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1

Introduction: Global Englishes from Global Perspectives

Kumiko Murata and Jennifer Jenkins

The spread of English and its influence are unprecedented compared with other languages in that the diffusion is far-reaching globally. This volume explores the spread of English in the world or global Englishes, and English as a lingua franca (ELF), also known as English as an international language (EIL) from varying perspectives, focusing specifically, but not exclusively, on Asian Englishes as used in their local contexts. The volume is unique mainly in two accounts: first, its overarching theme seen, in particular, from Asian perspectives; and second, its divergent contributors across languages and cultures mostly from Asia but also from other parts of the world. Although there are now a number of books which specifically focus on Englishes in Asian contexts, a volume which satisfies both of the above-mentioned points is a rarity.

The book, accordingly, is of multi-perspective, and offers an invaluable opportunity for language practitioners, scholars and students with differing perspectives and points of view on this issue to exchange opinions, participating in the discussions directly or indirectly, reflecting on differing views and contributing to enrich and deepen the discussions in the field. But first, we shall elaborate on these two perspectives in more detail.

The use of English in Asian contexts

We first need to discuss what is meant by 'Asia'; the concept of Asia is ever-expanding, as Pennycook (this volume) points out, so that it sometimes includes the countries of the Middle East, and even Australia and New Zealand (see also Y. Kachru and Nelson 2006). Even if we limit the region to the traditional, geographical Asian countries, it includes East Asia, which consists of countries such as China, Korea and Japan, and

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South East Asia, which comprises countries such as Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia, and then South Asian countries such as Bangladesh, India and Pakistan (see also Y. Kachru and Nelson 2006; Yano, this volume). These wide-ranging regions with their different social, historical, religious, cultural and language backgrounds have adapted and adopted English in various spheres of their lives for intra- and international communication. They form currently one of the most exciting regions of the world, one in which we can witness dynamic uses of English for various practical reasons, including social, cultural, economic and political ones, and they can also be said to be one of the most prominent regions in which the future of Englishes resides.

Accordingly, Englishes in Asia have recently attracted much attention and been the focus of a number of publications, including some by contributors to the current volume (see B. Kachru 2005; Y. Kachru and Nelson 2006, among others) and also some that deal with specific varieties of English in Asian contexts such as China English, Hong Kong English and Japanese English (see Adamson 2004; Bolton (ed.) 2002; and Stanlaw 2004, for example). There is also an academic journal dedicated to studies of Asian Englishes.¹ Thus, the question might arise: Why now another volume on Englishes in Asia? Answering this question leads us to the second of our unique features, namely, the participation of the contributors from differing 'camps' in the field of global Englishes, which we shall now discuss in more detail.

Global English(es), world English(es), EIL and ELF

As briefly touched upon in the preceding section, varying uses of English worldwide have been discussed under differing nomenclatures, such as global Englishes (Pennycook 2007), global language (Crystal 1997; Gnutzmann (ed.) 1999), world English(es) (WE) (Brutt-Griffler 2002; Jenkins 2003/2009; B. Kachru 1985, 1990, 1992, 1995, 2005, this volume; B. Kachru and Nelson 1996; Kirkpatrick 2007; Smith (ed.) 1987; Smith and Forman (eds) 1997; Strevens 1982), English as an international language (EIL) (Jenkins 2000; Smith (ed.) 1983; Strevens 1992) or international English (Trudgill and Hannah 1985) and English as a lingua franca (ELF) (House 2003; Jenkins 1998, 2000, 2002, 2007; B. Kachru 1996; Seidlhofer 2001, 2003, 2004, among others).

The proponents of WE are most notably represented by B. Kachru, who, together with L. Smith, launched one of the most influential academic journals in the field, *World Englishes*, in 1982, and whose classification of the English-speaking world into the three concentric circles

of the Inner, the Outer and the Expanding (see B. Kachru, this volume; and Y. Kachru, this volume) is most influential in the history of the development of the field and widely quoted in numerous academic publications. It also plays an important role in this volume, being referred to directly or indirectly by most of the contributors to the volume (see Bhatia, Gill, Jenkins, Y. Kachru, Morizumi, Pennycook, Seidlhofer and Widdowson, Smith, and Yano, this volume). With the rapidly changing picture of the English-speaking world and the complex nature of social, economic, political and cultural dynamics of people all over the world, however, there have recently been suggestions of the need for modification or expansion of this classification (see Pennycook 2007 and this volume; Yano 2001 and this volume, for examples). It is, however, without any doubt that the notion has immensely influenced the development of the academic field and promoted the establishment of the legitimacy of world Englishes, their users and accompanying identities connected to respective Englishes, in both local contexts and international and intercultural settings, where people use their own varieties of English as an international lingua franca. Thus, the notion of WE is closely connected to that of ELF. Both world Englishes and ELF are by nature more centrifugal and diversifying, since they are not constrained by native-speaker (NS) English norms. The same is true for the notions of EIL and ELF although ELF is sometimes (mis)interpreted as being centripetal by virtue of the fact that it enables people with differing mother tongues and Englishes to communicate internationally and interculturally through English.

