Teaching English in a European and Global Perspective

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By

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

AmE   Standard American English

BrE   Standard British English

EFL   English as a foreign language

EIL   English as an international language

ELF   English as a lingua franca

ELT   English language teaching

ESL   English as a second language

L1   L1 is a person's first language, learned in early childhood. L2 is an additional language, which can either be used as a second or foreign language. A bilingual can have two languages which function as an L1. Additional languages can be designated as, for example, L3, and L4, etc.

NNS   Non-native speaker

NS   Native speaker

RP   Received Pronunciation

PREFACE

We can no longer perceive the teaching and learning of the English language in formal educational settings as something which can be solely based on the idealized speech of native speakers. A call is being made for educators to present the English language in a broader perspective. In this respect, the role the language plays in the world at large among non-native speakers is now something we consider relevant to language learning. This requires not only greater understanding of that which distinguishes non-native speech communities, but also an awareness of how the English language impacts on the pupils and students in the classroom, those who are the recipients of the instruction. In schools throughout the world it is becoming increasing illogical to perceive the learning environment as a monocultural space where the beneficiaries of the instruction share the same mother tongue, or the same religion, or the same nationality, or have similar ethnic and cultural heritages. For that matter, for an increasing number of people, it is no longer viable to assume that assimilation into a monocultural social order is a desired goal. We must also keep in mind that the development of a pedagogy for teaching and learning in multicultural settings is not something easily carried out. On the contrary, understanding and acceptance of shifts in educational theory, from entertaining "a myth of assumed sameness" to recognition and perhaps even celebration of multiculturalism, is a challenging endeavor, and unfortunately, what we often see, where attempts have been made to support awareness of diversity in the teaching and learning of languages of wider communication such as English,[1] is the reinforcement of stereotypes. Such initiatives are counterproductive and undermine the movement to promote acceptance of the multiplicities which exist in classrooms throughout the world.

What is presented in this book is an attempt to map out a strategy for the teaching and learning of languages of wider communication that embraces a more inclusive take on diversity, where the heritages of everyone who uses the language, as well as those who participate in teaching and learning, are acknowledged and respected. It is an attempt to construct a critical language teaching paradigm. When discussing the English language, and the way people use English to communicate across cultures, we have for far too long perceived such interaction as taking place within an Anglo-American mindset. Recognizing the supposed superiority of the grammar and pronunciation norms of standard English, as this illusive

concept has been promoted for quite some time, supports the preservation of a hierarchy wherein native speakers in primarily Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the Republic of Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America are seen as models of correctness, with an often unspoken and sometimes overtly promoted understanding that all other manifestations of the language are justifiably stigmatized. Now, with hundreds of millions of non-native speakers throughout the world using English proficiently, it is becoming increasing difficult to defend such beliefs. The liberation of the non-native speaker, instigated by Braj Kachru and following his lead, by an army of linguists who in the past thirty years or so have made important contributions to Kachruvian sociolinguistics, is coming full circle, and as such, the use of English among proficient non-native speakers, like the English spoken by native speakers, is now perceived as being relevant when teaching learners to effectively use the English language in their interactions with others. This awareness is fast becoming evident in language education, and consequently, the old regime, those who unquestionably support the supremacy of the speech of idealized native-speakers, and in so doing refuse to acknowledge the role the English of non-native speakers can play in the larger scheme of things, have become decidedly out of fashion. Instead, what we now have is this diversity, something which I propose to present in these pages in a manner which will assist practitioners in their efforts to celebrate the spirit of multiculturalism in their teaching practices, and in so doing, better prepare learners to use English in the world at large.

For more than seventy-five years English has experienced unprecedented growth as a language of wider communication. Indeed, it was apparent by the end of the 19th century that a handful of nations where English was the majority language were collectively capable of wielding a great deal of cultural, economic, military, and technological power, and this became even more evident in the second half of the 20th century. While economic domination may be coming to an end with the growth of a host of emerging economies, the native English-speaking peoples are nevertheless world leaders in many respects, and this will certainly continue to be the case for some time to come. The outcome of World War Two, with Britain and the USA perceived to be the leaders of the new world order, the upswing in the growth of the language throughout the Commonwealth, as well as the rise of English in Africa, Asia and Europe, has secured for English its undisputed place as the foremost global lingua franca.

English is in fact unique among the world's languages in several respects. No other language has nearly as many non-native speakers, is the majority language in so many prosperous nations, is an important second language in so many developing countries or has attained hegemony in so

many important human endeavors. English, whose native speakers own intellectual properties on a monumental scale, has achieved a dominant position in aviation, business, computer science, diplomacy, education at the tertiary level, entertainment (the stage, film, television, radio, and popular music), high technology, the Internet, scientific research, and sports. In all, more than 350 million people have English as their native tongue. At least an equal number of non-native speakers use English on a regular basis in their own countries where English has taken on the role of a lingua franca (speakers of English as a second language [ESL]). There are also hundreds of millions of competent speakers who use English as a foreign language (EFL) to communicate with people from other nation states, by some accounts, in numbers equal to those who have English as a native language and as a second language combined. Thus, it is possible to claim that there are, by conservative estimates, more than one billion speakers of the language who are capable of using English, and here we do not mean basic levels of communication. If one were to attempt to approximate how many people worldwide have some knowledge of the language which can be useful in cross-cultural exchanges, the number could very well be more than one and a half billion. Hundreds of millions of people have not achieved levels of competency which allow them to hold lengthy conversations in English but are nevertheless capable of carrying out basic exchanges. It must be kept in mind, moreover, that unlike all of the other languages of wider communication, English is commonly recognized and used throughout the world. There are no longer nation states which do not have within their borders people who can accommodate visitors in and through the English medium.

