Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Preliminaries

English language originated, grew and spread in the British Isles before spreading to the other parts of the globe. Historians and linguists have dug up some sketches of the birth, growth and development of the English language from various sources such as archaeological records, modern dialectology, anthropology and agriculture. Studies clearly show the various stages of evolution the English language has come through to reach where and what it is today. Historical, cultural, political and economic factors have touched and transformed English in different ways. The present day English is the offspring of a very long historic process covering a span of more than 8500 years stretching from the life of nomadic tribes in Lapland to the settlement of Britain by the Angles, Jutes and Celts in CE 449 and many later events recorded in history.

Unlike Latin and French, which stayed on the scene for some time and later lost their prominence, English has survived over the centuries and has now won all the claims for the status of a universal language. It has become the language of international trade and commerce, science and technology, diplomacy, research, IT, aviation, navigation, etc. With the advent of globalisation, more and more communities are in contact with each other, and people are on the move as never before. English has become a vehicle of communication among these communities. They depend on English for communicative functions while travelling, cracking business deals, attending parties, etc. The demand for English is constantly on the rise. Even, countries like Russia, China and Libya that earlier had a hostile attitude towards English have now changed their approach. They have come to accept the value of English as an international lingua franca and realised how the lack of proficiency in
this language would marginalise them in the global market and many other international platforms, especially in the context of globalisation.

This chapter discusses two important issues. The first issue is that of the global spread of English. An effort has been made to analyze and present the various forces that worked behind the diffusion of English, first in the British Isles and later, across the globe. The chapter will discuss the present status of English as both a native and a non-native language. The second issue is that of the attitudes towards the non-native varieties of English. In addition, the chapter will explain the views of both native and non-native speakers on these varieties. It will highlight the differences of opinions existing among linguists and scholars with regard to the legitimization of non-native varieties.

The following section looks at the main reasons for the spread of English through the world.

1.2. The Global Spread of English: Reasons

English spread first in the British Isles. Before English, there were many Celtic languages like Welsh, Cornish, Gaelic, Manx and Irish Gaelic spoken on the islands. Of these, only Cornish became extinct when the last recorded speaker died about 250 years ago. Yet another language in England before English was Latin. It was spoken extensively for a period of about four centuries before the rise of English. It was brought to the isles through the invasion by Julius Caesar in 55 BC. Naturally, the military conquest of Britain was followed by the Romanisation of the province, as was the case in the other countries and provinces conquered by the Romans. The Roman culture and the Latin language were introduced. It is interesting to note, however, that the Celts who then inhabited the whole of British Isles
withstood the Romans in the other parts of the country. Hence, Latin did not spread further North or West of what are roughly the present day English borders. Latin did not replace the Celtic languages in Britain. Its use was confined to members of the upper classes such as landowners and bureaucrats. Nevertheless, certain Latin vocabulary, especially for items introduced by the Romans, infiltrated the language.

English started in Britain with the Anglo Saxon invasion. There is relatively little known about the native languages in Britain before the arrival of the Germanic tribes. However, history after their arrival is well recorded. The natives were forced to embrace the Anglo Saxon way of life and their language. Even the name England has its roots in the name of one of the Germanic tribes called Angli. According to Wrenn (1987), English belongs in all its stages to the Indo European family of languages called Indo Germanic and still earlier Aryan (p. 10).

The Norman conquest of Britain by William, the Duke of Normandy was another landmark in the history of English. His reign brought with it enormous changes in the social, political, religious and linguistic fabric of the British Isles (Fennel, 2001, p. 95). Contact with the French language led to many borrowings. There arose a situation of diaglossia in England with French as the ‘High language’ and English as the ‘Low language’ (ibid. p.116-7). That is to say, English continued to be the language of the common man, and the French who enjoyed a superior position were able to maintain their own language. It also percolated to the middle class. However, French could not establish itself as the language of the land. Speakers of French amongst the non-nobility were undoubtedly in small minority. Therefore, there is
no doubt that monolingualism and bilingualism were present in England before the loss of Normandy in 1204.

The rivalry between England and France, which culminated in the 100-year war, showed that the French were French and the English, English. The resentment caused by Henry’s favouritism, the Barons’ war and the ascension of Edward I to the throne were all events that led to the building up of the national consciousness of England and the reinstatement of the English language. By the end of the 13\textsuperscript{th} century, English became the language of the Englishmen. Universities and the clergy had to allow the use of English in certain circumstances. However, in an attempt to preserve Latin and French they declared a ban on English. “But the need to ban a language is a sure sign that that language is alive and thriving” (Fennel, 2001, p. 120).

The plagues and the related developments also contributed to the spread of English in Britain. The plague (1348-50) took a toll of nearly thirty percent of the British population, mostly from the lower class. This resulted in a shortage of labour; an instant increase in wages; and the unification of the peasants whose campaign for better wages and work conditions culminated in the Peasants’ Revolt (1381). These, in turn, led to an increase in the importance of English, since the poor people who spoke English had more say in the affairs of the country. Moreover, the plague probably eradicated many of the educated teachers who could instruct in Latin and French and paved the way for the rise of English in schools (Fennel, 2001, p. 121). The growth of English urban system accelerated the growth and spread of English. By the beginning of the 14th century, English became everyone’s language in Britain. French and Latin existed but only in the church and the legal profession.
The other major episodes in the constitution of the official recognition of English were the following:

- Edward III’s consultation with parliament about the invasion of France conducted by a lawyer in English in 133
- The Chancellor’s opening of the parliament with a speech in English in 1362 and
- The enactment of the statute of pleading in 1362 that stated that all law suits should be conducted in English, since English is much unknown in the said realm.

In 1399, the articles of accusation against the deposed Richard II were read in the parliament in both English and Latin, and Henry IV made his speeches including the speech of accusation in English. Latin and French continued to be the competitors of English but had to succumb to English. In 1489, the status of French as the language of Parliament was completely removed.

Some other major political events also did contribute to the flourishing of the English language. In 1485, Henry Tudor ascended the throne and introduced 118 years of Tudor dynasty. The period of Queen Elizabeth I was one of great prosperity for English. Being a woman of renaissance education, she was very benevolent to writers and promoted statecraft, literature, science, exploration and commerce. All these brought in great and noticeable changes in the language and helped in the spread of English overseas. Yet another major event of the era was the dissolving of the monasteries by Henry VII. His disagreements with the Papacy in Rome led to England becoming a protestant country and the monarch, the head of the Church of England. Thus, civil authority was hierarchized over the church authority.
The English civil war, also called the Puritan Revolution, which overthrew the monarchy and resulted in the beheading of King Charles I, took place in this era. The two political parties, Whigs and Tories, were formed in 1680. Both became influential political forces and introduced politics as a central factor in the government. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 gave rise to the establishment of Parliament’s power over that of the monarchy. The breaking away from the Roman Church and the increased power of the parliament helped in cementing the spread of English in Britain.

The various developments in the field of culture and literature also shaped the transition of English into a modern language. William Caxton brought printing to England and promoted literacy among the mass. If literacy was a monopoly of the clergy and the aristocracy before, the introduction of printing brought it down to the gentry, merchants and the yeomen. The Book of Common Prayers published in 1549 became an influence on English literary style. This was also the period of Shakespeare and English literary achievement. He has been an author of such dominant literary influence and personality that his new words and individual phrases became part of the literary heritage of English. The contributions he has made to its vocabulary and style are of outstanding importance (Wrenn, 1987, p. 147). His first company of actors was established in 1574, and this led to the building of theatres.