There are occasionally two seemingly contradictory notions associated with the global spread of English: first, one that sounds almost triumphant because of its focus on the influence and currency of English in its worldwide diffusion as a means of communication at wide-ranging levels of culture, economy, education, politics, science and personal and that assumes the ownership of English by the Inner Circle 'native' speakers of English who are the main beneficiaries and executors of this power (see Crystal 1997, among others); and second, a notion which is closely associated with English used in international and intercultural settings as a means of communication both in the interactions between 'native' speakers (NSs) and 'non-native' speakers (NNSs) of the language, but increasingly in those among NNSs from varying language and cultural backgrounds (see Jenkins 1998, 2000, 2002, 2007; Seidlhofer 2001, 2003, 2004; Widdowson 1997). In the latter case, the acronym ELF has recently been used to describe this characteristic, to which we shall now turn.

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The term ELF is used, particularly by Anglo-European scholars in the field, in describing communicative interactions among mainly, but not exclusively, NNSs of English who use English as their chosen tool for communication in international and intercultural settings. Often in these interactions, no 'native' speakers of English are involved or, if they are, they are in the minority among the interactants (see House 2003; Jenkins 2007, this volume; Seidlhofer 2001 for the definitions of ELF). Increasingly, these days, most of the English communication in international and intercultural settings is likely to be ELF or EIL communication, where interactants who do not share a language cannot help using a language of their 'choice' as a means of communication, and in current international communicative situations it is most likely to be English with its global spread (see Graddol 2006, for example). In this situation, intelligibility (see Nelson 1982; Smith 1992, and this volume; Smith and Nelson 1985) among the users of ELF or EIL is essential, and extensive research has been conducted specifically focusing on it (see, e.g., Jenkins 2000, 2002; Seidlhofer 2003, among others). Here, to achieve intelligibility, a certain degree of convergence seems to be inevitable among diversifying users of English. The issue, then, is to what extent? For this purpose, large-scaled empirical research such as the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) project is promising (see Seidlhofer and Widdowson, this volume), together with Jenkins's empirical research on the Lingua Franca Core (see Jenkins 1998, 2000, 2002, and this volume). It is also essential to achieve, in particular, what Smith (this volume) terms 'comprehensibility' and 'interpretability', which are particularly important in achieving cultural understanding, and thus, they receive special attention in the chapters by Y. Kachru (Chapter 8), Morizumi (Chapter 6) and Park (Chapter 7) as well as in Smith (Chapter 2) in this volume.

On the other hand, there is also another move which tries to reconcile the two tendencies of centrifugal and centripetal forces of English. Pennycook (this volume), for example, argues that a term 'plurilithic' English should be used to avoid, on the one hand, the region-based reproduction of the authority or the power of 'native speakers' and, on the other, the lack of integrity and comprehensibility. This, Pennycook further states, also encompasses Yano's (2001, 2008, and this volume) conceptualization of regional standard varieties of English, where Yano claims that English could converge into several regional standard Englishes such as Asian, European and Arabic Englishes, which represent regional acrolectal Englishes and yet also be intelligible to communicators outside the regions in international settings. Yano's paradigm is

insightful; however, it has also been pointed out that in certain genres of English (for example, in youth culture) people are also communicating or expressing their views inter-regionally and internationally at meso- and basilectal levels, not necessarily always at acrolectal level (see Jenkins 2003/2009 and this volume; Pennycook 2007 and this volume, for examples).

Many of these terms are, on the face of it, different, but in reality they are used to describe the same phenomenon of the spread of English from slightly different perspectives, and with different foci and emphases. In this volume, we will use the term 'global Englishes', which covers all the above-mentioned notions and is of inclusive nature. It represents the diversifying nature of Englishes used worldwide, and yet simultaneously describes people's efforts to be intelligible in intercultural settings, negotiating meanings and enjoying creativity while retaining their own identities. Thus, we believe the term encompasses both centrifugal and centripetal natures of WE, EIL or ELF simultaneously.

