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WORLD ENGLISHES IN THE EXPANDING CIRCLE

Guest Editors
Cecil L. NELSON and *Zoya G. PROSHINA*

ВАРИАНТЫ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА РАСШИРЯЮЩЕГОСЯ КРУГА

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Журнал Russian Journal of Linguistics – периодическое международное рецензируемое научное издание в области междисциплинарных лингвистических исследований. Журнал является международным как по составу редакционной коллегии и экспертного совета, так и по авторам и тематике публикаций.

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Перечень отраслей науки и групп специальностей научных работников в соответствии с номенклатурой ВАК РФ: Отрасль науки: 10.00.00 – филологические науки; Специальности научных работников: 10.02.01 – русский язык, 10.02.04 – германские языки, 10.02.05 – романские языки, 10.02.19 – теория языка, 10.02.20 – сравнительно-историческое, типологическое и сопоставительное языкознание.

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World Englishes in the Expanding Circle

Варианты английского языка Расширяющегося круга

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Zoya G. PROSHINA[1] and Cecil L. NELSON[2]

[1] Lomonosov Moscow State University
Moscow, Russia
[2] Indiana State University
Terre Haute, Indiana, USA

Abstract

In this overview article, we present the motivations for compiling this issue of *RJL* and summarize the major premises of the World Englishes (WE) Paradigm. The focus is on the relations between the WE school of thought and the paradigms that branched from it, i.e. English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and English as an International Language (EIL). The statuses of Englishes in the Kachruvian Expanding Circle that function mainly as lingua francas in international communication is one of the most controversial issues in sociolinguistics. We discuss the misconceptions regarding the Expanding Circle Englishes. Finally, we give a brief survey of the articles contributed to this issue, which develop theoretical and empirical material for the WE paradigm.

Keywords: *World Englishes paradigm, varieties, Expanding Circle, English as a Lingua Franca, English as an International Language, International English, language norms*

Вступительная статья

Варианты английского языка и Расширяющийся круг Качру

З.Г. ПРОШИНА[1], С.Л. НЕЛЬСОН[2]

[1] Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова
Москва, Россия
[2] Университет штата Индиана
Терре-Хот, США

Аннотация

В данной обзорной статье объясняются причины, обусловившие подготовку этого выпуска журнала, и суммируются основные положения контактной вариантологии английского языка. Обращается внимание на связь между парадигмой, изучающей варианты английского языка в мире, и теориями, отпочковавшимися от нее – теорией английского как лингва франка и теорией английского как международного языка. Одной из самых спорных проблем социолингвистики стал вопрос о статусе вариантов из Расширяющегося круга,

представленного в теории Б. Качру. В международной коммуникации эти варианты функционируют главным образом как языки-посредники, или лингва франка. Рассматриваются ошибочные концепции относительно вариантов Расширяющегося круга. В заключение делается краткий обзор статей, представленных в данный номер, развивающих теорию и предоставляющих эмпирический материал для дальнейшей разработки теории вариантов английского языка в мире.

Ключевые слова: *контактная вариантология английского языка, варианты, Расширяющийся круг, английский как лингва франка, английский как международный язык, международный английский язык, языковые нормы*

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1. Introduction

This journal issue is a collection of articles that ponder the status, functions, and features of Englishes that in their home settings are mostly known as a foreign language. They are normally used for intercultural communication with people of other countries and rarely for interpersonal communication within their own countries. These varieties of English belong to the third group of Englishes that are regularly named Expanding Circle Englishes in the famous Three Circles Theory of Braj B. Kachru (1985). The other two groups are termed Inner Circle Englishes, characterized as native (first) languages for the majority of their countries' populations and serving almost all possible functions within their communities, and Outer Circle Englishes, institutionalized and serving as a second official (co-official) language in their country's institutions. (Critiques of Kachru's model and descriptions of other models are examined in Schneider 2017 and Berns 2019.)

According to the statistics provided by ThoughtCo[1], English as a Second Language is learned by 375 million people, while English as a Foreign Language is learnt by 750 million (Beare 2020). Thus, there are twice as many users of English in the Expanding Circle as in the Outer Circle. In China only, in 2001 the number of English learners was 390 million (Wei & Su 2012: 11). Statistics provided by Levada-Center reveal that in 2014, 11% of Russians, about 16 million users, claimed good knowledge of English.

The quantitative research conducted by Margie Berns in 2005 and 2019 demonstrated steadily growing interest in Expanding Circle Englishes. Berns counted papers published in two scholarly journals, *World Englishes* and *English Today*, and found that within the period of 1998–2001 these journals published 47 articles on Expanding Circle Englishes. In 2001–2018, the number of papers on Expanding Circle Englishes was 318. The total number was 365 papers covering 79 countries and 11 regions, with the "lion's share" (Berns 2019: 12) relating to East Asia, especially China (about 100 papers) and Japan (20 papers). Russian

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[1] ThoughtCo is a premier reference education site, whose content is created by high-grading experts in a field. See https://www.thoughtco.com/about-us (accessed: 16.07.2020).

English was documented in 19 articles, the majority of which were published in a special issue of *World Englishes* (Proshina 2005). Berns stressed that these Expanding Circle Englishes "remain uncharted territory in many respects" (Berns 2019: 13).

In fact, the proof of her statement can be seen even in such encyclopedic reference works as handbooks. The first *Handbook of World Englishes*, published in 2006 (Kachru, Kachru & Nelson 2006), had only three chapters on Expanding Circle varieties – East Asian, South American, and European Englishes – of sixteen chapters describing localized world Englishes. The second edition of the *Handbook of World Englishes* (Nelson, Proshina & Davis 2020) has five chapters dealing specifically with South American, European, Russian, East Asian, and Chinese Englishes. Five chapters on East Asian, Chinese, Slavic, Colombian, and European Englishes are included in *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes* (Kirkpatrick 2010). Only one region (Central America) of the Expanding Circle is covered in *The Cambridge Handbook of World Englishes* (Schreier, Hundt & Schneider 2020), and three in *The Oxford Handbook of World Englishes* (Filppula, Klemola & Sharma 2017). Seven regional varieties are discussed in *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca* (Jenkins, Baker & Dewey 2018). Though Thumboo's volume titled *The Three Circles of English* (Thumboo 2001) is aimed at discussing various Englishes that are comprised in the Kachruvian model, only four chapters address the Expanding Circle proper. Very little information on the Expanding Circle can be found in *A Dictionary of Varieties of English* (Hickey 2014).

Special works on Expanding Circle Englishes are not numerous, either. European Englishes are examined in Cenoz & Jessner (2000), Görlach (2001, 2002), Berns, de Bot & Hasebrink (2007), Houwer & Wilton (2011), Edwards (2016), Borodina (2018). East Asian Englishes are researched in Proshina (2001, 2020); Bolton (2003), Stanlaw (2004), Bondarenko (2007), Bianko, Orton & Gao (2009), Ivankova (2009), Seargeant (2009, 2011), Xu (2010), Zavyalova (2011), Graddol (2013), Hadikin (2014), Cho (2017), and Jenks & Lee (2017).

Russian English, though a very debatable issue, has been a focus of the special volume *Russian English: History, Functions, and Features* (Proshina & Eddy 2016), as well as a number of articles (Gritsenko 2014, Proshina 2006, 2014b, Proshina & Rivlina 2018, 2020, Rivlina 2013, 2015a, 2015b, Ustinova 2005, 2006) and dissertations (Eddy 2007, Lawrick 2011, Lazaretnaya 2012). Some authors, though not using the term 'Russian English' have in fact contributed to the discussion of the variety, its cultural underpinning (Kabakchi 1998, 2002, 2015) and its linguistic features (Savitsky & Kurovskaya 2004, Schennikova 2017, Shishkina 1996).

Given what has been said and still is to be clarified, the motivation of this journal's thematic issue is the need to discuss the nature of Expanding Circle Englishes and the factors that facilitate their development, different from each other and from other varieties in the Inner and Outer Circles, yet not recognized by many

speakers of these varieties or even by linguistic scholars who, on the one hand, take Kachru's division of world Englishes for granted, but on the other, argue against Expanding Circle Englishes having the right to be called a variety.

2. The WE paradigm and how it differs from other theories

Before we introduce the articles contributed to this issue, we would like to remind the reader of the major prerequisites and tenets of the Word Englishes (WE) paradigm, and its connection with other paradigms that have actually branched from it.

The WE paradigm, which emerged in the 1960s (Kachru 1961, Beliayeva & Potapova 1961) and has developed since, with its theoretical basis brought into focus especially in the 1980–1990s (Kachru 1986, Kachru & Smith 1985, Smith 1987, Smith & Forman 1997, see also Bolton 2020), is a revolutionary theory (Proshina 2014a), as it has radically challenged the traditional views on the Empire's linguistic dominance, flipped sociolinguistic ideas, and drastically changed pedagogical beliefs that had found their way into English language teaching and learning. To summarize the major premises, the following arguments should be highlighted:

– English is not a monolithic and homogeneous language anymore. Being pluricentric (which is due to historical, political, and economic, as well as cultural and informational reasons), it has differentiated into a great number of varieties – world Englishes.

– Each variety is underpinned by its linguaculture, which means it is able to express the cultural identity of its users and has certain features transferred from their mother tongues and/or other languages that are in regular contact with this variety.

– A variety is a sociolinguistic phenomenon. Therefore, it has features characteristic of a certain speech community on the average but not necessarily manifested in the speech of every member of this community, since each speaker's usage depends on the level of language proficiency, sphere of use, style of communication, and individual preferences.

– Due to the linguacultural underpinning that identifies each variety, world Englishes are all equally legitimate. In the very first issue of the *World Englishes* journal, its founding editors stated:

> The editorial board considers the native and non-native users of English as equal partners in deliberations on users of English and its teaching internationally. *WE* is thus a vehicle which may be used to share the vast Western and non-Western expertise and experience for the benefit of all users of English.… The acronym *WE,* therefore aptly symbolizes the underlying philosophy of the journal and the aspirations of the Editorial Board (Kachru & Smith 1985: 211).

– Varieties of the Outer and Expanding Circles are used as additional or auxiliary (Smith 1976) communicative tools. The functions of the burgeoning

varieties might seem restricted, but the more a variety develops over time, the more functions it gains. Kachru (1986: 92) refers to the *ranges* of Englishes in "cultural, social, educational, and commercial contexts," and to the *depths* of their social acceptance and use in "various strata of society." This dynamic headway is nowadays obvious in all varieties.

These innovative features are salient for linguistics, especially sociolinguistics, literature studies, culture studies, and applied linguistics, by which we understand not only the domain of language teaching and learning as is normally meant "in the Anglophone literature" (Knapp & Antos 2009: vii), but also in the so-called "Practical Applied Linguistics" in Back's sense of the term (Back 1970), as it is also used in Russia, i.e., "application of insights from linguistics in a practical field related to language, such as language teaching, translation, and the like" (Knapp & Antos 2009: vii). In a word, these features mark the interdisciplinarity of the new paradigm, which makes it much wider in its scope than the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) paradigm in English language teaching (ELT).

The WE paradigm has led to the emergence of other branches of research that are nowadays characterized as new paradigms – English as an International Language (EIL) and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) – that are developing certain aspects related to world Englishes. Both these branches have ELT as their major focus. They stand in clear opposition to the pedagogy of EFL, which is based on teaching a monocentric or bicentric model of English, based on British English and British culture, or/and American English and the culture and values it serves.

Unlike the pedagogical concept of EFL, the idea that stands behind EIL, the term put forward by Larry Smith (1976) and further developed by Farzad Sharifian (2009) and many other scholars (Alsagoff 2012, Marlina & Giri 2014, Matsuda 2012, 2017, McKay 2002), focuses on the necessity of acquainting students with the language by exposing them to diverse world Englishes that might meet the needs of future communicators in real-life situations:

> EIL in fact rejects the idea of any particular variety being selected as a lingua franca for intercultural communication. EIL emphasizes that English, with its many varieties, is a language of international, and therefore intercultural, communication. (Sharifian 2009: 2)

If the concept of EIL is grounded on the diversity of world Englishes, a similar term, International English, implies a controversial phenomenon. It is associated with an allegedly unified standard English that facilitates international communication (Todd & Hancock 1987, Trudgill & Hannah 1994) – similar to Quirk's idea of "nuclear English" (Quirk 1982) – and is used in formal contexts (though, as we will discuss later, it is an abstract ideal implemented in real speech practice with at least a local accent, if not other context-specific features). This understanding of International English coincides with Peter Strevens's definition: "a particular dialect of English, being the only non-localized dialect, of global currency without significant variation, universally accepted as the appropriate educational target in teaching English; which may be spoken with an unrestricted

choice of accent" (Strevens 1983: 88). In fact, nowadays it is impossible to speak about one and the same standard of English for all varieties – they are changing dynamically and the process of standardization is observed in all of them (Hickey 2013). Judging by Strevens's definition, EIL and International English prove to be antonymic concepts, with EIL oriented towards diversity and differentiation – i.e. varieties – and International English, towards unity and homogeneity, i.e. invariant.

The concept of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) was revived by Alan Firth (1990, 1996) to imply "the modus operandi" for interactants none of whom has this language as their mother tongue (Firth 1996: 255). As is clear from this definition, native speakers are excluded from this conceptualization, which can reasonably be questioned, since speakers of English as their first language have to adapt the way they speak in intercultural settings. Therefore, nowadays more commonly accepted is the definition given by Barbara Seidlhofer: ELF is "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seidlhofer 2011: 7), which includes participants of the three circles (though still we can find associations of ELF mostly with varieties of the Expanding Circle). Seidlhofer's explanation of ELF also prompts a very important conceptual idea: ELF is the use or function of any variety of English. It has no status as a variety, but is just a variety's pragmatic facet. Any world English as a variety (including Inner Circle varieties) can be characterized by this function, which is implemented mostly in intercultural communication. But besides this function, world Englishes have many other functions as well.

It is no wonder that when teachers are talking about ELF, they concentrate mostly on three objects: strategies of communication, mutual understanding, and diversity awareness.

Firstly, strategies of communication are aimed at mutual accommodation of speakers via such adaptive processes as exploiting redundancy, regularization, added prominence, explication, adjustments, reformulations, repetition, code-switching, negotiation of meaning, and many others (Cogo & Dewey 2012, Mauranen & Ranta 2010, Meierkord 2012, Vettorel 2018). Research on these processes is mainly carried out by means of corpora; therefore, the contributions of these scholars to corpus linguistics is undeniable (e.g., VOICE, Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English; ELFA, English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings; CASE, Corpus of Academic Spoken English; ACE, Asian Corpus of English; RACE, Russian-Asian Corpus of English; BELF, English as Business Lingua Franca).

Secondly, mutual understanding in international communication is a common problem for ELF, EIL, and WE researchers. In the early days of the WE paradigm, the problem was formulated as a three-facet phenomenon by Larry Smith and the scholars he was working with (Nelson 2011, Smith 1992, Smith & Bisazza 1982, Smith & Rafiqzad 1979, Smith and Nelson 2020). Mutual understanding comprises three facets: *intelligibility*, understanding spoken and written forms of speech

production; *comprehensibility*, understanding the meaning of what is said and written; and *interpretability*, understanding the sense of what hides behind the text – a pragmatic component associated with the background knowledge of communicators which allows them to understand the purpose of the language in use.

The third challenge, diversity awareness, which is much discussed by ELF researchers (Bayyurt & Sifakis 2015, Lopriore & Vettorel 2015, Sifakis et al. 2018, Sung 2018, Wang 2015), is not an uncommon topic for EIL and WE scholars, as well. As was shown above, diversity has become a key word for talking about EIL. World Englishes are singled out based on different features and functions, and because of that, they are differentiated as varieties. From a pedagogical point of view, raising awareness of the diverse ways people speak English due to their different linguacultural grounds is to make "an informed choice" (Jenkins 2007: 22). which is necessary for effective intercultural communication.

An issue that seems to have been a stumbling block between ELF and WE supporters is the relation between ELF and a variety. Though it has been recognized that ELF "does not exist as a system" (Canagarajah 2007: 926) and "emerges out of and through interaction" (Meierkord 2004: 129, see also Kecskes 2019), and that it is an abstraction, a concept of a function but not a live variety *per se* (Berns 2009: 196), time and again we can find works (e.g., Breiteneder 2009, Mackenzie 2014, Jenkins 2017) that describe phonetic, syntactic, and other levels of ELF that demonstrate that the authors treat this concept as a structured variety (at least a generalized entity, which makes it an abstraction rather than a live phenomenon) instead of talking of world Englishes functioning as ELF.

3. Dispelling doubts about the Expanding Circle

While Inner Circle varieties, both old and new (like New Zealand, Australian, and Canadian Englishes), and many Outer Circle Englishes are well recognized and by now have been thoroughly described, the Expanding Circle Englishes have not yet been unanimously accepted, especially among their own users. Reasons for that are usually seen in these varieties not being codified, but if we have a deeper look into the problem, we can find that, in fact, the rationale for rejecting Expanding Circle varieties is lack of linguacultural acceptance.

Regarding codification, which is usually understood as the process resulting in standardization of the language, we can definitely argue that *all* varieties as language manifestations are standardized, though their spoken performance might be represented as either fitting norms or breaking them. Following Davis (2010), we use the term *standardized English* rather than *standard English* to emphasize the dynamic linguistic changes that take place in all world Englishes, including those that belong to the Inner Circle.

Speaking about types of language norms, Kachru (1985) subdivided them into three kinds according to the three circles: the Inner Circle comprises endonormative varieties that usually serve as norm-providing models for other Englishes; the Outer

Circle varieties are in the most dynamic process of modifying the norms and, therefore, are considered as norm-developing Englishes; and the Expanding Circle varieties are norm-dependent and apply exonorms that have been developed and codified in other Englishes, not necessarily in the Inner Circle; if there is need, Expanding Circle users of English can employ standards of an Outer Circle English. The variability of exonorms, especially British and American, leads to their frequent mixture and results in a certain specificity in using the standardized variety.

As for speech production in Expanding Circle Englishes, Kachru's theory again provides us with an explanation in the form of a bilingual cline model (Kachru 1983). Any variety produced by contact with an indigenous language results in bilinguality of its users, which can be represented as a continuum of use, depending on the language competence of users and functions and style of their discourse. Acrolectal speech characterizes formal discourse of very competent uses; mesolectal speech is mostly manifest in informal discourse of educated speakers or in formal and informal discourse typical of users with less proficiency; and basilectal speech as a hybrid and even pidginized type of discourse is characteristic of uneducated users (Proshina 2017: 150–152).

We see that standardization should not be regarded as a major argument for accepting a variety, which exists in both standardized and non-standardized forms and includes not only acrolect, but also mesolect and basilect. Acceptance of a variety is gained when its users recognize that their variety expresses their linguacultural identity, and it might be a primary or a secondary vehicle for this expression. The variety they speak and write expresses their culture, values, mindset, and world view. This conceptual cultural part of identity is revealed through lexis and syntax, first and foremost (culture-loaded words, collocations, and syntactic structures). Besides these means, the lingual part of one's identity is also transferred via phonetic (phonetic accent) and grammatical levels (grammar categories, such as discretion in expressing plurality of nouns – *equipments, furnitures* – as is observed in Asian Englishes). The linguistic features result from transfer from the users' first language, as well as from verbalization of their mindset. For example, even in acrolectal Russian English one can hear Russian intonation, devoiced final consonants, frequent lack of aspiration, sometimes specific pronunciations of separate sounds (such as *th, w, r*), by all of which the Russian accent is easily identified. On the grammatical level, direct object fronting *(This book I haven't read yet.)*, lack or unusual use of articles (*the complex ethnical structure of the population determines **peculiarity** of **the** gender interaction*), avoidance of the Perfect tenses *(I am living in this city since childhood),* substitution of left-hand attributive clusters by postpositional attributes containing prepositions *(Old English period > period of Old English),* dominance of impersonal sentences with a dummy subject (*It is expected that she will come* will be preferred to *She is supposed to come)* are very typical. Many other features of Russian English discourse are described in Proshina & Eddy (2016).

This does not mean that absolutely all users of a variety will exhibit the full set of features typical of the variety. As has been mentioned, the number of the variety's distinctive features in an individual's spoken discourse will depend on the user's language competence, context of situation, state of mind, and degree of desire to follow the educational model as an exonorm.

Acceptance of a variety is a long process – it takes time for an English in a certain location to become the local English. Even Inner Circle Englishes, for example, Australian English, had to make the transition from English in Australia to Australian English (Fritz 2007) that was fully recognized as a variety *per se* only in the 1970s when Australians overcame their cultural cringe, and their cultural nationalism paved the way to assert their linguistic and cultural identity.

Social and psychological awareness of linguacultural identity expressed through a variety, as well as its educational codification (Kachru 1985), lead to recognizing its distinctive features. Most of the Expanding Circle varieties are still on their way to this recognition.

This recognition will certainly come with a growing functional increase of Expanding Circle Englishes. Nowadays they serve not only intercultural functions as a lingua franca. They also have informative functions in business, advertising, mass media, and science. They implement an instrumental function in education, including English as a medium of instruction (EMI). Expanding Circle Englishes can also be found in their creative functions (in translingual or contact literatures, mass culture, and ludic uses in puns and so on; see, for example, Seidlhofer (2010) for the functions of English and domains of its use in Europe).

To conclude, we would like to emphasize that Expanding Circle varieties do exist in real life and no matter how closely their users might approach an educating exonormative model, varieties will still have their own distinctive features as they serve as secondary means of linguacultural identity. A variety is a typical collection of discourse events and products, distinctive in linguistic features and cultural underpinnings.

A variety is not a simulation of a codified education model, nor is it a collection of defective speech samples of interlanguage. Expanding Circle varieties, like all other world Englishes, are used by educated communicators with fluent performance and high competence – those whom Kachru (1998) described as functional native speakers of their varieties (see also Smith 2008).

World Englishes of the three circles should constitute part and parcel of EIL curricula. Raising awareness of the diversity of Englishes is of unquestionable value in language teaching and learning and in translation and interpretation. The domain of applied linguistics is yet to be enriched by WE research. Knowing distinctive features of other varieties, as well as specifics of their Romanization systems (such as Chinese Pinyin, for example) will make intervarietal communication, including intervarietal translation, easier.

Recognizing one's own variety as a vehicle to express one's mindset and culture. and being aware of its place among other world Englishes provides

psychological comfort in intercultural communication due to the principles of inclusiveness and equality of varieties. Knowing typical features of one's own variety is important for improving one's language competence.

4. Brief description of this issue

Berns (2005: 92) spoke about the "dawning age of the Expanding Circle Englishes." The publication of this issue of the *Russian Journal of Linguistics* shows that the dawn has gradually grown into late morning, though the primetime noon is still ahead.

Having described the motives that pushed us to collect this issue and the major premises of the WE paradigm and its branches, such as EIL and ELF, we would like to express our gratitude to the authors who contributed their works to make this publication interesting and insightful.

As readers can see from the Table of Contents, the articles presented in this journal deal with Asian (Japanese and Chinese), European (German), and Russian Englishes. They cover general issues of the Expanding Circle Englishes, their statuses, features, and functions (A. Kirkpatrick, V. Zavyalova, Zh. Xu & D. Zhang, A. Rivlina, E. Gritsenko & A. Alikina, and Yu. Davydova). Some of the articles discuss pedagogical challenges related to teaching global and local Englishes (J. D'Angelo & S. Ike, N. Hino, and I. Lebedeva). One article (G. Lovtsevich & A. Sokolov) examines the lexicographic aspect of WE as viewed from the Expanding Circle.

Besides the research articles, this issue also includes two reviews related directly to the theme of World Englishes (E. Marinina and E. Lebedeva).

All the problems are discussed from international perspectives, as the authors have worked in different parts of the world and synthesized their empirical research with in-depth theoretical foundations. We hope that readers will find the issues raised in these papers to be useful and stimulating food for thought, further research, and practical activities.

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1. Введение

В этом номере журнала собраны статьи, авторы которых размышляют о статусе, функциях и чертах вариантов английского языка, которые у себя на родине чаще всего называются иностранным языком. Обычно эти варианты используются для межкультурной коммуникации с представителями других стран и редко – для межличностного общения внутри своих стран. Эти варианты английского языка относятся к третьей группе, обычно называемой вариантами Расширяющегося круга, согласно известной теории трех кругов мирового английского языка Браджа Б. Качру (Kachru 1985). Две другие группы относятся к вариантам Внутреннего круга, которые характеризуются

как родные (первые) языки для большинства населения этих стран и выполняют практически все возможные функции в рамках своего социума, и к вариантам Внешнего круга, которые институциализированы и выполняют роль второго официального языка в соответствующих институтах своих стран. Критика модели Б. Качру и описание других моделей рассмотрены в работах Э. Шнайдера (Schneider 2017) и М. Бёрнс (Berns 2019).

Согласно статистическим данным, предоставленным "ThoughtCo"[2], английский как второй язык изучают 375 млн человек, в то время как английский как иностранный язык изучают 750 млн человек (Beare 2020). Таким образом, пользователей английского языка в Расширяющемся круге в два раза больше, чем во Внешнем круге. Только в Китае в 2001 г. число изучающих английский язык составляло 390 млн (Wei & Su 2012: 11). Статистические данные, предоставленные Левада-центром, свидетельствуют, что в 2014 г. 11 % россиян, т.е. около 16 млн человек заявляли о хорошем знании английского языка.