There were also some notable publications that could make their impact on English. Robert Cawdry published the first English dictionary, *A Table Alphabeticall*, in 1604. *The Authorized King James Version of the Bible* along with the Prayer Book and the works of Shakespeare was a great influence on English literary style. The first daily newspaper published in London in 1702 and later spread throughout England had a great impact on both
the linguistic and the political traditions of the country. Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* and Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language* were two other landmark publications. *Robinson Crusoe* is identified as the first modern novel in English, and the dictionary, a model of comprehensive dictionaries of English.

English did not restrict itself to the boundaries of the British Isles. It moved with the tide and reached many a shore successfully. The most important reason for the initial spread of English was colonization. It started taking roots towards the end of the 15th century with the discovery of Nova Scotia by John Cabot in 1497. As Abraham (2008) observes, Elizabethan England had a host of adventurous sailors like Francis Drake and John Hawkins. Drake was the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe foreshadowing the English territorial expansion overseas (117-8). The East India Company was formed in 1600, and eventually the British Raj was established in India. Jamestown, Virginia was established as the first permanent English settlement in America. The first group of African slaves arrived in America in 1619. The Hudson’s Bay Company was chartered in 1670 for promoting trade and settlement in Canada. The period between 1775 and 1783 witnessed the American struggle for independence and their victory. With the declaration of American independence was born the first nation of English speakers outside Britain. A large number of British loyalists found themselves unfit in the independent America and left for Canada and Nova Scotia, introducing a large number of English speakers there also. As Phillipson (1992) puts it, “Wherever the British have settled, they have taken their language with them” (p.109). Through their educational policies for the colonies, they also tried to make the colonized masters of English. The British had understood the need for proficiency in English for functioning in colonial periphery-English societies at least for those who had dealings with
the colonizers. As stated in Lord Macaulay’s *Minute* (1835), they needed a class of Indians who could function as interpreters between the British colonial power and the millions of Indians they governed (para.31). This was not the policy for India alone but for the whole British Empire. King, the head of the British Council’s English language teaching operations for many years, admits that Macaulay determined what they should do quite literally, from Hong Kong to Gambia (as cited in Phillipson, 1992, p.111). The job of education in all the colonies was to produce people with mastery of English. Like every colonizer, who conquers a nation or controls a large geographical area composed of different language communities, Britain also “assimilated the native languages and imposed its own culture including the language” (Munat, 2007, p.6).

The spread of English beyond England started with the ‘wander thirst’ of the British sailors and colonization. However, there are also many other factors augmenting the spread of the language. The establishment of English medium schools was at the same time a tool to reinforce the colonial power and to spread English. The industrial knowledge of the British and the development of technology, in a way, compelled other nations to learn English. English happened to be at the right place at the right time.

Industrial revolution took place in Britain. The great economic boom originated in America, and both the countries spoke English. The early twentieth century witnessed the emergence of America as an economic, technological and political super power. Naturally, the world needed America and their language. Establishment of international platforms like the League of Nations, the UNO and its allied organizations brought the world together making a common language a necessity. Yet another revolutionizing step was Charles Babbage’s
invention of computer. As the global spread of computers was spearheaded by American technology and expertise, it also scattered English over the world. English has also become inevitable in the airline and the shipping industry. Very interestingly, English is mostly used in these industries between non-native speakers of English with different languages and people of the same speech community. Linguists also talk of the structural similarities English bears with the other Germanic languages and the cosmopolitan nature of its vocabulary as another reason for its global diffusion. Yet another noteworthy reason was that English did not pose any social barriers. Unlike Sanskrit and Latin, the study of which was restricted only to the clergy and the upper classes, for reasons whatsoever, English education was promoted and encouraged. As the language of the rulers, this gave a new identity to the otherwise segregated sections of the society. Thus, we may say that these various social, economic, theological and political developments have raised English to the status of a global language. “It just happened in the process of history and was not a planned development as proponents of theories of cultural and linguistic imperialism would say” (Fennel, 2001, p. 260).

As before, new trends in economy and politics have given fresh impetus to the global spread of English. Globalization has brought down national barriers and peoples are in greater contact than ever before. British colonialism laid the foundation for English over much of the world but International English is a product of an emerging world culture, very much attributable to the influence of the United States as well. However, it is conceptually based on a far greater degree of cross talk and linguistic transculturation, which tends to mitigate both U.S. influence and British colonial influence.
The present scenario has had its effect on English both qualitatively and quantitatively. Globalization has not only made possible the interaction among speakers of varieties of English but also has given birth to a new group of first language speakers in its wake. As Graddol (2006) remarks, “The world is rapidly becoming more urban and more middle class, both of which are encouraging the adoption of English” (p.50). He talks of how English is used within many middle class families in countries like India and Singapore. He also cites the instance of over 20,000 American schoolchildren receiving e-tutoring support from India, which has become a fertile land for many outsourcing projects. This dependence of even inner circle countries on the outer circle countries like India has strengthened the belief of the latter that English is their own language through which they can express their feelings and thoughts and also export goods and services to other countries as well (Graddol, 2006, p. 35).

This has also brought in new terms such as EIL (English as an International Language) and ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) among sociolinguists. English is used not only on English shores but also throughout the world. With countries like China, Japan and Korea focusing much on the teaching of English, the demographic change is going to be mammoth-like. None, desirous of enjoying the advantages of globalization, can do away with English. The new capital forces find linguistic barriers a hindrance to their global spread. They need a simpler way of reaching out to the world communities and a more manageable environment for their business (Kushner, 2003, p.3).

English enjoys a dominant position in science, technology, medicine and computers; in research, books, periodicals and software; in transnational business, trade, shipping and aviation; in diplomacy and international organisation; in mass media, entertainment, news agencies, and journalism; and in youth culture and sport. In educational systems, it is the
most widely learned language. The ability to communicate well in English is one of the graduate attributes in schools and colleges worldwide. English has become the synonym for language, and linguistic deprivation is equated with ignorance of English. It is no more the imposed language of the colonizers but the sought after one. As Phillipson (1992) observes, the demand for English is articulated not only by partisan Anglo-Americans but also by leaders in all parts of the world (p.8). Job seekers need English to be globally employable. Students need English to have access to store houses of knowledge. Writers need English to reach an international community of readers. English is everywhere. The situation may not be akin to the rebuilding of the tower of Babel. Nevertheless, the world certainly has a language to communicate with each other.

Thus far, the important reasons for the global spread of English have been discussed. In the following section, the focus will be on the status of English in different countries represented through the concept of three circles.

1.3. Spread of English: The Three Circles

There have been various attempts to represent the global diffusion of English diagrammatically. The earliest in this category was Strevens’ *World Map of English*, first published in 1980. In the shape of a tree diagram, it tried to show the affiliations of the world Englishes to either British English or American English.

The most debated model is that of Kachru’s. He describes the diffusion of English using the analogy of three concentric circles- inner, outer and expanding circles. The inner circle comprises countries such as Britain, the US, Australia and New Zealand where English is
used as the first language. The outer circle consists of countries such as India, Singapore, Kenya and Nigeria where English is almost a second language. Countries like China, Japan, Korea, etc. fall within the expanding circle where English is a foreign language.

