (ELF) in pedagogy has been relatively kept to a minimum. In search for an explanation, we could provide the following arguments in line with Dewey's reflections (2015):

- English as a Foreign Language (ELF) poses a major challenge "to the abiding culture of language and communication currently enshrined in practice" (Dewey, 2015: 122);
- The ideological and axiological values behind this practice makes it difficult for teachers to create an alternative view.
- Successfully addressing the endonormative approach to English in the classroom requires considerable intervention.

I consider the conceptual and cultural shift required if ELF is to be more fully introduced in teacher education, reporting on an ongoing project aimed at refocusing the concerns of teachers by exploring the advantages of moving beyond a traditional norm-focused orientation. (Dewey, 2015: 122)

English language teaching and use is also supported by two leading institutions in Iraq, namely the US Embassy in Baghdad and The British Council Iraq, obviously, promoting their vested interests in British English and American English, respectively.

For instance, the section Education and Culture provides a link to The English Language Office (please visit https://iq.usembassy.gov/education-culture/english-language-office/), "one of eighteen such Offices around the world (coordinated by the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Office of English Language Programs)" with a view to endorsing reliable (additional) resources (see Annex 2). Furthermore, several American Corners have been established in universities and public libraries in Iraq, facilitatig access to American English language materials. The list comprises Baghdad Information Resource Center, University of Baghdad; Basrah, International Corner, University of Basrah; Duhok, American Corner, University of Duhok; Erbil, American Corner, University of Kurdistan Hewlêr; Najaf, International Cultural Center, University of Kufa; Sulaimaniyah, American Corner, Sulaimaniyah Public Library.

On the other hand, The British Council Iraq takes pride in connecting "people with learning opportunities and creative ideas" as well as UK and Iraqi schools so that they can mutually benefit each other (please visit https://iraq.britishcouncil.org/en). Special attention is paid to capacity building in primary and secondary education, a 14.7 million euro programme co-financed by the European Union and supported by the Ministry of Education in Iraq. "The programme is aligned with Iraq's National Development Programme (2013-2017) and the National Education Strategy (2012) and also focuses on the Sustainable Development Goals of Human Rights, Inclusion, Disability and Education. The extensive programme operates across all of Iraq's 23,000 schools." One of the main goals is to review standards so as to assure quality in education, language training included.

The British Council Iraq provides access to online learning of English via apps and websites - different age groups and language areas and skills are targeted, from young learners to adults, from pronunciation to listening skills (for example, by exploiting podcasts) (see Annex 3).

5.3. Reach out and ways ahead

We start from the assumption that English language competence is widely regarded as a pre-requisite for gaining access to social, educational and economic opportunities. As highlighted by Canagarajah (2006) there is no one's English, in other words the ownership of

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is distributed among learners creating new practices of what constitutes Standard English.

In this line of approach, we fully agree with Abbas (2016) that raising further awareness of English language varieties, and especially of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) depends on "the English teachers' ability to generate critical dialogues among students from different cultural places inside and outside the classroom". Language, more particularly a global language, is a dynamic entity, which is reshaped so as to fit different communicative needs and contexts, and resulting in uses and forms that seem to abide by different standards.

Reasonably, we may argue that teaching Standard English is important for the in-class formal context, but we have to admit that using English for real life purposes outside the classroom requires more than grammar competence - it calls for flexibility, familiarity with a wide range of texts and discourses (including e-communication genres such as emails, blogs, forum, websites), critical thinking, etc. Technology has impacted on communication and education alike, students and users of English have access to various global audiences.

In the context of globalisation, recent empirical and theoretical research has raised the question of the relevance of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) for language teaching and learning. Unfortunately, the research findings make us believe that the ELF perspective in pedagogy will neither be implemented in the foreseeable future nor in a straightforward way. Why? Challenges and changes are not easy to face, especially when they deviate in significant ways from ingrained attitudes and routines. It has been pointed out that change should first take place with English language teachers so as to foster understanding of what English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) means in specific pedagogic contexts and to motivate teachers (who continue to uphold more traditional approaches) to make attach greater importance to ELF and make it integral part of their knowledge base.

In line with many researchers, Suzuki (2011) reports that attempts to raise further awareness of the diversity of English among English language teachers, in spite of the fact that they have developed an understanding of related concepts, are hindered by a reluctance to include different varieties of English in practice. Suzuki (2011: 151) argues in favour of training teachers in this respect in more planned and systematic ways since "a single-shot instruction" session or a one-off module will not result in a lasting change. The author forcefully indicates that this is due to the "deeply ingrained beliefs that there is a single useful form of English for international communication […] i.e. American and British English (in their eyes)".