        In this volume the global dissemination of the English language is scrutinized from a number of different vantage points. The diversity of the lexical registers of various English speaking communities is more thoroughly investigated, and mention is made as well of the differences found in grammar and pronunciation. The primary focus, however, is the teaching and learning of English in classrooms where learners have divergent backgrounds. This take on diversity not only encompasses fundamental forms of differentiation such as class, ethnicity, nationality, native tongue, and religion, it aspires to take into consideration all forms of difference, such as gender, identification with subcultures, abilities, ideological orientation, and so on. Before multicultural educational theory and methodology can be better understood, however, some background information on the evolution of the English language is in order. Thus, in the first chapter, there is discussion of the origins of the English language in England, as well as the spread of English across the British Isles. This is

followed by a brief description of how English was brought to North America, Australia, and New Zealand, and beyond this initial wave of emigration of English-speaking peoples, how English became an important second language in many parts of the Commonwealth, as well as a foreign language of unprecedented importance across much of Africa, Asia, Europe, and to some extent, Latin America.

The chapter on the spread of English as a global lingua franca is followed by deliberation of a more theoretical and pedagogical nature. Here, issues such as *language standardization*, *linguistic Anglo-Americanization* and *linguistic Americanization*, *postcolonialism*, and *globalization* are reviewed. In the third chapter, an attempt is made to define concepts such as *English as an International Language* (EIL), *Mid-Atlantic English*, and *Euro-English*. In Chapter Four there is discussion of the challenge David Crystal has raised about the need to incorporate linguistic diversity, the issue of identity, and the global spread of English in formal English language teaching (ELT). This is followed by a critical appraisal of the various platforms upon which English language teaching and learning is based. The major norms, American English, British English, English as an International Language, and ELF (designating *English as a Lingua Franca*), as well as an eclectic approach, are examined. Here, criticism of the ELF paradigm is offered which is based on a belief that ELF does not adequately prepare learners for the challenges they will face in higher education and in the work place. The final chapter is devoted to a discussion of teaching and learning methodologies designed to accommodate pupils and students studying English in multicultural classrooms. An attempt is made to begin the initial steps in the creation of a "critical ELT" for English which meets the demands currently being made to develop strategies for the teaching and learning of English as a global language.

Before continuing, however, I would like to offer some clarification of the terminology which is used in this text. The definition of terms such as *language*, *accent*, *dialect*, and *variety* are not written in stone. Indeed, designations such as these seem to bend and sway with the sensibilities of the commentators attempting to pin them down. Common definitions of *native speaker* and *non-native speaker* are also at times problematical (for example, how does one account for native speakers of second-language varieties, or for bilinguals?). In fact, a number of leading experts claim that definitions of all of these terms are often imprecise and even detrimental to our understanding of the issue of language. While I agree with many of their criticisms, I have not found the use of these terms to be problematical in my work *per se*, although I do offer considerable criticism of the manner in which the term *standard English* has been defined

(I use a small case *s* because I do not believe that there is a satisfactory definition of this term). In my understanding, the definition of *language* (as a spoken medium of communication) can be limited to three straightforward criteria: one) that it is used to communicate; two) that it is relatively systematic; and three) that it provides its users with a sense of communal belonging (and in this sense defines others as not belonging to their social group). It must be kept in mind here that *systematic* is not an absolute concept, but simply implies that among those who speak a specific language, there is consensus that a large number of phonological and lexicogrammatical structures are acknowledged as features which are commonly used and understood by speakers of that tongue.

Within languages there is variation, and this can be expressed through *accent*, which is the use of pronunciation that provides the interlocutor with information about an individual's nationality, geographical association (regional accent), level of education, or membership in social groups, classes, or ethnic minorities. *Dialect*, on the other hand, is distinguished by the presence of an accent as well as lexical and grammatical usage that differs from other forms of the language and is generally understood as something which is defined by an extent of divergence from a proposed norm. I do not accept the belief propagated in the UK and elsewhere that *accent* is a question of pronunciation and *dialect* is an aspect of lexical use and grammar. For me, it is illogical to speak of someone having a dialect without there being reference to pronunciation. The American scholar George Yule clarifies this in his definition of dialect: "which describes features of grammar and vocabulary, as well as aspects of pronunciation" (1990, 181). British scholars are often adamant in their insistence that dialect does not include pronunciation. This makes it possible to define someone as a speaker of standard English despite the fact that they have a regional accent (inferring that a person with a regional accent who adheres to standard English in their use of grammar and lexis is a speaker of standard English). Many sociolinguists find this line of reasoning problematic. A *sociolect* is an accent or dialect which has no geographical seat but instead exists in a multitude of locations and is usually a marker of class or social group belonging. An *ethnolect*, which can be an accent or a dialectic, like sociolect, is not associated with a particular geographical location. Instead, it denotes the characteristic speech of members of a particular ethnic community. Both sociolects and ethnolects are primarily recognized by characteristic pronunciation and the use of esoteric lexical registers, as well as by the use of distinctive multi-word units (which can be differentiated from the proposed use of those who use standard language).