Количественное исследование, проведенное Марджи Бёрнс в 2005 и 2019 гг., показало стабильно растущий интерес к вариантам Расширяющегося круга. М. Бёрнс сделала подсчет статей, опубликованных в двух научных журналах, *World Englishes* и *English Today*, и обнаружила, что в течение периода 1998–2001 гг. эти журналы опубликовали 47 статей о вариантах Расширяющегося круга. В 2001–2018 гг. число статей о вариантах Расширяющегося круга уже было 318. Общее число статей составило 365, они охватывали 79 стран и 11 регионов, причем «львиная доля» статей (Berns 2019: 12) имела отношение к Восточной Азии, особенно Китаю (около 100 работ) и Японии (20 работ). Описание русского варианта английского языка обнаружено в 19 статьях, из которых бо́льшая часть была напечатана в специальном выпуске журнала *World Englishes* (Proshina 2005). В целом, М. Бёрнс подчеркнула, что варианты Расширяющегося круга «во многих аспектах остаются белыми пятнами»[3] (Berns 2019: 13).

В самом деле, доказательством ее утверждения могут быть энциклопедические справочные издания, известные как handbooks. Первая книга такого рода о вариантах английского языка, "The Handbook of World Englishes", опубликованная в 2006 г. (Kachru, Kachru & Nelson 2006), содержала только три главы о региональных вариантах Расширяющегося круга – восточноазиатских, южноамериканских и европейских (из 16 глав, описывающих локализованные варианты английского языка в мире). Второе издание "The Handbook of World Englishes" издательства Wiley-Blackwell (Nelson, Proshina & Davis 2020) имеет уже пять глав, рассказывающих об английском языке

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[2] "ThoughtCo" – один из современных справочно-образовательных сайтов, контент которого готовится крупнейшими специалистами в своей области. См. https://www.thoughtco.com/about-us (дата обращения: 16.07.2020).

[3] Здесь и далее перевод наш. – *З.П.*

Восточной Азии, Китая, Южной Америки, Европы и России. Пять глав о вариантах Восточной Азии, Китая, славянских государств, Колумбии и Европы включены в книгу "The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes" (Kirkpatrick 2010). Только один регион (Центральной Америки) Расширяющегося круга освещен в кембриджском издании "The Cambridge Handbook of World Englishes" (Schreier, Hundt & Schneider 2020), и лишь три – в соответствующем оксфордском издании "The Oxford Handbook of World Englishes" (Filppula, Klemola & Sharma 2017). Семь региональных вариантов стали объектом описания "The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca" (Jenkins, Baker & Dewey 2018). Несмотря на то что книга под редакцией Э. Тамбу называется "The Three Circles of English" (т.е. Три круга английского языка) (Thumboo 2001) и ее целью было описание различных вариантов английского языка, которые категоризируются в модели Б. Качру, только четыре главы этой книги ориентированы на Расширяющийся круг как таковой. Очень мало информации о Расширяющемся круге можно найти также в словаре вариантов английского языка "A Dictionary of Varieties of English" (Hickey 2014).

Немногочислены и работы о конкретных вариантах Расширяющегося круга. Европейские варианты исследованы в работах Ясоне Сенос и Ульрике Есснер (Cenoz & Jessner 2000), Манфреда Гёрлаха (Görlach 2001, 2002), Марджи Бёрнс, Кис де Бот и Уве Хасебринк (Berns et al. 2007), Анник де Хоувер и Антдже Уилтон (Houwer & Wilton 2011), Элисон Эдвардс (Edwards 2016), Д.С. Бородиной (Borodina 2018). Восточноазиатские варианты английского языка исследованы З.Г. Прошиной (Proshina 2001, 2020), Кингсли Болтоном (Bolton 2003), Джеймсом Стэнлоу (Stanlaw 2004), Л.П. Бондаренко (2007), Джозефом Ло Бьянко, Джейн Ортон и Гао Ихун (Bianko, Orton & Gao 2009), Т.А. Иванковой (Ivankova 2009), Филипом Саржантом (Seargeant 2009, 2011), Сюй Чжичаном (Xu 2010), В.Л. Завьяловой (Zavyalova 2011), Дэвидом Грэддолом (Graddol 2013), Гленном Хадикином (Hadikin 2014), Чо Цзиньюнь (Cho 2017), Кристофером Дженксом и Джерри Вон Ли (Jenks & Lee 2017).

Русский вариант английского языка, будучи очень дискуссионным вопросом, стал основной темой коллективной монографии *Russian English: History, Functions, and Features* (Proshina & Eddy 2016), а также целого ряда статей (Gritsenko 2014, Proshina 2006, 2014b, Proshina & Rivlina 2018, 2020, Rivlina 2013, 2015a, 2015b, Ustinova 2005, 2006) и диссертаций (Eddy 2007, Lawrick 2011, Lazaretnaya 2012). Некоторые авторы, несмотря на то что они не пользуются термином «русский вариант английского языка» на самом деле способствовали развитию дискуссии об этом варианте, его культурном базисе (Kabakchi 1998, 2002, 2015) и языковых чертах (Savitsky & Kurovskaya 2004, Schennikova 2017, Shishkina 1996).

Подготовка данного тематического выпуска журнала мотивирована необходимостью обсудить сущность вариантов Расширяющегося круга и факторов, которые способствуют их развитию и отличают их друг от друга и от вариантов Внутреннего и Внешнего кругов, что, тем не менее, до сих пор

не признается многими говорящими на этих вариантах и даже лингвистами, которые, с одной стороны, принимают разделение вариантов английского языка, предложенное Б. Качру, но с другой, выступают против того, что варианты Расширяющегося круга имеют право называться собственно вариантами.

2. Парадигма вариантов английского языка и ее отличия от других теорий

Перед тем как представить статьи данного выпуска журнала, нам бы хотелось напомнить читателю основные положения контактной вариантологии английского языка, известной за рубежом как парадигма Word Englishes (WE), и связь этой парадигмы с другими теориями, которые в действительности отпочковались от данной концепции.

Парадигма вариантов английского языка, появившаяся в 1960-х годах (Kachru 1961, Беляева & Потапова 1961) и получившая развитие с тех пор, при этом ее теоретическая основа была заложена в 1980–1990-х годах (Kachru 1986, Kachru & Smith 1985, Smith 1987, Smith & Forman 1997, см. также Bolton 2020), – это революционная теория (Proshina 2014), поскольку она в корне изменила традиционные взгляды на языковое доминирование Британской империи, перевернула социолингвистические идеи и кардинально преобразовала педагогические представления, которые проникли в практику обучения английскому языку и его изучения. Подытоживая основные положения этой парадигмы, следует акцентировать следующие тезисы:

– Английский язык перестал быть монолитным и однородным языком. Будучи плюрицентричным (что обусловлено историческими, политико-экономическими и культурно-информационными причинами), он дифференцировался на большое число вариантов (world Englishes).

– Каждый вариант опирается на свою лингвокультуру, а это означает, что он способен выражать культурную идентичность своих пользователей и имеет черты, перенесенные из их родных языков и/или языков, с которыми вариант вступает в регулярный контакт.

– Вариант – социолингвистическое явление. Он характеризуется чертами, которые свойственны определенному усредненному речевому сообществу, но не обязательно проявляются в речи каждого члена этого сообщества – использование языка каждым говорящим зависит от уровня языковой компетенции, сферы использования, стиля коммуникации и индивидуальных предпочтений.

– Благодаря лингвокультурному основанию, определяющему каждый вариант, все варианты английского языка равны в своей легитимности. В самом первом номере журнала *World Englishes* его редакторы, основатели журнала, заявили:

Редакционная коллегия считает, что пользователи английским языком как родным, так и неродным – равные партнеры в дискуссии о пользователях английским языком и о преподавании его на международном уровне. Таким образом, журнал *WE* является средством, которое может использоваться для того, чтобы делиться знаниями и опытом пользователей как западных, так и незападных стран на благо всех пользователей английским языком… Таким образом, акроним *WE* как нельзя лучше символизирует основную философию журнала и цели его редколлегии (Kachru & Smith 1985: 211)

– Варианты Внешнего и Расширяющегося кругов используются как дополнительные или вспомогательные (Smith 1976) коммуникативные инструменты. Может показаться, что функции развивающихся вариантов ограничены, но чем дольше развивается вариант, тем больше функций он приобретает. Б. Качру (1986: 92) пишет о *диапазоне* распространения вариантов английского языка в «культурных, образовательных и коммерческих контекстах» и о *глубине* их социального принятия и использования в «различных слоях общества». Такое динамическое развитие теперь стало явным во всех вариантах.

Эти инновационные черты имеют большую значимость для лингвистики, особенно социолингвистики, литературоведения, культурологии и прикладной лингвистики, под которой мы понимаем не только область методики преподавания и изучения языка, как это обычно характерно для «англофонной литературы» (Knapp & Antos 2009: vii), но также так называемую «практическую прикладную лингвистику» в толковании этого термина О. Баком (Back 1970), как это имеет место и в России, т.е. как «применение данных и выводов лингвистики в практических областях, имеющих отношение к языку, таких как методика обучения, перевод и т.п.» (Knapp & Antos 2009: vii). Одним словом, в этих чертах проявляется междисциплинарность новой парадигмы, что обусловливает гораздо бо́льшую сферу ее функционирования, чем теории английского как иностранного языка (EFL), которая используется в методике преподавания английского языка.

Концепция WE дала начало развитию новых направлений исследования, называемых новыми парадигмами – английского как международного языка (EIL) и английского как лингва франка (ELF), в которых находят развитие некоторые аспекты, свойственные вариантам английского языка. Оба эти направления ориентируются на преподавание английского языка. Они противостоят методике английского как иностранного языка (EFL), в основе которой лежит обучение моноцентрической или бицентрической модели английского языка, базирующейся на британском варианте и культуре Великобритании и/или американском варианте английского языка, его культуре и ценностях, обслуживаемых этим вариантом.

В отличие от методического понятия «английский как иностранный язык», термин «английский как международный язык», предложенный Ларри

Смитом (Smith 1976) и далее разработанный Фарзадом Шарифианом (Sharifian 2009) и другими учеными (Alsagoff 2012, Marlina & Giri 2014, Matsuda 2012, 2017, McKay 2002), фокусируется на необходимости ознакомления студентов с различными вариантами английского языка, которые могут потребоваться им в будущей коммуникации в реальных жизненных ситуациях:

> На самом деле, представление об английском как международном языке отвергает мысль о том, что в качестве лингва франка для межкультурной коммуникации выбирается какой-то особый вариант. Теория английского как международного языка подчеркивает, что английский язык со всеми его множественными вариантами является языком международной и потому межкультурной коммуникации (Sharifian 2009: 2).

Если в основе концепта «английский как международный язык» лежит признак разнообразия вариантов английского языка, то похожий термин – «международный английский» (International English) – предполагает противоположное явление. Он ассоциируется с якобы унифицированным стандартным английским, который облегчает международную коммуникацию (Todd & Hancock 1987, Trudgill & Hannah 1994), подобно идее Р. Квирка о «ядерном английском» (Quirk 1982), и используется в формальных контекстах (однако, как будет показано ниже, это абстрактный идеал, реализуемый в живой речевой практике, по меньшей мере, с локальным акцентом или с другими контекстно-специфическими чертами варианта). Такое понимание международного английского совпадает с определением Питера Стревенса (Strevens 1983): международный английский – это «особенный диалект английского языка, который является единственным нелокализованным диалектом, глобального распространения, без значительного варьирования, повсеместно воспринимаемый как приемлемая цель обучения английскому языку, на котором можно говорить с самыми разными акцентами» (Strevens 1983: 88). На самом деле сегодня невозможно говорить об одном и том же стандарте английского языка для всех вариантов – они быстро изменяются, и в них происходит процесс стандартизации (Hickey 2013). Судя по определению П. Стревенса, ‘английский как международный язык’ (EIL) и ‘международный английский’ (IE) оказываются антонимическими концептами: ‘английский как международный язык’ ориентируется на разнообразие и дифференциацию, т.е. на варианты, а ‘международный английский’ – на единство и однородность, т.е. инвариант.

Термин «английский как лингва франка» (ELF) был возрожден Аланом Фиртом (Firth 1990, 1996) и обозначает «модус операнди», не являющийся родным языком ни для одного из коммуникантов (Firth 1996: 255). Как следует из этого определения, носители языка исключаются из этой концептуализации, что не может не вызвать вопросов, поскольку те, кто говорит на родном для них английском языке, должны адаптировать свою речь в условиях

межкультурного общения. Поэтому в настоящее время более распространенным стало определение Барбары Зайдльхофер: английский как лингва франка (ELF) – это «любое использование английского языка среди говорящих с разными первыми языками, для которых английский является выбранным средством коммуникации, часто единственно возможным» (Seidlhofer 2011: 7). Это определение включает коммуникантов трех кругов (однако, до сих пор английский как лингва франка ассоциируют преимущественно с Расширяющимся кругом). Дефиниция английского как лингва франка, предложенная Б. Зайдльхофер, содержит важную идею о данном концепте: английский как лингва франка – это использование, или функция любого варианта английского языка. У него нет статуса самого варианта, это просто прагматический аспект варианта. Любой вариант английского языка, в том числе варианты Внутреннего круга, обладают этой функцией, реализуемой главным образом в межкультурном общении. Но кроме этой функции, у вариантов английского языка (world Englishes) есть также много других функций.

Не вызывает удивления, что, когда преподаватели говорят об английском как лингва франка, они обращают внимание, главным образом, на три объекта: стратегии коммуникации, на проблемы взаимопонимания и осознание различий.

Во-первых, стратегии коммуникации направлены на достижение взаимного приспособления коммуникантов через такие адаптивные процессы, как избыточность речи, регуляризация, усиление экспрессии, экспликация, поправки, переформулирование, повтор, кодовое смешение, обговаривание значения и многие другие (Cogo & Dewey 2012, Mauranen & Ranta 2010, Meierkord 2012, Vettorel 2018). Исследования этих процессов в значительной степени проводятся с использованием корпусов. Вот почему бесспорен вклад этих исследователей в корпусную лингвистику (например, VOICE, Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English; ELFA, English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings; CASE, Corpus of Academic Spoken English; ACE, Asian Corpus of English; RACE, Russian-Asian Corpus of English; BELF, English as Business Lingua Franca).

Во-вторых, общей проблемой для исследователей английского как лингва франка (ELF), английского как международного языка (EIL) и вариантов английского языка (WE) стало исследование взаимопонимания в межнациональной коммуникации. Еще в начале появления контактной вариантологии английского языка эта проблема была сформулирована Ларри Смитом и исследователями, работавшими с ним (Nelson 2011, Smith 1992, Smith & Bisazza 1982, Smith & Rafiqzad 1979, Smith and Nelson 2020), как трехаспектное явление: понимание разговорных и письменных *форм* речевой продукции (intelligibility), понимание *значения* того, что написано или сказано (comprehensibility), и понимание *смысла* текста (interpretability) – прагматический компонент, ассоциируемый с фоновыми знаниями коммуникантов и позволяющий им понимать цель используемого языка.

Третья проблема – осознание различий, – широко обсуждаемая исследователями английского как лингва франка (Bayyurt & Sifakis 2015, Lopriore & Vettorel 2015, Sifakis et al. 2018, Sung 2018, Wang 2015), объединяет их с исследователями английского как международного языка и вариантов английского языка. Как показано выше, разнообразие стало ключевым словом в исследованиях английского как международного языка. Варианты английского языка выделяются на основе отличительных признаков и функций; именно благодаря им они дифференцируются как варианты. С методической точки зрения ознакомление с разнообразием того, как люди говорят по-английски из-за различий в лингвокультурах, должно стать «информированным выбором» (Jenkins 2007: 22), необходимым для эффективной межкультурной коммуникации.

Одной из проблем, которая стала камнем преткновения между сторонниками направления ELF и сторонниками контактной вариантологии, стало отношение между понятиями 'английский как лингва франка' и 'вариант'. Несмотря на то что сегодня признан тезис о том, что английский как лингва франка «не существует как система» (Canagarajah 2007: 926), что он «появляется из взаимодействия и благодаря ему» (Meierkord 2004: 129, также Kecskes 2019) и что это абстракция, концепт функции, а не живого варианта как такового (Berns 2009: 196), время от времени обнаруживаются работы (например, Breiteneder 2009, Mackenzie 2014, Jenkins 2017), описывающие фонетические, синтаксические и другие уровни английского как лингва франка и показывающие, что авторы этих работ трактуют ELF как структурированный вариант (по крайней мере, в обобщенном виде, что представляет это понятие как абстракцию, а не живой феномен). Надо говорить о вариантах английского языка, функционирующих как лингва франка.

3. Рассеивание сомнений относительно Расширяющегося круга

В то время как варианты Внутреннего круга, старые и новые (как, например, новозеландский, австралийский и канадский), и многие варианты Внешнего круга признаны всеми и уже хорошо описаны на сегодняшний день, варианты английского языка Расширяющегося круга еще не получили единодушного признания, особенно среди своих собственных пользователей. Как правило, причинами этого называют отсутствие кодификации этих вариантов, но, если посмотреть на проблему глубже, можно увидеть, что на самом деле неприятие вариантов Расширяющегося круга обусловлено отсутствием признания их лингвокультурной специфичности.

Что касается кодификации, которая обычно понимается как процесс, приводящий к стандартизации языка, можно с уверенностью утверждать, что стандартизированы *все* варианты как явления языка, но их речевое проявление может либо следовать нормам, либо нарушать их. Вслед за Д. Дэйвисом (Davis 2010) мы используем термин «стандартизированный английский язык» (standardized English), а не «стандартный английский» (standard English),

подчеркивая, что во всех вариантах английского языка, в том числе вариантах Внутреннего круга, происходят динамические изменения.

Говоря о типах языковых норм, Б. Качру (Kachru 1985) разделил их на три вида, соответствующие «трем кругам»: Внутренний круг включает эндонормативные варианты, которые обычно служат нормообеспечивающими моделями для других вариантов английского языка; варианты Внешнего круга обнаруживают наиболее динамичные процессы модификации норм и потому считаются норморазвивающими, а варианты Расширяющего круга являются нормозависимыми и используют экзонормы, выработанные и кодифицированные в других вариантах английского языка, но не только Внутреннего круга – если возникает необходимость, пользователи английским языком в Расширяющемся круге могут также использовать стандарты Внешнего круга. Вариативность экзонорм, особенно построенных на британской и американской моделях, обусловливает их частое смешение, и это объясняет специфику использования стандартизированного варианта Расширяющегося круга.

Что касается речепроизводства на вариантах Расширяющегося круга, Б. Качру объясняет сущность этого процесса в виде билингвальной шкалы (Kachru 1983). Любой вариант, получаемый в результате контакта с родными языками пользователей, свидетельствует о билингвизме его пользователей, который можно представить как функциональный континуум, зависящий от языковой компетенции пользователей и стиля их дискурса. Акролектная речь характерна для формального дискурса пользователей с высокой степенью компетентости; мезолектная речь проявляется главным образом в неформальном дискурсе образованных пользователей или в формальном и неформальном дискурсе коммуникантов с меньшей степенью владения языком, и базилектная речь, в результате которой появляется гибридный и даже пиджинизированный вид дискурса, характерна для необразованных пользователей (Proshina 2017: 150–152).

Очевидно, что стандартизация не может считаться основным аргументом для принятия варианта, который может существовать как в стандартизированной, так и нестандартизированной формах и который включает не только акролект, но также мезолект и базилект. Признание варианта происходит тогда, когда его пользователи осознают, что их вариант языка выражает их лингвокультурную идентичность и что он может быть первичным или вторичным средством ее выражения. Вариант, на котором они говорят и пишут, выражает их культуру, ценности, менталитет и картину мира. Эта концептуально-культурная часть идентичности выражается прежде всего через лексику и синтаксис (реалии, коллокации и синтаксические структуры). Кроме этих средств выражения, языковая часть идентичности также передается на фонетическом уровне (фонетический акцент) и грамматическом (грамматические категории, как, например, дискретность в выражении множественного числа существительных – *equipments, furnitures* – формы, отмечаемые

в азиатских вариантах английского языка). Лингвистические признаки варианта образуются в результате переноса черт первого языка пользователей, а также в результате вербализации их менталитета. Например, даже в акролектном варианте русского английского можно различить русскую интонацию, оглушение конечных согласных, частое отсутствие аспирации, иногда специфичное произнесение отдельных звуков (таких как *th, w, r*), благодаря чему легко определяется русский акцент. На грамматическом уровне для речи русских на английском языке типично выдвижение в начальную позицию прямого дополнения *(This book I haven't read yet.)*, отсутствие или необычное использование артиклей (*the complex ethnical structure of the population determines **peculiarity** of **the** gender interaction*), избегание употребления перфектных времен *(I am living in this city since childhood),* замена препозитивной атрибутивной цепочки постпозитивными предложными сочетаниями в атрибутивной функции *(Old English period > period of Old English),* предпочтение безличных предложений со структурным подлежащим (*It is expected that she will come* вместо *She is supposed to come)*. Многие другие черты дискурса на русском варианте английского языка описаны в коллективной монографии под редакцией З. Г. Прошиной и А. А. Эдди (Proshina & Eddy 2016).

Далеко не все пользователи вариантом демонстрируют в своей речи все черты, типичные для варианта. Как уже отмечалось, число дистинктивных признаков варианта в индивидуальной речи пользователя зависит от его языковой компетентности, контекста ситуации, психологического состояния и желания говорящего следовать образовательной модели как экзонорме.

Признание варианта – долгий процесс. Необходимо время для того, чтобы английский язык в определенном регионе утвердился как локальный вариант английского языка. Даже для вариантов Внутреннего круга, например, австралийского английского, потребовался переходный период для превращения из «английского языка в Австралии» в австралийский вариант английского языка (Fritz 2007), который был признан как собственно вариант только в 1970-х годах, когда австралийцы преодолели свое «культурное подобострастие», и их культурный национализм проложил дорогу утверждению их языковой и культурной идентичности.

Социальное и психологическое осознание своей лингвокультурной идентичности, выраженной через вариант, а также проявляемой посредством образовательной кодификации (Kachru 1985), приводит к признанию дистинктивных признаков варианта. Многие из вариантов Расширяющегося круга все еще находятся в процессе такого признания. Признание, несомненно, придет с расширением функционального использования вариантов Расширяющегося круга. Сегодня они используются уже не только в функции межкультурного общения в качестве языка-посредника (лингва франка). Они также выполняют информативную функцию в бизнесе, рекламе, средствах массовой информации, науке. Они выполняют инструментальную функцию, выступая,

например, в качестве английского как средства обучения (EMI). Варианты английского языка Расширяющегося круга проявляют также креативную функцию (в транслингвальной, или контактной литературе, массовой культуре, в игровом использовании в каламбурах и т.д. – см., например, работу Б. Зайдльхофер (Seidlhofer 2010) о функциях английского языка и сферах его использования в Европе).

В завершение необходимо подчеркнуть, что варианты Расширяющегося круга реально существуют, и независимо от того, насколько близко их пользователи приблизились к экзонормативной модели, варианты будут характеризоваться своими дистинктивными чертами, поскольку они служат вторичным средством лингвокультурной идентичности. Вариант – это типичное собрание дискурсивных событий и продуктов, отличающихся языковыми признаками и культурным основанием.

Вариант не является имитацией кодифицированной модели обучения, также как он не является набором неправильных речевых образцов интеръязыка. Варианты Расширяющегося круга, как и любые другие варианты английского языка, используются и образованными коммуникантами, высоко компетентными и бегло говорящими на английском языке – коммуникантами, которых Б. Качру назвал функциональными носителями своих вариантов (Kachru 1998, Smith 2008).

Изучение вариантов английского языка должно составлять неотъемлемую часть программы английского языка как международного. Осознание разнообразия вариантов английского языка представляет бесспорную значимость в обучении языку и его изучении, а также в устном и письменном переводе. Прикладной лингвистике еще предстоит многое получить от исследований по контактной вариантологии. Знание дистинктивных признаков других вариантов, а также специфики их систем латинизации (как, например, китайской системы пиньинь) облегчит коммуникацию на разных вариантах английского языка, а также будет способствовать межвариантному переводу.

Признание своего собственного варианта как средства выражения своей культуры и своего менталитета, а также понимание места своего варианта среди других вариантов английского языка в мире обеспечивает психологический комфорт в межкультурной коммуникации благодаря принципам инклюзивности и равенства вариантов. Знание типичных черт своего собственного варианта важно для улучшения уровня своей языковой компетенции.

4. Краткое содержание данного выпуска журнала

В одной из своих работ М. Бёрнс (Berns 2005: 92) писала о «рассвете вариантов Расширяющегося круга». Публикация этого номера журнала доказывает, что рассвет постепенно перерос в позднее утро, хотя полуденный пик еще не достигнут.

Описав, что побудило нас к изданию этого тематического выпуска, и осветив основные положения контактной вариантологии как науки о вариантах английского языка в современном мире (WE) и отпочковавшихся от нее парадигм английского как международного языка (EIL) и английского как лингва франка (ELF), мы бы хотели выразить благодарность всем авторам, приславшим свои материалы и сделавшим этот выпуск интересным и информативным.

Как можно видеть из оглавления, статьи, представленные в этом выпуске, рассматривают азиатские (японский и китайский), европейский (немецкий) и русский варианты английского языка. Они освещают общие проблемы вариантов Расширяющегося круга, их статус, черты и функции (Э. Киркпатрик, В.Л. Завьялова, Чж. Сюй и Д. Чжан, А.А. Ривлина, Е.С. Гриценко и А.В. Аликина, Ю. Давыдова). В некоторых статьях обсуждаются методические и педагогические проблемы, связанные с преподаванием вариантов английского языка в глобальном и локальных масштабах (Дж. Д'Анджело и С. Икэ, Н. Хино). Одна статья (Г.Н. Ловцевич и А. А. Соколов) представляет исследование лексикографического аспекта вариантов с позиций исследователей Расширяющегося круга. Кроме научно-исследовательских статей, данный номер журнала включает две рецензии (Е.В. Маринина, Е.С. Лебедева), имеющие непосредственное отношение к теме вариантной дифференциации английского языка.