As also indicated by research, the uptake of ELF in the curriculum is still limited worldwide, to say the least. Furthermore, teachers' awareness of ELF-related appears to be confined to notions such as "World Englishes" or "International English", while discarding these in practice (notably, Dewey 2012). We have pointed out through the previous chapters that ELF is not defined in geographical terms, but the work of teachers clearly is. Professional teachers are bound to comply with language policies (translated into language curriculum and syllabus), set at the national or institutional levels (for instance, the Ministry of Education in Iraq), supporting the native speaker's standard or nativised Englishes. By contrast, the more fluid descriptive approaches to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) emphasising the localised diversity of English in use within and across national boundaries and defying rigid linguistic standardisation are much more common than normative / prescriptive ones. Therefore, the teaching of ELF would require the rethinking of standards in a post-normative way in which ELF standards prioritise functional areas such as intelligibility to the detriment of more formal criteria such as grammatical accuracy.

The concerns with/about the lack of diversity in the English language learning materials available for Iraqi teachers and students to choose from are twofold:

- *linguistic*, i.e. a lack of contextual variety of English language in use (ELF, included);
- *cultural* – the content shows preference for a native standard (British or American English) and little maps the cultural background of the teachers and students.

Another general concern is related to the scarcity of the locally produced English language learning materials (ELF, included), i.e. integrating the English language use in the country and local community. Generally speaking, the learning materials (approved textbooks) are produced by international publishers, while homegrown materials produced by the teachers on an ad hoc basis are not readily available, to use euphemistic terms. The causes are rooted in the fact that learning materials production is time-consuming and not cost-effective, that their production may also be hindered by lack of access to relevant sources (mainstream literature, corpora of spoken and written language, etc.) or by lack of technology (supply of devices, access to Internet, etc.) or by lack of telecollaboration and networking.

Therefore we plead for a realistic global pedagogy, i.e. the globalisation of language teaching, based on:

- harmonisation of the curricula and assessment standards;
- appreciation of other cultures and other people's perspectives; hence, the development of teachers' and learners' intercultural competence awareness in order to foster critical engagement with the local teaching world and to match local practices by resonating with the local linguistic and cultural landscape (McKay, 2012: 37).
- the effective integration of technology to the teaching of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), more specifically the exploitation of Internet resources a learning tool, of virtual environments such as social media, etc.;
- relating ELF to textbooks and other learning materials selection and use; it is commonsense that teachers should equip learners to communicate both globally and locally by using multiple varieties of English for a variety of purposes in different contexts (see Matsuda, 2009; Murray 2012), consequently, the diversity of learning materials is of paramount importance.
- provision of more opportunities for the teachers' career development;
- moving from ELF-informed teaching, which means the supply of appropriate ELF information to teachers, learners, teacher trainers language policy makers and other stakeholders to ELF-aware teaching, which relies on the adequate use of this information in the teaching process;
- the calibration of the use of authentic English language, be it standard British or American English or ELF in terms of the needs of the local learners (motivation, age group, level of proficiency, prior language learning experience, background, etc.);
- delegating the responsibility to both English language teachers and learners to decide what standards they want to achieve so as to diminish or even eliminate linguistic insecurity; in this respect, Buckingham (2014) contends that learning materials for the Gulf market should include accented English of native speakers of South Asian languages, Arabic and Kiswahili , exemplifying with the case of Omani students who are receptive to the accents of proficient non native English speakers.
- encouraging teachers to reflect on current and future teaching contexts, while also taking into consideration the type of communicative settings that their students are likely to experience and the kind of English they will most benefit from;
- building a closer relationship between research and pedagogical practice, in which the two inform each other in myriad ways. Admittedly, English language teachers should be encouraged to conduct empirical classroom-based research by recording and analysing

spoken and written interaction and localised practices with a view to shifting to ELF-orientation to language teaching;

- strengthening the internationalisation of secondary and higher education programmes, as in many local contexts the demand for English is on the rise.

5.4. Conclusions

The issue of the globalisation of the English language in the Arab world, and in particular with Iraqi speakers, should be reframed in terms of how far it enjoys prestige, how far it has become homogenised or regionalised.

By analysing various databases (international language corpora inluded) it is rather surprising to note that although Iraq has a long established tradition of teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in institutionalised settings (more precisely English language learning is compulsory from an early age) (first records go back to 1873), the level of proficiency of speakers is low ranking. Perhaps, it is equally surprising to see that although Iraq experienced a colonial period in the aftermath of World War II, that although it maintains trade, commerce and cultural relationships worldwide, English is neither widespread in the country nor a co-official language.