Technically, all use of language is the use of a *dialect*, but what distinguishes *dialect* from *standard language* in discussions of language phenomena, in my understanding, is that the term *dialect* is most commonly used to define language usage which is regionally distinctive within a wider geographical context. This can be expressed by the term *regional dialect*. If a regional dialect becomes the dominant use of language in a nation state or is promoted as the most prestigious form of the language in that particular society, for example, it ceases to be perceived as a regional dialect and instead becomes representative in broader terms. Within the nation state there is usually the understanding that there is one distinctive dialect which is the standard in writing, publishing, and in education (as well as in formal situations such as religious ceremony, political oratory, and occasions where it is customary to use stylized language). It is believed that such standard forms of language are uniform and actually constitute the language, which gives rise to the designation *standard language* when a prescriptive norm is deemed worthy of such a position, and *variety*, for usage which is representative for a specific nation state where more than one country has the tongue as a majority language. A variety is a dialect with a nation state. In some discussions of language, the term *variety* is used as a representation of any distinctive form of a language.

In this volume, *variety* is used to describe a nation-state-based form of a language, which for English has given rise to the notion of *major* or *inner-circle* varieties, such as American English, British English, Australian English, etc., (British English, also referred to as standard English, is understood by many in the UK as denoting the grammar and lexical registers of standard English, but not pronunciation). The term British English can also be used as an umbrella term for forms of English associated with nations that exist in the British Isles. The English used in England, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales is often perceived to be different forms of British English. Irish English, as it has come into being in the Republic of Ireland, can be seen to be an accent or dialect of British English or as a nation-state-based variety in its own right, (depending on the manner in which a particular observer comes to terms with the definition of Irish English). It is possible to claim that British English encompasses not only EngEng, Scottish English, Welsh English and Irish English, but also all of the regional accents, regional dialects, sociolects, ethnolects, and pidgins and Creoles which have speech communities in that part of the world (as well as second-language varieties such as Nigerian English). What is usually implied, when the term is used, however, is the English of educated people of the middle and upper-middle classes living and working in the greater London area and the south west of

England, (a minority of the population of the United Kingdom), which is referred to here in this volume, as well as in the work of other language experts, as EngEng. Do keep in mind, moreover, that EngEng is essentially a sociolect, and consequently, is to be found throughout England (and as well to a lesser extent throughout the British Isles). Nevertheless, the majority of people not living in the London area and in the south west have regional accents and dialects (keeping in mind, again, that many people in London and the south west have accents, dialects, and ethnolects such as Cockney, the proposed Estuary English [dropping Ts and Hs] and Jamaican English).

The terms *second language* and *foreign language* also have more than one definition. In some discussions, the term *second language* is used as a synonym for the designation L2 (the second language a person speaks after their mother tongue, which can be a difficult distinction to make for some bilingual and multilingual people). In this text, *second language* refers to the use of a language as a local lingua franca in regions (usually nation states) where there are many diverse speech communities. A second language, which is often supported by the fact that English has official or semi-official status in the nation state in question, is that language which people use when communicating with speakers of other languages within their own country. In most cases, in second-language contexts, there are relatively few native speakers in the local community. English, in fact, is used by a large number of people as a second language in many parts of the world. In some contexts, such as South Africa, there are speech communities within the country which have English as a first language. In others, such as Nigeria, there are relatively few native speakers. *Foreign language*, on the other hand, is a designation for a language when it is learned and used because it facilitates interaction with people from abroad. Thus, English has been defined as a foreign language for the vast majority of English-language users in mainland Europe, much of Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, the Russian Federation, and in nation states where Arabic and other indigenous languages are spoken in the north, north-east, and north-western regions of Africa. This distinction, that there are second and foreign language users of English, is now less useful because people throughout the world are utilizing English daily in many different capacities. Terms such as second language and foreign language, in general, while to some extent on the wane as suitable designations, are nevertheless used in this text because they are widely applied and recognized, not only in the field of sociolinguistics but also in much lay literature. Please note as well that I believe that English, because it is used as a lingua franca throughout the European Union (EU), is now becoming more of a second

language for mainland Europeans. Nevertheless, it is most often referred to in the literature as a foreign language.