In the outer circle countries, as Kachru (2005) points out, English is an institutionalized additional language (p.14). In the expanding circle countries, the dynamics of English is fast changing. In countries like India and Singapore, English is the medium of education in a great number of schools. It is almost the only effective medium in higher education. It has become imperative in law courts and official matters. According to the report presented in India 2002: A Reference Manual, out of the 49,145 periodicals published in India in 2000, 7,175 were in English (as cited in Kachru, p.15). The number must be much more now considering the developments in the print media in the last decade. That English is the language of only a microscopic minority in India is a myth. Kachru quotes India Today (18th August 1997) and suggests that almost one in every three Indians claims to understand English although less than twenty percent are confident of speaking it (p.14). Many Indian students, especially NRI students and those who live in India but outside their own states cannot read and write their own mother tongues. Nevertheless, they are proficient in English. This is so because English is the medium of education, and they mix and interact with a multilingual society where English is necessary for communication. English using population in the Asian countries is bigger than the total population of all the inner circle countries. The sociolinguistic reality is that English is acquiring the status of the dominant language or the first language, whatever we mean by that term (Kachru, 2005, p.15). There are competitions on many regional TV channels challenging the participants to speak their own mother tongue for one minute without code switching and code mixing.
Jenkins (2003) observes that the three circles represent the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts (p.15). English has travelled in three different directions: the first in the form of migration from Britain to the Inner Circle countries; the second in the form of colonization to the Outer Circle countries; and the third, the more recent one, to the Expanding Circle countries. The inner circle countries are said to be ‘norm providing’, the Outer ‘norm developing’ and the Expanding ‘norm dependent’.

Despite the fame Kachru’s three concentric circles model enjoys, it is not without its problems. Patil (2008) points out a few of them. For example, it fails to differentiate varieties within each circle; it assumes that the three circles represent linguistic reality perfectly; it implies that the outer circle cannot merge into the inner circle; it bases the classification on national identity; and it assumes that the inner circle varieties are somehow superior to other varieties (p.26). It fails to notice the gray areas between the inner and the outer circles. Graddol’s (1997) observation that nearly twenty countries are in transition from EFL to ESL (p.11) is similar to Patil’s (2008) idea of the merging of circles (p.54). Moreover, at a time when national boundaries are breaking up it is not easy to identify a person’s origin from his nationality. In a multilingual society where different languages are used for different purposes with equal proficiency and fluency, it is also difficult to distinguish, L1 from L2. English does not reveal anyone’s nationality today. With regard to proficiency and accuracy, British students have been found likely to make more errors in English than those from overseas. A research conducted by Professor Bernard Lamb, Reader in Genetics at Imperial College, London and the President of the Queens’s English Society, has revealed that the written works of the British undergraduate final students contained 52.2 per cent punctuation.
grammatical and spelling errors per paper compared with just 18.8 per cent errors committed by their international peers (Times of Oman, 2009, p.2). By implication, a native speaker is not necessarily linguistically more competent than a non-native one. Again, not all the speakers in the same circle may have the same competence be they natives or no natives. As Rajadurai (2005) comments, “It is not uncommon today to hear anecdotes of English speaking visitors to the UK baffled and bewildered by the near incomprehensible speech of many of its speakers, thought to be paragons of correct English” (p.7). This reality forced many linguists and scholars to question Kachru’s idea of the native speakers in the inner circle as the norm providers. Rajadurai (2005) cites Trudgill’s (1999) observation that only 9-12 per cent of the British population speaks Standard English. She also highlights Crystal’s (2003) note that only less than three percent of the British population speaks Received Pronunciation in its pure form (p.7). Furthermore, not all the citizens of these countries are native speakers. Neither are these countries monolithic, as many believe. The original inhabitants of America (Red Indians) have their native tribal languages. Migration from the various Asian, African and Latin American countries have made America a melting pot of cultures and languages. Many Americans have a language other than English as their mother tongue. Similarly, in addition to the immigrant languages, Celtic languages still exist in Britain. There are many government-sponsored programmes to preserve these languages and to protect them from linguicism. As Graddol (2006) says, London is now widely regarded as the most multilingual city in the world with over 300 languages spoken in London schools (p. 28).

Another issue that challenges Kachru’s positioning of the native speaker countries in the inner circle is the rise of English as an international language (EIL). Many native speaker
varieties work well only in the native local contexts. Expressions such as “I am all set”, “Nope”, “What a snow job”, “damned if I know”, “you bet I gotcha” etc. may not achieve their communicative functions on an international platform (Gradin, 2007, p.39). A native speaker is often seen as presenting an obstacle to the free development of global English. His presence is, at times, detrimental to free communication in executive meetings and conferences. As Graddol (2006) points out, a native speaker fails at using English for international communication (p.87).

These issues prompted linguists such as McArthur (1987), Gorlach (1988) and Madiona (1999) think of alternative ways of representing the global dispersal of English. In fact, Kachru proposed at a later stage that the ‘inner circle’ is now better conceived of as the group of highly proficient speakers of English with ‘functional nativeness ’regardless of how they learned or use the language ( as cited in Graddol, 2006, p.110). McArthur came up with his ‘Circle of World English’ and Gorlach with his ‘Circle Model of English’. Both these circles represent the diffusion of English in many similar ways. Gorlach places International English in the centre followed by standard regional Englishes, sub-regional Englishes and finally non-standard English. McArthur puts world Englishes in the centre and then moving outwards he classifies world Englishes into eight groups; British and Irish Standard English, American Standard English, Canadian Standard English, Caribbean Standard English, West East and South African standard(izing) English, East Asian Standard(izing) English and Australian, New Zealand and south Pacific Standard English. He further gives a detailed list of all the major and minor sub varieties and shows them as emanating from the major varieties.
In an attempt to represent better the present day reality about English, Madiona (1999) conceptualizes the circles in a different way. He rejects the idea of native speakers as the centripetal force and replaces them with proficient speakers of international English. Proficiency here is not determined by virtue of being a native speaker but by the excellence in communication regardless of genetic and national identity. He takes into consideration that there are different dialects and accents even within the native speaker countries. Moreover, not all native speakers are comprehensible to each other. One is reminded of the Shavian comment that it is impossible for one Englishman to open his mouth without being despised by another (Fennel, 2001, p.185). Native speakers incapable of efficient communication in an international context are excluded from Madiona’s inner circle. He places them in the next circle with non-native speakers who use indigenized varieties of English and hence unintelligible to speakers of EIL. People in his second circle have proficiency in English either as a first language or a second language but not in EIL. They can communicate only with speakers from the same L1 background. Madiona’s third circle consists of learners of English who are potential communicators in EIL. Outside this circle are those who are completely ignorant of English. In this way, Madiona succeeds in discarding varieties of English defined in terms of nativeness, history, and geography and placed individual competence and proficiency in the forefront (Rajadurai, 2005, p.8).

As in the case of Kachru’s, there were also certain problems with Madiona’s model. Most importantly, EIL is yet to be defined satisfactorily though it has been used by many as a synonym for global English and English devoid of its cultural nuances. As Jenkins (2003) suggests, in the absence of such a definition it is rather difficult to draw the line between
proficient and non-proficient in International English (p.21). Yet another issue was the difficulty in determining strong regional accent.

Taking into account the various comments on his centripetal circles of international English, Madiona redrafts his idea. This time he presents a model based on features common to all varieties of English and not on intelligibility. He places a common core in the inner circle that is a core of features of International English intelligible to all competent speakers—both native and non-native. In the second circle, he places features that might develop into features of IE or fade into oblivion. His outer circle consists of American English, British English, other major varieties, local varieties and foreign varieties. (Jenkins, 2003, pp. 21-3)

Madiona was not received with all applauses. Madiona’s equating competent non-native speakers with native speakers implies that all native speakers are competent users of English. It is not patently true. There are also objections to designating all native varieties as ‘major’ but established outer circle varieties such as Indian English as local. The difficulty in distinguishing between core and non-core varieties also has been pointed out (Jenkins, 2003, pp.21-3).