The pedagogical perspective helps us to derive insights by analysing the approved and available textbooks in use at different periods of time and underpinning different teaching methodologies, from the traditional ones to a more communicative paradigm shift *(The Oxford English Course, The Oxford English Course for the Middle East, The Oxford English Course for Iraq, Iraq Opportunities, Sunrise, etc.*). Hence, we can conclude that English in Iraq is best amenable to description in Kachru's (1985): belonging to the Expanding Circle, norm-dependent (mostly influenced by the British standard) and not playing a social cohesive role.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Descriptive and prescriptive approaches to the study of English seem to have been prevailing up to the 1980s, no matter the linguistic facts in focus. From a diachronic perspective, the evolution of English is considered to have taken place within several timeframes largely agreed on: pre-Old English (before 500AD), Old English (500 – 1150), Middle English (1150 – 1450), Early Modern English (1450 – 1700), Modern English (1700 – 1945), and, the ultimate World Englishes (from 1945 onwards, coinciding with the end of the British Empire, i.e., the postcolonial period).

The beginning of the spread of English in the Asia (Pacific) is associated with the age of Modern English, nevertheless, the impact of English as a second language (ESL) or as a foreign language (EFL) in these territories and as a *lingua franca* (ELF) has occupied a central place in mainstream literature - we equally acknowledge the emergence of a dedicated field of study in the 1980s - about half a century ago. It is also worth mentioning that over the past decades, the static perspective has been replaced by a more dynamic one in which the English language varieties are shaped by endonormative standards rather than exonormative criteria.

Under the circumstances, the validation of descriptive and functional models of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) involves an integrated approach. Different dimensions should be taken into consideration: the historiography of the use of English in specific contexts; the interface between English varieties - most likely, in the recognition of a common core or widely shared features; the predictive force of the model with respect to the future of ELF and related changes and challenges; the underlying user-centred orientation defines the role of language proficiency in the establishment of the status of ELF; the question of ownership - a more democratic view, although hierarchies cannot be dismissed at all times, empowers users of this variation at the global level. Last, but not least, the impact of information and communication technology, the intensification of the world trade, of international relations in the globalised world have strengthened the status and role of ELF.

The insightful exploration of the divided loyalties of ELF, as a foreign language and as a postcolonial variety (second language or co-official language), is a rewarding enterprise, revealing the multi-faceted phenomena associated with the ELF evolution, growth, agendas and practices. In this context, we hope to contribute to the current directions of research by

providing a flexible framework for the fruitful investigation of this English language variation, by further strengthening its role and potential, by giving answers to still open questions and, eventually, by outlining avenues for future research.

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https://www.economist.com/graphic-detail/2019/12/04/where-are-the-worlds-best-english-speakers

https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/mulcaster-richard

https://www.english-corpora.org/bnc/

https://www.english-corpora.org/glowbe/

www.english-lingua-franca.org

https://www.ethnologue.com/language-development

https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/english-as-a-lingua-franca-in-academic-settings/research/elfa-corpus

http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/LLC

http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/LOB/index.html

https://www.iasj.net/iasj?func=fulltext&aId=145703

http://www.iaweworks.org/

http://www.iaweworks.org/journal.html

http://ice-corpora.net/ice/index.html

https://www.i6doc.com/en/collections/cdicle/.

http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/files/cb45/files/i-mutation.pdf

https://iq.usembassy.gov/education-culture/english-language-office/

https://iraq.britishcouncil.org/en

https://www.iasj.net/iasj?func=fulltext&aId=126155

https://www.iasj.net/iasj?func=fulltext&aId=142725

http://www.jaa.tu.edu.iq/

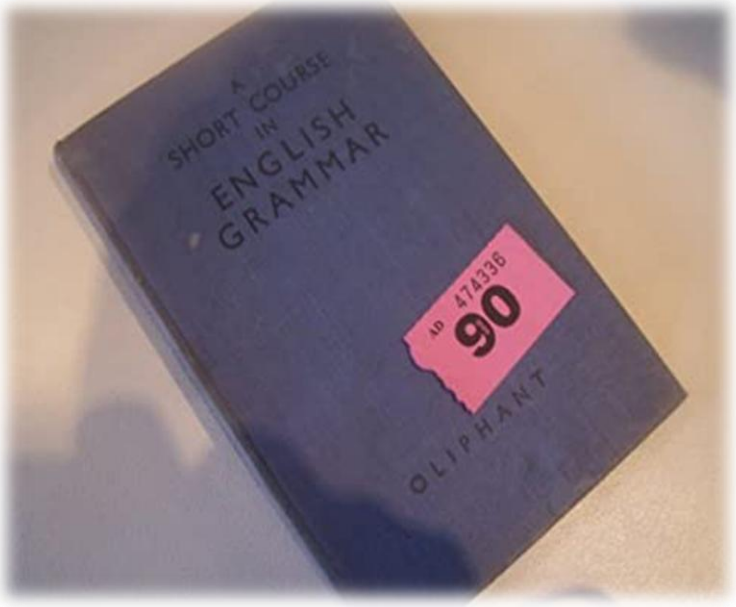
http://korpus.uib.no/icame/manuals/KOLHAPUR/INDEX.HTM