Все обсуждаемые проблемы показаны в международной перспективе, поскольку авторы этого выпуска работали с материалом разных стран и синтезировали свои эмпирические исследования с глубоким теоретическим обоснованием. Мы надеемся, что вопросы, поднятые в статьях этого выпуска, окажутся интересными для читателя, будут стимулировать мысль, послужат основой для последующих исследований и для практического использования.

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Bionotes:
Zoya G. PROSHINA is Professor in the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Area Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia, and Professor in the Department of Linguistics and Intercultural Communication Studies, Far Eastern Federal University, Vladivostok, Russia. She was President of the International Association for World Englishes (2011–2012). She authored *Kontaktnaya variantologiya angliyskogo yazyka: World Englishes Paradigm* (2017), *Angliyskiy yazyk i kultura Vostochnoy Azii* [*The English Language and Culture of East Asia*] (2020), *Teoriya perevoda* (*Translation Theory*] (2019), and co-edited, with Anna Eddy, the volume *Russian English: History, Functions, and Features* (2016); and with Cecil L. Nelson and Daniel Davis, the 2nd edn. of *The Handbook of World Englishes* (2020). She was guest-editor of a special issue on Russian Englishes of the *World Englishes* journal (2005).
Contact information:
Lomonosov Moscow State University, 1, bld. 13, Leninskiye Gory, Moscow, 119991, Russia

e-mail: proshinazoya@yandex.ru
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0570-2349

Cecil L. NELSON is Professor Emeritus of Linguistics in the Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics at Indiana State University, USA. He was Review Editor of the journal *World Englishes* and was President of the International Association for World Englishes (2015–2017). He is the author of *Intelligibility in World Englishes: Theory and Application* (2011), a co-author, with Yamuna Kachru, of *World Englishes in Asian Contexts* (2006), a co-editor, with Braj B. Kachru and Yamuna Kachru, of *The Handbook of World Englishes* (2006), and a co-editor, with Zoya Proshina and Daniel Davis, of the 2nd edition of *The Handbook of World Englishes* (2020).
Contact information:
Indiana State University, Terre Haute, United States
e-mail: cj3nelson@yahoo.com

Сведения об авторах:
Зоя Григорьевна ПРОШИНА – доктор филологических наук, профессор кафедры теории преподавания иностранных языков, факультет иностранных языков и регионоведения, Московский государственный университет имени М.В. Ломоносова. В 2011–2012 была Президентом Международной ассоциации исследователей вариантов английского языка. Является автором книг: "Контактная вариантология английского языка: Вопросы теории: World Englishes Paradigm" (2017), «Английский язык и культура Восточной Азии» (2020), «Теория перевода» (2019). Вместе с А.А. Эдди выступила редактором коллективной монографии "Russian English: History, Functions, and Features" (2016); вместе с Сесилом Нельсоном и Дэниэлом Дэйвисом была соредактором 2-го изд. "The Handbook of World Englishes" (2020).
Контактная информация:
МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова, Факультет иностранных языков и регионоведения. 119991, Россия, Москва, Ленинские горы, 1, стр. 13.
e-mail: proshinazoya@yandex.ru
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-0570-2349

Сесил Л. НЕЛЬСОН – Почетный профессор лингвистики, кафедра языков, литератур и лингвистики, Университет штата Индиана, США. Являлся зав. отдела рецензий журнала *World Englishes,* Президентом Международной ассоциации исследователей вариантов английского языка (2015–2017). Автор книги *Intelligibility in World Englishes: Theory and Application* (2011); соавтор – вместе с Ямуной Качру *World Englishes in Asian Contexts* (2006); с Браджем и Ямуной Качру *The Handbook of World Englishes* (2006); с Зоей Г. Прошиной и Дэниэлом Дэйвисом 2-го изд. *The Handbook of World Englishes* (2020).
Контактная информация:
Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Indiana, USA
e-mail: cj3nelson@yahoo.com

Research Article

Englishes in the Expanding Circle: Focus on Asia

Andy KIRKPATRICK

Griffith University
Brisbane, Australia

Abstract

In Kachru's original classification, the countries of the Expanding Circle were those where English was learned primarily as a foreign language in schools. English did not play an institutional role within the country. As such they were "norm-dependent" countries relying on exonormative native speaker standards as models and targets for learners of English. In recent years, however, the role(s) of English in many Expanding Circle countries of Asia – these include the economic powerhouses of China, Japan and South Korea – have increased exponentially both within the countries (as English becomes increasingly important as a language of education, for example) and between the countries as a lingua franca (English has been enshrined as the sole working language of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), for example). The aim of this article is to describe how these roles of English in the Expanding Circle countries of Asia have developed. I shall focus on the role of English as a language of education in describing how the role of English has developed within countries and on the role of English as a lingua franca in describing how the role of English has developed between the Expanding Circle countries of Asia. I shall conclude by considering the implications of these developments for English language education pedagogy and policy.

Keywords: *Expanding Circle, Outer Circle, English as a lingua franca, varieties of English, East and Southeast Asia*

Научная статья

Варианты английского языка Расширяющегося круга: в фокусе – Азия

Энди КИРКПАТРИК

Университет Гриффита
Брисбен, Австралия

Аннотация

В оригинальной классификации Б. Качру Расширяющийся круг включает такие страны, где английский преимущественно изучается в школе как иностранный язык. В самих этих странах английский язык не играет институциональной роли. Посему эти страны называются «нормозависимыми», полагающимися на экзонормативные стандарты носителей языка как модель и цель при изучении английского языка. Однако в последние годы роль английского языка во многих азиатских странах Расширяющегося круга – а такие страны включают

государства с мощной экономикой, такие как Китай, Япония и Южная Корея – значительно усилилась как внутри этих стран (поскольку английский приобретает все большую значимость, например, в сфере образования), так и между этими странами в качестве языка-посредника, или лингва франка (английский язык является, например, единственным рабочим языком Ассоциации государств Юго-Восточной Азии – АСЕАН). Цель данной статьи – раскрыть, как усиливалась роль английского языка в азиатских странах Расширяющегося круга. Фокус сделан на значении английского как языка образования при описании процесса расширения его роли в этих странах, а также на роли английского как лингва франка между азиатскими странами Расширяющегося круга. В заключение делаются выводы о значимости этой роли английского языка для методики преподавания и образовательной политики.

Ключевые слова: *Расширяющийся круг, Внешний круг, английский как язык-посредник (лингва франка), варианты английского языка, Восточная и Юго-Восточная Азия*

1. Introduction

In this article, I shall look at the current roles of English both within and between the Expanding Circle countries of Asia. First I need to explain what Asia will constitute in the terms of this article. Asia represents an enormous area and the most linguistically diverse continent on earth with 34% or 2301 of the world's 7102 living languages (Lewis, Simons & Fennig 2015). It would be impossible to cover all this diversity in a single article and my main focus will be on the countries of East and Southeast Asia, although I shall also refer to South Asia, in particular Nepal, in the discussion on the role English is playing in education.

The article will first consider the new roles English is playing *within* the nations of the Expanding Circle and then consider its new roles *between* the nations of East and Southeast Asia, especially its role as a lingua franca. In the first part of the article, I shall look at how the roles of English within the Expanding Circle countries of East and Southeast Asia have developed, especially as a language of education from primary to higher education. In Kachru's original formulation (1992), the place of English in Expanding Circle countries was restricted to its place as a school subject where it was taught as a foreign language. These Expanding Circle countries were norm dependent, meaning they relied on native speaker varieties of English as classroom models and targets for learners to strive for. English was also "foreign" in the sense that it played no role within the countries. This was a major difference between Expanding Circle and Outer Circle countries. In Outer Circle countries, English, as a result of these countries having been colonies of English-speaking empires, played an institutional role and local varieties of English, such as Filipino English and Singaporean English, developed.

In the second part of the article, I shall describe how English is playing an increasingly wide and important role as a lingua franca *between* the nations of Asia. Here, it will be necessary to include Outer Circle countries in the discussion as English is being used as a lingua franca by Asian multilinguals from both Expanding and Outer Circle countries. As will be illustrated below, its official role as the sole working language of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations

(ASEAN) exemplifies its role as a lingua franca between Outer and Expanding Circle countries. Of the ten nations that form ASEAN, four that were colonies of either Britain or the United States (Brunei, Malaysia, The Philippines, and Singapore) can be classified as Outer Circle countries and are home to local varieties of English. Five (Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam) can be classified as Expanding Circle countries. With the exception of Thailand, all were some form of colony but not of English-speaking empires. The tenth nation of ASEAN, Myanmar, is difficult to classify. While it was a colony of Britain, it went into a form of self-isolation in 1962 for decades, during which time Burmese was the sole medium of education, and English stopped playing any institutional role and became a foreign language. I shall describe the role of English as a lingua franca between the countries of Asia and exemplify this with examples taken from the Asian Corpus of English (ACE), a corpus of the naturally occurring use of English as a lingua franca across Asia.

In the third part of the article I shall consider the implications of these increasing roles of English both within and between the countries of Asia for English language teaching and language education policy.

2. The role of English within the Expanding Circle countries

English is playing an increasing role in both Outer and Expanding Circle countries of Asia. As Bolton and Bacon-Shone note:

> Since the era of European decolonisation in Asia, which largely took place from the late 1940s to the 1960s, there has been a massive expansion in the spread of English throughout the whole of the region, in both Outer Circle and Expanding Circle societies (Bolton & Bacon-Shone 2020: 49).

Using data from language surveys and government censuses, Bolton and Bacon-Shone have estimated the number of English users in the Expanding Circle countries of Asia. The numbers and percentages are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Knowledge of English in Expanding Circle Asian societies

Society	Bolton (2008)	Current estimates	Approx. total of English speakers
Nepal	30%	30%	8.5 million
Macau†	–	28%	0.2 million
China	25%	20%	276.0 million
Myanmar (Burma)	5%	10%	5.2 million
Japan	20%	10%	12.5 million
South Korea	10%	10%	5.1 million
Taiwan	10%	10%	2.4 million
Thailand	10%	10%	6.5 million
Vietnam	5%	10%	4.6 million
Cambodia†	5%	5%	0.8 million
Indonesia	5%	5%	13.0 million
Laos	5%	5%	0.3 million
Total			**335.1 million**

This suggests that the total number of users of English in the Expanding Circle countries of Asia is nearly equal to the total number of native speakers of English. Clearly the most striking figures concern China, and I will therefore consider the Chinese case in more detail here. The question to ask is why so many Chinese are learning English.

One answer is that they have to. English is now a compulsory subject for all school children from Grade 3 of primary school. The importance attached to English is evidenced by the fact that English is one of three core subjects that students have to take in the highly competitive *gao kao*, the national school-leaving/university entrance exam. The other two core subjects are Mathematics and Chinese itself. That those parents who can afford it send their children to English-medium kindergartens shows that there is strong demand for English among the Chinese. This demand is in turn reflected in the increasing popularity of kindergartens where English is used as the medium of instruction (Feng & Adamson 2019).

This also illustrates the desire of Chinese to connect with the world as they see English as a primary vehicle for doing this, As Bolton, Botha, and Zhang point out (2020: 523), English connects Chinese people to the world "either directly, through travel or education abroad, or even symbolically, by connecting young people to life outside mainland China, at a range of levels, from popular culture to current affairs or to various forms of academic knowledge." English has thus become much more than just a foreign language in China. In addition to offering a connection to the world, English in China is also playing a political role, especially in on-line media. Many Chinese netizens are creatively adapting English to poke fun at or express opposition to the Chinese Communist Party's official line. To do this they have changed the spelling of certain English words to produce neologisms to indicate new meanings. Examples include "harmany," "departyment," "goveruption," "freedamn," and "democrazy" (Li 2014 n.p.). On-line media are also home to a "mixed code variety of Chinese English" (Zhang 2012: 40). Some sites even make the mixing of the two languages obligatory (Zhang 2012).

The English spoken by Chinese users is also beginning to develop Chinese characteristics (Kirkpatrick 2015). This example from Xu (2010) shows how the Chinese preference for prefacing cause before effect in a "because-therefore" sequence (Kirkpatrick 1995) is reflected in the way speakers order cause and effect in English:

> A: When you first got to the Great Wall, how did you feel?
> B: Some stranger feelings, *because* I couldn't get the same feeling as others, *because* others always feel powerful, and happy or others, *because* I didn't have some special feeling, *so* I feel sad.

If B were a speaker of a native variety of English s/he would probably have started the answer by saying something like:

> B: I felt sad because….

The place English currently occupies in the school curricula means that it has become the second language of education in China after *Putonghua* itself, the national lingua franca. More Chinese are learning English than they are the other languages of China, including Cantonese (*Yue*), Shanghainese (*Wu*), Hakka (*Kejia Hua*), and Hokien (*Min Nan Hua*). In fact, the Language Law of China expressly forbids the use of Chinese languages other than *Putonghua* as languages of education (Kirkpatrick & Xu 2001, see also http://www.gov.cn/english/laws/2005-09/19/content64906.htm). All Chinese schoolchildren learn two languages: the national language, *Putonghua*, and English.

English is also the second language of education at the tertiary level. Nearly 20 years ago, Zhu Rongji, then the Chinese Premier, addressed his alma mater, the School of Economics and Management at the highly prestigious Tsinghua University in Beijing, saying. "'I hope all classes will be taught in English. I don't worship foreign languages. But we need to exchange our ideas with the rest of the world" (Kirkpatrick 2011: 110). Today over 1000 of China's 1448 tertiary institutions have established English medium programmes. This is part of China's plan to attract international students, and the aim is to have an extraordinary 35.5 million international students studying in China by the end of 2020. This will require establishing even more English-medium of instruction (EMI) courses (Galloway, Numajiri & Rees 2020). (This target, of course, has been missed because of the Covid crisis.)

China is the Expanding Circle country with the highest population and the largest number of English users. I will compare this with the situation in one of Asia's smallest Expanding Circle countries in terms of population, Nepal. Table 1 shows that while there are fewer than one million English users in Nepal, they represent 30% of the population. While relatively sparsely populated, Nepal is home to some 125 indigenous languages, about 30 of which have fewer than 100 speakers (Sunuwar 2020). Recent moves to more democratic governments since the overthrow of the Shah kings in 2006 have seen policies promoting mother-tongue based multilingual education, but these have not been implemented successfully. Instead, the Ministry of Education has legitimised English as a medium of instruction for private schools and allowed that the national language, Nepali, and English both be mediums of instruction in public schools. The Ministry also mentions that mother tongues *can* be used as the medium of instruction in primary schools (Phyak & Ojha 2019). However, parental demand and the belief, mirrored throughout the Expanding Circle countries of Asia, that English opens the door to international communication and participation in globalisation (Kirkpatrick & Liddicoat 2019) has actually resulted in most state schools following private schools in making English the medium of instruction. Secondary schools fear they will lose pupils to the private sector if they offer only Nepali-medium education. This does not mean, of course, that English is necessarily being learned. As the authors of a recent Nepalese study "Medium of Instruction and Languages for Education" reported:

The lack of books and materials, or even of teachers who speak English, does not seem to have cautioned schools away from embarking on the change. In reality, most "English medium" schools would seem to be using Nepali quite extensively alongside English, but without the benefits of a planned approach to bilingual teaching. Training and resourcing for English falls vastly short of what is required, even to achieve effective teaching of English as a subject (Seel et al., 2015: xii, cited in Phyak & Ojha 2019)

This tension between a desire to enhance mother-tongue based multilingual education to preserve the linguistic diversity of the country and the neoliberal agenda which promotes English as the language of education which will offer pathway to participation in globalisation is reflected in many other countries.

To turn now to the countries that make up the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), Table 2 below shows when English is first introduced into the school curriculum in each of the ten countries.

Table 2

The National Language and English in Education in ASEAN

Country	Medium of Instruction	First Foreign Language (Year of Introduction)
Brunei*	Malay and English	English (primary 1 as MoI)
Burma	Burmese	English (primary 1)
Cambodia**	Khmer	English (primary 5) (French also offered)
Indonesia**	Bahasa Indonesia	English (secondary 1)
Laos	Lao	English (primary 3)
Malaysia	Malay and Vernaculars	English (from primary 1)
Philippines	Local languages (until P3)	English (from primary 1 as MoI)
Singapore	English	Malay/Mandarin/Tamil (primary 1)
Thailand	Thai	English (primary 1)
Vietnam**	Vietnamese	English (primary 3 in selected schools)

* The Arabic script, *jawi*, is introduced from primary 3
** Some bilingual education for minority groups in early primary
(Table adapted from Kirkpatrick & Liddicoat 2017)

Table 2 shows that English has become the second language of education (after the respective national languages) in nine of the ten countries. In the tenth, Singapore, English is the first language of education. The promotion of English as a language of education is replicated across Asia. In a recent *Handbook on Language Education Policy in Asia* (Kirkpatrick & Liddicoat 2019) the following trends were identified:

(i) the promotion of the respective national language as a symbol of national identity and unity;

(ii) the promotion of English as the second language of education;

(iii) as a result of (ii), an increasing division between the "have" and "have nots" as government schools often face shortages of qualified English teachers and lack access to suitable materials;

(iv) limited support for indigenous languages in education, and often they are present in policy documents but not in reality;

(v) as a result of (ii) and (iv) many children are having to learn in languages they do not understand.

A notable exception to proving limited support to indigenous languages is the Outer Circle country, The Philippines, where 19 of the nation's 170 or so languages have been introduced as mediums of instruction for the first three years of primary school (Young & Igcalinos 2019). However, the national language, Filipino, and English remain the major languages of secondary education, and English the primary language of higher education.

Indonesia is also unique in that it is the only one of the ten countries of ASEAN that does not make English a compulsory subject in primary school. Indonesia is the most linguistically diverse nation in Asia, being home to more than 700 languages. Given Indonesia's diversity, size, and recent decentralisation policies, it is hard to know how many of these languages are actually being taught in a systematic way. Kohler (2019) reports that some of the larger languages, such as Sundanese and Javanese, are taught in secondary schools. Local languages with fewer speakers, such as Buginese, are also taught in some areas where Buginese is the native language, but not in all such areas. Yet, despite its not being a compulsory subject in primary schools, English is also the second language of education in Indonesia, and there is evidence that it is being adapted by Indonesians to reflect their own cultural norms and values. For example, some *pesantren* (schools which are attached to mosques) are teaching English for Islamic purposes (Fahrudin 2013). As an example, when speaking about future plans, students are taught to end their English sentence or utterance with "*Insya Allah*" (Allah willing), thus conforming to Muslim practice in noting that all plans are subject to the will of Allah. Indonesians also understand the important role English can play in telling the world about Indonesian cultures and values. In a study in which she surveyed attitudes of a sub-section of Indonesians towards English, Dewi (2012) interviewed staff from a number of universities in Yogyakarta, including Islamic, Christian, and secular institutions. Generally speaking, the respondents reported that English was useful in allowing their voices to be heard, as these three typical responses indicate:

> "I learn English because I want to be heard."
> "English can boost our confidence as a nation."
> "English makes me more confident I do not feel inferior anymore."
> (Dewi 2012: 16–17).

None of the respondents saw English as a threat to their religion or way of life. Indeed, the Muslim respondents noted that

> "[English] is also necessary for us to master English for proselytising,"
> "English helps the development of my religion," and "
> English can deliver information about my religion" (Dewi 2012: 22).

Therefore, far from simply being a foreign language learned in schools, English has become adopted and adapted by speakers from the traditional Expanding Circle countries of Asia for their own needs. A recent edited volume *Teacher Education for English as a Lingua Franca: Perspectives from Indonesia* (Zein 2018) provides evidence as to how English is becoming a language of Asia. The authors of one chapter (Musthafa, Hamied & Zein 2018) make a number of recommendations for re-imagining English in the Indonesian and Asian context. These include re-orienting the objectives of English language education in Indonesia. Such an adjustment would involve switching the focus of the classroom from Inner-Circle varieties of English to regional varieties and the use of English as a lingua franca. It would also involve developing students' intercultural literacy with regard to regional cultures (and, of course, that of their teachers). The authors also recommend that Pre-service teacher education prepare teachers with exposure to the varieties of English used in ASEAN in order to show that communication can be accomplished without adherence to native-speaking norms.

I shall return to the implications of how the roles of English have changed in the Expanding Circle countries of Asia in the third part of this article. Here I turn to describing how English, as noted by Musthafa et al. above, is becoming increasingly used as a lingua franca among Asian multilinguals across Asia.

3. The role of English as a Lingua Franca

I start this section of the article by quoting from Graddol's Afterword in his book *English Next: India*:

> Throughout India, there is an extraordinary belief, amongst almost all castes and classes, in both rural and urban areas, in the transformative power of English. English is seen not just as a useful skill, but as a symbol of a better life, a pathway out of poverty and oppression…. How can the benefits of English be enjoyed without damaging the potential that India's multilingualism brings, as a source of unique identity in a globalised world, of cultural richness, and an important future economic resource? (Graddol 2010: 124)

I have referred to this tension between the apparent benefits of English and those of multilingualism when discussing the role of English in Nepal above, and I shall return to this issue in the third section of this article. Here I note that this "extraordinary belief …in the transformative power of English" is shared across many of the countries of Asia. This is one reason why ASEAN has made English the sole working language of the group. Article 34 of the ASEAN Charter, which was signed in 2009, simply states, "The working language shall be English" (Kirkpatrick 2010). The importance attached to English was stressed in a speech in 2013 by the then Director General of ASEAN, Le Luong Minh:

> With the diversity in ASEAN reflected in our diverse histories, races, cultures and belief systems, English is an important and indispensable tool to bring our

Community closer together. […] Used as the working language of ASEAN, English enables us to interact with other ASEAN colleagues in our formal meetings as well as day-today communications. […] In order to prepare our students and professionals in response to all these ASEAN integration efforts, among other measures, it is imperative that we provide them with opportunities to improve their mastery of the English language, the language of our competitive global job market, the lingua franca of ASEAN (ASEAN 2013).

In addition, therefore, to the beliefs in the transformative power of English, by making English the sole working language of the group, ASEAN has provided a further important motivation for the peoples of ASEAN to learn English. The result, as illustrated in Table 2 above, is that English has become the second language of education of nine of the ten member nations of the group and the first language of education in Singapore. But the role of English as a lingua franca extends far beyond ASEAN. English has also become the working language of extended regional groups, including the so-called ASEAN + 3, comprising ASEAN and China, Japan, and Korea, and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC), comprising 21 countries, the 13 of ASEAN + 3 along with Australia, Canada, Chile, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Russia, and the United States. APEC issued a statement as long ago as 2003 urging member countries "to undertake measures to provide adequate knowledge and practical use of English as a working language within the APEC region" (Lazaro & Medalla 2004: 278).

To illustrate how English is actually being used as a lingua franca in these ASEAN/Asian contexts, a number of examples are provided below. These excerpts are all taken from the Asian Corpus of English, a corpus of the naturally occurring use of English as an Asian lingua franca. ACE is freely accessible on line (https://corpus.eduhk.hk/ace). The first two examples discuss language and how the speakers view language and identity. In the first extract, a Bruneian of Chinese ethnicity (S2) is talking about her language journey as she describes the languages she grew up with and how she came to study English. The other participants are a Filipina (S1), a Thai male (S3) and a Vietnamese female (S4). SX indicates that it is not possible to determine who is speaking. SX-f means it is a female speaking, but that it is not possible to determine which one.

> (1)
> S2: my first language when i fam- when i'm at home in the family are actually dialect chinese dialects i speak a few languages well i speak to my father in a different dialect i speak to my mother in a different dialect-kay so that is when i am at the age of one one to three one to four
> SX-family
> S3: chinese dialect
> S1: growing
> S4: mhm

S2: so two dialects growing at the same time and at the same time our neighbours spoke malay

S4: mhm

S3: mhm

S2: we live in an area where there were a lot of malays there were a lot of malays li- living in the area as well

S1: your mother's chinese

S2: my father's chinese my mother is chinese

S4: mhm

S2: erm so but we spo- i spoke dialect chinese: so i had so i grew up with a lot of languages around me

S1: that's interesting

S2: and i don't i don't actually remember

SX-f: (laughter)

S2: how i i only knew that i was drilled in grammar but erm i felt for a ve- very long time that even when i was i can still think back and i was in kindergarten i could understand the teacher

SX-f: okay

S1: uh-huh

S4: hm

S2: and she spoke erm english

SX-f: hm

S2: at that time so it wasn't a major difficulty because i was so small and so young

S1: eah yeah so what would you say is er what is your first language now

S2: definitely english now i mean english has become i think in english i

S3: English english

SX-f: (laughter)

S4: so you have so you have your mo- mother tongue father tongue

SX-(laughter)

S2: in the language i use most

S1: neighbourhood tongue

(Kirkpatrick 2021: in press)

In this excerpt, S2 recounts that she grew up speaking different dialects of Chinese – the dialects spoken by her mother and father. At the same time, the language of her neighbours was Malay and then she learned English at school. In other words, she grew up multilingual speaking (at least) four languages. She concludes by saying that English is now her strongest language.

In the second example, a Malay female of Chinese ethnicity is talking to an Indonesian male about the daughter of a mutual friend who has recently left for England where she will train as an English teacher.

