To What Extent Can We Discern a Common Process at Work in the Spreading and Re-Rooting of English Across the World?

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To answer this question we must first make some definitions and state key dates in the history of English as a language. Before we can analyse how the English language spreads and expands we need to know where it has come from. Penhallurick (2010, p. 73) puts the "earliest known reference to *Englise* as the name of the language … to the first half of the eighth century" (italics in original), and Geldern breaks down the evolution of the language through time in the following manner:

| Old English | 450–1150 A.D. |
Middle English	1150–1500 A.D.
Early Middle English	1500–1700 A.D.
Modern English	1500–present day

Dates taken from Geldern (2006)

Although there is no precise date which we can pinpoint as representing the emergence of standard English, it is generally considered to be towards the end of the Middle English era (Penhallurick, 2003, p. 139; Geldern, 2006, p. 112).

The re-rooting of English across the world is a process that has been occurring for hundreds of years, or even more than a thousand years if we include the language's expansion into Wales, Scotland and Ireland. As Crystal (1997, p. 25) points out "As soon as it arrived in England from northern Europe, in the fifth century, it began to spread around the British Isles… From the twelfth century, Anglo-Norman knights were sent across the Irish Sea, and Ireland gradually fell under English rule." The evolution of English in the United Kingdom and Ireland is a systematic process that has been ongoing over the last thousand years and a journey it is still on today. Crystal (1997, p. 25) highlights that "compared with later events, these were movements on a very local scale— within the British Isles. The first significant step in the progress of English towards its status as a global language did not take place for another 300 years, towards the end of the sixteenth century." It is also worth noting that the versions of English that were transported overseas would have been very diverse and not just one variety or the standard southern English dialect. Figure 1 shows the possible origins of the settlers aboard the Mayflower vessel in 1601, we can see that there would

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have been quite a wide range of English speakers on board. Bauer (2003, p. 16) also highlights two major events that would have caused further mixing of the settler English, the Highland clearance in Scotland during the eighteenth century and the potato famine of Ireland in 1845. Though there are no accurate figures for the emigration to Canada, Australia and New Zealand; Bauer (2003, p. 16) quotes as many as five million people left Ireland for North America in the nineteenth century.

Map of England showing the counties of origin and hometowns of the 120 early colonists of Jamestown
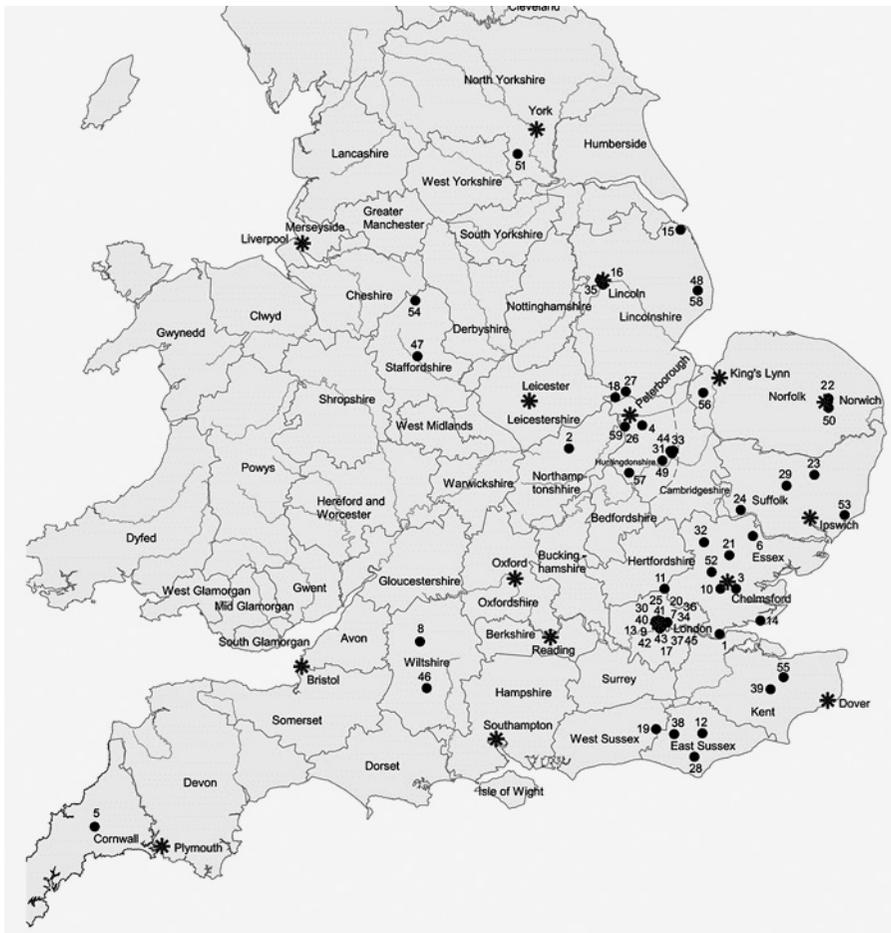
www.historicjamestowne.org/biographies