https://www.livemint.com/news/india/in-india-who-speaks-in-english-and-where-1557814101428.html
https://www.macmillanenglish.com/ro/catalogue/courses/adults-and-young-adults/global/course-information
https://meu.edu.jo/libraryTheses/5870d2e03b489_1.pdf
https://public.oed.com/about/
https://www.oed.com/public/browse/browsing#sources
https://www.semanticscholar.org
https://stars.library.ucf.edu/etd/2862
https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/icle.html
https://uclouvain.be/en/research-institutes/ilc/cecl/lindsei.html
https://www.univie.ac.at/voice/

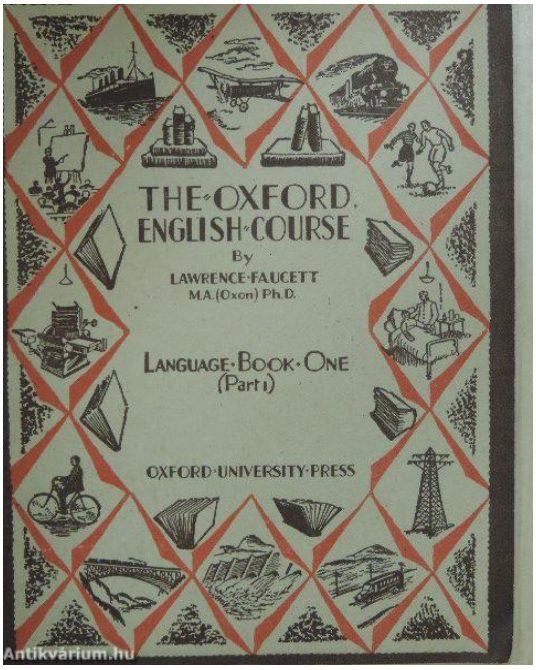
ANNEXES

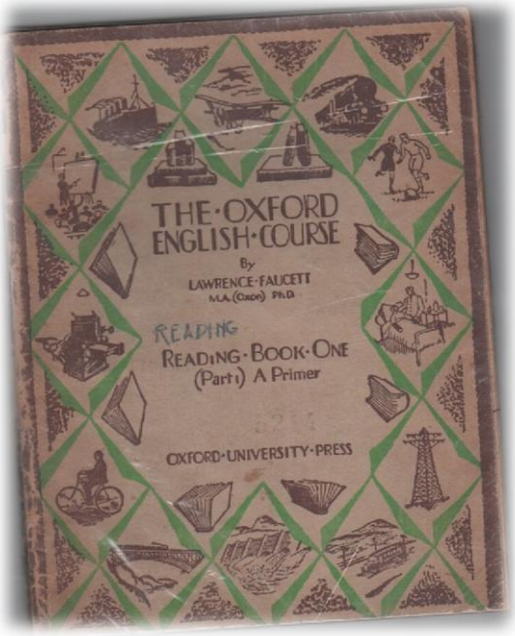
Annex 1

ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS FOR IRAQI SPEAKERS



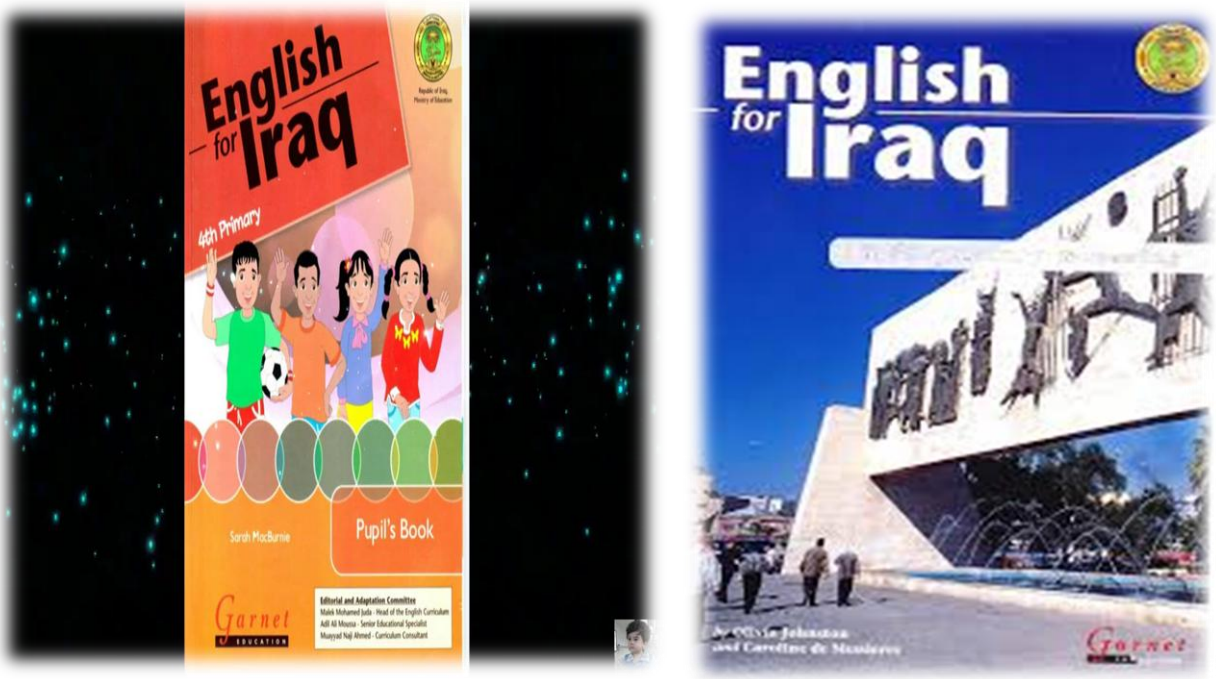