The more recent developments in English inspired scholars such as Tripathi (1998), Yano (2001) and Rajadurai (2005) put forth their own models. Tripathi (1998) is in favour of categorizing the third world nations as one independent group superseding the distinction of ESL and EFL. Yano (2001) proposes that the native speaker countries in Kachru’s inner circle be substituted with ‘genetic EIL’ and the outer circle with ‘functional EIL’. He highlights the linguistic reality that users of many outer circle varieties regard themselves as
native speakers who can not only use but also produce language. Rajadurai’s (2005) model focuses on code switching. She places in the inner circle all users of English who can “instinctively code switch between international and national or regional varieties to communicate in the most appropriate way” (p.10). This criterion applies both to the native and the non-native user of English and hence, democratic. The inner circle will expand as more users gain competence in this kind of code switching. The speakers who are proficient only in a regional variety are placed in the second circle. They have intra-national proficiency but are yet to gain international proficiency. The outer circle is made up of learners of English.

All the reconfigured circle models emphasise the imperativeness of being competently communicable on international platforms. They also show how the concept of EIL, though still a nebulous notion, is rapidly gaining in status. The custodianship of English is challenged. Genetic native speakerism has given way to communicative competence and proficiency, and thus, English belongs to its users in all the sense.

Having discussed the reasons for the global spread of English and the representation of English in terms of the theory of three circles, it is now time to discuss English in terms of varieties. The following section is a discussion of English as a native language.

1.4. English as a Native Language

‘English as a native language’ refers to the use of English as the first language. A first language is the language that one learns in his childhood from one’s parents and is spoken at home and in the community, one lives in. Regarding English, the countries that embraced the
language in the first diaspora are considered traditionally as native speaker countries. Britain, America, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada fall into this category.

Scotland is one among the originally Celtic speaking countries. Germanic dialects were used for communication only in the so-called low lands of Scotland. In the rest of the land, there emerged many local dialects, which are summarized as Scots. This dialect of English, which grew into a separate language called Scots, lost its dominance to Standard English due to various social and political reasons, though the spoken Scots survived. English is now the predominant language both in the Lowlands and in the High lands.

The history of English in Scotland is a fascinating one. The dramatic political changes were the major reason for the spread of English in Scotland. Picts, the original inhabitants of Scotland spoke a non Indo-European language. They gave up the Pictish language completely for old Irish after the Irish invaded them. Romans refer to the old Irish as Scoti. Eventually the Picts and the Scots emerged to become what Anglo Saxons called Scotia or Scotland. In the later years of expansion by King Malcolm II and Macbeth, the Anglo Saxon territory was brought under the hold of Scotland opening a window for the old English to come in. During the reign of David I (1124-53), attempts were made to modernize Scotland in English line, and this resulted in Old English gaining prestige in the land. Large number of Old English speakers from England fled to Scotland to escape the tyranny of William, the conqueror and the anarchism of his son-in-law Stephen. There was also large-scale Dutch, Flemish and Scandinavian immigration. As they spoke Germanic languages, it was easy for them to learn English. England and Scotland became politically united after King James VI of Scotland.
became King James 1 of England. This union of crowns and the later union of Parliaments in 1707 also promoted and strengthened the use of English.

At a certain point of time, there was the possibility of the Scottish language being standardized and becoming a separate standard language. However, this did not materialize due to several reasons. Firstly, the Scottish vernacular literature had very close affinity with the poetry of Chaucer, and thus, Scottish literature could not establish an identity of its own. Secondly, it did not become the language of education. In addition, there were no grammarians to standardize the Scottish language. The many books in Southern English that were very much in English also contributed to the blocking of this language. Yet another reason was the lack of a translation of the Bible in Scots. Literacy of the time was very much dependent on reading the Bible.

Historians and linguists differ in their opinions about the future of the Scottish language. Many take political developments like the establishment of a separate parliament in Edinburgh in 1999, the active interventions of the Scottish Nationalist Party, Promotion of creative writing in Scots in schools and universities and its existence as a healthy form of communication as signs of Scottish revival. However, the real future of Scots is to be waited and seen.

The spread of English in Wales was a very gradual one. The political bondage with England made the spread of English very imperative for all kinds of social progress. Historians talk of the anglicization of Wales as a very good example of linguistic colonialism. The very little influence of Welsh in Southern Pembroke and the Gower Peninsula indicates that they were
anglicized much early. This began with the Flemish settlement established by Henry I in 1108. As in the case of many other countries, trade and commerce played a vital role in Wales also. The island was socially divided into the wealthy and influential English speaking towns and the poor rural Welsh speaking masses. Speakers of Welsh were excluded from the Royal Burghs set up in North Wales. Tudors who wanted to unite the kingdom also promoted English education. The Acts of Union (1536 and 1642) made English the only official language and excluded non-English speakers from any position under the crown. Thus, English became necessary to prosper in Elizabethan Britain. The supporters of the crown learned English and became bilingual. Those working in the Inns of Court educated their children in English and Latin. In the eastern part, church services were held in English. The translation of the Bible into Welsh gave it the impression of a language of religion to be separated from political uses. Industrialization and the Education Act of 1881 also accelerated the anglicization of the island. Industrialization meant more labourers coming from the South East with English. Thus, the anglicization of Wales had a lot to do with political, religious and social changes and was imperialistic in nature.

There are Welsh language societies actively trying to rebuild the Welsh national spirit. “But again as in the case of Scots in Scotland, it will be the speakers and the desire to keep the language alive as a first language, that hold the key” (Fennel, 2001, p.197).

Ireland did not become a part of the UK until 1801. The sea that separated Ireland from other British isles made the Irish situation quite different from other Celtic countries. Until 1801, Irish was the only language spoken and written by 90 percent of the population. Historically
speaking, the spread of English in Ireland took place over three different periods-the Anglo Norman period, in the 17th and 18th centuries and in 1801.

In the Anglo Norman period, Henry II landed his troops in Ireland and tried to impose English upon the Irish through his statutes. The English colonized Ireland in the 17th and the 18th centuries through many plantations. Despite the resistance, the English landlords established themselves, and English became dominant in towns and cities. The Irish ruling classes started learning English. There were many English speaking Irish in the Irish independence movement. The third phase of English spread started in 1801 when Ireland became a part of the UK. Inability to speak English acted a barrier to progress, and hence the Irish children started attending English schools. The twentieth century writers like J.P. Synge, Sean O’Casey, W.B. Yeats and Samuel Beckett also contributed to the growth and spread of English. The Easter uprising and the later attempts to revive and re-establish Irish did not succeed. English had deepened its roots in Ireland.

How English reached America, spread there and later started affecting a revitalizing and invigorating influence, as some would call it, on British English and evolved into one of the leading varieties due to varied reasons such as political dominance and economic superiority is well authenticated in history. Historians mark the three periods of American English as the Colonial period (1607-1776), the National period (1776-1889) and the International period (1898-present).