Autonomous learning, *communities of practice*, *learner-centered learning*, and *life-long learning* are important components of the pedagogical vision promoted in this book. Learner-centered learning is the understanding that instruction is based on the abilities, interests, and needs of the recipients of the instruction, and not predominately on the expectations and demands of the instructor. Thus, the basis for the instruction, the educational norm, and the skills prioritized based upon that norm, are determined after negotiation with the learner. The instructor, assured that those they instruct have been involved in this important decision-making process, can for this reason expect learners to be more motivated. It is also apparent that the issue of identity is not unduly compromised when learners are given the opportunity to determine which rendition of English is the target of the instruction. Keep in mind, as well, that learners can change their minds as to what conceptualization of the language they want to have as the basis for their learning as they move forward. Through increased proficiency, and thus understanding of the various ways in which identity is represented through language usage, learners can very well come to the conclusion that they will want to target visions of the English language different from those they previously pursued, and this freedom to change direction, if you will, should be clarified by the instructor at regular intervals. With *life-long learning* and *autonomous learning*, these concepts represent the understanding that language learning is best carried out when learners are trained to improve their skills through activities which they can do on their own, and which over time become habitual behaviors. For instance, the use of dictionaries, note taking, the use of Internet reference tools, the use of subtitles in television broadcasting and cinema for vocabulary building, the ability to request information on language when interacting with others, etc., all of which are learner generated, and which, when properly developed, become habitual, become components of the learner's language-learning repertoire well beyond their school years. Such training, to work independently and to pursue knowledge throughout life, is especially appropriate for language acquisition, and practitioners should make every effort to coach learners in developing their life-long learning and independent study skills.

Communities of practice, as developed by Etienne Wenger (1998), is primarily a theory of education which addresses how learning takes place through social interaction. Through deliberation, as a member of a social group, individuals engage in communication as a basic aspect of human existence, and here, the use of language is fundamental to how humans

progress in their acquisition of knowledge. As such, encouraging learners to work together in task-based exercises, through discussion in pairs and in groups, and in pairs or groups in the production of written assignments and essays, provides opportunities, not only to make passive knowledge active through the use of terms and concepts in discussion, but also to allow the acquisition of knowledge and communicative skills to flourish in a natural environment, thus making language learning dynamic. This understanding of education is especially relevant to language learning seeing as language itself is essentially a tool which individuals use in their efforts to cooperate with others, to exchange information, as well as to analyze and to construct meaning in any number of ways. Here, it is important to emphasize the fact that what we are addressing is the distinction between learning by listening to a teacher instruct and learning through problem solving which requires deliberation with others, often an instructor but perhaps more importantly with a peer or peers. This is the distinction between the passive and active acquisition of knowledge. As a language learning strategy, problem solving through working together with others in a community of practice has benefits which are often lacking in other language-learning exercises. It is an important component in the set of activities which can and should be deployed in language education.

Intercultural communicative competence, originally developed by Dell Hymes (1972), which occupies a central position in the discourse presented here, is used straightforwardly to mean those skills which one deploys when communicating, via a lingua franca, with interlocutors who are native speakers of other languages, or when speaking with L1 speakers who possess other varieties of one's own language. It presupposes that languages are used in a strategic manner, that is to say, that when engaging in the communicative act, one or more of the participants actively deploy various strategies in an effort to make themselves understood in the eyes of the interlocutor, as well as to understand those one interacts with. Sensitivity for the dynamics of cultural difference, and active effort to behave appropriately, require awareness of those features of one's own language which are esoteric, or culture specific (idiosyncratic). A good cross-cultural communicator would naturally avoid culture specific features of their own dialect when speaking with people who belong to other cultures when one suspects that such features would not be understood. Other brands of thoughtfulness, awareness of socio-cultural taboos, for example, as well as respect for cultural, ethnic, political, and religious difference, are also formed. Various strategies are deployed which target the negotiation of meaning as something which is not steadfast or static, but dynamic, something which comes into being in the processes of communicating.

Interlocutors strive to facilitate the ease of communication in settings where socio-cultural codes are not perceived as self-evident, but instead are seen as something which must be "rediscovered" in each unfolding encounter. Students who train to become competent in an L2 in educational programs committed to prioritizing intercultural communicative competence stay focused, in their learning activities, on exchanges between individuals from different cultures as well as on exchanges with speakers of differing varieties. As such, training to interact with a native speaker who speaks an idealized rendition of standard English is only one exercise of many in the repertoire of scenarios one utilizes for comprehension and fluency training.