(2)

S2: and she's she is been: er: england before or not she's been in england before or not

S1: yes: been

S2: yah been she has been in england before or not
S1: before yes she's stu er: she was study there
S2: uh-huh you sure
S1: yah:
S2: er i just last time we go to her room then i saw her daughter's picture daughter daughter's
S1: she graduated in england
S2: hh
S1: for the undergraduate
S2: o:h that's why she's:
S1: yah for the degree program that's why
S2: yah she speaks
S1: she can speak
S2: a lot yah
S1: english properly
S2: mhm
S1: and then even she cannot speak malay (laughter)
S2: she cannot
S1: she cannot er i mean she can but not fluently yah
S2: just a few oh
S1: she cannot speak engli- er:: malay fluently
S2: she's still here or she's already
S1: she's still here she she's: she teaches the: english course

(Kirkpatrick 2021: in press)

While both participants agree that their friend's daughter speaks excellent English (she can speak it "properly"), they also note that she is not fluent in her mother tongue, Malay. In both these examples of the use of English as a lingua franca, we can see that the learning of English means that other languages in the speaker's repertoire may be weakening, representing how the tension between English and multilingualism is reflected in the real lives of people. But, at the same time, they illustrate how widespread the use of English has become in these contexts

These two examples present relatively informal conversations between acquaintances. The next example is more formal. It is taken from a Chinese current-affairs television programme. The host, Tian Wei (S1), is interviewing Najib Razak (S2), who was the Prime Minister of Malaysia at the time of the interview. The interview was conducted entirely in English and was destined for a Mainland Chinese audience, and thus provides further evidence for the increasing role of English in China.

(3)
S1: Mister Prime Minister welcome to our dialogue
S2: thank you

After a wide-ranging discussion, the interviewer raises the issue of ignoring difficult topics being part of Asian culture. Prime Minister Najib first agrees, but then adds that it is also a practical way of dealing with problems.

(3 cont.)

S2: I agree with you I think er if there are some rather intractable problem or seemingly intractable problems then we should put those problems aside put those problems on the back burner for a while you know and and work on things that can lead to: results

S1: is it in Asian culture?

S2: yeah it's part of Asian cul but it's it's a very pragmatic way of looking at things 'cos if you can't solve the problem er you know put it aside and and look at into other areas that you can really build on and build on that relationship and if the relationship gets stronger and stronger and stronger er you know the problem that you wanted to attend to earlier probably would not be so unbearable or so un- insurmountable when you look at it sometime in the future.

(Kirkpatrick 2021: in press)

The Asian Corpus of English contains many more examples of the way English is currently being used as a lingua franca among Asian multilinguals. I have included these three examples to give readers a flavour of the way English as a lingua franca is being used and to illustrate how English has become far more than simply a "foreign" language restricted to the language classroom in the Expanding Circle countries of Asia. Far from being simply a classroom-based foreign language, English has developed wide-ranging roles not only within Outer Circle countries but also within Expanding Circle countries. And it has become the major lingua franca of the region. In his 1998 article "*English as an Asian Language*" Kachru noted that English was usually described as being a language *in* Asia, but not *of* Asia. Kachru then lists five uses of English in Asia (1998: 102–3). They are:

(i) as a vehicle of linguistic communication across distinct linguistic and cultural groups;

(ii) as a nativised medium for articulating local identities within and across Asia;

(iii) as one of the Pan-Asian languages of creativity;

(iv) as a language that has developed its own subvarieties indicating penetration at various levels;

(v) as a language that continues to elicit a unique love-hate relationship that, nevertheless, has not seriously impeded its spread, function and prestige.

In discussing the current myriad uses of English within and between the Expanding Circle countries in a range of contexts from informal to formal and which include the five uses listed by Kachru above, we can conclude that English is now not only a language *in* Asia but *of* Asia. In the third section of the article I shall consider the implications of this for the teaching of English and language education policy in Asia's Expanding Circle.

4. Implications for pedagogy and policy

One of the recommendations that Musthafa, Hamied, and Zein (2018) made was for English to be re-oriented away from Inner Circle varieties of English to

regional varieties and the use of English as a lingua franca. As English is being used as a lingua franca, it makes sense to teach it as one. I have recently developed a set of five principles for adopting a lingua franca approach to the teaching of English in this context (Kirkpatrick 2018, 2021) which I repeat here with a brief explanation for each of the five principles. The first two principles echo three of Kachru's famous six fallacies, namely that the goal of English learning is to interact with native speakers, to learn about British or American cultural values and to adopt native models of English (Kachru 1992: 357 ff).

Principle 1: The native speaker of English is not the linguistic target. Mutual intelligibility is the goal.

I have illustrated how English is operating in the Expanding Circles of Asia and noted that there are as many Expanding Circle users of English in Asia as there are native speakers of it worldwide. I have also shown how English is being used as a lingua franca not only between Asian multilinguals from the Expanding Circle countries but across Asia as a whole. It follows that Asian multilinguals are more likely to be using English with their fellow Asian multilinguals than with native speakers. The goal of English learning and teaching should, therefore, be to ensure successful communication among Asian multilinguals. Familiarity with the English used by Asian multilinguals becomes more important than familiarity with native speaker varieties of English. The ability to make oneself understood becomes more important than approximating native speaker models of English. The primary goal of learning and teaching English is to ensure one can understand and, in turn, be understood by fellow Asian multilinguals. Hence, the principle states that mutual intelligibility among Asian multilinguals is a more important goal than approximating a native speaker's variety of English.

Principle 2: The native speaker's culture is not the cultural target. Intercultural competence in relevant cultures is the goal.

Following on from the above, as Asian multilinguals are most likely to be using English with their fellow multilinguals, it is the cultures which are associated with these Asian multilinguals that become important for learners of English in which to become knowledgeable. For example, Indonesians speaking to Chinese need to know more about each other's cultures than they do about American, Australian or British cultures. Leaners need to become familiar with the cultures of the people they are most likely to be interacting in English with. Hence the principle prioritises developing inter cultural competence in relevant cultures as more important than developing knowledge about native speakers' cultures.

Principle 3: Local multilinguals who are suitably trained provide the most appropriate English language teachers.

As mutual intelligibility and intercultural competence in relevant cultures become the major goals of the learning and teaching of English in this context,

English teachers who share or are familiar with their learners' linguistic and cultural backgrounds become appropriate teachers of English for Asian multilinguals. They need, of course to be well-trained as teachers of English and possess valid qualifications.

Principle 4: Lingua franca environments provide excellent learning environments for lingua franca speakers.

Learners of English whose main aim is to communicate with fellow Asian multilinguals would benefit more by studying in true lingua franca environments rather than travelling to countries of the Inner Circle in order to develop their English proficiency. True lingua franca environments are those where English is used naturally as a lingua franca. These include places such as the Philippines, Malaysia and Hong Kong. Indeed, the Philippines has become a popular place for many Asian students to develop their English. Besides the cheaper cost of studying in the Philippines, students are likely to feel more comfortable using English in such an environment, not least because of the absence of the native speaker. In a recent study of university students in Hong Kong, Sung (2017) reported that local English majors felt that they were confident *users* of English when conversing with fellow non-native speakers of English, but they felt they were *learners* of English when conversing with native speakers, and worried about making mistakes. Hence, Principle 4 recommends lingua franca environments as suitable places for Asian multilinguals to develop their English skills.

Principle 5: Assessment must be relevant to the context.

I shall not say too much about Principle 5 here (see Kirkpatrick 2018, 2021 for more detail, also see Newbold 2018, Tsagari & Kouvdou 2018) except to stress that if we teach English as a lingua franca, we must assess it as lingua franca. Assessment must be valid and reliable.

These five principles frame a lingua franca approach to the teaching and learning of English in the Expanding Circle countries of Asia. Similar approaches for different contexts have been proposed by scholars such as Dewey (2012), Galloway and Rose (2018), Sifakis and Tsantila (2018), and Matsuda (2019).

I want to conclude this section by considering some of the implications of the increased role of English for language education policy. As was exemplified in Table 2 above, the great majority of countries of Asia have prioritised English as the second language of education. Ministries have also been introducing English earlier and earlier into the school curriculum in the belief that, with regard to language learning, "the earlier the better." Despite many scholars arguing against this position (e.g., Benson 2008, Kirkpatrick 2010, Coleman 2011) this belief remains resilient. This is unfortunate, as not only does the early introduction of English lead to children failing to learn English, the consequent lack of attention to indigenous languages and their neglect as languages of education also results in children having to learn content subjects in a language they do not understand, a

trend reported in the study of language education policy across Asia (Kirkpatrick & Liddicoat 2019). I have argued elsewhere (Kirkpatrick 2010) that English can quite reasonably be delayed until secondary school, allowing primary schools to focus on developing literacy in the national language and, where relevant and practical, the child's home language. Language education policy in the region needs to move from prioritising both the national language and English, and to provide for conditions favourable to the development of literacy in local languages and English (Sah 2020). Children could thus graduate from secondary school, confident in their home and the national language while also being functionally proficient in English. At present, too many children are failing to learn both English and content subjects in primary school, at great emotional and economic cost to themselves, their families, their communities, and their respective nations as a whole.

5. Conclusion

In this article I have illustrated how, far from simply being a foreign language learned in schools, English in the Expanding Circle countries of Asia is playing ever-increasing and diverse roles. I have exemplified uses of English both from the perspective from within countries and between them, and given some examples from the Asian Corpus of English (ACE) of how English is being used as a lingua franca by Asian multilinguals. These examples illustrate how Expanding Circle Englishes express the linguacultural identity of their users (Proshina 2019). I have put forward five principles for the adoption of a lingua franca approach to English teaching in light of these developments. At the same time, I have argued that this increasing role of English and its perceived importance in these contexts means that governments are, not unnaturally, prioritising English as the primary language of education and introducing it earlier and earlier into the curriculum. As a result, indigenous languages are being neglected as languages of education. I have therefore argued that language education policies should be revised in ways that would allow primary schools to focus on the national and relevant indigenous language(s), leaving the introduction of English to the secondary school. This would leave ample time for students to become functionally proficient in the language that is likely to play a greater and greater role in the Expanding Circle countries of Asia for the foreseeable future.

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Bionote:
Andy KIRKPATRICK is Professor in the Department of Humanities, Languages and Social Science, at Griffith University, Australia and is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. His most recent books include *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia* (co-editor with Anthony J. Liddicoat), *The Wiley-Blackwell Handbook of Asian Varieties of English* (2020, co-editor with Kingsley Bolton and Werner Botha) and *Trilingual Education in Hong Kong Primary Schools* (2019, co-author with Wang Lixun). The second edition of the *Routledge Handbook of World English*, of which he is the sole editor, will be published in late 2020. His monograph *Is English an Asian Language?* will be published by Cambridge University Press in 2021.
Contact information:
Griffith University, Humanities, Languages and Social Science
170 Kessels Road, Nathan, Queensland 4111, Australia
e-mail: a.kirkpatrick@griffith.edu.au
ORCID ID: 0000 0002 4470 7089
Scopus ID: 22934945300

Сведения об авторе:
Энди КИРКПАТРИК – профессор факультета гуманитарных наук, языков и социальных наук в Университете Гриффита, Австралия. Член Австралийской академии гуманитарных наук. Его опубликованные за последнее время книги включают *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia* (соредактор с Энтони Дж. Лиддикоутом), *The Wiley-Blackwell Handbook of Asian Varieties of English* (2020, совместно с Кингсли Болтоном. и Вернером Бота) и *Trilingual Education in Hong Kong Primary Schools* (2019, соредактор с Ван Лисюнем). Его монография *Is English an Asian Language?* будет опубликована Издательством Кембриджского университета в 2021 г.
Контактная информация:
Griffith University, Humanities, Languages and Social Science
170 Kessels Road, Nathan, Queensland 4111, Australia
e-mail: a.kirkpatrick@griffith.edu.au
ORCID ID: 0000 0002 4470 7089
Scopus ID: 22934945300

Research Article

Tracing the roots of phonetic variation in East Asian Englishes through loan phonology

Viktoriya L. ZAVYALOVA

Far Eastern Federal University
Vladivostok, Russia

Abstract

One key aspect of Englishes in the Kachruvian Expanding Circle concerns phonetic features as they commonly bear traits of speakers' native languages. This article explores language contact phenomena that are likely to cause L1>L2 phonological transfer, which underlies the phonetic specificity of English in East Asia. Drawing on the general theory of loan phonology, the author treats phonographic adaptation of English loanwords in East Asian languages compared to Russian, as a reliable source of data that supports research on the nature of phonetic variation in Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Russian Englishes. The data were obtained through comparative analysis of English loanwords (200 for each language) selected from dictionary sources and speech samples from the Russian-Asian Corpus of English which was collected in earlier research. The findings confirm typological correlation of phonological transfer in loanword phonographic adaptation and in foreign language phonology. In both linguistic contexts, a crucial role is played by syllabic constraints, because being the fundamental unit of any phonological system, a syllable serves a domain of its segmental and suprasegmental features. Consequently, various resyllabification phenomena occur in English borrowings in the languages of East Asia whose phonological typology is distant from that of English; as a demonstration of this same conflict, the syllabic and, hence, rhythmic organization of East Asian Englishes tends to exhibit similar code-copying variation. The greater typological proximity of English and Russian syllable regulations leads to fewer manifestations of syllabic and rhythmic restructuring in both loanword adaptations and English spoken by native speakers of Russian.

Keywords: *East Asian Englishes, Russian English, phonetic variation, phonological transfer, phonographic adaptation of loanwords, syllabic and rhythmic structure of non-native speech*

Истоки фонетической вариативности английского языка Восточной Азии сквозь призму фонологии заимствований

В.Л. ЗАВЬЯЛОВА

Дальневосточный федеральный университет
Владивосток, Россия

Аннотация

Один из ключевых вопросов, связанных с изучением вариантов английского языка в «расширяющемся круге», касается особенностей их фонетической организации, в которой наиболее явно может прослеживаться «присутствие» родного языка говорящих. В данной статье исследуются явления языкового контакта, порождающие возможное проникновение структурно-функциональных фонетических признаков одного языка в другой (по типу Я1 > Я2) и определяющие специфику звукового строя английского языка Восточной Азии. Опираясь на общую теорию фонологии заимствований, автор рассматривает фонографическую адаптацию английских лексем, принимаемых восточноазиатскими языками, как один из наиболее достоверных источников данных, которые подтверждают природу фонетической вариативности в английской речи китайских, корейских и японских билингвов в сравнении с русскоговорящими. Базовая методика включает сравнительный анализ английских заимствований (*n* = 200 для каждого языка), отобранных из словарных источников, и речевых образцов, обнаруживаемых в корпусе английской речи носителей русского и восточноазиатских языков, собранном в ходе более раннего исследования. Полученные результаты доказывают существование типологической корреляции двух форм фонологического переноса: проявляющегося, в одном случае, в фонографической адаптации заимствованного слова, в другом – в фонологии неродного для билингва языка. Решающую роль в обоих лингвистических контекстах играют ограничения родного (принимающего) языка на слоговом уровне, поскольку, будучи фундаментальной единицей речеязыковой системы, слог обеспечивает функционирование сегментных и супрасегментных фонологических средств. В силу существенных типологических отличий слогового кода англоязычные заимствования в исследуемых языках Восточной Азии обнаруживают признаки регулярной слого-ритмической ресегментации; при этом сходные трансформации имеют место в английской речи билингвов из Китая, Республики Корея и Японии. В свою очередь, благодаря бо́льшей близости английского и русского языков в части фонологической типологии слога, организация заимствований из английского языка, как и английская речь русскоязычных коммуникантов менее подвержена слого-ритмическим перестройкам.

Ключевые слова: *восточноазиатские варианты английского языка, русский английский, фонетическая вариативность, фонологическая трансференция, фонографическая адаптация заимствований, ресиллабация в речи на иностранном языке*

1. Introduction

An integral attribute of the Expanding Circle varieties of English which is easily spotted in global English-mediated communication contexts is their phonetic

variations, which help the listener to rather effortlessly identify the primary language (L1) background of a speaker. This is due to the natural immersion of L1 phonology into a bilingual's secondary (L2) phonological system. Phonological transfer is one of numerous language-transfer manifestations accompanying secondary language acquisition. According to Lado (1957: 2), "individuals tend to transfer the forms and meanings, and the distribution of forms and meanings of their native language and culture to the foreign language and culture -- both productively when attempting to speak the language and to act in the culture, and receptively when attempting to grasp and understand the language and the culture as practiced by natives." Nowadays the term *transfer*, being interpreted as both positive and negative L1-upon-L2 influence, covers various linguistic contexts in which speakers shift elements from their mother tongue to L2. These include pidgin and creole development, language convergence, language attrition, code switching and mixing, etc. Loanword phonology, known as "a study of how languages adapt foreign words within their phonological systems" (Crystal 2008: 287), has also been typically attributable to transfer (Broselow 2000). *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* defines a loan as "a linguistic unit (usually a lexical item) which has come to be used in a language or dialect other than the one where it originated" (Crystal 2008: 286). According to the dictionary, several types of loan process have been identified, with loan words being recognized as the type "where both form and meaning are borrowed, or 'assimilated,' with some adaptation to the phonological system of the new language" (Crystal 2008: 286).

The general theory of loan phonology distinguishes two transfer types depending on the direction of cross-linguistic influence, namely, *borrowing* ("recipient language agentivity", i.e. the assimilation of foreign elements by the speakers' native language) and *imposition* ("source language agentivity," i.e. influence of a speaker's native language structures on the second language) (Van Coetsem 1988: 3). Many researchers have argued that via these bidirectional transfer manifestations, loanword phonology can provide data on the phonological constraints in the recipient language that are not necessarily evident in native phonology (Hyman 1970, Kawahara 2008, Kang 2010, Hyman & Plank 2018). More recently, linguists have started to reflect on loanword phonology as a source of evidence that is comparable to L2 phonological evidence (De Jong & Cho 2012, Gut, Fuchs & Wunder 2015). However, the comparative methodology of loan phonology vs. L2 phonology has not been widely adopted in linguistics, nor has it been employed to describe the phonologies of world Englishes. This is most likely because internal phonology and phonotactics of the borrowing language alone cannot account for all the cases of transfer manifestation because some languages develop, as Smith (2009: 155) puts it, "a loanword-specific adaptation strategy."

This article aims to show that much of the account of loanword phonographic adaptation (imposition phenomena) runs in direct parallel with the phonetic and/or phonological evidence from L2 speech production and perception, while the processes of adjusting the loanword into a new phonological system, and

developing L2 phonological categories in L2 acquisition are both confronted with the primary necessity to satisfy the constraints of the native language. This, in its turn, results in forming the idiomaticity of loanword sound forms and of L2 phonology, respectively, since in any case of phonological contact, when a language runs into a phonological structure that does not have a representation in its phonology, the phenomena of phonological transfer occur. Another ground on which the analogy between loan phonology and L2 phonology can be drawn is the likelihood of loan adaptation being partially performed by "advanced L2 speakers" (Calabrese & Wetzels 2009: 51). Linguists argue that if this occurs, the loan phonology might be "filtered" by L2 English perception (ibid.), which implies even more similarities, though accrued otherwise.

Honna (2006) stresses a great influx of English loanwords in the languages of East Asia. In the process of borrowing from the English-dominated global culture, the recipient languages adjust the sound form (along with the meaning) of English loanwords[1] according to their own phonological rules. In most cases, speakers attempt to approximate English sounds by choosing the acoustic equivalent that most closely correlates with phonemes or phonemic sequences (or other units) available in the recipient language (Calabrese & Wetzels 2009: 11). The recipient sound system quite often comes into natural conflict with that of the source language, at the same time seeking a compromise, which results in certain phonetic "fine-tuning" of the loanword in its new linguistic domain. Transferring L1 phonological patterns in loan words may involve not only segmental changes but also L1-specific syllable restructuring, stress assignment, etc. In this article, we assert that comparable adjustments take place when late bilinguals from East Asia acquire the idiomatic phonetic system of the English language. As Berent (2013: 10) states, "we instinctively extend the phonological pattern of our language to all inputs, and when violators are detected, we automatically recode them as licit forms." Hence, there is the likelihood of interlanguage formation in L2 learning, which may eventually become fossilized (Selinker & Lamendella 1980). According to Major (2001: 81), interlanguage usually contains three groups of components: those transferred from L1 and L2, and universals. Our assumption is that that similar elements can be found in loan phonology as well.

2. Problem statement

By using relative data from our study on loanword phonology compared to second language phonology this article aims to show that there exist observable traits of likeness and overall correlation of the two transfer types. The specific methods of phonographic adaptation of English loanwords in Chinese, Japanese,

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[1] According to Crystal (2008: 286), of the several types of loan process that have been recognized (loan words, loan blends, and loan shifts), loan words constitute the category "where both FORM and MEANING are borrowed, or 'assimilated,' with some adaptation to the PHONOLOGICAL system of the new language."

Korean, and Russian are matched up to to the corresponding phonological features identified in East Asian Englishes and Russian English.

The focus in both aspects of our research is laid upon the fundamental linguistic unit, the syllable, given that the structure of the syllable (or mora in Japanese) to a great extent determines the entire organization of speech in any language. For example, Randolph (1989) provides reliable evidence on the influence of syllable-based constraints on properties of English sounds, while Selkirk (1982) shows that principles of syllabification interact with rules of stress assignment, etc. At the same time, linguists have demonstrated the key role the syllable plays in the perception of speech. Knowledge of the phonological rules of how syllables and syllable sequences are organized on the part of the listeners is crucial for their ability to decode the speech continuum (Massaro 1972, Nusbaum & DeGroot 1991).

We proceed from the basic assumption that syllabic and rhythmic adaptation of English loanwords is indicative of the borrowing language's phonology, which, in another language-contact context, demands syllable code-copying alteration in this or that English variety. The choice of East Asian languages, Russian, and English, as well as the corresponding varieties of English, as a research focus for comparative investigation was guided by the fact that English and Russian, on the one hand, and Chinese, Japanese and Korean, on the other, are typologically and genetically distant from one another. Hence, the languages under study have different types of syllable matrices' formations and functions, and they are also different in terms of their rhythmic organization, the major distinction being stress-timing versus syllable (or mora)-timing (see, e.g., Bondarenko et al. 2007). Russian, a language that allows complex consonant clustering in the syllable onset and coda positions, and exhibits stress-timing prototype in rhythm (Auer 1993, Zavyalova 2018), is taken as an example of a language genetically and typologically close to English, to show the contrast in both English loanword adaptation and L2 (Russian English) production.

3. METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

The present study of phonetic variation in East Asian Englishes through loan phonology employs a complex methodology including general descriptive and comparative, as well as experimental (auditory and instrumental) phonetic methods. Since we consistently compare the newly obtained data with the findings of our earlier group research project on phonetic variation in East Asian Englishes (Bondarenko et al. 2007), it is important to outline methodological basis for those findings and the key results of that investigation.

Initially, major dissimilarities in the syllable and rhythmic structures of the languages under study (English and a group of East Asian languages, compared to Russian) which were thought likely to cause the phenomenon of phonological transfer in different situations of language contact were revealed via the review and comparison of descriptive studies of the appropriate phonological systems. Table 1 below demonstrates the most salient syllable-related features:

**Syllable-related differences in English (Inner Circle Model) vs
languages of East Asia compared to Russian (Expanding Circle Models)**

	English	*East Asian languages*		*Russian*
(1)	phonetically determined syllable division;	morphologically determined syllable division (Ch.)[2]; phonetically determined + "graphic rule"-based syllable division" (Kor.)[3]; mora determined syllable weight and syllable division (Jap.)[4]	*cf.*	phonetically determined syllable division;
(2)	prevalence of closed (checked) syllables (CVC[5]-type);	prevalence of open (unchecked) syllables (CV-type);	*cf.*	prevalence of open (unchecked) syllables (CV-type);
(3)	partly limited sound distribution within syllable boundaries;	strictly limited sound distribution within syllable boundaries (syllable-final consonant prohibition/restriction);	*cf.*	partly limited sound distribution within syllable boundaries;
(4)	stress-timed rhythm and relative isochrony.	syllable-timed rhythm (Ch, Kor); mora-timed rhythm (Jap).	*cf.*	stress-timed rhythm.

To explore the syllabic and prosodic organization of East Asian Englishes (compared to Russian English), we designed a multi-stage methodology to allow for the analysis of non-native speech production and perception, as well as for the experimental study of these processes.

Speech Production research required collecting English speech corpora (see Korpus… 2011):

(1) A subset of English speech samples read by native speakers of Chinese, Korean, Japanese, and Russian (35–40 subjects in each language; aged 17–25; senior University students majoring in English at Dalian University of Foreign Languages, China; Hokuriku University, Japan; Kyungnam University, Republic of Korea; Far Eastern Federal University, Russia; L2 skills – intermediate), collected in order to identify phonetic features in corresponding non-native English varieties.

(2) A subset of English speech samples read by American speakers (8 subjects; aged 30–55; visiting professors and fellow scholars at Far Eastern Federal University, Russia). The samples included: a) the same English texts as read by East Asian and Russian participants to be further employed as patterns for comparison with non-native samples, and b) specially designed texts, partially borrowed from Chwat[6] (1994), containing potential phonetic difficulties, to be

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[2] To indicate the languages, the following abbreviations are used: **Ch.** for Chinese, **Kor.** for Korean, **Jap**. for Japanese, **Rus**. for Russian, and **Eng**. for English.

[3] The grouping of letters in the Korean alphabet (*Hangeul*) is syllable-oriented, i.e. vowel and consonant letters are put together to form syllable blocks. Such a writing system is called alpha-syllabic.

[4] In the traditional Japanese writing system (*Hiragana*) each symbol represents a mora; a syllable may contain one or two morae.

[5] **C** stands for consonant; **V** for vowel.