The discovery of the New World and the later settlement of British colonies, the gaining of political independence followed by cultural independence were the ways through which the
linguistic entity of American English emerged. Distance enhances differences. When people
do not talk with each other for a long time, there will be differences in the way they speak.
The Atlantic Ocean separated the colonists geographically from the motherland, giving them
chances to develop their own talk. They also remained unaware of the many changes taking
place in British English. That is why many of the archaisms like ‘gotten’, ‘fall’, ‘aim to’ and
‘faucet’ remained in active use in American English. Varied ways of life and influences from
other languages including those of the native Indians and the immigrants also caused the
evolution of American English in different directions. The political and cultural independence
of the colonists demanded a different linguistic identity as well. This was also needed as a
unifying thread for the country. Noah Webster recognized these needs and provided the
nation with dictionaries and textbooks. The American models were thus, recorded and taught
in American schools. Ever since, American English has exercised its influence on other
varieties through their commercial, cinematic and technological dominance.

American English differs from British English in vocabulary, phrasing, structure and
pronunciation. There are striking contrasts in the shades of meanings of many words.
However, as Wrenn (1987) observes “It is too soon to say whether these divergent
developments will later produce two distinct languages, whether they will draw nearer
together with the increased freedom of intercourse, or whether ( as some Americans are
inclined to think) American English will absorb that of Britain”(p.191).

As in the case of many other countries, the spread of English in Canada is also connected
with the British imperial expansion. Canada was claimed by both the French and the English.
They competed with each other for domination and the final victory fell on the British side.
Following the Queen Anne’s war (1702-13) and the French and Indian war (1754-63), the French had to succumb to the British in Canada. Many French speakers were deported, and they were replaced by settlers from New England, Ireland, England and Scotland. The American supporters of Britain also found a safe land in Canada and fled the newly formed independent United States. The availability of cheap land also attracted many new settlers. The ‘Westward Movement’ of the new settlers took English up to the Pacific Coast while French largely remained in the East. English pushed aside the native languages and predominated as the language of the society. It was also the language of literacy.

The story of English in Australia started with Captain Cook’s discovery of the island and the British settlement of penal colonies in 1790. In order to empty the overcrowded jails, Britain sent prisoners to Australia in large numbers. By the mid 19th century Britain had sent over 130,000 speakers of English, though prisoners, to Australia. The population of Australia along with the number of English speakers grew steadily. Most of the immigrants were from Britain and Ireland, and this is suggested as the reason for the homogeneity of Australian English. Though the immigrants borrowed certain lexical items from the aborigines, they could not influence the distinctive nature of the immigrant language. English also became the language of literacy, as there was no literacy prior to the arrival of the immigrants. Later, Australian English, with some strong influence of American English, developed its own features. It has come into its own, and there is even an Australian National Dictionary. The post-World War II immigrants from other non-native countries led to the development of some ethnical varieties of Australian English.
New Zealand has a very different tale with regard to the spread of English there. For one thing, the colonization and Anglicization of New Zealand was a slow process. Moreover, the European settlement started with the coming of whalers and traders and later the missionaries to New Zealand. As in the case of Australia, here also literacy came through the colonizers and through English. Many native Maori words were adopted into English as well. New Zealanders are sympathetic to Britain and antipathic to American English and culture.

The Dutch had made their presence in South Africa much before the arrival of the British. True British settlement began in 1820 when 5000 English men were given land on the Easter Cape. The establishment of gold mines attracted more immigrants, and by 1822, English was announced as the official language much to the discontent of the Afrikaans-speaking population. The influx of European immigrants continued, and by the end of the 19th century the number rose to half a million, and most of them spoke English. However, the Afrikaans speakers formed the majority of the population. Even in 1996 only eight per cent of the total population spoke English. However, as English became the language of modernization and opportunities many including the Afrikaners turned to English for economic reasons. There are, as per the South African constitution, eleven official languages in South Africa today. This extreme complex situation like in the case of India has led to the use of English as a lingua franca on the land. The continuum of dialects ranges from the English of the British settlers to the English of the later Asian immigrants. The Afrikaans-speaking and the Black South Africans developed their own varieties:

Besides the South African English, which can be recognized easily (coined so much by Afrikaans) in the Republic of South Africa (Republic van Suid-Africa), other kinds of English are heard: the English of the Indian population,
remarkable by Indian English features, the English of the Afrikaaners, who speak it as good as they can, and the English of the black nations, coined by the (mostly) Bantu influence ("Varieties of English around the World", n.d., para 3).

English is the dominant language in the above-mentioned countries. However, English needs to be viewed in a multilingual framework here. That is to say, English is not the first language of all the citizens of these countries nor is it the only language within their borders. As Phillipson (1992) observes, the advance and the dominance of English have inevitably been at the expense of other languages (p.17). English had to push aside the Celtic languages before gaining dominance over the British Isles. However, well-chalked out programmes arrest the death of many of these languages. Welsh is actively used in schools and universities in Wales. Literary works still come out in Welsh indicative of the fact that it is not yet a dead language. Though English is the most widespread language, it is difficult to find a monolingual speaker there. Twenty per cent of the population still uses Cymric, the language of Wales, actively. As Crystal (2001) points out, now it has two Language Acts to protect it, and a Welsh TV channel. There has been an upturn in the number of speakers. Though it was on its way out, there has been a turnaround (p.7). As regards Ireland, it was not easy for the Catholic Ireland to embrace the Protestant English of Henry VIII (Fennel, 2001, p.198). However, it could not withstand the onslaught for a long time. Ireland is certainly an English speaking land today and a part of the European Union.

Multilingualism and the encouragement of indigenous minority languages are not the case only of Britain. According to the 1980 census, more than twenty three million Americans
spoke languages other than English in their homes, there are eight million children of school age living in minority language families. The other languages in America include Spanish, Chinese, Vietnamese, Hindi, Arabic, etc. (King and Vallejo, 1986. as cited in Phillipson, 1992, p.21). Though the British won over the French in their fight for Canada and deported many French speakers, French survived in the East. Like in Wales, there have been heroic struggles for the rights of the minority language speakers in Canada. As Phillipson (1992) observes, defying the might of English involved a protracted struggle, with loss of life on occasion, before the dominant group would concede language rights to the dominated group (p.18). Canada today is considered a bilingual country with both English and French. Both Maori and English are official languages in New Zealand. The national language policy of New Zealand allows the citizens to have access to both the languages irrespective of their linguistic origin. The considerable presence of immigrants also adds to the multicultural, multilingual atmosphere of all these countries. The hegemony of English is disputed and there is certainly a greater tolerance of other languages and language services. The monolingual western norm is not accepted uncritically and multiplicity of languages is not taken as a nuisance or as a necessary condition for modernization. Most of the European Union members think it false to regard the promotion of minority languages as presenting an obstacle to national language. As Crystal (2001) opines bilingualism should not be a matter of confrontation. He points to the fact that three quarters of the world are naturally bilingual. He believes that it is perfectly possible to maintain the role of a standard language as a lingua franca and at the same time, maintain local languages- the standard guarantees intelligibility and the local expresses identity. He envisages an ideal world in which everyone would be bilingual, with the two languages used for different purposes. He gives his own example of being a native speaker of Welsh but using English on international platforms (pp.4-5).
The concepts of native speaker and non-native speaker have not remained the same all through. Holliday (2005), for example, looks at this as a pervasive ideology with culturist perceptions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ or the native and the non-native. He refuses to cope with the European polemic myth of the foreign ‘other’ and the unproblematic ‘self’. Native speakerism, according to Holliday, is a divisive idea between the English-speaking west and the rest of the world. It creates an ‘othering’ of students and colleagues in the field of English Language Teaching (ELT). It negatively and confusingly labels what are in effect non-native speaker cultures as dependent, hierarchical, passive, docile, lacking in, collectivist, reticent, indirect, undemocratic, reluctant to challenge authority, easily dominated, traditional, uncritical and unthinking. It also labels the non-native speaker students and teachers as uncritical, static, rigid, with a fixed view of knowledge, intellectually interdependent, wishing to preserve knowledge, good at memorizing, unable to make decisions, preferring frontal teaching, exam oriented and as those who need to be trained, treated sensitively, understood, involved, given ownership, and empowered (pp.19-20). The attempt is to reinforce the status of norm providers and knowledge producers and thus, maintain the Robinson Crusoe-Man Friday or the Prospero-Calliban relationship. Western culture is represented as the spring source of both English language pedagogy, and all others as irrelevant and even harmful. All the ELT training programmes like Cambridge CELTA and TESOL emphasize the need to unlearn all the previously learned and practised methods. They want a tabula rasa of non-native minds on which they can etch their ‘modern’ ‘independent’ and ‘genuine’ teacher student interactive methods of ELT. Holliday (2005) opposes this prejudiced attribution of all virtues to the native and all vices to the non-native. He proposes a non-essentialist view that
struggles to avoid the political chauvinism of native speakerism and questions the positioning of the non-native speaker within imagined cultural blocks (p.23).