Accommodation and *situational adaptation* are used is this book to denote the conscious effort on the part of people participating in verbal exchanges to make themselves understood. It is also often operative when writing, but with writing, the emphasis is on delivery and not on the dynamic negotiation of meaning. One aspect of this communication strategy is the understanding that an individual would not consciously use references or allusions to things which they suspect their interlocutor does not know about, or understand, without offering explanation of such. One could, as a means of accommodating the interlocutor, first ask if they are familiar with the phenomenon before elaborating. Such knowledge can be utilized when proceeding. Thus, effort is made to establish better understanding on the part of the interlocutor. It is also the case that one does not assume that those one interacts with have advanced language skills. Instead, one appraises the situation, considering levels of education, proficiency, preferred varieties, and so on, so that one has a good understanding of what aspects of English will work well in that specific situation. Accommodation is also the ability to discern what an interlocutor means, despite the fact that something is expressed in "non-standard English" and as such may require extra effort, and this is done without pointing out to the interlocutor that their means of expressing themselves is challenging. As such, accommodation is a kind of code of language politeness. This effort to cultivate situational adaptation is what is expected of learners who are training to become better intercultural communicators. When practicing situational adaptation, one considers levels of formality, social editing, cultural expectations, the lexical registers which may potentially be relevant to the discussion, and the expectations one normally has for the kind of meeting taking place. One would then adapt one's use of language so that it in a most appropriate manner fits the situation at hand. This brand of linguistic etiquette is in stark contrast to an insensitive speaker who goes forward expecting others to understand what they have to say without making any effort to package their message in a form which is more easily received by others.

The term "traditional ELT," which is used throughout this book can be said to be practiced by those who have the following understanding of English language teaching and learning:

The Instructor

The instructor of preference is a native speaker of Standard American English or Standard British English. When native speakers of standard English are not available, the second choice is a native speaker who can speak "educated" English. When instructors with such profiles cannot be found, the third choice is native speakers in general, even those with regional accents, who are considered superior to proficient non-native speakers. The fourth choice is a non-native speaker who has achieved near-native or native proficiency in standard English. Note as well that the vast majority of foreign-language teachers working in schools throughout the world have been non-native speakers for as long as wide-scale foreign-language education has been in operation

Excellence in grammar maintains a central position in the instruction, and written skills and skill in translation take precedence over oral proficiency

The study of American and/or British social studies, history, and literature provide learners with the background knowledge required to become proficient speakers of English

Standard American English and Standard British English, which are considered to be the only forms of "proper English," are the educational standards promoted in the instruction, and other varieties, accents, and dialects, with few exceptions, are stigmatized

Inner-circle varieties other than AmE and BrE are in some quarters accepted if consistency is upheld, although it is apparent that proficiency in Standard American English or Standard British English is required if one wants to achieve top grades, and learners are penalized if they mix features of American English and British English

The Learner

Students study English so that they can interact primarily with native speakers of English

The goal of the instruction is to achieve near-native or native proficiency in standard English

Students are expected to master the socio-cultural codes associated with an idealized native speaker of standard English

Students, because they are expected to mimic the social behavior of an idealized native-speaker of standard English, are by default expected to suppress markers of their own socio-cultural identities

Naturally, the principles underlying traditional ELT are in opposition to a pluricentric vision of how languages of wider communication can be taught and learned. In this volume, an attempt is made to present alternatives to this partisan vision of ELT. A "critical ELT," which has been called for by a number of leading experts in the field, is a platform, a pedagogy, and a methodology which challenges the underlying philosophy of traditional ELT, and this is done, it is proposed, by integrating into ELT the ideals of multiculturalism. Thus, the deliberation offered in this book on the manner in which English can be taught and learned, within a framework of multiculturalism, is an attempt to construct a critical ELT.

In Chapter Three I present an alternative to Braj Kachru's Concentric Circles of World Englishes. Kachru describes inner-circle speakers as native speakers from Western countries where L1 speakers of English are in the majority. The outer circle is reserved for countries which have substantial populations of non-native speakers who use English as a lingua franca within their own country. The expanding circle includes countries where L2 users of the language primarily use English as a foreign language to communicate with people from abroad. Thus, in Kachru's model, the inner circle is comprised of native speakers from the British Isles, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (as well as smaller numbers of native speakers in places such as South Africa, Malta, etc.,). The outer circle is for those L2 users of English who speak second-language varieties, such as Indian, Singaporean, Nigerian, and Hong Kong English, and the expanding circle is for those who use English as a foreign language, which would include regions such as Europe and South America. My model, the Centripetal Circles of English as an International Language, consists of an *inner*, *second*, and *third or outer circle* (for more information, see Chapter Three). Here, placement in one of the circles is dependent on competence

and not on citizenship in specific nation states. In the discussion which takes place throughout this book, *inner-circle*, *outer circle*, and *expanding circle* refer to Kachru's definition of such terminology.
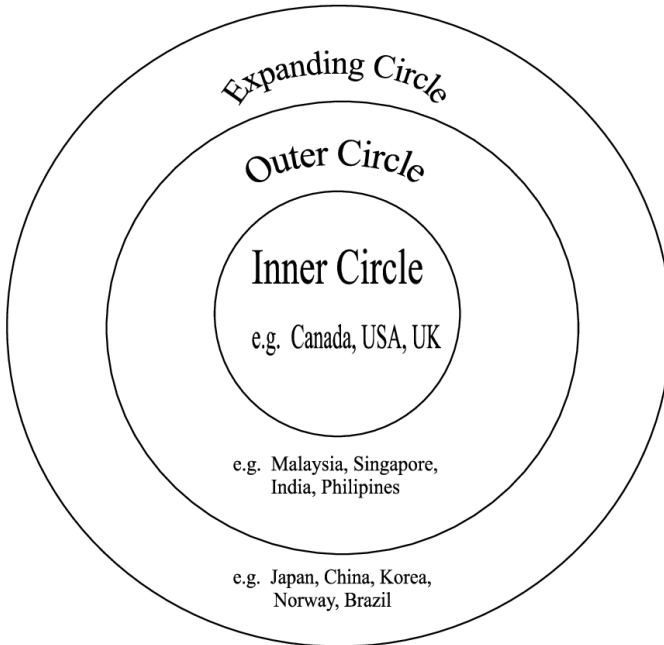