We shall now turn to yet another perspective included in the volume, that is, the varying views from different cultural and language traditions of the different contributors.

Global Englishes from global perspectives

This volume also brings in perspectives from the Kachuruvian 'Expanding' Circle, as well as the 'Inner' and 'Outer' Circles at the level of contributors to the volume. This is significant since most of the discussions at the international level in the field so far are mainly led by scholars from the Inner and the Outer Circles as well as the European Expanding Circle. By contrast, the volume also includes contributors from the Asian Expanding Circle, such as Japanese and Korean contributors. In order to reflect this diversity maximally, the volume fully respects each contributor's descriptions and views on the issue as well as their discourse and writing styles. Thus, no 'native speaker' English norms are prescriptively applied in terms of the lexico-grammatical features either. Furthermore, the contributors present differing views on the role and future of English, and naturally their views do not necessarily coincide with those of each other or the editors. In fact, they quite often have diversifying views; some regard language and culture as more fluid entities, while others regard them as more culture specific. We believe, however, that it is essential to include these differing views and voices in this volume. They are, in fact, all closely related to the extent that all of them are deeply concerned with the influence of the

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spread and diffusion of English at global as well as local levels. We shall now introduce each of these contributions in more detail.

The structure of the volume

The volume is divided into four main parts. Part I (Chapters 2–4) introduces the notions of WE, EIL and ELF, which are all related and have emerged together with the global spread of English. It also examines their communicative potentials and intelligibility in international, intranational and intercultural situations, illustrating, for example, how ELF users produce their own communities of practice and identity in its creative use, accommodating to each other. The three chapters in Part II (Chapters 5–7) focus on the issues of identity, ideology and attitudes in the use of varying Asian Englishes in their local contexts, referring also to language policies. Part III (Chapters 8–10) explores the actual use of the varieties of English in Asian academic and business contexts on the basis of the contributors' (Y. Kachru, Gill and Bhatia) research on both spoken and written discourses in advertising, school and workplace settings. Finally, Part IV (Chapters 11–13) concludes with discussions on the future of Englishes with a possible paradigm shift in mind. In the following, we shall elaborate on each part in a more detailed manner.

Part I comprises three chapters by Smith (Chapter 2), Seidlhofer and Widdowson (Chapter 3) and Jenkins (Chapter 4). Smith deals with cross-cultural understanding from the perspective of the three dimensions of intelligibility, comprehensibility and interpretability, starting with an explication of the terms. He then moves on to definitions of culture and what is meant by 'cross-cultural' with elaborations on the four stages of culture learning and understanding. He further elaborates on definitions of communication and illustrates them with various examples of meaning in different cultural and language contexts, particularly focusing on 'interpretability'. Smith concludes the chapter with some practical suggestions for better understanding in WE communication. The chapter thus consists of some theoretical underpinning with useful definitions and illustrations based on Smith's long-standing and wide-ranging experiences in dealing with actual cross-cultural communication.

Based on Sinclair's (1991) idiom principle, Seidlhofer and Widdowson (Chapter 3) demonstrate how this can be applied to ELF communication. Using the data from the VOICE Project, they illustrate how the interactants from varying language and cultural backgrounds exploit

and modify the principle, co-constructing ELF-specific expressions for communicative purposes, creating and enjoying new ELF idiomaticity. This is a promising and foreseeable future scenario where people whose native tongue is not English use (and own) English (Widdowson 1994) as a lingua franca of their own free will and in their style, introducing their creativity and originality into the communities of practice (Wenger 1998). It opens up all sorts of possibilities in future ELF communication, which is not constrained by NS English norms.

In her article, Jenkins (Chapter 4), like Seidlhofer and Widdowson (Chapter 3), focuses on English in the Expanding Circle, and especially on the use of ELF among its Expanding Circle Asian users. Given that ELF is a relatively new and often poorly understood concept, she begins by clarifying how ELF is defined by the majority of its researchers, and in particular, she explains ELF's essential differences from traditional English as a foreign language (EFL). She goes on to describe some of the features that have been identified in ELF corpora as potential features of ELF use, pointing out how these features bear both similarities to and differences from developments in native English. She then turns to two types of strategies that characterize ELF speakers' use of English: accommodation and code-switching, and demonstrates how speakers accommodate and code-switch, making use of their multilingual resources, in order to signal group membership and solidarity and to enhance intelligibility, rather than – as is so often assumed in the EFL literature – to compensate for gaps in knowledge. Jenkins focuses in the final part of her article on responses to ELF, and on the implications of ELF for English speakers in the Asian Expanding Circle, stating that ELF may offer them more relevant and meaningful linguistic opportunities.