[6] Program for Accent Elimination employed at The Sam Chwat Speech Center, New York http://www.samchwatspeechcenter.com

further used as stimuli in the experiment on native English speech perception by East Asian bilinguals[7].

Speech Perception research included the following steps:

(3) Auditory analysis of the elicited non-native English speech samples by two categories of subjects: American speakers (who previously participated in our Speech Production research), and Russian teachers of English Phonetics (5 subjects; aged 25–55; Far Eastern Federal University, Russia), for assessing the degree of English language proficiency of the subjects and determining the scope of phonetic variation. As a result, three groups of English speakers were identified by the listeners, namely, basilectal[8], mesolectal, and acrolectal. Phonetic variation features (compared to native American speech samples) were further examined only for mesolectal non-native speech samples on the assumption that phonetic representations of foreign accent would be most salient in speakers with intermediate L2 command, since at this level of L2 proficiency bilinguals tend to use appropriate grammar and vocabulary, still displaying rather strong L1 phonological transfer.

(4) Auditory analysis of the American English speech samples by East Asian and Russian participants (35–40 speakers in each language; aged 17–25). The experiment elicited numerous cases of perceptual resegmentation of the stimuli on the part of East Asian bilinguals. This part of the experiment was critically important for our research since we treat speech perception and production as more or less isomorphic processes that together can unveil a host of phonetic difficulties in L2 acquisition attributed to transfer. Moreover, the data obtained has clear implications for understanding loan phonology as it appears to be largely dependent on L2 perception of bilinguals, who carry out language borrowing.

Finally, to support our theoretical findings on the likelihood of syllable-related phonological transfer in different situations of contact between English and East Asian languages (compared to Russian) and to prove the validity of the Speech Production and Speech Perception research, instrumental-phonetic methods with elements of electro-acoustic analysis[9] of speech samples were applied (Bondarenko et al. 2007, Zavyalova 2018).

Based on the described research above, which provides the ground for our hypothesis on the underlying syllable code conflict as a trigger of diverse phonological transfer occurrences in East Asian varieties of English, the present

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[7] As speech production and speech perception are viewed as two inseparable modes of speech interaction (Casserly & Pisoni 2010), both processes are relevant for the study of phonological transfer in various situations of language contacts, including non-native speech and phonographic adaptation of loanwords.

[8] *Basilect, mesolect,* and *acrolect* are sociolinguistic terms, which in this context, correspondingly, mean elementary, intermediate and advanced second-language proficiency levels.

[9] The computer program used in the research – *Praat 5.0.5* – is a software program developed by the Institute of Phonetic Sciences, University of Amsterdam; it is specially designed for phoneticians to assist in analyzing acoustic features of speech (http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/).

study focuses on revealing correlative phonological transfer manifestations in phonographic adaptations of English loanwords in East Asian languages, compared to Russian. Firstly, we analyze the main syllabic rules in English as a donor language and outline the restrictions for them in the recipient languages. To provide examples and comparisons for the second part of our study, in which different types of phonographic adjustments in loan phonology are grouped, a corpus of English loanwords (200 in each recipient language) was formed. The sources include: *Tuttle New Dictionary of Loanwords in Japanese* (Taeko 1994) and *Online Japanese Dictionary of Foreign Words* (2016) for Japanese; the electronic dictionary *ABBYY Lingvo 12 Software* (2006) and a list of loanwords by Hall-Lew (2002) for Mandarin Chinese; *National Academy of the Korean Language's English-Korean Dictionary* (2016) for Korean; *Vasmer's Etymological Dictionary of the Russian Language* (Vasmer 1956) and *Etimological Dictionary* and *Dictionary of Anglicisms of the Russian Language* (Dyakov 2010) for Russian. English borrowings in East Asian languages are analyzed in Romanized spellings: Romaji[10], Mandarin Pinyin, and Revised Romanization of Korean (RR), respectively. Their counterparts in Russian, used for comparison, are spelled in Cyrillic[11]. Parallels with regular pronunciation patterns of English words found in the corresponding varieties of English in our Russian-Asian speech corpus (or with phonetic forms made up on the basis of previously revealed regularities) are drawn throughout the description.

As our research was initially syllable-oriented, the choice of the English loanwords to be used in the comparative analyses of phonographic adaptation methods was determined by the complexity of syllable structure in the donor language both in terms of consonant clustering in the onset and/or coda of the syllable (CCV-, CCCV-, CVC-, CCVC-, CCCVC-, CVCC-, CCVCC-, CCCVCC-, VC-, VCC-, VCCC- types), and of the phonotactic restrictions within a syllable, with English syllable boundary characteristics being also taken into consideration. According to Faircloth and Faircloth (1973: 78), the percentage of closed syllables in English is estimated as follows: 30.22 (CVC), 16.34 (VC), 5.55 (CVCC), 2.84 (CCVC), 0.72 (VCC), 0.60 (CCVCC), 0.24 (CCCVC), 0.19 (CCCVCC), 0.12 (CVCCC), and 0.02 (CCVCCC). In contrast, East Asian languages under study display strong and principled limitations on consonant clustering, both in syllable onsets and codas. In Russian syllables, consonant clustering is allowed, sequences of phonemes within the clusters following rules of syllable phonotactics.

One more difference between the borrowing languages under study is that being syllabic by nature, East Asian languages tend to have a syllable restructuring (resyllabification) constraint in polysyllabic words (Derwing et al. 1993), while the

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[10] Along with a special Latin script, Romaji, the Japanese language employs a special Katakana syllabary to nativize loanwords it borrows from English and other European languages (*gairaigo*).

[11] The most common methods of borrowing foreign words into Russian are transcription (or "transvocalization"), which requires closest phonetic correspondence of the source language sounds and target language letters, and transliteration, which establishes letter-for-letter correspondences in the source and target languages' writing systems.

phonemic character of the Russian language along with its synthetic typology (Arakin 2005, Zavyalova etd al. 2016) allows for the syllable restructuring phenomenon in polysyllabic derivatives: e.g., *стол* ("(a) table") /stol/ – CCVC, but *два стола* ("two tables"*)* /sto.la/ – CCV.CV, *столовый* (Adj., "relating to table") /sto.lo.vyj/ – CCV.CV.CVS[12]. In English, contrastively, syllable organization displays a feature which demonstrates strong dependence of coda consonants on the type of vowel nucleus in a syllable under stress: when the vowel is checked it attracts the following consonant, forming a closed syllable. This phenomenon is also known as nucleus-vowel-length-dependence[13]: short vowels can occur only in closed syllables. When the vowel nucleus under stress is long, the following consonant forms the onset of the following unstressed syllable. See examples in Table 2.

Table 2

Examples of syllable division dependence on nucleus vowel length in British and American English (*Cambridge Dictionaries Online* 2019)

		Checked vowel nucleus in English (Inner Circle Models)	Types of Syllables			Free vowel nucleus in English (Inner Circle Models)	Types of Syllables
(1)	litter	UK /ˈlɪt.əʳ/ US ˈlɪt̬.ɚ/	CVC.V CVC.V	*cf.*	liter	UK /ˈliː.təʳ/ US /ˈliː.t̬ɚ/	CV.CV CV.CV
(2)	coffee (cf.)	UK /ˈkɒf.i/ US /ˈkɑː.fi/	CVC.V CV.CV	*cf.*	caucus	UK /ˈkɔː.kəs/ US /ˈkɑː.kəs/	CV.CV CV.CV
(3)	money	UK /ˈmʌn.i/ US /ˈmʌn.i/	CVC.V CVC.V	*cf.*	miner	UK /ˈmaɪ.nəʳ/ US /ˈmaɪ.nɚ/	CV.CV CV.CV
(4)	other	UK /ˈʌð.əʳ/ US /ˈʌð.ɚ/	VC.V VC.V	*cf.*	author	UK /ˈɔː.θəʳ/ US /ˈɑː.θɚ/	V.CV V.CV

Since the syllable code in the East Asian languages and Russian prescribes mostly CV or CV(S) models, the boundaries of English closed syllables with checked vowel nuclei in polysyllabic words are not expected to be observed in English speech production (or perception) by East Asian and Russian bilinguals, or in the phonographic adaptation of English loanwords by the recipient East Asian languages and Russian. At the same time, no consonant cluster restructuring is predictable on the part of the Russian language as compared to East Asian languages in the language contacts contexts under study.

Another feature of English-specific syllabification which is lacking in East Asian languages and Russian is related to a particular type of syllable formed by the sonorants /l/, /n/ and /m/, which may be preceded by a consonant (e.g. *little* /ˈlɪt.l̩/, *table* /ˈteɪ.bl̩/, *garden* /ˈgɑː.dn̩/, *rhythm* /ˈrɪð.(ə)m̩/, etc.). In view of the described linguistic differences above, our prediction is that no such syllables are likely to be formed in loan words borrowed from English or in English as L2 production (or perception).

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[12] S – a symbol used for sonorant consonant.

[13] Checked vowels are traditionally associated with phonological shortness.

3. Results

Consistent with previous studies (Calabrese & Wetzels 2009, Paradis & LaCharité 2011), our comparative findings in the peculiarities of English speech production and perception by East Asian and Russian speakers, as well as in phonographic adaptation of English loanwords by the recipient East Asian languages and Russian, demonstrate clear evidence of the tendency to transform the syllabic, hence, the rhythmic patterns of an English word (or a rhythmic group), approximating them to the corresponding recipient language schemes. Our findings are also in line with Campbell's (2004: 66), who asserts that non-native phonological "patterns are subject to accommodation, where loanwords which do not conform to native phonological patterns are modified to fit the phonological combinations which are permitted in the borrowing language."

Our study revealed the most frequent transformations associated with approximation to native phonological patterns both in the methods of phonographic adaptation of English loanwords by the recipient East Asian languages and in L2 phonetic organization by the mesolect[14] Asian-English bilinguals (compared to Russian-English ones). Typical correspondence patterns of phonetic modifications in both linguistic contexts are attested by the descriptions and examples below.

- *Consonant clusters* occurring in syllable onset (2), (3), and/or coda (1) of an English word cause regular vowel insertion (i.e. *onset/coda branching*), which results in resyllabification and change in the rhythmic structure of the word, as exhibited in Table 3:

Table 3

Consonant cluster "simplification" similarities in English loanwords *(Dictionary Source)* compared to East Asian and Russian Englishes *(Corpus Source)*

	English word		*English loan in East Asian languages and Russian*			*Common pattern of English word in corresponding English varieties*	
(1)	*toast* /təʊst/ CVCC	=>	*tŭsī* CV.CV	(Ch)	*cf.*	['tou:sɪ] CV.CV	(ChEng)
(2)	*(ice)-cream* /(ˌaɪs) ˈkriːm/ (VC.) CCVC	=>	*(aisu) kuri-mu* (V.CV.) CV.CV.CV	(Jap)	*cf.*	[(ˈaɪ.su.)kuˈriː.mu] (V.CV.) CV.CV.CV	(JapEng)
(3)	*brandy* /ˈbræn.di/ CCVC.CV	=>	*beulaendi* CV.CVC.CV	(Kor)	*cf.*	[bɨˈl/rɑːn.dɨ] CV.CVC.CV	(KorEng)
		cf.					
(4a)	*toast* /təʊst/ CVCC	=>	*мост* CVCC	(Rus)	*cf.*	[to(u)st] CVCC	(RusEng)
(4b)	*cream* /ˈkriːm/ CCVC	=>	*крем* CCVC	(Rus)	*cf.*	[krim] CCVC	(RusEng)
(4c)	*brandy* /ˈbræn.di/ CCVC.CV	=>	*бренди* CCVC.CV	(Rus)	*cf.*	[ˈbren.di] CCVC.CV	(RusEng)

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[14] Speech examples in this section represent mesolect-accented Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Russian Englishes.

• Comparable (2) and different (1), (3) transformations, involving vowel insertion and syllable restructuring, are notable in English-specific type of *syllable formed by sonorant* acting as a nucleus (sometimes preceded by a consonant) (Table 4).

<div align="right">*Table 4*</div>

Sonorant-nucleus syllables transformations in English loanwords *(Dictionary Source)* compared to East Asian and Russian Englishes *(Corpus Source)*

	English word		*English loan in East Asian languages and Russian*			*Common pattern of English word in corresponding English varieties*	
(1)	*Michael* /'maɪ.kᵊl/ CV.<u>CS</u>	=>	*mài kè ěr* CV.<u>CV.VS</u>	(Ch)	*cf.*	['maɪ:.<u>ke</u>] CV.<u>CV</u>	(ChEng)
(2)	*bagel* /'beɪ.gᵊl/ CV.<u>CS</u>	=>	*bēguru* CV.<u>CV.SV</u>	(Jap)	*cf.*	CV.<u>CV.CV</u>	(JapEng)
(3)	*table* /'teɪ.bᵊl/ CV.<u>CS</u>	=>	*teibeul* CV.<u>CVS</u>	(Kor)	*cf.*	['tei.<u>bɨl</u>] CV.<u>CVS</u>	(KorEng)
		cf.					
(4a)	*Michael* /'maɪ.kᵊl/ CV.<u>CS</u>	=>	*Майкл* CV<u>SCS</u>	(Rus)	*cf.*	['majkl] C	(RusEng)
(4b)	*bagel* /'beɪ.gᵊl/ CV.<u>CS</u>	=>	*бейгл* CV<u>SCS</u>	(Rus)	*cf.*	[bejgl] CV<u>CS</u>	(RusEng)
(4c)	*table* /'teɪ.bᵊl/ CV.<u>CS</u>	=>	*тэйбл (slang)* CV<u>SCS</u>	(Rus)	*cf.*	[<u>t</u>ejbl] CV<u>SCS</u>	(RusEng)

• *Closed syllable structures* (CVC-type) that are prohibited or restricted by final consonant distribution rules in speakers' mother tongues are modified by either *omitting the coda* (1) or *adding a vowel* after it (2), (3), as shown in Table 5:

<div align="right">*Table 5*</div>

Modification of closed syllables in monosyllabic English words in recipient languages *(Dictionary Source)* compared to East Asian and Russian Englishes *(Corpus Source)*

	English word		*English loan in East Asian languages and Russian*			*Common pattern of English word in corresponding English varieties*	
(1)	*cool* /ku:<u>l</u>/ CV<u>C</u>	=>	C	(Ch)	*cf.*	[ku:_] CV_	(ChEng)
(2)	*pool* /pu:<u>l</u>/ CV<u>C</u>	=>	*pūru* CV.<u>CV</u>	(Jap)	*cf.*	['pu:.<u>ru</u>] CV.<u>CV</u>	(JapEng)
(3)	*nice* /naɪ<u>s</u>/ CV<u>C</u>	=>	*naisseu* CV.<u>CV</u>	(Kor)	*cf.*	['naɪ.<u>sɨ</u>] CV.<u>CV</u>	(KorEng)
		cf.					
(4a)	*cool* /ku:<u>l</u>/ CV<u>C</u>	=>	*кул (excl.)* CV<u>C</u>	(Rus)	*cf.*	[ku<u>l</u>] CV<u>C</u>	(RusEng)
(4b)	*p* *б*	=>	*пул* CV<u>C</u>	(Rus)	*cf.*	[pu<u>l</u>] CV<u>C</u>	(RusEng)
(4c)	*price-(list)* /'praɪ<u>s</u> (. lɪ<u>st</u>)/ CCV<u>C</u> (.CV<u>CC</u>)	=>	*прайс-(лист)* CCV<u>CC</u> (.CV<u>CC</u>)	(Rus)	*cf.*	['praɪ<u>s</u> ('li<u>st</u>)] CCV<u>C</u> (.CV<u>CC</u>)	(RusEng)

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[15] There are no diphthongs in the Russian phonological system; the letter *й* – corresponds to the sonorant consonant /j/.

• In a disyllabic (or polysyllabic) English word, *closed syllables* are regularly transformed into open syllabic units (CVC.>CV.CV.), with *the coda of the preceding syllable becoming the onset of the following one* (1), (2), (3), as shown in Table 6:

Modification of closed syllables in disyllabic English words in recipient languages *(Dictionary Source)* compared with East Asian and Russian Englishes *(Corpus Source)*

	English word		*English loan in East Asian languages and Russian*			*Common pattern of English word in corresponding English varieties*	
(1)	*model* /'mɒd.(ə)l/ CVC.(V)C	=>	*mo.te* CV.CV	(Ch)	*cf.*	['mo.d/tə(l)] CV.CV(C)	(ChEng)
(2)	*penny* /'pen.i/ CVC.V	=>	*pe.ni* CV.CV	(Jap)	*cf.*	['pe.ni:] CV.CV	(JapEng)
(3)	*shopping* /'ʃɒp.ɪŋ/ CVC.VC	=>	*syo. ping* CV.CVC	(Kor)	*cf.*	['s/ʃɒ.piŋ] CV.CVC	(KorEng)
		cf.					
(4a)	*model* /'mɒd.(ə)l/ CVC.VC	=>	*мо. 'дель* CV.CVC	(Rus)	*cf.*	['mo.del] CV.CVC	(RusEng)
(4b)	*penny* /'pen.i/ CVC.V	=>	*'пен.ни* ['пэ-ни][16] CV.CV	(Rus)	*cf.*	['pe.ni] CV.CV	(RusEng)
(4c)	*shopping* /'ʃɒp.ɪŋ/ CVC.VC	=>	*'шо.пинг* ['шо-пинг] CV.CVCC	(Rus)	*cf.*	['ʃɒ.piŋ(g)] CV.CVC(C)	(RusEng)

• *Rhythmic restructuring* of English words by East Asian speakers is manifested in two ways, namely:

a) The stress is assigned (or extra prominence is given) to a non-stressed syllable of a polysyllabic English word, as seen in Table 7:

Relocation of word stress in English loanwords *(Dictionary Source)* compared to East Asian and Russian Englishes *(Corpus Source)*

	English word		*English loan in East Asian languages and Russian*			*Common pattern of English word i*	
(1)	*chocolate* /'tʃɒk.(ə).lət/	=>		(Ch)	*cf.*	['tʃo.kə. 'li:]	(ChEng)
(2)	*office* /'ɒf.ɪs/	=>	*ofisu*	(Jap)	*cf.*	['o.fi'si:]	(JapEng)
(3)	*party* /'pɑː.ti/	=>	*pati*	(Kor)	*cf.*	['pɑ: 'ti:]	(KorEng)
		cf.					
(4a)	*chocolate* /'tʃɒk.(ə).lət/	=>	*шоко'лад*	(Rus)	*cf.*	['tʃo.kʌ. 'lɑ:t]	(RusEng)
(4b)	*office* /'ɒf.ɪs/	=>	*'офис*	(Rus)	*cf.*	['o.fis]	(RusEng)
(4c)	*party* /'pɑː.ti/	=>	*'партия*	(Rus)	*cf.*	['pɑː.ti]	(RusEng)

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[16] In Russian, the graphical division of words containing doubled consonant letters into syllables is often different from phonetic division.

b) The overall rhythmic structure of the word can be modified due to syllable restructuring known as plus-segmentation, i.e. adding extra vowel sounds in initial consonant clusters and after single-consonant codas (Table 8).

Table 8

**Rhythm modification in English loanwords *(Dictionary Source)*
compared to East Asian and Russian Englishes *(Corpus Source)***

	English word		**English loan in East Asian languages and Russian**			**Common pattern of English word**	
(1)	*trick* /trɪk/	=>		(Ch)	*cf.*	[tə'r/li:kə]	(ChEng)
(2)	*trend* /trend/	=>	*toren<u>do</u>*	(Jap)	*cf.*	[tɔ're:n.<u>dɔ:</u>]	(JapEng)
(3)	*date* /deɪt/	=>	*dei<u>teu</u>*	(Kor)	*cf.*	['deɪ⁽¹⁾<u>ti</u>]	(KorEng)
		cf.					
(4a)	*trick* /deɪt/	=>	*трюк*	(Rus)	*cf.*	[trik]	(RusEng)
(4b)	*trend* /trend/	=>	*тренд*	(Rus)	*cf.*	[trɛnd/t]	(RusEng)
(4c)	*date* /deɪt/	=>	*дейт (slang)*	(Rus)	*cf.*	[deɪt]	(RusEng)

As a result of the described syllabic and consequent rhythmic modifications or autonomous rhythmic restructuring due to linguistic differences in rhythm along with commonplace phonemic substitution, East Asian varieties of English tend to demonstrate neutralization of distinctions between different lexical units, which leads to the formation of homophonic pairs of lexemes both in English speech production and perception by East Asian speakers; see Table 9. Note that the syllabic code of the Russian language does not noticeably conflict with that of the English one; therefore, homophonic lexical pairs are formed in Russian English mostly due to segmental modifications.

Table 9

**Modification-induced homophones in East Asian and Russian Englishes
(Corpus Source) compared to phonetic adjustment of English loanwords *(Dictionary Source)***

	English word		**English loan in East Asian languages and Russian**			**Common pronunciation pattern of English word in East Asian Englishes compared to Russian English**		**Homophone pairs in East Asian Englishes compared to Russian English**
(1)	*poker* /ˈpəʊ.kə^r/	=>	*pūkè*	(Ch)	*cf.*	[p/buke]	(ChEng)	*poke=poker=book*
(2)	*love* /lʌv/	=>	*rabu*	(Jap)	*cf.*	[rɑbu]	(JapEng)	*love=lover= rub= rubber=lab*
(3)	*rope* /rəʊp/	=>	*lopeu*	(Kor)	*cf.*	[r/loup/fa]	(KorEng)	*rope=loaf*
		cf.						
(4a)	*dad* /dæd/	=>	*дэд*	(Rus)	*cf.*	[dɛd/t¹⁷]	(RusEng)	*dad=dead= debt*

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[17] Russians tend to devoice final voiced obstruents when they speak English, as this is a systemic phonological rule in their native language (e.g., different lexemes *гри<u>б</u>* "mushroom" and *гри<u>пп</u>* "flu" are pronounced alike – [grip]; other examples include *сто<u>л</u>б* "pole" and *сто<u>лп</u>* "pillar" – [stol<u>p</u>]; *лу<u>г</u>* "meadow" and *лу<u>к</u>* "onion" – [luk].

	English word		English loan in East Asian languages and Russian			Common pronunciation pattern of English word in East Asian Englishes compared to Russian English		Homophone pairs in East Asian Englishes compared to Russian English
(4b)	*kiss* /kɪs/	=>	*кис*	(Rus)	*cf.*	[kis]	(RusEng)	*kiss=keys*
(4c)	*love* /lʌv/	=>	*лав*	(Rus)	*cf.*	[lɑv/f]	(RusEng)	*love=laugh*

It is noteworthy that most salient in our list of loanwords under study are adjustment cases, where vowel-insertion simplification of donor consonant-clustered syllable structures, prohibited by the phonotactics of the recipient language, takes place at the beginning of the word, consequently inducing its overall rhythmic restructuring. These adjustments lead to the formations of such homophonic pairs in East Asian Englishes as <u>blood</u> = <u>ballad</u> [ˈbæ.lə(d)]*, <u>brag</u> = <u>bar</u>rack* [ˈbæ.rə(k)]*, <u>sled</u> >salad* [ˈsæ.lə(d)]*, <u>train</u> = <u>to ra</u>in* [təˈreɪn].

Table 10 below provides our projection of the likelihood of overall syllabic and rhythmic restructuring induced by L1 syllable-related transfer that commonly occurs in East Asian, Russian and other Expanding-Circle Englishes, as well as its consistently manifesting itself in phonological adjustments of English loanwords in the corresponding recipient languages.

Table 10

**Dependence of syllabic modifications in L2 / loanword phonology
and rhythmic restructuring of a word**

	Type of syllabic modification in L2/ Adjustments in loanwords	Scheme of transformation	Rhythmic restructuring
1	*Simplification of consonant clusters by branching syllable onset/coda*	CCVCC=>CV.CV.CV.CV	+
2	Modification of *sonorant-nucleus syllables* by *inserting a vowel*	CV.<u>CS</u>=> CV.<u>CV</u> / CV.<u>CVS</u> / CV.<u>CV.SV</u>	/ + / +
	Modification of *closed syllable structure* by *omitting the coda*	CVC=>CV	-
3	Modification of *closed syllable structure* by *adding a vowel* after the coda	CVC=>CV.CV	+
4	Transformation of *closed syllables* by *turning the coda of the preceding syllable into the onset of the following one* in disyllabic (or polysyllabic) words	CVC.V=> CV.CV	-
5.	*Assigning the stress to a non-stressed syllable* of polysyllabic English words	'CV.CV.CV=> (') CV.'CV.(') CV	+
6.	*Modifying the overall rhythmic structure* of the word due to syllable restructuring by adding extra vowel sounds after final consonants	CVC => (') CV.'CV	+

As it can be seen in Table 10, overall rhythmic restructuring in both linguistic contexts under study directly depends on the type of resyllabification and stress

relocation within a word. Transformation schemes involving plus-segmentation induce mandatory changes in rhythm, while those associated with the minus-segmentation tendency (e.g. omitting final consonants) or with regrouping phonemic sequences in a polysyllabic word do not lead to noticeable variations in rhythm.