Figure 1

Although Kachru's concentric circles of English (Figure 2) is not a perfect representation of English around the world it is a seminal and widely referred to design that gives scholars and layman alike a focal point for discussion.

Kachru's model is useful in that it gives us an idea of where and by whom English is being used, and an approximation of the number of people using English. If we consider the estimates posited by Bauer (2002, p. 13), there were approximately seven million native speakers (NS) of English around the time of the change from Middle English to Early Modern English (*circ.* 1500). If we now jump forward to the modern day, we could put NS of English at a figure of 350 million people while Crystal (1997, p. 61) puts the estimate of English users, those in the expanding circle, at 1,200–1,500 million people. Thus, in a little over 500 years we have seen the English language spread from being used by approximately seven million people as a first language (L1) to being used by over a billion people in almost every corner of the globe. There is no way to gauge the exact levels of usage in all the countries represented, however Crystal (1997, p. 61) uses the term "reasonable competence" when calculating his estimates. Once more Crystal (1997, pp. 61–62) points out that while no other language has spread around the world so extensively, what is impressive is the speed with which the expansion has taken place, especially since the 1950's. This leads onto the next stage of the assignment: the processes at work in the increase of English around the world.

Kachru's Model of World Englishes

The "Expanding Circle"

China	1,088.2 mil
Egypt	50.3 mil
Indonesia	175.9 mil
Israel	4.5 mil
Japan	122.6 mil
Korea	42.6 mil
Nepal	18.0 mil
Saudi Arabia	12.9 mil
Taiwan	19.8 mil
USSR	285.8 mil
Zimbabwe	8.9 mil

The "Outer Circle"

Bangladesh	107.7 mil
Ghana	13.7 mil
India	810.8 mil
Kenya	22.9 mil
Malaysia	16.9 mil
Nigeria	112.2 mil
Pakistan	109.4 mil
Philippines	58.7 mil
Singapore	2.6 mil
Sri Lanka	16.6 mil
Tanzania	23.9 mil
Zambia	7.3 mil

The "Inner Circle"

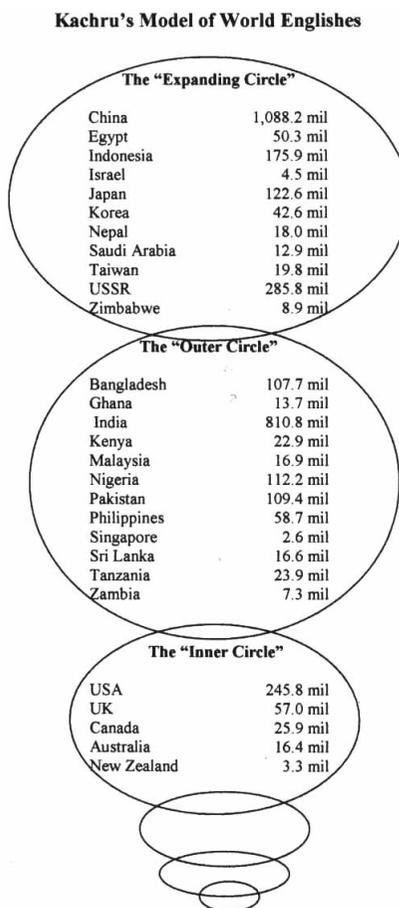|	
USA	245.8 mil
UK	57.0 mil
Canada	25.9 mil
Australia	16.4 mil
New Zealand	3.3 mil

Figure 2

Taken from Kachru (1992, p. 356) *The other tongue—English across cultures*. Second Ed.