Part II starts with Hung (Chapter 5), who focuses specifically on Singapore English. Being inspired by Shaw's *Pygmalion* (hereafter *P&M* after Hung) and transferring the context to the current Singaporean situation, Hung satirically describes the use of English in Singapore, where the Cockney equivalent of Singlish is widely used among Singaporeans in informal intra-national communication and also as a lingua franca with the speakers of other languages. Its use, however, is stigmatized, in particular, due to the government's language policy, which promotes the use of acrolectal standard Singapore English in public. Illustrating the use of Singlish and its characteristics in the framework of *P&M*, Hung tactfully criticizes the government's language policy on the promotion of 'standard' Singapore English, which ignores the communicative and practical use of English by Singaporeans and could jeopardize their identity.

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Just like Hung, Morizumi (Chapter 6) deals with the issue of language, culture, identity and power with specific reference to English used in Japan. Intentionally using the term EIAL (English as one of the international auxiliary languages) (see Smith 1976 as well) to avoid the power associated with other terms (Morizumi, this volume), he also argues that a polymodel stance should be taken in discussing the use of English, particularly in consideration with its connection with culture and language. Although Morizumi's description of the characteristics of Japanese English is largely based on and in comparison with 'native-speaker' models, he insists that culture-specific features and creativity in the use of English in its local context should be considered. He concludes the chapter by suggesting that the current global trends in the varying use of the varieties of English should be taught at school level and that this could be dealt with, for example, by introducing the issue into the hugely influential MEXT- (the Japanese Ministry of Education, Sports, Science and Technology) approved school textbooks at secondary level in Japan. Although the suggestion may sound very much locally oriented, it has implications for similar situations in differing cultural and language contexts.

Just like Hung and Morizumi, Park (Chapter 7) writes from the culture-specific perspective of Korea English (KE). She asserts that it is only a matter of time before Korea English becomes a recognized variety of English – what she terms a glocalized variety. Herein, she characterizes KE, focusing particularly on the influences from Korean cultural values, which heavily reflect Confucianism. Park concludes her chapter by emphasizing the importance of teaching this variety of English with its cultural specificities to Korean English learners as well as overseas business people who are likely to interact with Korean counterparts.

There are then some similarities between the characteristics of Japanese English presented by Morizumi (Chapter 6) and those of Korea English listed by Park (Chapter 7), particularly in their cultural traits, perhaps partly because Japanese culture and communication styles are also indirectly influenced by Confucianism. The younger generations, however, are rapidly changing their cultural assumptions and values, and thus, this tendency is worth further investigating in the future.

Part III focuses on Englishes used in academic and business contexts in Asia. Chapter 8, by Y. Kachru, focuses mainly on the use of English in academic contexts in India. It explores scientific writing across disciplines as well as across languages and cultures. In particular, Y. Kachru emphasizes the importance of recognizing the cultural conventions and values reflected in the seemingly generic structures of scientific

writing, and urges us to investigate more into the field, not assuming that they are universal. On the basis of a study on Indian high school students' scientific writing, Y. Kachru also states that teaching its generic features as well as investigating the possibility of culture specificity is essential. The message here is that in considering localized varieties of English in various genres we should simultaneously seek for the reconciliation between genre and culture specificities in order to keep global intelligibility and local identity.

The next two chapters by Gill (Chapter 9) and Bhatia (Chapter 10) focus mainly on business and commercial discourses in Asian contexts. Gill (Chapter 9), starting with the historical background to the use of English in Malaysia together with its language policy, moves on to the discussion of the sub-varieties of formal Malaysian English on the basis of the results from her own survey on their perception and acceptability by gatekeepers in Malaysian business industries. It is interesting to see here that the Malaysian business executives who participated in Gill's study judged the acceptability of the varieties on the basis of the assumed interactants, accommodating to the interactant types. They are reported to employ the exonormative NS English standards when the assumed interactants are NSs, while in ELF communication less prescriptive norms are employed. Here we could observe the reality and dynamics of people's attitudes towards and perceptions of the use of sub-varieties of English and the perceptions of ordinary language users on this issue. Gill persuasively demonstrates it in her study.