4. Discussion

We maintain that the syllabic and prosodic (rhythmic) resegmentation of English loanwords in East Asian languages and correlative phenomena manifested in East Asian English speech production (as well as in perception of English speech by East Asian speakers) are both caused by the syllable coding-related differences between East Asian languages under study (particularly, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean) and English. It is accepted that phonological typology distinguishes two main groups of languages as to the minimal unit of phonetic coding, namely phonemic languages (like Russian, English, and German) and syllabic ones (like Chinese, Vietnamese, and Burmese), in which the syllable demonstrates phonemic features (see, for example, the definition of a *syllabeme* in Ivanov & Polivanov 1930). However, the important role of the syllable as a speech unit (Bondarko 1969) or as a unit of higher "mental activity of a speaker" (Ladefoged 1975: 221) is not argued for the phonemic languages. Syllabic structure determines the phonological system of Japanese, which is a mora-syllabic language, and of Korean, which is considered post-syllabic with a unique alpha-syllabic system of writing, *Hangeul*, relying both on alphabetic and syllabic principles. Although syllable coding in a language cannot be guided by anything but the physiology of speech, there still exist idiomatic rules that make one language sound different from another. Regardless of the phonological or morphological status of the syllable in this or that language, there exist particular regulations determining its phonemic organization. *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (Maddieson 2013) defines Chinese (Mandarin), Japanese, and Korean as languages with moderately complex syllable structures that "permit a single consonant after the vowel and/or allow two consonants to occur before the vowel," forming CVC and CCV syllable types, where the second of two consonants is commonly limited to being either a "liquid" – /r/, /l/ – or a "glide" – /w/, /j/. English and Russian are classified in the *Atlas* as languages with complex syllable structures, i.e. having "freer combinations of two consonants in the position before a vowel, or which allow three or more consonants in this onset position, and/or two or more consonants in the position after the vowel," producing (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C)(C) syllable types (Maddieson 2013). So it seems natural that "inconvenient" complex English syllables are regularly transformed into more "convenient" moderately complex ones in East Asian borrowings, which is notable in both loanword phonology and English speech of East Asian bilinguals. No such customary adjustment is marked on the part of Russian English and Russian as a recipient language, being closer to English in terms of the allowable phonemic complexity of the syllable.

There are two main reasons to consider the correlation between the phonological processes of adjustment in borrowing and of L1 transfer in L2 acquisition. First, one has to accept that both are induced by language contact, and, which is more important, that both happen in, or via, a bilingual individual who acts as a speaker and as a listener of two languages. It must be pointed out that the phase that precedes both loan adaptation and L2 production is the perception of L2 words (and of speech in general), which is regulated by the bilinguals' auditory system, which is "pre-tuned" by the acoustic properties of their native language. Speakers whose mother tongues do not allow consonant-clustered syllables or exhibit different phonotactic rules within a syllable will unavoidably perform perceptive restructurings of "improper" sound sequences when listening to a foreign language. The same is true in relation to language borrowing, which is performed by bilinguals who, having access to the phonology of the donor language, try to find the closest match among the phonemes and their sequences within a syllable available in the inventory of the borrowing language.

Another relationship of English loan phonology to L2 English phonology is that the latter is naturally acquired via the former, i.e. in many cases learners are recommended to increase their L2 English vocabulary through borrowings considered by some researchers and educators as "a built-in lexicon of English" (Daulton 2008, 2015, Hara 2011). For the above reasons, we assume that although the two processes – loan word adaptation (affected by the borrowing language phonological constraints) and L2 acquisition (affected by L1 phonological transfer) – are definitely distinct phenomena.

Although they occur in different domains (in L1 and L2), these two phenomena are related by common causality, which is the embodied phonological structure and "calcified" phonotactic (and prosodic) rules of a bilingual's native language. Both phenomena form three groups of elements in L1 (in case of loan word adaptation) and L2 (in case of L2 acquisition): those specific to L1 and to L2, and universals. With regard to syllable types, East Asian Englishes and English loan words adapted in Chinese, Japanese, and Korean are characterized by the presence of the universal CV type of syllable, and the ones specific to L1. Hence, the analysis of one of the two processes can be efficiently used for interpretation of another.

5. Conclusion

The paper contains observations on the typological correlations between the phonology of world Englishes in the Expanding Circle and phonographic adaptations of English loanwords in their speakers' native language systems. It provides explicit accounts of L1 phonological transfer phenomena, regular in both linguistic contexts, which confirm that means similar to those identified in linguistic borrowing manifest themselves in syllabic and rhythmic structuring of words and their sequences in corresponding L2 varieties of English. Our data suggest that loanword phonology can be viewed as a valuable source of evidence for phonological constraints in the recipient language, which, further, might shed more

light on language-specific and universal phonological features. Correlation of the two phenomena – loan word phonology and L2 phonology – can be accounted for by the similar phonological restrictions in L1 and the phonological transfer effects in language contact. Most influential seem to be L1 syllable constraints that breed various related resyllabification phenomena in loan words and L2 phonology. It should be pointed out that while structural changes taking place in loan adaptations do not interfere with the loanwords' meanings on the part of the borrowing languages' speakers, comparable transformations in non-native English varieties can undeniably be expected to affect word recognition by listeners. From our results it is clear that, for instance, regular simplification of syllable onset consonant clusters via vowel insertion, noticeable in English loans, tends to lead to total restructuring of the word's syllabic and rhythmic patterns, which, when occurring in East Asian Englishes, in many cases forming homophonic English lexemes, might seriously hinder understanding. Furthermore, in view of the volume of English borrowings in East Asian languages under study, we also subscribe to the view that loan phonology serves as a potential cause for a vast range of modifications in English varieties. The main conclusion that can be drawn from our study is that English borrowings in L1 can help us understand the roots of phonetic variation in East Asian Englishes and the phonology of other Expanding Circle varieties of English, in general, which has clear implications for enhancing communication in English-mediated contexts.

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Bionote:
Viktoriya L. ZAVYALOVA is Dr. of Philology (Habil.), Associate Professor in the Department of Linguistics and Intercultural Communication Studies, Head of the Research and Education Center of Applied Linguistics and Speech Technologies, Oriental Institute – School of Regional and International Studies at Far Eastern Federal University (FEFU), Vladivostok, Russia. Initiator of the FEFU Project on collecting Russian-Asian Corpus of English. Her research interests focus on phonetics and phonology, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, second (foreign) language acquisition, language contact, World Englishes, and phonological issues of lingua franca, intercultural communication in Asia Pacific. She authored and co-authored monographs, book chapters, and journal articles on phonetic variation in East Asian Englishes and Russian English.
Contact information:
Oriental Institute – School of Regional and International Studies at Far Eastern Federal University
8 Sukhanova St., Vladivostok, Russia, 690091
e-mail: zavyalova.vl@dvfu.ru
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6266-349X

Сведения об авторе:
Виктория Львовна ЗАВЬЯЛОВА **–** доктор филологических наук, доцент, профессор кафедры лингвистики и межкультурной коммуникации, директор НОЦ «Прикладная лингвистика и речевые технологии» Восточного Института – Школы региональных и международных исследований Дальневосточного федерального университета (ДВФУ). Основатель проекта ДВФУ по формированию Корпуса образцов английской речи ДВ России и стран Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона – Russian-Asian Corpus of English (RACE). Область научных интересов: фонетика и фонология, психолингвистика, социолингвистика, прикладная лингвистика, усвоение второго (иностранного) языка, языковые контакты, мировые варианты английского языка, фонологические проблемы межкультурной коммуникации на языке-посреднике в Азиатско-Тихоокеанском регионе. Автор ряда монографий, глав в книгах и статей по фонетической вариативности в русском английском и вариантах английского языка Восточной Азии.
Контактная информация:
Дальневосточный федеральный университет, Восточный Институт – Школа региональных и международных исследований
690091, Россия, Приморский край, г. Владивосток, ул. Суханова, 8
e-mail: zavyalova.vl@dvfu.ru
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6266-349X

Research Article

Exploring the functionality of English in China: A tale of two cities

Zhichang XU[1] and Danya ZHANG[2]

[1] School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics, Monash University
Melbourne, Australia
[2] School of Foreign Languages and Literature, Yunnan Normal University
Kunming, China

Abstract

The world of English has been witnessing shifts and turns over the last half century, and a major one is a paradigm shift from a monolithic English to pluricentric Englishes. The term "Englishes" symbolizes the "functional and formal variation in the language, and its international acculturation" (Kachru B. & Smith 1985: 210), and it is primarily concerned with the "intelligibility of form, comprehensibility of meaning, and interpretability of sense" (Proshina 2014: 4). As far as China is concerned, there are estimated 350-500 million learners and users of English, and the functions of English have expanded since the "reform and open door" policies of the 1970s (Kirkpatrick & Xu 2002). In this paper, we explore the expanding functionality of English in China, taking the major shifts and turns surrounding world Englishes as a backdrop, that is, the shift from codifying linguistic features of English varieties to focusing on users' translanguaging practices in multilingual contexts, as well as the functional turn, the multilingual turn, and the dynamic interactive turn (Sridhar & Sridhar 2018). In particular, we adopt a qualitative approach to researching Chinese English as a translanguaging practice among Chinese English bilingual professionals in order to unpack the expanding functions of English in two major Chinese cities, Beijing and Kunming. Drawing upon semi-structured interviews of Chinese-English bilingual professionals from the two cities, we present a "tale of two cities" in relation to the expanding functionality of English in China.

Keywords: *Chinese English, functionality of English, paradigm shift, functional turn, world Englishes*

Научная статья

Исследование функциональности английского языка в Китае: история двух городов

Ч. СЮЙ,[1] Д. ЧЖАН[2]

[1] Университет имени Монаша
Мельбурн, Австралия
[2] Юньнаньский педагогический университет
Куньмин, Китай

Аннотация

За последние полвека мир английского языка претерпевает сдвиги и повороты, и одним из главных сдвигов стало изменение парадигмы от монолитического английского языка к плюрицентрической концепции вариантов английского языка. Термин «варианты английского языка» ("Englishes") означает «функциональную и формальную вариативность в языке и его международную аккультурацию» (Kachru B. & Smith 1985: 210) и связан прежде всего с «понятностью формы, пониманием значения и интерпретацией смысла» (Proshina 2014: 4). Что касается Китая, в нем насчитывается 350-500 миллионов пользователей и изучающих английский язык, и функции английского языка расширились со времени начала осуществления политики «реформы и открытых дверей» в 1970-х годах (Kirkpatrick & Xu 2002). Цель данной статьи – исследование расширения функциональных возможностей английского языка в Китае с учетом основных изменений, проявляемых в вариантах английского языка в мире, например, переход от кодификации языковых черт вариантов английского языка к фокусированию внимания на пользователях и их транслингвальных практиках в мультилингвальных контекстах, а также функциональный поворот, многоязычный поворот и динамичный интерактивный поворот (Sridhar & Sridhar 2018). В частности, мы используем квалитативный подход к исследованию китайского варианта английского языка как средства транслингвальной практики билингвальных профессионалов, говорящих на китайском английском. Наша задача – показать расширение функций английского языка в двух крупных городах Китая – Пекине и Куньмине. Опираясь на полуструктурированные интервью, взятые у китайских специалистов, говорящих на английском языке, мы представляем «историю двух городов» в связи с расширением функциональности английского языка в Китае.

Ключевые слова: *китайский вариант английского языка, функциональность английского языка, смена парадигмы, функциональный поворот, варианты английского языка в мире*

1. Introduction

The world of English has witnessed a major paradigm shift over the last half century, from a monolithic English to pluricentric Englishes. A *paradigm* is a concept that refers to shared beliefs, assumptions and rules, and it is "a set of recurrent and quasi-standard illustrations of various theories in their conceptual, observational, and instrumental application" (Kuhn 1996: 43). The new paradigm in world Englishes reflects variations in lexis, syntax, discourse, and pragmatics of English varieties in different contexts. According to B. Kachru and Nelson (1996:

76–77), "the concept of a monolithic English as an exponent of culture and communication in all English-using countries has been a convenient working fiction that is now becoming harder and harder to maintain. What we have now in reality is English languages and English literatures." The plural forms in "English languages and English literatures" indicate the diversity of English varieties around the world and the "multiplex nature of English" (Seargeant 2010: 97). B. Kachru and Smith (1985: 210) have pointed out that the term *Englishes* symbolizes the "functional and formal variation in the language, and its international acculturation." Such functional and formal variation and international acculturation of English in a global context give rise to the pluralism of English, which in turn results in rising issues of the "intelligibility of form, comprehensibility of meaning, and interpretability of sense" (Proshina 2014: 4) among speakers of world Englishes. Proshina (2014: 1) also points out that one of the salient features of the World Englishes paradigm is the "domineering of a dynamic functionality over a static prescriptive approach." To understand the pluralism and the domineering dynamic functionality of English, "it is therefore vital to see its spread, uses, and users in sociolinguistic contexts" (Kachru B. & Nelson 1996: 77).

Alongside the major paradigm shift, there have been associated shifts and turns surrounding world Englishes, e.g., the shift of research focus from identifying and codifying features of English varieties to understanding the users and their translanguaging practices in multilingual contexts, and the shift from using English in the real world to an increasingly trans-mediated use of English in the virtual space via social media. In terms of "turns," the world of English has in the past few decades witnessed a functional turn (B. Kachru 1992), a multilingual turn (May 2014), and a dynamic interactive turn (Sridhar & Sridhar 2018). And more recently, newer turns seem to have emerged, such as a translanguaging turn and a transmedia turn, which we shall propose in this paper in relation to the expanding functionality of world Englishes.

In China there are an estimated 350–500 million learners and users of English with wide ranges of proficiency and competence, and the functions of English in China have expanded since the "reform and open door" policies beginning in the 1970s (Kirkpatrick & Xu 2002). These Chinese learners and users of English have become increasingly aware of their own use of English in relation to the functions in their local and global contexts. In this paper, we explore the expanding functionality of English in China, taking the major shifts and turns surrounding world Englishes as a backdrop. We adopt a qualitative approach to researching Chinese-English bilingual professionals in order to unpack the expanding functions of English in two major Chinese cities, Beijing and Kunming. Drawing upon semi-structured interviews of Chinese-English bilingual professionals from the two cities, we present a "tale of two cities" in relation to the expanding functionality of English in China through addressing the following research questions: 1) What are the functions of English used by Chinese-English bilingual professionals? 2) How are the expanding functions of English mapped onto the linguistic and cultural contexts of China, particularly in Beijing and Kunming?

2. Literature review

The major paradigm shift from English to Englishes implies a number of aspects. For example, English has become a pluricentric and multicultural language, with variations in lexis, syntax, discourse, pragmatics, and cultural conceptualizations across different varieties of English. There has also been a shift in multilingual speakers' perceptions of the role of their first language and culture in relation to English from the "baggage" of negativity as an interlanguage to a "badge" of multilingual identity. In addition, one of the fundamental shifts underpinning the goals of English language teaching (ELT) worldwide is from manufacturing native or near-native speakers of English to developing "effective and strategic translanguaging users of English in multilingual communication contexts" (Xu 2017: 703–704).

Alongside the major paradigm shift in World Englishes, as far as the Outer and Expanding Circle varieties of English are concerned, we have also observed a number of concurrent shifts, e.g., there has been a noticeable shift in research focus from identifying and codifying features of English varieties to the users and their translanguaging practices in multilingual contexts. Seargeant and Tagg (2011: 498) have proposed a "post-varieties" approach to world Englishes studies, which is defined as "an analysis apparatus that is sensitive to the dynamic communicative practices which use English-related forms and connotations as one part of a wider semiotic repertoire." They suggest that "in actual practice, people often mix English with other languages in an *ad hoc* manner, adding English-related words and phrases while nominally speaking other languages in a way which reflects transnational cultural flows." Canagarajah (2017: 4) has also observed that "in the place of territorialized, bounded, and static ways of talking about language and social practices, we are now adopting constructs that index their mobile, hybrid, and constructed nature."

Apart from the above-mentioned shifts, there have also been functional, multilingual and dynamic interactive turns surrounding the research and practice of world Englishes. We normally speak of a "turn" when there is a "conceptual leap" that moves right across disciplines "as a new means of knowledge and a methodologically reflected analytical category" (Bachmann-Medick 2009: 4). More recently, newer turns have emerged, such as a translanguaging turn and a transmedia turn. In terms of the functional turn, when B. Kachru (1983: 235) investigated the "Indianization of English," he proposed a functional approach to English varieties in "un-English" sociocultural contexts, arguing that "language must be considered an integral part of the meaning system in which it functions, and relates to the contexts in which it is used." B. Kachru (1992: 58) has proposed four functions of English in relation to South Asian English varieties, namely "the *instrumental*, the *regulative*, the *interpersonal*, and the *imaginative/innovative*":

> The *instrumental function* is performed by English as a medium of learning at various stages in the educational system of the country. The *regulative function* entails use of English in those contexts in which language is used to

regulate conduct; for example, the legal system and administration. The *interpersonal function* is performed in two senses: first, as a *link* language between speakers of various (often mutually unintelligible) languages and dialects in linguistically and culturally pluralistic societies; and second, by providing a code which symbolizes modernization and elitism. The *imaginative/innovative function* refers to the use of English in various literary *genres*. (B. Kachru 1992: 58)

B. Kachru (1992) draws upon these functions from researchers such as Bernstein (1966) and Halliday (1973), who had explored functions of language in a broader sense, e.g., the restricted and elaborated codes of a language serve "functions of a particular form of social relationship, or more generally, of qualities of social structures" (Bernstein 1966: 255). Halliday (1973: 36) proposes that language structures reflect the social uses of the language by the language users, and he argues that adult language can be explained in terms of "macro-functions," including the *ideational*, the *interpersonal*, and the *textual*. Apart from the macro-functions, Halliday (1973) has also developed a list of functions of language in relation to the personal and social needs of the users, including the *instrumental*, the *regulatory*, the *interactional*, the *personal*, the *heuristic*, the *imaginative*, and the *representational/informative*.

The "functional turn" in World Englishes is characterised by "the alleviation from the obsession with the target language milieu as prototype acquisition environment" (Sridhar and Sridhar 2018: 130), and it is also characterized by a "pragmatic redefinition of the acquisitional target in terms of intelligibility and communicability and interpretability" of multi-competent English users rather than an "arbitrary, native-like correctness" (Sridhar and Sridhar 2018: 130–131). Alongside the "functional turn" in World Englishes, there is also a "multilingual turn" indexed by rising applied linguistic and sociolinguistic concepts focusing on language users' practice in multilingual contexts, e.g., metrolingualism (Pennycook 2010) and functional bilingualism (Baker 2011). Clyne (2003: 47–48) argues that "bilinguals are not double monolinguals" because they employ resources of their languages so that each language has certain functions, and various combinations of the languages serve to make social and communicative meanings. The multilingual turn implies that multilingual speakers employ language resources in their existing multilingual repertoires legitimately as they engage in their "fluid and overlapping language uses, and related linguistic and sociocultural competencies, of multilingual communities" (May 2014: 7).

From a World Englishes perspective, multilingual English users, by definition, "have more options of codes, strategies, and nuances since they control more than one linguistic system" (Kachru Y. & Nelson 2006: 19). The multilingual turn is characterized by the perception of multilingual speakers of English as "developing a verbal repertoire – where the two (or more) languages interact with and influence one another, sometimes complementing, sometimes overlapping, to create a composite multilingual competence," and the realization that "the several languages

(often more than two) in the community's and individual's verbal repertoire *together* cover the range of functions" (Sridhar and Sridhar 2018: 131).

In addition, there is more recently a "dynamic interactive turn" raised by Sridhar and Sridhar (2018: 132–133), which is based on multilingual speakers' linguistic repertoire models that the World Englishes paradigm has recognised since its inception. The linguistic repertoire model serves to challenge our traditional views of language and grammar. "Multilingual people's grammars are best thought of in terms of 'verbal repertoires'; they use a formally and functionally determined range of languages as part of their competence for linguistic interaction" (Kachru Y. & Nelson 2006: 20). The current "dynamic interactive turn" moves away from bilingualism as "double monolingualism" or multilingualism as "parallel monolingualisms" (Sridhar and Sridhar 2018: 131), and it recognizes that "the languages of a multilingual not only complement one another in discrete domains, but also overlap one another within many domains" (Sridhar & Sridhar 2018: 132). The "dynamic interactive turn" views common language practices of multilinguals such as borrowing, transfer, convergence, code-switching, code-mixing, stylistic stratification, and bilingual creativity as "value-added features" and "natural outcrops of the ecology of multilingualism" (Sridhar and Sridhar 2018: 132). In light of the latest developments in applied linguistics and technology-mediated communication, we extend the "dynamic interactive turn" to consider our current translanguaging and transmedia interactions in terms of a translanguaging turn and a transmedia turn surrounding world Englishes.

In terms of a translanguaging turn for World Englishes, we understand translanguaging as a repertoire-based communicative practice among bilinguals and multilinguals. Translanguaging practice is not only dynamic and interactive, but also transformative in nature, because "it creates a social space for the multilingual language user by bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment" (Li 2011: 1223). According to Li (2018: 23), "translanguaging underscores multilinguals' creativity – their abilities to push and break boundaries between named languages and between language varieties, and to flout norms of behavior including linguistic behavior, and criticality – the ability to use evidence to question, problematize, and articulate views." A translanguaging turn sets a demand for speakers of world Englishes to develop new competence, and therefore, we propose "translanguaging competence" of world Englishes speakers as a competence that involves "dynamic, embodied and mediated linguistic and cultural repertoires of multilingual users when they make sense of their worlds through languaging as an act and process of sense- and meaning-making across cultures" (Hlavac & Xu 2020: 20). In relation to the current use of English by world Englishes speakers, we also propose a transmedia turn as an integral part of the "dynamic interactive turn" to account for the many ways in which speakers of world Englishes interact with one another to make and negotiate meaning associated with English across different media, including traditional spoken and print media as well as Internet-based social media. Such a transmedia

turn may serve to acknowledge a world in which we communicate through various modalities in our objective and virtual realities.

As far as the use of English in China is concerned, Xu (2010: 1) describes Chinese English as a "developing variety of English, which is subject to ongoing codification and normalization processes." He perceives Chinese English in terms of a "variety" based largely on the two major varieties of English, British and American, characterized by the transfer of Chinese linguistic and cultural norms, and used primarily by Chinese for intra- and international communication. However, in more recent years, in light of the shift of focus from codifying features of varieties to exploring the multilingual practice of the "post-variety" speakers of world Englishes, we propose that Chinese English can be understood from a more functional perspective as a translanguaging practice involving Chinese cultural underpinnings through which English is reshaped and adapted to suit the needs of Chinese English speakers.

Ma and Xu (2017: 191–194) have reviewed the use of English in China in relation to the four major functions outlined by B. Kachru (1992). They observe that the *interpersonal* function is the most salient among the four functions for a number of reasons, including the increasing interaction between foreign residents living in China and their Chinese counterparts, the unprecedented craze for English among Chinese, Chinese professionals seeking high-end employment and promotion, the rising young urban Chinese professionals who have received quality English education, as well as online social media communication.

The *instrumental* function of English in China is most visibly observed in the use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in the educational system. "Internationalization of education in China entails global exchange – inbound and outbound – of Chinese and foreign teaching staff and students; this is clearly premised on a sound bilingual education system" (Ma and Xu 2017: 192–193). In addition, Fang (2018: 36) observes that "the implementation of EMI is a constantly growing and even inevitable trend as universities view EMI as an important means to internationalize and to attract more international students."

In the *imaginative/innovative* use of English, Chinese creative writers have been writing in English for over a century, from Lin Yutang in the 1920s and 1930s to Eileen Chang in the 1940s, and more recently, June Chang and Ha Jin. In addition, the *imaginative/innovative* function of English has been extended to tertiary education, in English creative writing programs and workshops in universities (Dai & Zheng 2019, Sui 2015).

One of the less salient functions of English in China is the *regulative* use of English to regulate conduct in terms of administration and law. It may be true that "the *regulative* function of English is far behind the other three functions, but noticeable changes have been taking place" in China, e.g., "as early as 2008, the Olympic Court in Beijing adopted simultaneous interpretation in English and other foreign languages to cater for the needs of foreign visitors; most of its staff (police and judges) could communicate in English fluently" (Ma & Xu 2017: 194).

Although English is increasingly being used in China, serving limited but expanding functions, "there is little research into where exactly English is being used, i.e., who is using Chinese English, with whom and for what purposes?" (Kirkpatrick 2017: 276). Therefore, Kirkpatrick (2017: 278) calls for further research "to investigate the breadth and depth of Chinese English use across China," and he suggests that "the most important question for Chinese English researchers to investigate in the future is the extent to which Chinese English is, in addition to fulfilling an instrumental function of practical use or *yong,* is also providing Chinese English speakers with some *ti* or essence as an integral part of their developing identity as multilinguals." (Kirkpatrick 2017: 278). The *ti-yong* dichotomy consititutes a key pair of terms in Chinese philosophy, with *ti* representing essense and substance, and *yong* representing function, application and utility. Chinese people believe that Chinese learning is for *ti* or essence, and Western learning, including learning English, is for *yong* or function.

3. Methodology

We adopt an analytical framework that is closely related to the major shifts and turns surrounding World Englishes. In particular, we adopt a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis, drawing upon semi-structured interviews of Chinese-English bilingual professionals from Beijing and Kunming so that we explore the expanding functionality of English in China. Our major semi-structured interview questions include:

1) Which areas do you work in?
2) How often and in what circumstances do you use English at work?
3) What functions does English serve for your work?
4) How often and in what circumstances do you use English outside your work?
5) What does English mean to you?

Our participants are ten Chinese-English bilingual professionals based in Beijing and Kunming. The five from Beijing, coded as B1 through B5, are from public relations of corporate businesses, legal industry, state media, education, and medicine. The five from Kunming, coded as K1 through K5, are from medicine, private education, tertiary education and creative writing, the customs office, and information technology.

The semi-structured interviews were largely conducted in Chinese via social media. There were considerable instances of Chinese and English code-mixing and code-switching during the interviews. While transcribing the interview data, both authors of this article translated them from Chinese into English and double-checked each other's translations. While analysing the data, we incorporate the shifts and turns surrounding World Englishes and our review of Chinese English into the findings and discussions. We conclude the paper by summarising the expanding functionality of the use of English in China.