As a convenient starting point Bauer (2002, p. 13) writes very succinctly that, "The huge expansion cannot be attributed to any great merit in the English language as such. Rather it must be attributed to historical developments, many of them accidental, by which England (and later Britain) gained a huge empire and then Britain and its former colonies gained influence far beyond the boundaries of that empire." When discussing the spread of English in various countries and cultures around the world there are a range of terms available to use: Schneider writes "As is characteristic of a newly emerging field, the terminology is still somewhat variable: we find labels such as New Englishes, World Englishes, Global Englishes, and so on used almost interchangeably with minimally varying connotations." However, some linguists such as Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008, p. 3) see the terms as troublesome and not easily interchangeable; they bring our attention to Kachru, who states that the 'New English' of India is older than the English in Australia, which is no longer considered 'New'. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008, p. 3) also point out that the term 'World

Englishes' is inadequate because it is not specific enough. Nevertheless, Schneider does conclude that the term 'New Englishes' is his preferred term. This is also the term I find most satisfactory due to its nature of including the term English and New, as the language is at a newer stage than the original English which left the British Isles during the sixteenth century. As this assignment is not focusing on the validity of these terms I will not go into any more detail here, but it is worth noting the problematic nature associated with them.

There are a number of different processes for forming a New English, Schneider (2003, p. 236) states that "how or why two groups are brought together and what their relationship was like in the early phases turns out to be less important than the recognition that once the settler group stays for good they will have to get along together, for better or worse." Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, this contact situation and the spreading of English around the world was mainly due to British colonialism. However, during the last century, the expansion of American economic and cultural influence along with the internationalisation of media communication has further increased the worldwide contact and overall number of English speakers (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, p. 16; Penhallurick, 2010, p. 89). The processes at work in the re-rooting of English around the world were the subject of a comprehensive article by Schneider in 2003, expanded further in a book published in 2007. Schneider concluded that there are five main stages that will lead from the initial language contact to the birth of a New English. With regards to the dates Schneider uses when discussing the cut off points of his Dynamic Model, he states that "they should be taken with a pinch of salt" (Schneider, 2007, p. 113), hence, the dates used below are purely for reference only and are symbolic representations of a continuing process and are not deemed as exact. The following is a brief summary of the five phases, along with examples of countries representing stages of the Dynamic Model.

Phase 1—Foundation

In the initial stage, English begins to be used on a regular basis in a country that was not English-speaking before; this results in a complex contact situation between the English speaking settler population and the indigenous population. Schneider notes that there are two levels of new interaction at this early stage: the group-internal communication among the English speakers, and the interaction between the English speakers and the indigenous population. Schneider (2007, p. 35) notes that "typically settlers come from different regional backgrounds, and are therefore native speakers of different regional and/or social dialects". Simple language will be promoted and most commonly used whereas in-group markers and strong regionalisms will be avoided, which leads to a relatively homogenous variety of English where speakers adjust their pronunciation and lexical usage to promote understanding, a process known as Koineization. Schneider, in his 2007 book, also points out that there are two other linguistic effects during phase 1: incipient pidginization and toponymic borrowing. The newly emerging contact between people with no common language requires a lingua franca; hence, incipient pidginization is a viable option. Also, at this early stage, the indigenous language does not really affect the English spoken by the settler population other

than with regard to place names; a situation similar to this occurred when the Anglo-Saxon invaders first came to England, adopted the Celtic place names, and integrated them into the newly emerging English. A more recent example of Phase 1 is the regular use of English in Fiji by whalers, traders, and beachcombers which started in the early nineteenth century and was further developed when Fiji became a British colony in 1874; this was continued by the presence of missionaries who opened a school in 1894 and introduced the formal teaching of English. Also during the late nineteenth century we see a significant influx of Indians and Pacific Islanders, almost 100,000 people in total, which lead to the formation of various Pidgins and a lingua franca. During this time, English was mostly associated with formal education and restricted to elite minorities such as the sons of clan chiefs who were in close contact with the white settlers. Remarkably, the number of Europeans has never been large and Schneider (2007, p. 115) quotes the census of 1996 showing that the European population of Fiji is only 0.5%.