Figure 0-1. Braj Kachru's Concentric Circles of World Englishes

      For readers familiar with the field, it is possible to read each chapter as a self-contained unit. That is to say, each chapter can stand on its own. For this reason, there is some repetition, where fundamental aspects of English diversity and English language teaching and learning are reiterated. For those using this book as course literature, each chapter concludes with a number of fact-finding missions, topics for discussion, and assignment/project topics. Students can begin with the fact-finding missions, working alone or in pairs or groups, and use the information which has been gathered when discussing in pairs or groups and when preparing oral and/or written assignments.

Notes

1. Languages of wider communication are Arabic, Chinese, English, German, Hindi, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish. These are languages that have at least 100 million native speakers. An additional requirement is that the language has sizable speech communities in more than one nation state, and moreover, that there are a considerable number of people who have the language as an L2. Although Bengali formally meets these requirements, because the language is basically only found in India and Bangladesh, and has a relatively small number of non-native speakers, it not normally considered to be a language of wider communication. Note that French, which was perhaps the most important international language in the 17th and 18th centuries, has approximately 70 to 80 million native speakers, and roughly 220 million have French as an L2. Because of the importance of the language in various capacities, it is considered by many to be a language of wider communication, despite the fact that the native-speaker base is relatively small.

Student Assignments

Fact-finding missions:
*Find out which countries in the world have multiculturalism as an official government policy
*Find out what basic principles of multiculturalism are expressed in official government documents for these countries
*What measures are taken in the European Union to support multicultural initiatives?

Discussion topics:
*What are the advantages of multiculturalism?
*What are the disadvantages of multiculturalism?
*Do the principles of multiculturalism operate differently for ethnic groups which have a long history in the nation state in comparison to groups which do not have such a heritage?
*What are the pros and cons of assimilation?
*What are the pros and cons of monoculturalism?

Oral and written assignment/projects:
*Describe and critique the multiculturalism initiatives which are undertaken in one specific nation state
*Describe your own family situation. If you have a monocultural background, how has this affected your understanding of the multicultural society? If you belong to a monolingual family, do you feel that it is to your advantage or disadvantage? If more than one language is spoken in your family, do you feel that this is to your advantage or disadvantage?

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL SPREAD

A Brief History[1]

English has its origins in the Germanic dialects spoken by the hordes of invading warriors that began sweeping across what is present-day England in the 5th century. They came from Scandinavia and what are today northern Germany, the Frisian Islands, and the Netherlands. This migration of people from mainland Europe to England carried on for more than 500 years. These new arrivals did not begin overrunning the island, however, until after the fall of the Roman Empire. The Visigoths sacked Rome in 410 and in 455 the Vandals ravaged the ancient city for two weeks. Rome, having been weak for several decades, finally fell in 476. For these and other reasons the stronghold Rome held on its dominions was tenuous in the 5th century. With the Romans unable to effectively uphold their defenses, the island was unprotected and thus open to invasion, and in time Germanic invaders began coming across the English Channel in larger and larger numbers. The Celtic tribes inhabiting the region were unable to stop this invasion. The envious peoples across the channel in mainland Europe were eager to invade the island, which they believed was rich in wildlife and other treasures. Consequently, after the Romans left, people from Scandinavia, especially southern Scandinavia, and the north-western regions of mainland Europe, warrior-clans such as the Jutes, the Saxons, and the Angles, as well as adventuresome people from the Frisian Islands, invaded the island in pursuit of new hunting grounds and new areas in which to settle. What is today Scotland, Wales, and Ireland remained Celtic strongholds, but what is now England, with the exception perhaps of Cornwall, succumbed and was occupied by Germanic marauders.

The language of the invaders, Low German, evolved in present-day Germany and outlying areas into modern German. In Scandinavia, a close relative, Old Norse, was the basis for the development of modern Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, and Icelandic. Frisian and Dutch also have this common heritage. All of these languages are Germanic languages. In England, however, the Germanic-based language evolved differently from the others, and because of influences from Latin, Greek, French, and other

European languages, became in time what we know today as Modern English.