The Oxford English Course, author: Lancelot Oliphant, in use up to the mid-1950s (https://www.amazon.co.uk/short-course-English-grammar/dp/B003421XJS)





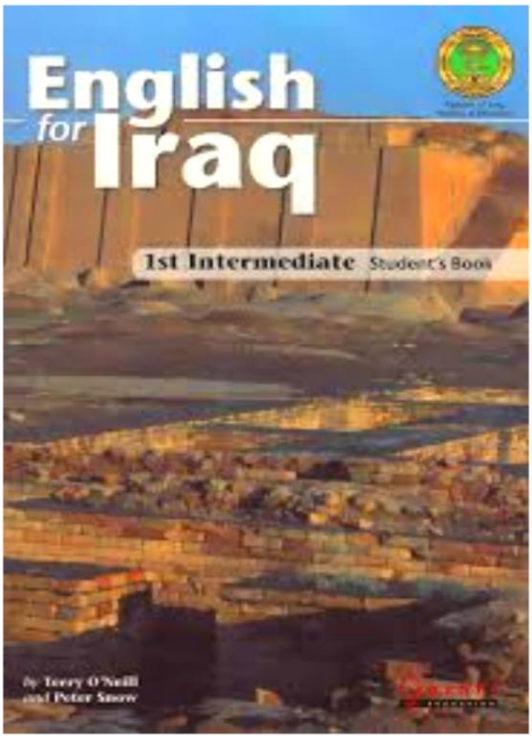
The Oxford English Course for the Middle East, author: Lawrence Faucett, in use up to the mid-1950s

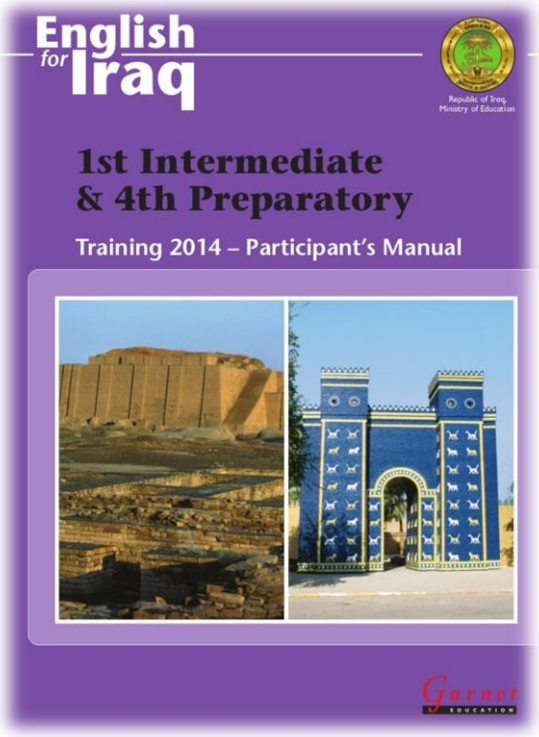
(https://www.google.com/search?q=The+Oxford+English+Course++Lawrence+Faucett&rlz=1C1CHWA_enRO606RO607&hl=ro&sxsrf=ALeKk00ag2fTOIw9yxqi6TojQU4_1RjtnQ:1594732364195&tbm=isch&source=iu&ictx=1&fir=1l6BGAbDKml67M%252CeVdGsDaCOQcxYM%252C_&vet=1&usg=AI4_-kRTkpxFmfy68Knv4nO4U47Mf1Ra0Q&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiPj9GA6czqAhXdisMKHT47BP8Q9QEwAHoECAcQEQ&biw=1530&bih=738&dpr=1.25#imgrc=1l6BGAbDKml67M)