Phase 2—Exonomartive Stabilisation

After a certain amount of time the settler community tends to find some political stability, colonies form and English is now spoken regularly as a formally established language of administration, legal affairs and the education system. The settler population, whether long term occupants or short term visitors, see themselves as an outpost of the mother country and as representatives of British culture on foreign soil. We slowly start to see 'British plus'—British, but seasoned with the additional flavour of the extraterritorial experience which those who stayed at home do not share. For the indigenous population English is gradually seen as an asset and often carries with it a relatively higher social status, this leads to a growing number of natives having regular contact with the Europeans; this in turn initiates the formation of an elite group from the indigenous population and fosters a positive attitude towards the use of English as a means of securing or advancing their status or economic prosperity. It is during this phase that we begin to see children born to settler parents who, therefore, do not possess a social and cultural connection to their parent's home, as well as children of mixed ethnic parentage; as a result, a hybrid cultural identity develops. Schneider, citing the work carried out in Fiji and Singapore by Siegel and Gupta respectively, suggests that people of mixed descent play a particularly important role in the distribution process. The settler strand of English has thus far stayed more or less homogenous, with the exception of indigenous place names, but in Phase 2 we now start seeing slow and gradual modifications to the language being spoken by the Europeans. Schneider (2007, p. 39) states that "as soon as meaningful words are borrowed: this is a significant step" and indeed this is what occurs in Phase 2 with the settlers needing to refer to the new flora and fauna that they have encountered, followed by cultural terms, customs and objects. This is where we also encounter – isms, as in Americanisms, Australianisms, Indianisms etc. plus we see the start of what Schneider (2003, p. 246; 2007, p. 39) describes as linguistically the most important process 'structural nativization' which involves some transfer phenomena on the levels of phonology and structure, although they go largely unnoticed being restricted to spoken vernaculars in the beginning.

Meanwhile the English being spoken by the indigenous population is not regarded as anything special or noteworthy; rather it is good enough for the purposes of communication only. In his 2007 book Schneider examines the development of Phase 2 in Australia 1830–1900, and attributes the expansion of English further into Australia to the number of free immigrants outnumbering the prisoner population, along with the establishment of new colonies such as Tasmania, South Australia and Queensland. Around this time we also see the advancement of Christian missions and the establishment of schools bringing further contact between the indigenous people and the Europeans. On a linguistic level there was a gradual spread of English among the Aborigines with the English in Australia borrowing heavily from the Aboriginal languages specifically for flora and fauna, such as *waratah* a kind of tree, now also the name of a Sydney based Rugby Union team and *kookaburra* a species of kingfisher. Quoting the research done by Leitner in 2004, Schneider writes that of the Aboriginal loan words in Australian English, 35.8% refer to flora, 27.9% to fauna and 25.6% refer to social organisation (Schneider, 2007, p. 121).