4. A tale of two cities: the use of English in Beijing and Kunming

We choose Beijing and Kunming to explore the expanding functionality of English in China, primarily because of the geographical locations of the cities and their capital status at the national and provincial levels. In addition, the two authors have lived substantially in the two cities respectively. Beijing (北京) is located in the north of China, and its name literally means "north capital." It is an expanding modern city with an imperial past. Kunming (昆明) is one of the largest cities in Southwest China, known as "the city of eternal Spring." It is the capital city of Yunnan Province with 6% of its population being ethnic minorities. Historically Kunming was the gateway to the Silk Road facilitating trade with Tibet, Sichuan, Myanmar, India and beyond. Positioned near the border with Myanmar, Laos and Vietnam, Kunming is a Chinese city facing the major member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

In the sections below, we analyse the semi-structured interview data of the ten participants, i.e., B1-B5 as the tale of Beijing, and K1-K5 as the tale of Kunming.

B1: "English brings us closer to true realities"

B1 is a female participant in her late 40s; she is a public relations (PR) manager for corporate businesses. She majored in English for her Bachelor's degree in the late 1980s. After graduation, she worked for a state-owned company in Beijing, and within two years, she applied to work for a Japanese company in Beijing as a PR manager. After 18 years of working for that company, she moved to a Chinese private enterprise for a similar position as a PR manager.

For B1, English functions as a "working language" first and foremost. The working language status of English, in the context of Beijing, implies its *instrumental* and *interpersonal* functions (B. Kachru 1992: 58). Here below is how she elaborated on the 'working language' function:

> Without knowing English, people wouldn't qualify to work for the Japanese company. So, all the overseas branches use English as their working language. I had worked in the company for 18 years, and over 90% of the communication was in English, with the headquarters, the bosses and the heads of various departments.

English also functions for B1 as social and cultural capital for getting involved with friends and clubs in Beijing, across China and beyond. This function is associated with the role of English that indexes "internationalism, modernization, innovation, prestige, creativity, and entertainment" (Proshina & Ustinova 2012: 30). B1 stated:

> Beijing is relatively international. The circles that we communicate with, e.g., people from the world economic forum, and organisations such as foreign embassies, and the "wives of ambassadors." There are many international organizations that are interested in China. For example, Page Society is a very

high-end membership club. They would think that without the heads of communication from Chinese companies, they are not complete.

English apparently serves multiple functions for B1. When asked what English means to her, she responded:

> I think English is like a window. When I read English books and write my own prose articles, for example, I feel that I can access fresh perspectives and create ideas. If I didn't know English then I wouldn't be able to access them. English means more opportunities and possibilities. Through English I get to know the realities and developments in foreign countries more directly. So English helps provide a fuller perspective, and English brings us closer to true realities.

B2: "English has gone beyond a tool, pragmatically speaking"

B2 is a female corporate lawyer in her early 40s working in a law firm specialising in commercial law. Prior to working in Beijing, she did her Bachelor's degree in social sciences in Beijing, and her Master's degree in law in Hong Kong. She had previously worked in law firms in Australia and Hong Kong.

B2 makes full use of her Chinese English bilingual competence for her work, as she works with both Chinese and foreign colleagues and clients. She mentioned that her language choice for work "depends on the clients," and that it is "totally a flexible arrangement." She explained:

> I think whether we use English at work depends on the clients. If we have foreign clients, we'd have documents in English. And the foreign clients are not necessarily from English speaking countries, e.g., Japan and Italy. For Chinese clients, it all depends. If the case deals with foreign business, it's likely that we use English. … There are also cases that involve both China and foreign countries, and although we may represent one party, we would prepare bilingual files. So, this is totally a flexible arrangement.

The above excerpt implies that employees in the legal industry involving foreign colleagues and clients need to develop their bilingual and "translanguaging competence" (Hlavac & Xu 2020: 20). B2's response also shows that there is a "dynamic interactive turn" (Sridhar & Sridhar 2018: 132–133) taking place as a common practice, which implies that there is a multilingual turn and a translanguaging turn arising, e.g., in B2's words, "you have to keep changing channels … for practical reasons." She elaborated on her point:

> It's more efficient to communicate if we code-mix Chinese with English. … However, when I code-mix and realise that the other party hesitates a bit, and that he or she may not understand what I mean, I'd shift back to Chinese or explain it again in Chinese. It's like you have to keep changing channels. We have many foreign clients, so we have such a tradition that even for internal emails, we use English, for practical reasons.

B2's excerpt below shows that English also serves a gate-keeper function for employment in the context of the legal industry in Beijing, and that English offers added value or advantage for people who are in the industry.

> And for seeking employments, take our profession for example, if your English is good, it's an absolute advantage. In fact, not all lawyers need English for their work, only a minority of them have to use English, but for recruiting junior employees, it's always expected that their English should be good. So, if your English is good, you'll be far much of an advantage at your interviews.

Outside B2's work, English also serves her in various functions, particularly among the emerging Chinese "middle-class population" for social interactions and accessing information for leisure activities. According to Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006: 88) English may serve as a "high variety" in a diglossic society. B2 elaborated the various functions by saying:

> For social interactions, because we have some friends who are foreigners, for example, the parents of my son's classmates, we'd use English. My son's tennis coach is a Japanese, so all the social interactions associated with my son can be in English. For myself, I watch English news, and I watch it daily. And also I'd search for information, such as information about where we'd travel to, I'd browse 'tripadvisor', and that's in English. And also the middle-class population in China is expanding, and their needs, including entertainment, or their life circles, would cross national boundaries.

To B2, English has been a game-changer in the sense that English "has gone beyond a tool," as she identifies herself as part of the bilingual Chinese English middle-class population with a "passport" or broader access to information and resources, and English brings her "closer to the world" as a "global citizen." She said:

> I feel like previously English was a tool, or more of a tool, but now I feel it's a part of culture, because English has gone beyond a tool, pragmatically speaking. You'll feel that you can access a lot of information via English so that you may change how you see things, or your perspectives. … I think if you have been using this language, you'd feel that you're much closer to the world. … Or you'd feel that you're more like a 'global citizen'. Of course this might sound a bit exaggerating, but you'd feel that English is a passport.

B3: "All sorts of media are full of English, including all kinds of network media"

B3 is a male journalist working in one of the top state television stations in Beijing. He was interviewed in his workplace in July 2018. He is in his early fifties, and he has been employed by the television station since 1988, with a number of years working as a foreign correspondent in Thailand. His department at the central station features news and feature programs in English for foreign and domestic audiences.

Having learned and used English in the Chinese context, B3 has witnessed the changing perceptions and functions of English among Chinese people. He recalled:

> At the time when I learned English in the 1970s, English was regarded as a profession, now perhaps it's very different. It is more like learning English plus another profession. Learning English, I think it could broaden one's mind, and get to know the outside world.

In addition, B3 has witnessed the changing linguistic and media landscapes of China from the 1970s onwards, from English as a "profession," to the transmedia turn, where there are "all kinds of network media, e.g., self-media," which contribute to the commonness and popularity of English in China. He recalled:

> When I started learning English, there were fewer people learning English. I remember that many of my friends ended up being translators, because China was in an urgent need of translation and interpreting professionals. That was 1970s. But later, it was totally different. Now, it's like all sorts of media are full of English, including all kinds of network media, e.g., self-media, all kinds of magazines and newspapers, very widespread, and there are many English programs and foreign language schools, so it means that China is more and more internationalised, and that China is more open, and the environment is more beneficial for the use of English. English has become not just popular but more common now in China.

To B3, English is not only his working language, but a necessary means through which Chinese people share their culture and enhance their cultural confidence. He elaborated on this point:

> We often stay in touch with foreigners, and there's a lot to talk about, about our astronomy and geography, customs and conventions, history and culture. We have 5000 years of history, so our history, our experiences and lessons, good or bad, our developments since the reform and open-door policies, our successes, or even our failures, all of these can be the source of our cultural confidence.

B4: "English is more like a part of my self-identity, internalized, with feelings and emotions"

B4 is a female lecturer in one of the most prestigious universities in Beijing. She is in her mid-30s, and she obtained her Barchelor's and Master's degrees in English language and literature in two universities in Beijing. She teaches English to non-English major students at the university.

To B4, English functions in all aspects of her work, as she works in the English department of the Foreign Languages School of the university. Fang (2018: 36) observes that in the Chinese education domain, particularly in tertiary education, "the implementation of English medium instruction (EMI) is a constantly growing and even inevitable trend." The excerpt below is how B4 described her work:

> In my daily work, I would use English for teaching and communicating with foreign teachers. For teaching, since I teach English, I'd use English most of the time as a medium of instruction, or at least I try to use English throughout my teaching. As I said, I also communicate with foreign teachers in English, for example, writing emails, making phone calls, or chatting via WeChat. I think English has been an integral part of my work, and it goes hand in hand with my Chinese as my working language.

B4's bilingual competence has also been utilized to its full capacity, as she would act as a translator or interpreter on occasion in her workplace, for example, liaising between the Chinese administrative staff and her foreign colleagues. She explained:

> I'd sometimes act as a translator or interpreter for our foreign teachers and administrative staff members of the department. They are not formal situations, for example, when the department organize some retreat or Spring outing, I'd interpret for them. You know, being a staff member in the English department, you are always regarded as a translator or interpreter by the school administrative departments.

English has become an indispensable part of B4's life; she said that terms such as "tool" or "profession" were no longer sufficient to describe how she felt about the language. The excerpt below is how B4 elaborated on this point:

> English to me has become a part of my life, and it's an indispensable part. Most of the times, I'd do code-switching between Chinese and English, and I find it pretty natural, even subconscious. I wouldn't say English is a tool or a profession, as such terms are a bit too rough, aren't they? Although English can be a tool and a profession and all of those things, I'd say English is more like a part of my self-identity, internalized, with feelings and emotions pretty much involved.

B5: "I can see the world, expand my vision, and facilitate my professional development through this powerful language"

B5 is a male physician in a Beijing hospital. He is in his late forties. He graduated from the school of medicine of a university in Shanghai.

B5 considers English as a powerful facilitating tool for his work, for example, in expanding his vision and knowledge, and in his practicing evidence-based medicine. According to Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006: 169), English in the Expanding Circle context is "increasingly being used intra-nationally in certain domains such as medical and engineering professions." B5 described the roles of English for his work:

> English plays the role of a powerful facilitating tool for my work, e.g., expanding my vision and knowledge in the medical field, practicing evidence-based medicine, publishing papers, and accessing new knowledge and methods in the relevant fields of medicine. To me, English means that I can

see the world, expand my vision, and facilitate my professional development through this powerful language.

It is evident that English has an expanding functionality, particularly for research and academic purposes, for medical professionals, even though their day-to-day medical practice may not often involve foreign patients. B5 continued by saying that:

> In my everyday life, I'd also use English, e.g., learning and exchanging information, watching English videos, foreign movies, and news. And I think the use of English in Beijing is slightly different from other cities, and it's more widespread and more common. English is surely and increasingly used in Beijing, e.g., when I make ward rounds, attend conferences, search for academic literature, see foreign patients, meet foreign medical experts and visit foreign countries. Normally, there aren't many foreign patients seeking medical examinations or treatments in our hospital. Those who come to see us would normally have their own interpreters, but we'd also use English to interact with them.

K1: "I use English to teach medical students"

K1 is a female doctor in her early thirties. She graduated from a medical university and then obtained her Master's degree through an on-the-job Master's program. She is currently a doctor in a hospital affiliated with a medical university in Kunming.

While practicing medicine, K1 also teaches medical students using English as a medium of instruction, and her use of English in teaching the international students is an indication that there is an expanding instrumental function of English in China. She explained the function of English for her work:

> I use English to teach medical students. I have some international students from Burma, Thailand, and India. They are medical students. Our hospital is affiliated with the medical university, so some doctors are required to undertake some relevant teaching work.

K1's work includes teaching international students, which has a close relationship with the implementation of EMI in Chinese universities. In K1's case, because of the cooperative relationship between the medical university and the hospital that K1 works for, the instrumental function of English ranges across two domains, education and medical practice.

K2: "I also teach my students mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology in English"

K2 is a male English teacher in a well-known English training school; he is in his late twenties. He obtained his Bachelor's degree in finance. Although K2 did not major in English for his undergraduate studies, he was offered a job in the English training school because of his excellent performance in an English public-speaking contest. He described his work as follows:

> My work is to teach in English, which includes teaching test preparation courses. Let me calculate the percentage that I use English. I think it really depends on what kind of class I'm teaching. If I'm teaching, like the speaking class, it is definitely over 50%, that's the minimum. As for the intermediate level, it's definitely over 90%, but for the beginners' level, I think it's 50%. I have to speak one English sentence and then a Chinese one to translate it. I also teach my students mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology in English.

K2's teaching in English indicates that the instrumental function of EMI has shifted from formal education to the private educational services in China. "English is consumed by individuals as well as institutions and organizations" (Xu 2009: 124) in English language training schools and centers across China, and English is regarded as a commodity with an exchange value. K2's interview shows that English language training and test preparation courses are in high demand in China, leading to the rapid growth of private English language education services.

K3: "My English poetry writing is my self-expression"

K3 is a male university lecturer in Kunming. With both BA and MA degrees in English, K3 has been teaching English for work, and writing poems in English in his spare time since his undergraduate studies. He explained why he wrote poems in English:

> I write poems, either in Chinese or in English, just by feeling. I subconsciously think that Chinese poetry is more rhetorical and implicit, which allows people to enjoy the poetic feeling through the beautiful Chinese characters. Comparatively, English poetry is more direct and emphasizes the meaning. I would use English to write the poems which can express explicit feelings.

K3 is conscious of his language choice for his poetry writing. B. Kachru (1985: 20) defines bilinguals' creativity as "those creative linguistic processes which are the result of competence in two or more languages" and asserts that it entails "the use of verbal strategies in which subtle linguistic adjustments are made for psychological, sociological and attitudinal reasons". K3 appreciates both the poetic expression in Chinese and the directness of English, so he takes advantage of the latter to express his multiple Chinese identities in his poem *I Am not Me to the World*. K3 said that expressing these identities in his first language Chinese might sound overly simple for conveying the poetic "feeling," therefore he chose English to create a straightforward and somewhat philosophical "feeling." K3 explained that his English poetry writing is his "self-expression." He continued by saying:

> My English poetry writing is my self-expression. I wrote poetry for myself before I became a father. After becoming a father, maybe subconsciously I think my daughter would be the reader of my poems. Many years later when I pass away, as long as my poetry is alive, my daughter can at least feel that her father was once a living person, not just a few pictures or memories. But now I have changed my mind. If possible, I will publish a collection of English

poetry. The readers are the ones who like to read poetry, especially my students.

K3's English poetry serves different functions for himself and his readers. From his personal perspective, English poetry is for self-expression. "It can be argued that functional variations in nativized varieties of English, particularly in literary writing, are part and parcel of self-expression, identity construction and transcultural creativity that mark the worldliness of English in an ever-expanding world Englishes literature" (Xu 2020: 88). To K3, English serves as a medium for a bonding experience between family members and an extended readership including those who love English, such as his students.

K4: "We can make efforts in learning English to make Kunming, Yunnan, and China get connected to the international arena"

K4 is a male customs officer at Kunming International Airport. He majored in information management and information systems for his Bachelor's degree. After graduation, K4 took the National Civil Service Examination and then was recruited as a customs officer. This is evidenced in K4 regarding his routine work at the airport:

> The international travelers in Kunming are mainly from South and Southeast Asian countries. We might need to communicate with them in English when they have some questions, or they need to declare to us, or we identify people to check and examine. My working area is the international exit/entry where all the signs are in Chinese and English. We also broadcast some regulatory videos, such as the videos about customs laws and regulations in bilingual Chinese and English.

Part of K4's job is communicating with non-Chinese in English regarding relevant regulations. This shows that English serves a regulative function, which is "to regulate conduct, for example, the legal system and administration" (B. Kachru 1992: 58). The use of English in K4's working context is to convey the relevant information about the border security laws and regulations in China to the overseas travelers, so that they can follow the instructions accordingly. K4 emphasized that:

> Our country is becoming international. Kunming International Airport is the Bridgehead transportation hub facing Southeast Asia. I think it is good to see Chinese and English here. My colleagues and I try to learn the language knowledge as much as possible in our spare time. We can make efforts in learning English to make Kunming, Yunnan, and China get connected to the international arena.

As shown in the excerpt above, K4 and his colleagues associate their efforts in learning English with the internationalization of Kunming and Yunnan province as well as the image of China in the "international arena." It is worth noting that the Chinese government initiated the Bridgehead Strategy for Yunnan Province in 2009, which stresses the importance of the geographic location of Yunnan, i.e.,

strengthening the cooperation of Yunnan Province, of which Kunming is the capital, with Southeast and South Asian countries.

K5: "If you want to get this information, you can only get through the English channels"

K5 is a male cyber security engineer in his early thirties. He majored in cyber security at a top university in Shanghai. When he graduated, he worked in a leading company in Shanghai for three years. Then he came to Kunming and now works in a telecommunications company. K5 finds English indispensable for his work. He explained:

> My work has so much to do with the security vulnerabilities among which many are discovered by the engineers abroad. Consequently, the exact technical details about the security vulnerabilities are definitely written in English. English acts as a tool in my work, which assists me to read the technical details and understand them. … If I have some questions about the security vulnerability and the details, I might directly leave a message under the source article, or send an email to the writer.

As a cyber security engineer, K5 fixes security vulnerabilities as part of his regular work. A precondition for such work is understanding myriad technical details. Since most security vulnerabilities are discovered by engineers overseas, K5 uses English to stay in contact with counterparts overseas among his work-related community of practice. In addition, K5 puts the field of cyber security in China into a bigger picture, and sees a local and global nexus among relevant communities of practice. In this sense, English has a nexus function in connecting developing and developed regions and countries in the field of cyber security. The nexus function in relation to the use of English in this context can be understood as a bridging function that connects Chinese-English professionals with their international peers or counterparts, with English as a professional means for communication. K5 elaborated on this point:

> I think that English is very important in my work. To be honest, compared with other regions and countries like America, China may not be as advanced in the field of cyber security, or even left far behind. Moreover, cyber security pays special attention to timing. That is to say, the timing of discovering a security vulnerability, one hour earlier or later, may lead to totally different consequences. For such a field where timing is of great importance, we need to catch up with the channels of information flow and exchange, and if we want to get this information, it seems that we can only get it directly through English channels. All in all, English plays a vital role in my work.

The above semi-structured interview data analysis of B1–B5 and K1–K5 shows that English has developed multiple functions in a range of domains in Chinese cities from business to the legal industry and state media, and from public and private education, clinical medicine, to cyber security engineering and the customs office of national boarder security. Both Beijing and Kunming are capital

cities at the national and provincial levels of China, and the data analysis so far has shown that English has been extensively capitalized across domains of the cities involved in varying forms of capital, e.g., economic, social, and cultural. Both cities are multiethnic and multicultural, and they are open to the rest of the nation and the world now that Kunming is more explicitly connected to Southern and Central China and overseas towards ASEAN, while Beijing is more connected to Northern and Eastern China, as well as the rest of the world economically, culturally, and virtually via transmedia.

From a functional perspective, the tale of two cities is about the legitimacy of creativity and the adaptability of functionality by Chinese-English bilingual professionals for local and global communication. Viewing Chinese-English bilingual professionals and their English practices against the backdrop of the ongoing shifts and turns in World Englishes, and taking the Kachruvian functional perspective as an analytical framework, we see a wide range of functions that English fulfils in China.

Indeed, the data analysis shows the expanding functionality of English in China in two broader aspects, i.e., the "practical use" of English in Chinese contexts and the "essence" as an integral part of the developing identities of Chinese-English bilingual professionals. This expanding functionality ranges from *instrumental, interpersonal, imaginative/innovative* and *regulative* functions, as elaborated by B. Kachru (1992: 58), to *ideational*, *personal*, *interactional*, *textual*, *representational/informative*, and *heuristic* functions (Halliday 1973).

All ten participants in this investigation use English as a working language to varying degrees in their respective domains or professions. This reflects the *instrumental* function of English in China. The *interpersonal* and *interactional* functions are reflected among all the participants, as they build up and sustain work-related relationships partly through English with colleagues, clients and students, as well as family members and friends for non-work-related interactions. The *regulative* function is reflected in the workplaces of B3 and K4, where the state media and border security serve as contexts for regulative channels for domestic and international audiences and travellers. The *imaginative*/*innovative* and *personal* functions are more saliently reflected in B1 and K3 who write prose and poetry in their spare time as a way to communicate creatively with their potential readers. The *representational* and *informative* functions for expressing proposition and relaying information are reflected in B3, K4 and K5, as shown in the data analysis in this section. The *heuristic* function for exploring and discovering one's environment is evident in B1, B3, and K4, for example, B1's jobs require her to manage events and multilingual teams in different contexts and locations; B3 as a journalist would travel both domestically and internationally as part of his work routines to report news events and feature stories; and K4 as a customs officer works at an international airport, and all of these contexts and locations are environments that require the participants to explore and discover.

In addition, the data analysis has shown the ever-expanding functionality of English in China, including English serving as a gateway to employment, e.g., B1, B2, and K2; a passport for high-end friendship ties and membership clubs, e.g., B1; a game-changer in terms of changing personal and professional life trajectories, e.g., B2. In terms of the paradigm shifts and turns surrounding World Englishes, Expanding Circle countries, such as China and Russia, do not only reflect those shifts and turns, but also enact and contribute to them. Proshina (2016: 205) points out that "in the Expanding Circle, the major function of English is providing intercultural communication. However, it is not the only function," as for Russia, "the turn of the century has seen a rapid increase in the range and functions of English." This is also the case for China, as evidenced in the "tale of two cities." English in China plays an overarching *nexus* function to connect local and global communities of practice, both explicitly in terms of the tangible functions or "practical use" (i.e., *yong*) of English, and implicitly in relation to the "essence" (i.e., *ti*) or the "invisible" function, in Y. Kachru and Nelson's (2006: 169) terms, "a gatekeeper and indicator of social status." It is evident that Chinese-English bilingual professionals indeed regard English as an integral part of their Chinese culture and self-identities, with feelings, emotions and subconsciousness as a way of getting connected to the outside world, and ultimately as a means of multilingual self-expression.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have explored the expanding functionality of English in two major Chinese cities, Beijing and Kunming. We have taken the major paradigm shifts and turns surrounding World Englishes as a backdrop to unpack the multiple functions of English for Chinese-English bilingual professionals in their various contexts and how their life and professional trajectories have been impacted by the paradigm shifts and turns. In particular, we have discovered that the multiple functions of English for Chinese-English bilingual professionals develop and evolve in two complementary directions, i.e., "practical use" or *yong* and the Chinese "essence" or *ti*. It is worth pointing out, based on the "tale of two cities," that English in China, together with Chinese in the verbal repertoires of Chinese-English bilingual speakers, serves an overarching *nexus* function in the sense that it connects the local with the global, the real and virtual realities, as well as multiple ethnicities and communities for a whole range of functions. It is hoped that through this "tale of two cities," we see further developments of functional world Englishes across the Kachruvian Circles.

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Bionotes:
Zhichang XU, PhD, is a senior lecturer in the School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics at Monash University, and associate editor for *English Today* (Cambridge University Press). He has a disciplinary background in applied linguistics and intercultural education. His research areas include world Englishes, applied linguistics, cultural linguistics, intercultural communication, and language education. He has published a research monograph and an edited volume on Chinese English, as well as book chapters, and journal articles in journals such as *World Englishes, International Journal of English as a Lingua Franca, Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, *Asian Englishes, Intercultural Pragmatics,* and *Multilingual Education*.
Contact information:
School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics, Faculty of Arts. Monash University. E577, 20 Chancellors Walk, Clayton Campus, Wellington Road, Clayton VIC 3800, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: zhichang.xu@monash.edu
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-9789-3225

Danya ZHANG is a lecturer in the School of Foreign Languages and Literature at Yunnan Normal University, China. She is a PhD candidate in Linguistics and Applied Linguistics at Monash University, Australia. Her research interests include world Englishes and applied linguistics.
Contact information:
School of Foreign Languages and Literature, Yunnan Normal University.
Mingde Building, Chenggong Campus; Yuhua Pianqu, Chenggong District, 650500, Kunming, Yunnan Province, China
e-mail: danya.zhang1@monash.edu
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-0169-5628

Сведения об авторах:
Чжичан СЮЙ, PhD, преподает в Школе языков, литератур, культур и лингвистики Университета Монаша. Является ассоциативным редактором журнала *English Today* (Изд-во Кембриджского университета). Занимался прикладной лингвистикой и меж-культурным образованием. Сейчас научные интересы сосредоточены на проблемах контактной вариантологии, методики преподавания языков, культурной лингви-стики, межкультурной коммуникации и языкового образования. Среди его трудов – монография, ряд отдельных глав в коллективных монографиях и статей в таких жур-налах, как *World Englishes, International Journal of English as a Lingua Franca, Journal*

of Asian Pacific Communication, Asian Englishes, Intercultural Pragmatics, Multilingual Education.

Контактная информация*:*
School of Languages, Literatures, Cultures and Linguistics, Faculty of Arts, Monash University. E577, 20 Chancellors Walk, Clayton Campus, Wellington Road, Clayton VIC 3800, Melbourne, Australia
e-mail: zhichang.xu@monash.edu
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-9789-3225

Данья ЧЖАН преподает на факультете иностранных языков и литературы Юньнаньского педагогического университета, Китай. Обучается в аспирантуре Университета Монаша, Австралия, по направлению «Лингвистика и прикладная лингвистика». Ее научные интересы сосредоточены на контактной вариантологии английского языка и методике преподавания языка.