The Romans first came to Britain in antiquity. Julius Cesar, a half century before the beginning of the Common Era (by most accounts in 55 BCE), attempted to invade England, but failed. Almost a century later, in 43 ACE, the Romans under the leadership of Claudius succeeded in overtaking the Celtic warriors who were defending their homesteads. At first, they dominated the southern part of the island, and then gradually enlarged their sphere of influence. The Celtic peoples inhabiting what are present-day Ireland, Wales, and Scotland were successful in holding back the Romans as well as the Germanic warriors that began invading the British Isles in the 5th century. Only what is present-day England was a part of the Roman Empire, an occupation that lasted for roughly 400 years. The Romans left landmarks and monuments behind as testimony to the grandeur of their civilization. Linguistically, however, the period of Roman rule had very little influence on the development of the cultures as well as the indigenous languages spoken in England at that time, and when the Romans left, their impact on the people inhabiting the island more or less came to an end.

Both before and during the period of Roman rule, the British Isles were populated by various Celtic tribes. Their languages have evolved in modern times into Scots Gaelic, Welsh, and Irish (which are dialects of Celtic, also sometimes referred to in the literature as Gaelic). These languages, however, have been more or less overrun by the spread of English, but this did not fully reach fruition until more than ten centuries later. Nevertheless, the Celtic peoples who inhabited what is present-day England during the period of Roman rule have left few traces of their culture and language in England proper. It is likely that the Celts who were indigenous to the region either withdrew to the north and west to Celtic fortifications when the Germanic warriors began raiding their settlements or were assimilated into the cultures that overran them. Consequently, a Germanic heritage and linguistic tradition characterized England throughout the post-Roman period. The Germanic-based language was also brought to Iceland by Norwegian Vikings. In fact, at the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066, when William the Conqueror introduced the French language into England, the peoples inhabiting present-day England (including some nearby islands), Scandinavia, Germany and outlying areas, and Iceland were capable, it is believed, to some extent, to communicate with each other. They all spoke different dialects of a common Germanic tongue. The more radical differentiation which was to come occurred centuries later, with the Scandinavian dialects, for example, in the first half

of the second millennium breaking up into Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic, and Swedish, while further south we saw the emergence of modern German, Dutch, and Frisian, and in what is present-day England, the English language came into being.

William the Conqueror, who was a French-speaking Viking from what is present-day Normandy in northern France and as such was a Norman, did not attempt to entice the Germanic peoples inhabiting the island to speak French. He had no such ambition. French was for those privileged. The peasants in the countryside, unlike members of the court and the noblemen and their entourage who fraternized with the Norman rulers, continued to speak their vulgar Germanic dialect. Well into the Middle Ages in fact, and even after the Normans had lost power in 1485, the language of the English peoples continued to resemble Old German, a language quite different from modern English. Indeed, Chaucer, writing his *Canterbury Tales* between 1387 and 1400, produced a text now difficult if not impossible to decipher without specialist training. The same can be said of the work of William Shakespeare, who wrote his famous string of dramatic histories, comedies, and tragedies at the end of the fifteen and beginning of the sixteen-hundreds. This was not what we could consider modern English. It was not until after the King James Bible, issued in 1611, and somewhat later, with the publication of the epic poem *Paradise Lost* by John Milton in 1667, that the English language as we can understand it today, to a considerable extent, came into being. As such, Modern English is approximately 400 years old in the British Isles. Modern English, moreover, has existed in North America for roughly the same amount of time (more on this below in the section on American English).

The English language has been greatly influenced by Latin, but this was not the result of Roman rule in the early centuries of the first millennium. It was the spread of Christianity, which began to blossom after the Roman legions had left England, that initiated this process. The Roman Catholic Church was not an institution which had great influence over the development of the language spoken in England in the so-called Dark Ages. That was to take place much later in the history of the nation. In the centuries following the Germanic invasion, only a select few had knowledge of Latin. In fact, the common people were never to have access to this language of religion and learning. Nevertheless, a thousand years later, in the Renaissance, as a result of Arabic texts being translated into Latin, Europeans could for the first time gain access to the knowledge of antiquity. This reinforced the importance of Latin as a major supplier of loanwords to the base of the English language. Thus, Latin influence was brought to bear on English through religion and through the pursuit of knowledge. Greek loanwords as

well began flooding into the language throughout the second millennium as a result of developments made, for example, in the sciences and in engineering. Through culture, a great many loans were made as well from modern European languages such as French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish. The result is Modern English, which is a Germanic-based language with a host of loanwords from predominantly Greek and Latin, but also from many Western European languages.

The Spread of English to Scotland, Wales, and Ireland

The development of English in the British Isles is a dramatic tale of domination, submission, and revolt. It has a long history. The dissemination of the Anglo-Saxon language into the Celtic strongholds of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland began on a minor scale almost immediately after the withdrawal of the Roman soldiers from England and continued in increasing magnitude throughout the remainder of the first millennium. It is true that the Celtic warriors successfully held back first the Romans and later the Germanic invaders. Surely they were keen on preserving their languages, their beliefs, and their way of living. Unfortunately, however, they were at a great disadvantage in many respects. The hordes of Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons who were prone to pillage and confiscate goods and land from people who stood in their way did not restrict their folly to England proper, but also made raids throughout the British Isles, reaching into northern Scotland, the coastal regions of Wales, and remote regions on the west coast of Ireland. In time, the Celts became successively more outnumbered and as such were less successful at defending themselves. The process itself, the Anglicization of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, took more than a thousand years, but by the end of the 18th century, the majority of people in these countries were native English-speaking.