The development of global English has brought in sea changes in the traditional concept of English as a native language. Approximation to native accent and style is fading in the contexts of the global spread of English and the rise of varieties. As it is, the native speaker countries themselves fail to present a uniform standard. Moreover, interactions in English take place more among non-native speakers than between natives and non-natives. As Graddol (2006) observes, native speaker accents are often far remote from the people that the learners expect to communicate with (p.114). Mimicking native speaker accent and tongue is considered pompous and artificial today. Attitudes and approaches to English have become more liberal and democratic. No one has absolute claim over English at present. A lot of people use English as their first language. Middle class families in the Indian metro cities and in Singapore use English at home. Most Singaporeans are of Chinese and Indian origin with Chinese Malay and Tamil as their mother tongues. However, they can speak only one fluent language, which is English. Though English is only one of the official languages in Singapore, it is basically the only functioning official language. The traditional concept of English as the language of only the white men living in the UK, the USA, Australia, Canada and New Zealand does not hold water any more. Countries like Singapore, Nigeria and India may not be in the western official list of native speaker countries, but Singaporeans, many Indians and Nigerians are as comfortable with English as they are with Chinese, Tamil or Swahili. The question of native speakerism does not bother them.
The circle of the users of English as the first language is widening. As Aitkin (1973) suggests, from the sociolinguistic point of view a native speaker can appropriately be defined as someone who regards the standard language as his/her mother tongue (as cited in Davies, 2003, p.84). Davies considers the common speakers of the standard language, as both being native speakers of it and of being as it were equivalent native speakers (p.84). What, then, is a standard language? It is defined as a particular dialect of a language that has been given legal status. It is considered the most correct language of a speech community. This version of the language is taught to the learners of the language and most texts are written following its spelling and grammar rules. Though other versions of the language may be used in literature to represent varying local identities, dictionaries and important texts related to religion, law, constitution etc. are written in this version of the language. It is the responsibility of a native speaker to uphold the norms of the standard language. “Native speakers represent standard languages: it is the standard language they are native speakers of” (Davies, 2003, p.197). Davies also comments that native speaker attainment is achievable in the target language. When learners are accorded the status of prestige speakers of the language, it leads to an alternative standard. It is his conviction that there is a continuum between non-native speaker and native speaker. According to Davies (2003), we need a native speaker, though a fine myth, as a model, a goal, an inspiration, but never as a measure. For language teaching learning purposes, what is crucial is the description of adequate partial proficiencies (p.197). To use his own analogy “...the native speaker remains like the unicorn, inspirational but always a mirage as we get near” (p. 85).

Yet another noteworthy point about English as a native language is that the percentage of the global population that grew up using only English as the first language is declining. On the
other hand, the number of people who use more than one language as their first language is increasing. As Lovgren (2004) observes, English has become one of those languages (p.1). Studies done by Graddol (2006) on the future of English also shares the same view.

As discussed earlier, English is not a matter of concern only for the traditional native speaker countries. People in all continents use English with varying proficiencies for various purposes. It is now appropriate to look at the status and role of English in those countries usually known as non-native English speaking countries.

1.5. English as a Non-native Language

As a non-native language, English is viewed in two dimensions: English as Second language speaker countries (ESL countries) and English as Foreign Language speaker countries (EFL countries). All the countries where English is not a native language, together are labelled as non-native English speaker countries or periphery English speaker countries. The important regions in this category are the South East Asian countries, the South Pacific countries, West Africa and East Africa.

The spread of English in South East Asia is a direct result of the colonial rule in the subcontinent. With the establishment of the British Raj, English developed into a medium of control. Macaulay who was asked to advise the government on the best language policy came out with his educational Minutes. He advised the government to create an English based subculture based on the English language. The British wanted “…a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, a class of persons Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste …” (as cited in Thirumalai, 2003, p.40). English being the
language of power, those who knew the language had greater access to the corridors of power. With the above-mentioned purpose, the British started universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and made English the medium of instruction. English remained and still remains an official language and one of the media of instruction in the postcolonial India as well. All schools in India follow a tri-language policy where English is a compulsory subject of study. English also bears a great importance in the media. In fact, India is the third largest publisher of books in English. Every TV channel, be it national or regional, has programmes and news bulletins in English. A speaker of English is still considered elite to the discontent of many who call it a colonial hangover. With 40 million users of English, South East Asia is today the third largest English speaking area next only to the USA and the UK. English has become a political issue in India. Many politicians battling for the *Swadeshi* Movement want English to be thrown out of the country. However, that is not a pan Indian perspective. English is an official language in Pakistan. Nevertheless, in the other areas of South Asia, such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Bhutan, it is used internationally as a lingua franca.

The presence of English was felt in West Africa from the 15th century onwards. The increase in trade and the antislavery movement along with the missionary activities and the spread of literacy gave English a strong footing in the region. Many Englishes emerged based on creoles and pidgins. Today the British variety of English is an official language in the territories of Sierra Leone, Ghana, the Gambia, Nigeria, Cameroon and Liberia.

In the East African states of Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe English is an official language. Unlike the West African territories where pidgin and Creole
Englishes exist, in the East African states Swahili is a major presence. All the above-mentioned states also have stories of British colonialism, missionary work and the spread of literacy to talk about in the context of the spread of English. Many white English men settled in East Africa and continued their stay even after the states gained independence. Many white Africans are thus born here. “The varieties of mother tongue English that developed in East Africa are therefore more similar in character to those in South Africa, Australia and New Zealand”(Fennel, 2001, p.253). The schools operate on the British model, and as an official language, English is used in education.