English for Iraq textbook series covering different levels of proficiency, currently in use

(https://www.google.com/search?q=English+for+Iraq+garnet&rlz=1C1CHWA_enRO606RO607&sxsrf=ALeKk02MTwnUIWHnxWhM9m2G2_yaBvgYdw:1594740868609&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjvsu3XiM3qAhVv-ioKHUL-ABgQ_AUoAXoECAsQAw&biw=1530&bih=738&dpr=1.25#imgrc=GghG_zRZF15-8M)





English for Iraq textbook series + Training manual

(https://www.google.com/search?q=English+for+Iraq+garnet&rlz=1C1CHWA_enRO606RO607&sxsrf=ALeKk02MTwnUIWHnxWhM9m2G2_yaBvgYdw:1594740868609&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjvsu3XiM3qAhVv-ioKHUL-ABgQ_AUoAXoECAsQAw&biw=1530&bih=738&dpr=1.25#imgrc=GghG_zRZF15-8M)

Annex 2

LIST OF EFL RESOURCES MADE AVAILABLE BY THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE AND U.S. EMBASSY IN BAGHDAD

Websites Every EFL Teacher/Student Should Know

John Scacco, ELO Baghdad, 2018

Search Engine

http://scholar.google.com/ The academic version of Google

Academic Research/Journals

https://ocw.mit.edu/index.htm An entire university online: OpenCourseWare from MIT

https://www.coursera.org/ Coursera - online university courses. Free.

https://www.edx.org/ edX: another collection of online university courses

http://www.eric.ed.gov U.S. Government database of academic papers - many are downloadable.

https://www.actfl.org/publications/guidelines-and-manuals/actfl-proficiency-guidelines-2012/english

http://nflrc.hawaii.edu/rfl/ The free Journal of Reading in a Foreign Language

http://www.readingmatrix.com/ An international online journal of reading

Authentic Materials/Texts/Teacher Resources

https://www.en.news/ Using AI technology, this site blends CNN news with learning English!

https://blogs.uoregon.edu/aeiprojects/oelc/shaping/ A huge collection of resources for students and teachers

http://www.childrenslibrary.org International Children's Library online: over 4500 books in 59 languages

http://www.gutenberg.org/wiki/Main_Page 56,000+ free texts and audio books. Legal downloading and copying

http://www.librivox.org/ Audiobooks in the Public Domain

http://www.encyclopedia.com/ Online encyclopedia with links to other sources

http://www.booksforabuck.com/general/pubsources.html List of free online books

https://newseumed.org/ http://www.newseum.org/todaysfrontpages/ Newspapers, teaching tools, media literacy

http://www.nytimes.com/learning/index.html Classroom resources—free registration

http://www.cnn.com http://www.bbc.co.uk http://www.npr.org http://www.voanews.com

http://www1.voanews.com/learningenglish/home/ Special English website

https://www.merriam-webster.com/ www.yourdictionary.com

https://www.collinsdictionary.com/us/dictionary/english-thesaurus Free online thesaurus

http://www.eslnotes.com Great lesson plans for using films in English classes

http://www.lyrics.com Accurate English song lyrics

http://www.learnenglish.org.uk The British Council's website for learners

https://www.britishcouncil.org/school-resources The British Council's website for teachers

http://www.pitt.edu/~dash/folktexts.html http://www.americanfolklore.net/ Folklore, myths and legends

http://www.peevish.co.uk/slang/links.htm Amazing collection of international slang sites

http://lcweb2.loc.gov/learn/ Library of Congress—over 7 million documents

http://www.usingenglish.com/ A collection of tools for teachers and students

http://moodle.org Free open-source Course Management System software

http://www.eslcafe.com The original ELT website and still worth visiting

http://www2.scholastic.com/browse/home.jsp Over 10,000 teaching resources for K-12

http://www.linguistic-funland.com Since 1994, a great site for teachers and students

http://www.esl-lab.com Randall's fantastic ESL/EFL cyber listening lab

http://home.gwu.edu/~meloni/eslstudyhall/ A very fun and useful site for students

http://www.esl-lounge.com Large selection of lessons and lesson plans, some free

http://www.howstuffworks.com Very good for teaching explanations

https://www.er-central.com/ Extensive Reading Central—for students and teachers

http://www.classicshorts.com/ Classic short stories

http://www.makebeliefscomix.com/Comix/ UNESCO-honored site for promoting literacy—make a comic!