Phase 3—Nativisation

Schneider states that the third phase, nativisation, is the most important, the most interesting and the most vibrant one; it is the main period for both cultural and linguistic transformation. This is the period when the mother country has begun to feel less and less like a 'mother'; the settler colony will start going its own way politically and linguistically, relying less and less on the home country, slowly and hesitantly at first, but gaining momentum and confidence as time passes. Both indigenous and settler populations regard themselves as permanent residents in the shared land, although still with the inherent differences in status, lifestyle and prosperity from Phases 1 and 2 still prevalent; both communities come to a mutual understanding of a need to get along with each other. For the first time the settler and indigenous strands become closely and directly intertwined. By this time, indigenous-strand usage has developed local linguistic characteristics and some of these are adopted by a number of the settler-strand users as a means of showing their identification with their current country of residence "their future rather than their past, gradually supplanting their loyalty to the country of origin" (Schneider, 2003, p. 248) and inevitably, questions are raised with regards to linguistic norms. A catalyst during this stage of development is the process of independence, which is either achieved or is en-route; in the case of the former British Empire, those settler populations which still held the 'home country' in high regard and found it difficult to let go were appeased by a half-way measure with the term "Commonwealth of Nations" which brought with it certain citizenship rights for both settler and indigenous groups. On a linguistic level, "grammatical features of New Englishes emerge when idiosyncrasies of usage develop into indigenous and innovative patterns and rules" (Schneider, 2003, p. 249). These new grammatical features will spread first in the indigenous strand, being more readily accepted as they are not as strict as the settler population, and then gradually into the settler strand. One other feature frequently observed at this stage is the emergence of mixed codes, a performance phenomenon by which the user frequently switches between codes, a process common among bilingual

communities. Schneider (2007, pp. 47–48) notes that "the interesting thing is that these mixed codes are not only recognised and commented on as such but may adopt the role of an identity carrier that is otherwise associated with a newly emerging variety of English".

The case study of Hong Kong currently in phase 3 of the dynamic cycle is fascinating: even though there were a very small percentage of resident native speakers, and the island was handed back to China in 1997 after 150 years of British rule, English has a very strong hold in the country. With the economic transformation and the introduction of Anglo-Chinese secondary schools in the 1970's, Schneider dates the start of Phase 3 in the 1960's. After the handover agreement was made in 1984, the residents had to decide whether to stay and rewrite their identity from outpost representative of Britain in Hong Kong to permanent Hong Kong resident. In addition, the new Chinese administration sought to reduce significantly the number of English schools, which could have had a drastic effect in the country; however, this act was met with widespread opposition from the Hong Kong population, and as a result was not implemented.

Phase 4—Endonormative Stabilisation

As with all the phases of Schneider's Dynamic Model there are certain overlaps between the stages, moreover some characteristics may even move between the stages. In Phase 4 this is highlighted by the subject of political independence, although Schneider regards this as not sufficient *per se*, stating that: "what is ultimately decisive is not only political independence but also, and more importantly, cultural self-reliance, essentially the new identity construction that follows political separation" (Schneider, 2007, p. 48). For example both Australia and New Zealand still perceived themselves as essentially British in their cultural orientations after their political independence; it was only after they gave this up that the linguistic dynamism toward the birth of new varieties received an additional impetus. Although the evolutionary process from Phase 3 to 4 may be smooth and uneventful, it can also be brought about by a political event which leaves the population of the settler strand in no doubt that they are an outpost of the mother country no longer. Initially, the settler strand immigrants may feel a sense of isolation or abandonment, but this will also cause them to reconsider and redefine themselves; a political and country wide version of 'tough love'. Schneider (2003, p. 250; 2007, p. 49) describes this incident as "Event X" and illustrates the incident of Australia being left unsupported against attacks from Japan during World War II.

Eventually we see the community accepting a new local norm, distinct from what the original colonisers spoke, even in formal situations, effectively killing off the two different strands and leaving just one common form used by all the population. This, unfortunately does endanger many, if not all, of the indigenous ethnic groups who have undergone a process of language shift, and we need just look at the examples from Australian Aborigines and North American indigenous tribes to see the full extent of the damage caused, although there are some positive cases as in New Zealand Maori tribes, which did initially suffer but have fared far better over time. The two final linguistic

norm acceptance processes are codification and the label changing from 'English in X' to 'X English'; with regards to codification, in western societies for a language to gain official acceptance there must be reference books such as dictionaries, grammars and usage guides. This can be highlighted by the publication of the Macquarie dictionary of Australian English in 1981 which is seen as a hallmark of Australia's national identity. If we compare the two terms 'English in Hong Kong' and 'Hong Kong English', the first marks the dialect as just a variant while the latter credits it with the status of a distinct type, essentially on a level footing with other recognised Englishes.