With nearly 70 million people using English, The Philippines is the largest user of English in the south pacific region. The Philippines and many other Pacific islands fell under the influence of America after World War II. This American influence has strongly remained even after its independence in 1946. The British influence in the region dates back to the end of the 18th century with Captain James Cook of Yorkshire sailing to the region in the 1770s. Though Christianity has been present in the Philippines since the sixteenth century, missionaries started moving to the south Pacific only during the 1830s. Literacy came to the region with the immigrant missionaries and colonists. Singapore, The Federal Malay States and Papua New Guinea all came under the British colonists, and English became a rapidly influential language in the region. The British education system brought standard English to this region. Bilingual education system was introduced in Singapore in the 1950s. English has been widely used in Singapore not only in the press, in government offices and law but also within families. On becoming independent in 1957, Malaysia adopted Bahasa Malasia as their national language, and Malay medium education was introduced. English was treated mostly as a foreign language. However, English is a compulsory subject in Malay schools,
and knowledge of English is considered prestigious. In Hong Kong English was associated with the government, the military, law, business and media. English and Chinese have equal official status. Though it was returned to the Chinese in 1997, the use of English is undoubtedly to flourish considering the importance China gives to English today. Papua New Guinea was frequented by the British sailors from 1793. It became British Protectorate in 1884, and was mandated to Australia in 1920. However, the variety of English used here is more British than Australian. Nearly half the population speaks Tok Pisin, an English based Creole, as a second language and some as their first language.

In ESL and EFL countries, English is not a native language. However, in ESL countries it is one of the dominant languages. ESL countries use English in different areas. It is often their medium of instruction in higher education. It is used as an official language in law courts, offices and government bodies. It is also a lingua franca internally. It serves many purposes that a strong dominant local language would serve. EFL countries depend on English mostly for external communication. They also learn it to read books in English. They look at English as a library language, and greater focus is given on reading in schools and colleges.

English plays a social stratification role in the periphery countries. It occupies the highest position in the ladder. English speakers are considered elite, and the ability to speak English is viewed as a sign of education and scholarship. Though the emergence of national identities has marred the situation, there was a time when any association with English and English culture was a matter of pride and prestige. This happened, as Said (1978) points out, through the invasion of the local culture through English language and literature, “ In the system of education designed for India, students were taught not only English literature but also the
inherent superiority of the English race” (as cited in Dasgupta, 2008, p. 225). The colonized would masquerade in his own native land as an Englishman. This acceptance of the master’s superiority is manifest in different ways even today in many former colonies. In most Middle East countries, college teachers are forced to wear neckties and shoes even in blistering summer - a blind attempt to be like the master. There also exists a diglossic or triglossic situation, with English still being used in high status activities, a dominant local language for less prestigious activities and local languages for other purposes (Phillipson, 1992, p.27).

English does not have the same status and role in all parts of a non-native country. For example, India is an ESL country. Nevertheless, the amount of exposure to English children in cities enjoy is not the same as that the village children get. Some children, in ESL and EFL countries, get an exposure very close to the L1 situation. However, even in ESL countries many children have an EFL situation with regard to English. This has great implications in preparing the syllabus and in adopting teaching methodologies and approaches.

The goal of teaching English in the non-native countries used to be acquiring native proficiency. However, with greater indigenization and institutionalization of English taking place, there has been a shift from native norms and the blind mimicking of the native speaker. In fact, the missionaries and others involved in teaching English had recognized decades ago that a perfect duplication of the native speaker’s language is neither possible nor desirable (Thirumalai, 2003, p.23). India and West Africa are already developing their own norms.

The non-native English is not the same everywhere. Cultural differences of the lands have affected and modified English, and they have become varieties. As Moag (1996) observes,
these varieties have grown up in recent times as second languages in the former multilingual colonies of Great Britain. Thus, they are also known as ‘New Englishes’ and ‘Third World Englishes’. He also points out the exceptional case of Caribbean English where the term non-native does not apply, since the vernacular variety, Creole, is also English (p.233).

Moag (1996) also talks of four stages of evolution in the life cycle of non-native Englishes. In the first stage, English is transported to a new land where it is alien to its people. As discussed earlier, this has happened mostly because of colonial occupations. The colonial administration necessitated contacts with the locals, though in a limited number. As the visitors succeeded in establishing their dominance, the locals were expected to learn their language. The clerks, trained and retained to assist the colonial administration, learned English. In addition to the colonizers, the missionaries who came to these lands taught English to their house servants. However, this was never a one sided one as most colonial administrators also tried to learn the language of the locals. In the following processes, it is indigenized to suit the local cultural needs. Further, it expands in use and function, and institutionalizes before becoming a variety (pp.234-41).

There are many standard and standardizing varieties of English in the world now. The following session looks at how linguists and scholars look at these varieties.

1.6. Attitudes to Varieties

As discussed above, though English has reached every nook and corner of the world, the fact remains that the Englishes used around the world are not the same. There are marked differences even among the inner circle countries where English is the first language. A variety of Englishes also exists in multilingual countries such as India and Singapore. These
varieties of English differ from one another in terms of lexis, grammar, pronunciation and in certain expressions. The same word can have different meanings and connotations in different countries. However, as Jenkins (2003) observes, “these Englishes have much in common, through their shared history and their affinity with either British or American English. But there is also much that is unique to each variety, particularly in terms of their accents, but also in their idiomatic uses of vocabulary, their grammars and their discourse strategies” (p.8).

In fact, English itself is not viewed the same way around the world and even within individual countries. English, even while actively in use, is vehemently opposed by certain segments of the society. To take the example of India, Nehru and Gandhi had contrasting views on English. Gandhi was of the opinion that the very presence of English in India would be retention of the British colonialism. He believed that English would dampen the Indian spirit and would adversely affect the moulding of national identity. Hence, he wanted the colonial language of the master to be done away with. However, leaders such as Nehru and Raja Ram Mohan Roy had positive views on English. Even before independence, Mohan Roy had appealed to the British government to start English schools in India. Nehru also took it as an imperative factor for the acquisition of the necessary skills and knowledge in economic and scientific sectors (Thirumalai, 2003, pp.60-6).

The focus in the session is on the attitudes towards varieties of English. The Oxford Dictionary of English defines attitude as a way of thinking about something or somebody or behaving towards something or somebody. By implication, attitude determines a person’s choice or acceptance of a particular variety of English or any other language. As Gardner
(1985) says attitude includes cognitive, affective and conative components and consists, in broad terms, of an underlying psychological predisposition to act or to influence behaviour in a certain way. Attitude is thus linked to a person’s values and beliefs and promotes or discourages the choices made in all realms of activity, whether academic or informal (as cited in Padwick, 2010, p.16).

Attitudes towards varieties of English, both native and non-native, are varied. One group denigrates them whereas the other valorizes them. The very terms Englishes, World Englishes, New Englishes, etc. imply that English is not a monolith but a group of varieties. However, as Patil (2008) points out, there are linguists and scholars who view English prescriptively. A prescriptive approach always connotes some sort of hierarchy. But, when we adopt a descriptive point of view, we imply that all the varieties have equal status (p.29). It is this prescriptive approach to English that Phillipson (1992) calls linguistic imperialism or linguistic hegemony.

Even native varieties are not spared by this denigrating attitude of the prescriptivists. For example, the Welsh or the Scottish varieties of English are not treated on a par with the Southerner’s English in Britain. Thomas (2004) highlights that there are negative reactions towards what are labelled nonstandard varieties of English in Britain or towards African American vernacular language usage in the US (as cited in Padwick, 2010, p.17). Padwick also points out that there are many instances when a particular variety is stigmatized and thought to be inferior to another variety (ibid.p.17). Kachru (2005) gives the example of James Kelman to highlight this discriminating treatment by native varieties. Kelman who received the prestigious Booker Prize in 1994 had to encounter the same attitude that Asians
and Africans have traditionally encountered. His novel was called a ‘disgrace’ by one of the judges, Rabbi Julia Neuberger, and ‘literary vandalism’ by Simon Jenkins (p.22). Kelman in his heavy Scottish accent retaliated saying that to him those words (disgrace and literary vandalism) were just another way of inferiorizing the language by indicating that there was a standard. He said, “The dictionary would use the term ‘debased’. But it’s the language! The living language to accept the criticism of and it comes out of many different sources, including Scotland before the English arrived” (as cited in Kachru, 2005, p.23). Kelman refused the language of his work as ‘vernacular’ or ‘dialect’. Kachru gives two more examples to this effect. He quotes the words of Mencken, the great pandit of the American language to show the British attitude to American English. Kachru (2005) says that it is summarized well in the following words of Mencken (1936), “This occasional tolerance of things American was never extended to the American language” (p.23). The second example is a more recent one. It shows that the British negative attitude towards American English persists. Prince Charles views American English as ‘corrupting’ and the English version as the ‘proper’ one. He urges the British Council to ensure that the English English maintains its position as the world language (ibid. p.23). Britain would not like to see the hen that lays golden eggs killed or even sidelined. For the show to go on, the hegemony should continue.