Bhatia in Chapter 10 specifically explores advertising in Asian contexts and describes how advertisers or business industries utilize the power of English in its local context, using code-mixing and in its process also creatively using their own localized variety of English to make advertisement more powerful and persuasive. Thus, Bhatia deals with the issue of globalization and localization simultaneously in this specific field and demonstrates the positive effects of widespread code-mixing in Asian advertising. At the same time, he also illustrates how blurring of the boundaries among the three different Kachruvian concentric circles, particularly between the Outer and the Expanding Circles, is occurring. This is partly demonstrated by examples of advertising from both the Outer and the Expanding Circles. Bhatia's study is insightful in that it illustrates how the users of varieties of English in local contexts actually own the language and feel free to utilize it creatively and freely, changing it and adjusting it to produce maximum effects and originality, just as Seidlhofer and Widdowson's (this volume) ELF users are observed to be using ELF creatively. Here, the

varieties of English users are described actively and positively as the owners of their own variety, not being constrained by the exonerative Inner Circle English standards. Bhatia vividly illustrates what is currently happening in the use of English in Asian contexts and predicts what will perhaps happen in various parts of the world in the future. This leads us to Part IV, which discusses the future of English.

Part IV comprises three chapters by B. Kachru (Chapter 11), Pennycook (Chapter 12) and Yano (Chapter 13), who all discuss the frameworks for the future of Englishes, referring to each other's theoretical frameworks.

B. Kachru in Chapter 11, with the comprehensive explication of and elaboration on the field, promotes multilingual perspectives in dealing with world Englishes. The chapter covers wide-ranging issues related to the field such as the ideology of English, multilingualism, creativity, pluralism, globalization and multi-canons, all in relation to the use of Englishes, in particular Asian Englishes. As one of the prominent founders of the field of WE, B. Kachru's discussion is, in terms of both its coverage and depth, very comprehensive and thorough, referring also to literary creativity. Furthermore, it is also written from the perspective of teaching world Englishes in their cross-cultural contexts, and thus, his discussion is balanced also with implications for language teaching and cross-cultural communication. The chapter persuasively claims the necessity of a paradigm shift in order to accommodate to the current situation.

Pennycook (Chapter 12), starting with Yano's (2001) framework, moves on to critically review both the Kachruvian concentric circle model of WE and the ELF model and proposes a more fluid one, which, according to him, incorporates language users and specific contexts of use. The differences in the models he refers to, however, seem to be largely terminological, as we discussed earlier, seen from slightly different perspectives and with different emphasis. Further development of the discussion on Pennycook's model, however, is much desired as it seems to be showing another way of interpreting the future development of the field. We shall now turn to Yano (Chapter 13), whose framework has been much discussed in Pennycook.

Yano's scenario for the future of English is the emergence of regional standard Englishes (RSEes), which are used by people within the wider regions of, for example, Asia, Africa and Europe (intra-RSEes) and show the characteristics of respective regions but also are intelligible to other regional standard English users. Starting with discussion on how change in the use of English is inevitable with time and its expansion in various

parts of the world, Yano presents some illustrative examples of its use from various parts of Asia.

Along with the region-based model of English, Yano introduces standards on the basis of the genre-specific proficiency model, where the achievement of ESP (English for specific purposes) proficiency is placed above the EGP (English for general purposes) one. This dual framework is useful, including two different dimensions of regional differences and genre-specific proficiency in its discussion. Although it could be too complex, particularly with the inclusion of the three Kachruvian concentric models also in the framework, an attempt to combine the three influential models in one framework is ambitious. It will be interesting to see whether these regional standard Englishes develop and people in these wider regions communicate with each other with their own varieties of English, owning and using English in their own styles, which simultaneously makes it possible to communicate with people inter-regionally. This, then, could also be one of the promising future scenarios.

To conclude, the volume takes multi-perspectives, just as there are varieties of English (WE) and varying ways of approaching communicative situations where English is used as an international lingua franca (ELF). The future scenario by the contributors to this volume may not necessarily converge into one framework, paradigm or terminology, but it is closely connected with one consistent and recurrent message, that is, all contributors, although they may be using slightly different terminologies and frameworks, believe in multilingualism, multiculturalism, the creativity of the varieties of English users and their accompanying identities, while paying attention also to intelligibility of ELF or EIL communication.

Note

1. See *Asian Englishes* published by ALC Press, Tokyo.

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