Schneider (2007, p. 234) dates Phase 4 in Jamaica from 1962. Although there has been a very strong promotion of things Jamaican and Jamaican Creole, it has also met with resistance, although this is declining. English, as the official language in Jamaica, and even British English, is still seen as the standard to be taught in school and used in public offices and official domains, but there has been a definite promotion and demand for respect of Jamaican Creole, with "even the Minister of education publicly considering the possibility of using "the dialect" in schools" (Schneider, 2007, p. 235). This is further exemplified by the bible being translated into Jamaican patois for the first time in 2011, bringing with it even more linguistic and political strength (http://www.bbc.co.uk).

Phase 5—Differentiation

Phase 5 differentiation is the final stage: "by this time, the still somewhat shaky, slightly questioned independence of the previous stage has given way to the secure existence and life of a stable young country" (Schneider, 2007, p. 52). The new country is now politically, culturally and linguistically independent, having become free from the external dominant source of power that was the settler's home country; this self-dependence brings with it an attitude of relying on its own resources and has no need to be compared to others. This stage, as Schneider (2003, p. 253) states, "is not the end point of linguistic evolution; rather it is a turning point from which something new springs: the stage of dialect birth". However, it must be stressed that this does not mean monolingualism: in South Africa, Canada and Singapore varieties of English coexist with other, mostly indigenous languages, with South Africa having "eleven official languages and its ethnic, social and regional varieties of English" (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). Subsequently, new varieties of the language emerge in the population of the new country, with regional and social dialects and linguistic markers that bear regional or social indicative functions only within the new country. Phase 5 also marks the inception of a dynamic phase of new, or increased sociolinguistic and meaningful internal diversification. Schneider (2007, p. 54) does concede that this diversity is difficult to prove and could just be the passage of time; regional differences having the tendency to increase over time regardless.

There are only a handful of countries at this present time to have reached phase 5 of Schneider's model: out of 17 countries that Schneider (2007) chose to do case studies on only USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand have been placed into Phase 5. Jamaica could be regarded as on the cusp, and according to Schneider (2007, p. 238) "one feature is observable in Jamaican language use which seems to be foreshadowing phase 5 already, namely initial diversification", though he

also states that this should not be overestimated. Canada is a good example of Phase 5 as English is coexisting alongside other languages, and the Canadian government, already having French as an official language, is also actively encouraging the indigenous 'heritage languages'.

Although Schneider states that it should be possible to apply the model to most, ideally all, of the New Englishes around the globe, there are occasions where the model does not fit, such as the initial expansion of English around Britain and Ireland. There could also be other cases of the spread of English into predominantly non-English countries: Japan, for example, an expanding circle country in Kachru's model, has never been colonised by English settlers other than a brief occupation by the USA after World War II, and has seen a definite increase and promotion of English in the last few decades. This has been followed by official encouragement from the Japanese government and major businesses; from March 2012 English has been made a compulsory subject from the very first years of formal education (http://www.guardian.co.uk), and two of its largest and most successful companies, Rakuten and UNIQLO, have made English the official language of communication in their business operations (http://www.japantimes.co.jp). Furthermore, while teaching in Japan I have seen children of all ages using English, instead of Japanese, words in everyday situations, much to the dismay of some elder Japanese people: for colours they will often use the word green instead of 緑 (midori), and for numbers, particularly when writing, they predominantly use the English symbols instead of the Japanese/Chinese kanji pictogram 一 1, 二 2, 三 3, etc. I would not venture to say that Japan is in Phase 1 of Schneider's Dynamic Model; however, given time and the expansionist nature of English, maybe we could see a development of Schneider's model to incorporate such situations in the future.

Given the potential scope of the question it is difficult to cover all aspects of the processes that result in the formation of New Englishes, and inevitably some important concepts have been overlooked, such as Mufwene's (2001) founder-effect stating that early immigrants have an unbalanced influence on an emerging language form than do later immigrants. There is also Labov's (1972) influential study on prestige, and the notion of covert and overt prestige influencing how people use English depending on their social standing. However, as a final remark that echoes my own thoughts I quote Schneider (2011, p. 197), who concludes that if you put speakers of different origins together in one locality, add all the elements mentioned thus far and wait a few generations, a new variety of English will be formed.

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