The intolerance of one native variety towards other varieties was also extended to the non-native varieties. The native speakers of the English language refused to accept the innovative deviations in the non-native varieties necessitated by the contextual dislocation of English. As Kachru (1996) rightly observes, “the native speaker’s attitude toward the development and the institutionalization of varieties has traditionally not been one of acceptance or ontological recognition” (p.59). However, he points out that there has been a new attitude of
linguistic tolerance since World War II. He exemplifies this with the increased acceptance and recognition given to commonwealth literature and the acceptance of the linguistic and functional distinctiveness of the institutionalized non-native varieties (ibid. p.60). This newly gained acceptance is likely to increase with the revived economic and political dominance of the erstwhile colonies.

Non-native speakers are also not unanimous in their attitude towards the indigenized varieties. While some are continually on the battle for the recognition of their varieties, some others condemn their own varieties. Patil (2008) thinks that this self-nullifying attitude of the non-native speakers toward their own varieties is one of the factors nourishing and perpetuating the hegemony of the native speakers (p.29). The Asian employers’ cry for native English language teachers is another instance of the approval of the superiority of the native varieties and the deficiency of their own nativized varieties. Many Asian educational institutions insist on good grades in TOEFL or IELTS to continue studies in their own Asian institutions. The Ministry of Manpower in Oman, for example, has made TOEFL compulsory for all the students who study at colleges of technology. The grades in TOEFL decide the future course of their studies. Teachers also contribute to the devaluation of the non-native varieties. They speak their own varieties but expect their students to speak American or British varieties. Ironically, they also assume their varieties to be native varieties. Patil (2008) rightly observes how even decades after independence Indian English suffers under the yoke of Received Pronunciation. He calls Asian teachers of English schizophrenics who unrealistically expect their students to speak American or British varieties of English (p.30). This resistance to one’s own nativized variety was also observed in Singapore. McKay (2002) talks of how the use of Singlish on a local Singaporean television programme led to
controversy. Many Singaporeans urged the authorities to intervene and regulate the use of Singlish lest the Singaporean children should be exposed to ‘bad English’ (p.55).

Some scholars have even taken the extreme step of saying that the non-native varieties will never gain international acceptance. Nemade (1985), for example, names Indian English a temporary and rootless phenomenon, as it contains no magnificence (p.31). He views attempts in Indian writings as mere parrotry (p.33) and mimicry (p.36). He goes further to say that no Indian writer can be a successful writer in English because English cannot represent his national culture and language (p.36). His argument is that an Indian writer can express himself honestly only in his regional language. Any attempt in a foreign medium can only be suppressive of his natural talent (p.33). Patke (1986) who believes that English is not the language of the intellectual and emotional make up of an Indian (p.33) also supports him.

However, this contempt of the non-native varieties is only one side of the story. Many writers and scholars are enthusiastic about these varieties. Kachru (2005) argues for a greater linguistic tolerance and asks why the diaspora varieties of English should not be considered as functionally viable parts of our linguistic and cultural heritages (p.11). Raja Rao (1971) is all for the domesticated use of English as he says in the forward of his Kanthapura. His argument is not just that we cannot write like the English but we should not. He is optimistic that the Indian variety of English will one day be as prominent and distinctive as the Irish or the American. History has proved his words prophetic. Patil (1994), in this context rightly comments that the British now have become the importers of their own language in a modified (Indian) form (p.23). His reference is to the Indian teachers and the publications in Britain. The more recent mushrooming of call centres in various parts of the country has also
increased the load of this linguistic import. Thakur (2008) justifies the Indian features in Indian English as the result of Indian sociosemantic space that the people of India share. The native varieties are different because they have yet another sociosemantic space particular to the West. He argues that Indian English should be studied and recognized in the context of the Indian sociosemantic conventions. He suggests that the Indian variety can be named Hinglish or Indlish (p.202). Many native linguists also have written in favour of the Indian variety. The Assistant General of British Council declared Indian English to be the most wide spread dialect on earth (King, 1980, p.3). Quirk (1985) looks upon it as a self-respecting and established variety of English (p.51).

Attitudes do not remain the same. Unlike in the early years of English education in India when the model was the native accent and style, there is now a slide towards the indigenous variety. This can be due to consciousness about national identity and pride in the wake of the economic emergence in the country. The status of Indians as globally employable and the various achievements in the fields of English literature have also certainly contributed to this shift. Researches conducted by Kachru in 1979, in 1994, and by Shaw in 1981 clearly indicate the swing towards endocentric varieties. These studies reveal that the majority of the educated Indian speakers of English prefer to use their own unique variety (as cited in Padwick, 2010, pp.24-6). Padwick’s research done in 2009 also shows that the acceptance of Indian English among the Indians is increasing over time. The recent revision of the NCERT (The National council of Educational Research and Training) curriculum framework is a clear evidence of this. They write:

There is substantial evidence available now to show that Indian English as used by fluent educated Indian speakers does not differ in any significant way
from standard varieties of English in the UK or the USA. There is no doubt that there are significant differences at the phonological and lexical levels. But that is also true of British and American English within those countries. Indian English can be considered a distinct variety with an identity and status of its own and should serve as a model in teaching learning situation (NSF 2005, NCERT, as cited in Padwick, 2010, pp.27-8).

1.7. Conclusion

English is everywhere in an unprecedented way. It is the first language to some, a second language to many and a foreign language to yet many others. No other language has spread and stayed on the global stage like English. There have been historical, political, scientific and economic reasons behind this global diffusion. The name English has given way to names such as ‘Englishes, ‘International English’, ‘Global English’ and ‘New Englishes’. The spread of English has sprouted many new issues such as the ownership of English, acceptance of varieties, linguistic imperialism, cultural hegemony, native speaker -non-native speaker division, cultural appropriateness of learning materials etc. The prescriptive principles of language are challenged. Attitudes towards English in general and varieties in particular are changing. English is no more viewed as a colonial imposition. Rather, English medium schools have become the choice of every parent aspiring for better education for their children. Many parents do not send their children to English medium schools only because they cannot afford to do so. People strive for admissions in English medium schools even in the slums of Mumbai. They view English as a panacea for all their ill-fated sufferings. The present situation, especially in the background of globalization, demands greater accommodation of varieties and cultures. The rise of new economic centres and the
dependence of the corporate multinationals on call centres are bringing in new equations. English has stayed with us for long and observing the present scenario one can predict that it will continue to be so as an adopted child nurtured in the cultural background of the new family.

The next chapter is a discussion of how the globally spread English is used in different regions to suit their cultural and linguistic needs and how that has led to nativization of the language in various ways.