http://ezcomics.com/ A good site for using and making comics

http://www.themoonlitroad.com/ Text and audio—Strange Tales of the American South

http://www.mysterynet.com/ Interesting collection of mysteries and detective stories

http://www.americanrhetoric.com/ Over 5000 full texts/audio or video of famous speeches

http://philosophy.hku.hk/think/ Critical thinking from the U. of Hong Kong—over 100 tutorials.

http://www.lextutor.ca/ A superb collection of lexical tools

http://www.fonetiks.org 500+ pages of pronunciation-oriented material and 9 varieties of English

http://www.dictationsonline.com/ Great online dictations, with transcripts

http://www.childrensbooksonline.org/library.htm Fantastic collection of old books - copyright restrictions apply, but make a PPT for your students

http://www.freerice.com Practice your vocabulary and donate grains of rice to the World Food Program!

http://www.tolerance.org Teaching tolerance, a project of the Southern Poverty Law Center, with classroom resources for introducing the concept of tolerance in the classroom

http://www.johnsesl.com/riddles/ A site with clever riddles for language students

http://www.epals.com/ Award-winning global community to connect classrooms

http://www.erfoundation.org/index.html/ This organization promotes extensive reading—useful info!

https://wwwcs.uwstout.edu/soe/profdev/rubrics.cfm A thoroughly amazing list of rubrics of all kinds

http://www.uen.org/Rubric/rubric.cgi?rubric_id=1512 A rubric for teacher evaluation (adapted from ASCD)

http://larryferlazzo.edublogs.org/ A great list EFL/ESL Web resources

http://www.uefap.com/ A comprehensive guide for EAP students at universities

http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?l=g&p=13 Online etymological dictionary

http://www.teyl.org/index.html Free international journal devoted to young learners

http://llt.msu.edu/ Language Learning and Technology—free refereed journal

http://www.wsu.edu/~brians/errors/index.html Amazing list of common English errors

https://www.ted.com/talks Collection of more than 2600 online lectures

http://www.ed.com/portfolio/portfolio.php and http://www.ed.com/pintura/index.html Educational games

http://turnitin.com/en_us/resources Resources to help teachers prevent plagiarism and improve writing skills

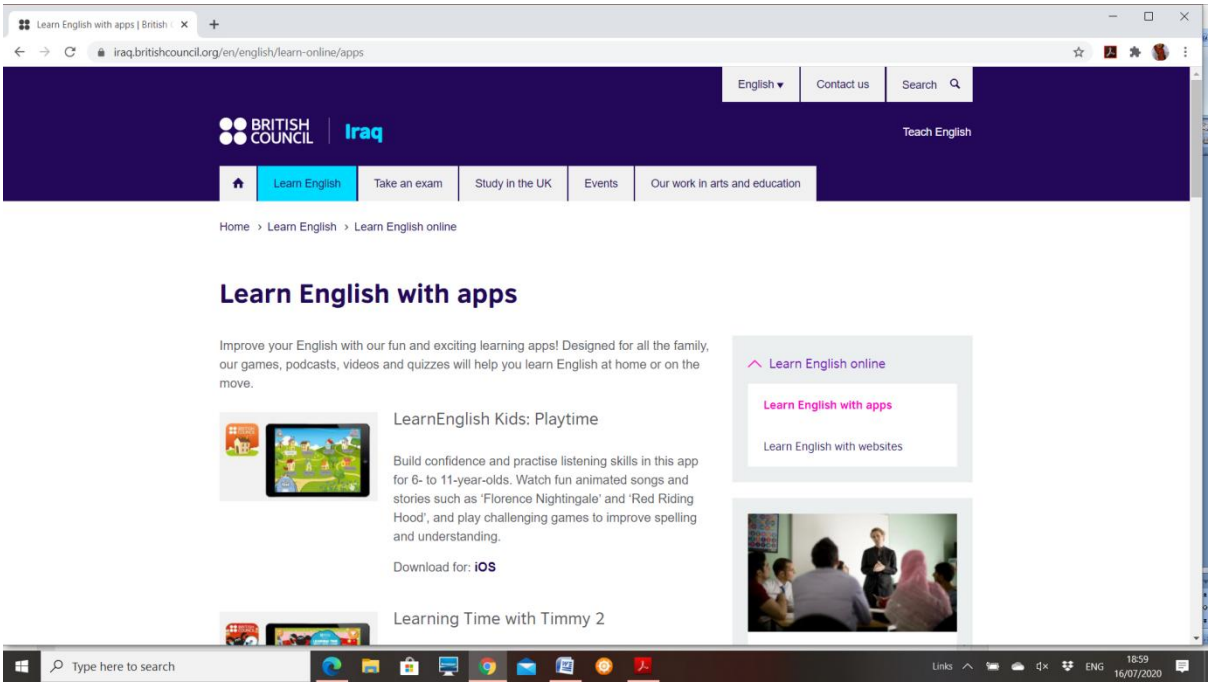
https://thisibelieve.org/educators/ Short but powerful writing activity site

https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/services/instruction/learningmodules/plagiarism/ U of Texas anti-plagiarism course