The ruling classes of Wales, which shared a long and indefensible boarder with the Anglo-Saxons (as we will call the Germanic peoples living in England in the centuries following the collapse of Roman rule), were for pragmatic reasons willing to acknowledge the advantages of cooperation as opposed to confrontation. Consequently, the Welsh became increasingly exposed to English in numerous ways: for one, English was the language of trade. It was also, in time, the language of governmental administration, law, and legislation. Both Latin and French eventually fell out of fashion as the most important languages, but even when these languages were at their peak they were never in use among common people. Instead, fueled by the use of English in official capacities, the Welsh found that it was in their best interests to gain some proficiency in the tongue. The Welsh were brought

under English rule in 1536, the year Henry VIII signed into law the Act of Union. It included a proclamation that English was to be the language of the realm. Consequently, with the passing of this Act the Welsh began a process of even more extensive assimilation that more or less saw their own indigenous language become replaced by English.

      Ireland, on the other hand, had English introduced to its shores later. Separated as it is from England by the high seas, the prospect of wide-scale attack from the inhabitants of England was less likely in comparison to the threat their Welsh brothers and sisters lived under. Ireland was to endure immigration from England and especially Scotland later in the island's history. Nevertheless, English made some headway in Ireland through trade starting in the late Middle Ages. Merchants and others from England settled on the island, and as such brought English with them. In 1541 Henry VIII became the monarch of Ireland as well as England and Wales. English influence increased considerably with the introduction of settlements of Scottish Protestants in the northern part of the island, and in time, under British rule and with a ruling class of Protestant English-speaking people, the English language became the most common tongue, even among the predominantly Catholic population in the central and southern parts of the island. Most of Ireland gained independence from England in the 20th century with the founding of the Republic of Ireland in 1922, but this did not include the northern provinces where the majority of the Irish Protestants live, which are known as Northern Ireland and are still to this day a part of the United Kingdom.

      Scotland was not so much conquered by the English but was more or less united with England though two important events: the declaration of the Union of the Monarchy in 1603, and later, the loss of independence for the Scottish in 1707. Scotland could be roughly divided between those living in the south who were more susceptible to use English because many people there were decedents of an early settlement of Germanic peoples residing in northern England and the lowlands of southern Scotland, and the entrenched highlanders who were seemingly more enthusiastic about retaining their Celtic heritage. These divisions have made the use of English across Scotland resemble a state of perpetual diglossia, with the lower Scots English the vernacular of the working classes, and Standard Scottish English as the language of administration, education, and official functions. Moreover, it should be noted that the Scottish have been able to get along with the English in a manner somewhat different when compared with the Walsh and the Irish, and this perhaps is the reason why the educated Scottish accent in the British Isles is by many considered to be prestigious. On the other hand, the Irish accent is somewhat stigmatized in English society.

One must keep in mind that in all instances English was held in high esteem among many of the Celtic peoples, especially those with important positions in society, because it was considered to be most appropriate for specific domains, especially diplomacy, administration, and commerce. English was revered for its utility. The Celtic dialects were the languages in which one had one's identity and were reserved for use in the home and in dealings within the local community. Because the more "refined" English, moreover, came in time to dominate education, starting in grade school and on through tertiary education, the language came to control more and more domains, thus crowding out the indigenous Celtic languages.

In all three instances, in the linguistic histories of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, there are, and have always been, places where the Celtic language has been retained as a first or second language, not only within the family but also in the local community. Now, pride in the heritage language, aided by language maintenance programs, is on the upswing. The Republic of Ireland, for example, has made Irish their official language in the European Union, something which will give the language extra resources and support. Throughout the region there are language-learning services, radio and television programming, the publication of literature and nonfiction books and materials, and language promotion schemes, which are bolstering the indigenous languages of the Celtic peoples. Such initiatives are very much welcome. They cannot, however, make up for the centuries of atrophy which the Celtic languages have endured because of the hegemonic position English has assumed in these societies. In a sense, the story of the dissemination of English across the cultures of the Celtic peoples of the British Isles acts as a kind of testimony. In the spreading of English, and the subsequent decline in the indigenous languages, a pattern has been established. Indeed, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales are the first cultures to be linguistically dominated by the English medium. With the advent of colonialism, this trend has continued unabated, with English continuing to overrun indigenous languages, and in some cases, acting as the major contributing factor to their death. At the lease, an upswing in the use of English in a community acts to undermine the status of indigenous languages. In time, this has even come to include the West itself, where English is now the most important medium of communication after the majority language in many first world settings. Within the European Union, for example, English is the dominant lingua franca within the inner workings of the Union, as well as among the population at large, and it is unlikely, at this point in time, that French, German, Italian, Russian, or Spanish will be replacing English in this capacity any time soon.