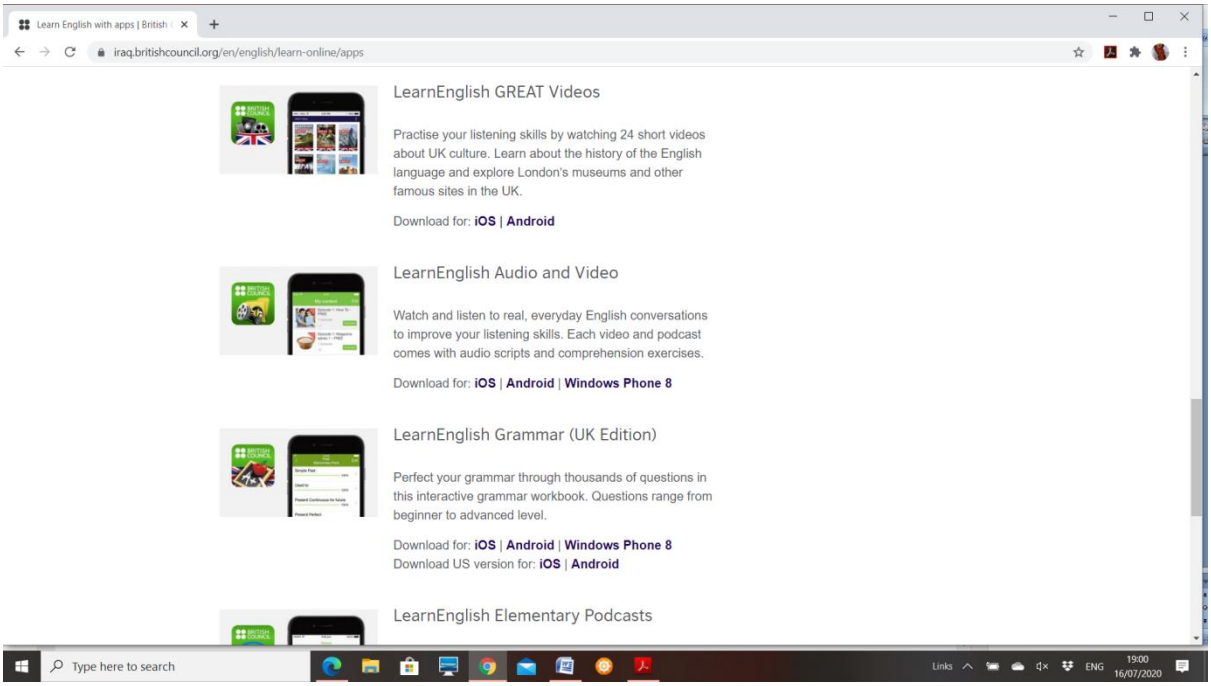
(https://iq.usembassy.gov/wp-content/uploads/sites/245/InternetSites-2018.docx.pdf)

Annex 3

LEARN BRITISH ENGLISH RESOURCES



https://iraq.britishcouncil.org/en/english/learn-online/apps



https://iraq.britishcouncil.org/en/english/learn-online/apps

List of dedicated websites

http://learnenglish.britishcouncil.org/?_ga=2.216582870.1383112563.1594890782-1954093561.1591772262 - LearnEnglish for adult learners website

https://learnenglish.britishcouncil.org/business-english?_ga=2.240877891.1383112563.1594890782-1954093561.1591772262 - Learn Business and Work English

http://learnenglishkids.britishcouncil.org/?_ga=2.43762661.1383112563.1594890782-1954093561.1591772262 - LearnEnglish Kids website

https://learnenglishkids.britishcouncil.org/parents?_ga=2.48850662.1383112563.1594890782-1954093561.1591772262 - LearnEnglish for parents website

http://learnenglishteens.britishcouncil.org/?_ga=2.48850662.1383112563.1594890782-1954093561.1591772262 - LearnEnglish teens website

https://iraq.britishcouncil.org/en/english/learn-online/websites - Premier Skills English website