Контактная информация*:*
School of Foreign Languages and Literature, Yunnan Normal University.
Mingde Building, Chenggong Campus; Yuhua Pianqu, Chenggong District, 650500, Kunming, Yunnan Province, China
e-mail: danya.zhang1@monash.edu
ORCID ID: 0000-0003-0169-5628

Research Article

The External-and-Internal-Forces Model applied to the Japan context[1]

James D'ANGELO[1] and Saya IKE[2]

[1] Chukyo University
Nagoya, Japan
[2] Meijo University
Nagoya, Japan

Abstract
This article considers the Buschfeld-Kautzsch 'EIF' (External and Internal Forces) model from the perspective of the Japan context. The model was developed as an enhancement to Schneider's Dynamic Model of Postcolonial Englishes, which is itself an enhancement of the Kachruvian World Englishes paradigm. The EIF is a flexible model that attempts to incorporate the linguistic, social, and historico-political development of English(es) in both postcolonial and non-postcolonial settings: thus addressing the main problem that variety development has heretofore not been systematically analyzed in Expanding Circle contexts. Hence our aim is to see if the EIF model can account for this development in Japan. We incorporate material and data from an eclectic range of historical and current sources. In the process, we consider the historical development of English in Japan from the Meiji Era to the present day, introduce the EIF model in some detail, and assess the usefulness of the model to help explain how English is growing and developing in Japan. The major findings of the article indicate that the EIF model is useful somewhat problematic, and only partly accounts for variety development of Japanese English. We conclude with some recommendations for improving the model through further testing, so it may become a more useful construct for identifying the process of ongoing variety development in non-postcolonial settings.
 Keywords: *Dynamic Model, non-Postcolonial Englishes, world Englishes, Japanese English, Expanding Circle*

Научная статья

Модель внешних и внутренних сил развития английского языка в применении к контексту Японии

Джеймс Д'АНДЖЕЛО[1], Сая ИКЭ[2]

[1] Университет Тюкё
Нагоя, Япония
[2] Университет Мэйдзё
Нагоя, Япония

Аннотация

В статье рассматривается модель «внешних и внутренних сил» (ВВС), выдвинутая С. Бушфельд и А. Кауцшем, в применении к контексту Японии. Эта модель является дальнейшей разработкой динамической модели постколониальных вариантов английского языка Э. Шнайдера, которая и сама является развитием теории вариантов английского языка Б. Качру. Она объединяет лингвистическую, социальную и историко-политическую составляющие развития вариантов английского языка как в постколониальном, так и непостколониальном контекстах. В статье обращается внимание на главную проблему, заключающуюся в том, что развитие вариантов в Расширяющемся круге еще не достаточно изучено в системном порядке. Наша цель состоит в том, чтобы посмотреть, можно ли применить модель ВВС для изучения развития варианта английского языка в Японии. Материалом исследования послужили различные исторические и современные источники. Наш обзор затрагивает историческое развитие английского языка в Японии начиная от эпохи Мэйдзи до настоящего времени, с применением модели ВВС; дается оценка целесообразности этой модели для объяснения того, как развивается и активизируется английский язык в современной Японии. Исследование показывает, что модель ВВС несколько проблематична и лишь частично подходит для объяснения особенностей развития японского варианта английского языка. Статья завершается рекомендациями того, как можно усовершенствовать модель путем ее дальнейшего тестирования, так чтобы она стала более приемлемым конструктом для идентификации процесса постоянно продолжающегося развития варианта английского языка в непостколониальном контексте.

Ключевые слова: *динамическая модель, непостколониальные варианты, варианты английского языка, японский вариант английского языка, Расширяющийся круг*

1. Introduction

Since its first incarnation in 1985, the World Englishes paradigm (Kachru 1985) has been of significant use in helping scholars understand the differences in English varieties viewed from a historico-political lens, and has fostered an appreciation for the diversity and pluricentricity of English. The paradigm was further strengthened by the work of Schneider (2007), who helped to account for a less static, more dynamic and ongoing process of varietal development. Yet these models have been called into question (D'Angelo 2008, Seargeant & Tagg 2011,

Seidlhofer 2001) for their excessive focus on describing *varieties* of English, and their lack of accounting for the greatly increased use of English in the non-post-colonial settings of the Expanding Circle. The EIF model, as proposed by Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) addresses these concerns, and makes an important contribution by providing new ways of looking at varieties, while at the same time accounting for the complex use of English in the ever-shifting speech communities of the 21st century. This article considers the case of Japan and its historical involvement with English from the time of earliest contact, and analyses the subsequent development of Japanese English to the present day. We present a careful discussion of applying the EIF model to Japan, from the viewpoints of both Schneider's original model and the enhanced perspective of the EIF model.

2. Backdrop

2.1. The Dynamic Model

Let us briefly consider the fundamental components of Schneider's Dynamic Model (2003, 2007). These will be seen in concrete application in the following section, since the main components are preserved in the EIF. The Dynamic Model consists of five phases. The first is the Foundation Phase, in which English is first introduced into a context through some form of contact with English-speaking entities, typically coinciding with the start of colonization. At this point, there are two groups of language users, English settlers (STL) and the local-language speaking indigenous strands (IDG). The second phase is Exonormative Stabilization, wherein an externally imposed variety becomes stabilized, with increased use of English in various domains. This can be a quite long period, usually during an era of colonization. The strength of the Dynamic Model is that as compared to the static nature of Kachru's three circles, it can account for a great deal of variation in how these phases are realized in each unique context. The third phase is that of Nativization. This can begin prior to national independence through adoption of certain local features, but gains much more momentum after independence. The process then gathers speed, entering a phase of Endonormative Stabilization, in which norms are more locally determined, as wider portions of society use English in official domains and local cultures and languages have more impact on the variety. The final phase is that of Differentiation, wherein the local form(s) of English used by various groups and regions may increasingly diverge. This phase is most common in contexts such as America or Australia, but can be witnessed in Singapore and other post-colonial settings.

The analysis of each phase is framed by four key parameters: 1) extra-linguistic factors (e.g., the historical and political development of the country); 2) characteristic identity constructions, factors which change the population's concept of their own identity; 3) sociolinguistic determinants of the contact situation (e.g., conditions of language contact, language attitudes, and use); and 4) structural effects (e.g., the development of lexical, phonological and grammatical

characteristics). In particular, Schneider (2003, 2007) claims that an Event X is crucial in identity construction development, and this usually coincides with independence of the country.

2.2. Issues with the Dynamic Model

There have been several attempts to analyse Expanding Circle Englishes from a Dynamic Model perspective (S. Ike 2012, 2014, Schneider 2014). One problem, however, is the missing settler strand (STL) and "Event X" described in the Dynamic Model. Since Japan has never been formally colonized, there are no settler strands that develop the sense of locally-based identity after Event X. Furthermore, the history of Japan shows that there were cases of language contact and of political and sociolinguistic factors for development and domains of English use, but STL has comprised only temporary residents. In other words, Japan lacks the necessary STL element for variety development, and thus cannot be analysed adequately with the Dynamic Model.

To substitute for the missing colonization factor in the Foundation Phase, Edwards (2016) suggests that world-wide globalization may trigger its start. Globalization in current Japan is evident in countless aspects, such as the growth in the number of incoming tourists, steadily increasing numbers of international businesses, and widespread use of the internet and Social Networking Systems (SNS). Inevitably, these conditions affect decisions by Japan's language policy-makers, which in turn affect English education, the status of English in various domains, and English-language services for tourists and local non-Japanese residents. Also, we need to consider that Japan seems to have undergone a Foundation Phase in the 1800s. The opening of the country was definitely the start of globalization for Japan.

General attitudes towards English in Japan are at times highly negative (see, e.g., Chiba, Matsuura & Yamamoto 1995, McKenzie 2008b), and surveys indicate that Japanese people do not claim ownership of English (S. Ike 2012). However, the introduction of English in non-post-colonial English (non-PCE) settings is quite different to that in post-colonial English (PCE) settings, and the spread of English to the Expanding Circle is the spread of the English language, and not of English speakers (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008). English is formally introduced to the country, but the need to acquire English is not yet recognized in the first phase. Also, studies (Honna 1995, S. Ike 2012) indicate the distinctiveness of English in Japan, as well as gradual attitude changes in educational settings. Thus, while the Dynamic Model has been widely applied, there is a need for a new model to account for the growing use of English in the Expanding Circle,

Schneider himself acknowledges this (Schneider 2014); he coined the term "transnational attraction" to account for the global boom of English in such contexts as East Asia or continental Europe. Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) go on to stress that a more scientific model is needed, and propose the EIF model, as in Figure 1.
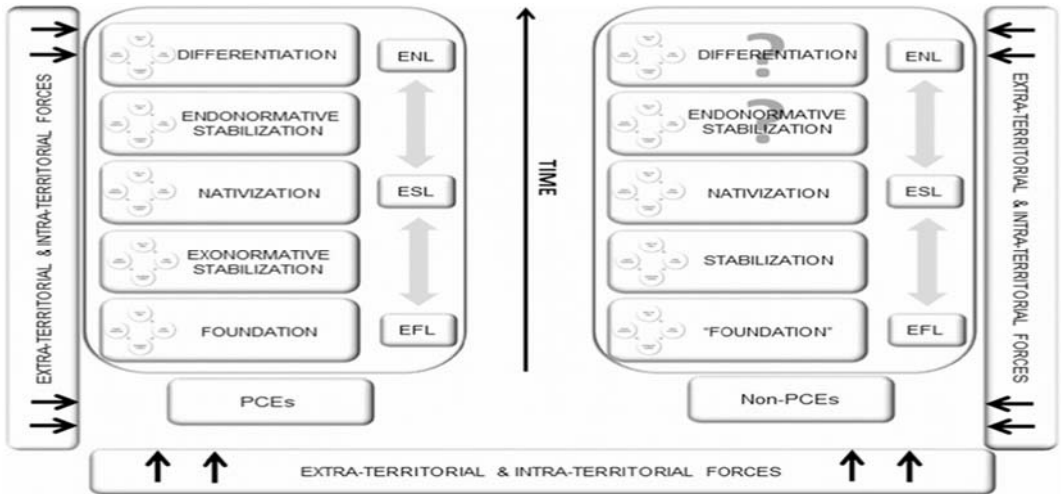
Figure 1. The EIF Model (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider 2018: 24)

The EIF maintains the five phases of the Dynamic Model, both for PCE and non-PCE contexts. It does, however, display question marks (see Figure 1) superimposed over phases four and five (Endonormative Stabilization and Differentiation) in the non-PCE column. There are also minor changes to terminology, such as Phase 2 being named "Stabilization" rather than "Exonormative Stabilization" for the non-PCE strand. The model presents the phases as moving along a vertical timeline, starting with Foundation. The sequencing of this timeline will be addressed in our following sections. We should also note that the EIF model introduces boxes to the right of the Foundation, Nativization, and Differentiation Phases, which are respectively given the designations "EFL," "ESL," and "ENL", although ENL is most likely not relevant for the non-PCE contexts (see the question mark placed on phase 5). Unlike the timeline, these designations are presented with bi-directional arrows, indicating that a context could possibly regress in some way to an earlier phase. Finally, one can also see the Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces entering the model from both sides, as well as at the bottom of Fig. 1. Although still included, the four parameters are not explicitly addressed in the EIF model.

In addition to the globalization movement, the EIF model illustrates possible forces–both extra- and intra-territorial–as illustrated in Figure 2. Regarding the specifics of the all-important extra- and intra-territorial forces which provide the main enhancement to the Dynamic Model, they are in two cases given the same title in both extra- and intra-territorial columns ("Sociodemographic background" and "Foreign policies"), but are slightly modified in the three other forces ("Attitudes towards colonizing power" rather than simply "Colonization," "Language attitudes" added to "Language policies," and "Acceptance of globalization" rather than "Globalization"), as seen below in Figure 2. It can also be seen in Figure 2 where an "x" is found, that Colonization is neither an extra- or intra-territorial force in Non-PCE contexts.

Extra-territorial Force	PCE	Non-PCE	Intra-territorial Force	PCE	Non-PCE
Colonization	✓	X	Attitudes towards colonizing power	✓	X
Language policies	✓	✓	Language policies / language attitudes	✓	✓
Globalization	✓	✓	'Acceptance' of globalization	✓	✓
Foreign policies	✓	✓	Foreign policies	✓	✓
Sociodemographic background	✓	✓	Sociodemographic background	✓	✓

Figure 2. The Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces

A consideration of the relevance and usefulness of these forces will be the main focus of Section 3 of the paper, as we apply the model to the Japan context.

3. Testing the EIF model for Japan

The EIF model is designed to identify factors that contribute to the development of an English variety in both PCE and non-PCE (Expanding Circle) settings. Thus, we test the model with Japanese English as a case study, starting with a brief history of English in Japan.

3.1. History of English in Japan

The first contact with English in Japan was around 1603, and English was briefly used for trading purposes with Britain before Japan closed the country in 1639 (Takanashi & Ohmura 1975). There is some evidence that a few people attempted to learn English around that time, but there were no institutions for systematic English education (Koscielecki 2006), and there is no record of any emergence of loanwords (Loveday 1996). The need for English arose again in 1808, when the British battleship HMS Phaeton anchored, and marines came ashore and stole supplies in Nagasaki Harbor, one of the two main trading ports at the time. Thus, it can be argued that this incident was an extra-territorial force which triggered the Shogunate to reconsider its defence plan, and to order state interpreters to learn English (Loveday 1996, Stanlaw 2004, Takanashi & Ohmura 1975). However, the need for English and exposure to it continued to be highly limited, since Japan remained closed and isolated until 1858 (Saito 2001). In 1853 American Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry came to Tokyo Bay–his actions serving as

another influential extra-territorial force–and Japan finally opened its doors to international trade, which acted as an intra-territorial force. Mckenzie (2008a) argues that this is the first major contact with English, and the opening of the country was followed by the beginning of the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Although Japan did not experience colonial status and thus English was not introduced as the language of power, the introduction of English is clearly traceable, so it is safe to say that the Foundation Phase began in the early 19th century.

There were a number of sociolinguistic factors (both extra- and intra-territorial) that contributed to the spread of English in Japan. Since there were no English-Japanese interpreters at the time, the Convention of Kanagawa (Kanagawa Treaty) was first translated from English to Dutch by an American, and then from Dutch to Japanese, causing some confusion and leaving Japan at a disadvantage in the trade agreement (Stanlaw 2004). English became an urgent necessity for the government as part of foreign policy and international relations. Meanwhile, Yokohama opened as one of the main ports, creating another domain for English use among traders. Pidgin varieties of Japanese and English developed at the same time among the foreign traders (Kodama & Kodama 1979, Ohta 1981). Atkinson's (1879, reprinted in 2007) work on pidginized varieties of Japanese and English shows that English speakers assimilated Japanese words to similarly pronounced English vocabulary, but with Japanese meanings. Perhaps the oldest such borrowing was *gere+borotaN* "Great Britain" – now modified to *gureeto+buriteN* (cf. Stanlaw 2004). Loveday (1996) also points out that 85% of the pidgin vocabulary was derived from Japanese. The modified EIF model (Buschfeld, Kautzsch & Schneider 2018) works particularly well in describing this aspect, via the nativization process.

In the early Meiji period, almost all higher education, including subjects such as English literature and history, were taught by English-speaking teachers in English (Ohta 1981, Takanashi & Ohmura 1975). Ohta (1981) also states that even Japanese teachers used English as a medium of education in those days. English was an absolute necessity for those elites who wished to study any subject, hence learning English meant gaining advanced Western knowledge in order to "catch up with" the advanced countries, especially Britain. In fact, Takanashi and Ohmura (1975) state that students had to graduate from Tokyo English School, one of the English conversation schools at the time, in order to enter a university. Most of the language institutions that were established had native English speakers as teachers and used American textbooks (Takanashi & Ohmura 1975). There were seven national English schools and more than a thousand private English schools in the Tokyo area alone in 1873 (Saito 2001). Some scholars describe this phenomenon as semi-colonization (e.g., Imura 2003, Ohta 1981, Takanashi & Ohmura 1975). This shows that there were strong extra- and intra-territorial forces for the development of Japanese English, leading it to the second phase, Stabilization.

There were mainly two domains for English use, one on the street for international business and day-to-day interactions, and the other within educational

institutions for the purpose of higher-stakes international relations: both working as intra-territorial forces. Thus, the contact between two languages, as well as the two groups of people, can also be traced. It can be argued that English possessed political power then, as Arinori Mori, later a Japanese Minister of Education, suggested that Japan needed to consider English an official language, claiming the Japanese language lacked communication ability without the help of Chinese elements, and predicting that English would inundate Japan as Japan took in Western culture (Mori & Ohkubo 1972).

English was used not only in street signs, but also in books for the public. In terms of linguistic development, this is where loanword usage started, and semantic shift, broadening and narrowing started to occur, as is evident in publications from this period. In an effort to integrate English into Japanese, English loanwords were written in Japanese characters, and often they were pronounced quite differently (Honna 1995, 2008, Stanlaw 2004). Saito (2001) and Ohta (1981) also show code-mixed examples in Japanese comical poetry (*Dodoitsu*), in which many English words were used, but not necessarily with the same meaning as in their source English. *Charenji* is one well-known example, whereby the meaning in Japanese is much more related to facing an almost insurmountable difficulty. By the late Meiji period (around 1900), more and more ordinary people were becoming familiar with English. Arakawa's dictionary was published in 1931, with 5018 entries of "Japanized English" (Loveday 1996), indicating extensive English nativization in Japan. This suggests that there was some innovative use of English in the Japanese context, functioning as an intra-territorial force, but also as extra-territorial force, leading to the next phase of variety development.

However, when the Meiji period came to an end, English lost its role as a means of gaining Western knowledge (Imura 2003). Moreover, in part as a reaction to early Meiji Westernization, Nationalism emerged and gradually gained support (Saito 2007). A national education system was implemented in 1872, and in the following five years, educated Japanese people started to become English teachers at higher-education institutions. Tokyo University changed its medium of education to Japanese in 1863, and in 1886, the first Minister of Education, Arinori Mori, declared Japanese to be the medium of education (Imura 2003). The need for English decreased considerably, and in 1877, five of the seven national English schools were closed (Ohta 1981, Saito 2001). Even at the remaining two national English schools, only two out of 28 teachers were native English speakers (Ohta 1981). The number of foreign teachers decreased from 503 in 1872 to 77 in 1896 (Imura 2003), and this also reflects nationalism in Japan at the time. The status of English changed from a practical communication skill to just a subject of study. Saito (2001) says that the learning of English was framed as the study of English literature and language, creating controversy over "practical English" and "educational English." A major setback for English variety development in Japan was this nationalism (i.e., counter intra-territorial force) throughout the ensuing war period, starting with the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and the Russo–

Japanese War (1904–1905). The bi-directional arrows in the EIF model help account for this type of reversal.

Nationalism led the effort to set up a standard Japanese language from 1902 to 1916, along with the movement for the unification of the written and spoken language (*genbun itchi undō*) (Carroll 2000). In 1939, names of foreign countries were changed into Chinese characters in the press, and the amount of new English borrowing significantly declined (Loveday 1996). When Japan entered World War II and England and America became her enemies in 1941, there was yet another strong nationalistic movement, and almost all English words disappeared both from written and spoken contexts, and were substituted for by directly-translated Japanese words (Loveday 1996, Ohta 1981, Saito 2001), although English remained a subject in school education throughout the war (M. Ike 1995, Imura 2003). This shows that political and sociolinguistic circumstances, acting as counter-forces, have prevented steady linguistic development, and Japan remained in the early Stabilization Phase till the end of WWII.

Political and sociolinguistic factors changed dramatically between 1945 and 1952, while the US General Headquarters (GHQ) occupied Japan. English was no longer the enemy's language, but a means of survival. Loveday (1996) notes that there were as many as 500,000 American troops stationed in Japan at the time, and people all over Japan, including children and ordinary citizens, used English during the post-war period to ask for food (Ohta 1981). As the contexts for English use expanded, pidginized varieties of English, which were different from the earlier ones, such as Yokohama dialect, appeared once again (Loveday 1996, Stanlaw 2004). This can be viewed as a new period of globalization for Japan, again shifting its foreign and language policies outwards. Language restrictions were no longer enforced, and the education system underwent a major reformation.

Nine years of compulsory education began in 1947, and a great number of people started receiving formal English education at grade 7. However, there were significantly fewer native English speakers in Japan after the end of the occupation, providing much less opportunity for interaction, thus contributing to the disappearance of such pidginized varieties, and English education remained focused on reading and writing (Saito 2001). In short, the GHQ occupation was a strong extra-territorial force, and the following educational reformation was a strong intra-territorial force in reaction to it, but was only influential for a short period of time. Nonetheless, English loanwords reappeared to a greater extent in the streets and in publications, especially in the 1960s and 1970s (Hashimoto 2006). Conversational English textbooks became bestsellers, and English education programs were broadcast and attracted large audiences (Loveday 1996, Saito 2001, 2007).

In post-war Japan, intra-territorial forces such as education policy and socio-demographic forces were present, yet remarkably weak compared to some earlier periods. However, it should be noted that in general, attitudes towards English were

positive, and with globalization progressing with Japan's explosive economic growth from the 1970s, Japanese citizens became increasingly attracted to English.

3.2. Japan in modern days

In modern days, with ever-increasing globalization, the need for English continues to grow, and the motivation for English learning has transmuted from survival to economic success and local interaction. Extra attention is paid in this section to identifying each force.

i. Language policies

A proposal to introduce English as an official language was raised again by Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi in 2000. Although this proposal was rejected, an increasing number of companies are giving English official status for intra-business communication in recent years. Perhaps one of the earliest companies to do so is major electronics component maker Sumida Corporation, which designated English its official language in 1999 (Yoshihara, Okabe & Sawaki 2001). In 2010, a Japanese electronic commerce and Internet company Rakuten, which has more than 20 million customers worldwide, announced that English would be used for all communication, triggering country-wide controversy. An international retail company Fast Retailing (known for its fashion brand UNIQLO), which has over a thousand branches overseas, introduced English as an official language for all internal meetings in Japan in 2012. Also, international business firms including car manufacturer Honda and cosmetics company Shiseido have been preparing to adopt English as their official language (cf. Kim 2017).

In educational settings, the movement to adopt English is even stronger, thanks to government support (MEXT [2] 2014, also see Murata, Konakahara, Iino & Toyoshima 2018), and universities have reintroduced English as a medium of instruction (EMI). Kojima (2016) notes that the number of universities which employ EMI increased from seven (8 departments) in 2008 to nineteen (38 departments) in 2013. If partial EMI courses of study are included, the number accounts for 36% of all the courses available in Japan in 2013 (Kojima 2016). English education policy has been changing, too, introducing English as an ungraded 'activity' in primary school education in 2013 (starting in grade 5). Beginning in 2020, the introduction of English as an ungraded activity will take place earlier, in grade 3, and English will become a compulsory subject in grade 5 (MEXT 2003). Prior to this, MEXT proposed an Action Plan in 2002 (MEXT 2002), to "acquire communication skills in English as a common international language," which includes sending an assistant English-language teacher (ALT) to every junior high school and high school at least once a week. An early statement by MEXT included norm-dependent terms such as "a native speaker of English" in describing the nature of ALTs and presenting the motivation of English learning as "[t]o have one's English understood by a native speaker" (MEXT 2003). A more

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[2] MEXT – Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan.

recent statement by MEXT (2013) has dropped the word "native," and simply states "English speakers," and emphasizes "what they can do" – which is a more CEFR-like description of the functions students can do with English, rather than their approximation to native standards. This indicates greater awareness of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in the current world, and evaluating a student's communicative ability instead of assessing proficiency against a native norm, as a small step towards Nativization. However, as Murata et al. (2018) point out, EMI and English education in Japan is still highly norm-dependent, which suggests that Japan remains in Exonormative Stabilization today.

The concern, moreover, is that MEXT is pushing more and more schools and students to focus on English education geared for international standardized tests such as TOEIC and TOEFL. This can be considered an intra-territorial force, resulting from institutional pressure on students to perform well on these tests, but at the same time, an extra-territorial force related to those wishing to study overseas and corporate needs for English-proficient staff due to the demands of overseas trading partners. In many cases, the intra- and extra-territorial forces are flip sides of the same coin.

ii. Linguistic forces

Linguistic forces – reflections of language attitudes – are stronger than ever in Japan. Loveday (1996) states that more than 7% of the total Japanese lexicon is English-derived loanwords, while the total proportion of loanwords from all languages in Japanese is approximately 10%. According to research in 1956 (published in 1962–1964) initiated by The National Language Research Institute (NLRI), 9.8% of the words used in 90 different magazines were loanwords, of which 80.8% were English words. A more recent survey (Hashimoto 2006) shows that almost 90% of loanwords used in newspapers are English. Here we see a possibility of further English development in this context. In fact, Honna (2008) notes that those Japanized words have gone through semantic nativization, including semantic broadening, narrowing, and shifting, and S. Ike (2014) argues that these expressions are then used in Japanese English, gaining more recognition over the years and making their way into English reference works. For example, words that were once heavily criticized as "incorrect," such as *salaryman* (a white-colour worker) and *office lady* (a woman working in an office), are now included in *Oxford Living Dictionary* as well as the *Oxford Learner's Dictionary*.

Linguistic landscapes in Japan also show some evidence of sociodemographic forces. The annual number of visitors to Japan was approximately 350,000 in 1964, and reached one million in 1977. The growth rate of visitors was not particularly high until the 2000s. Since the Japanese government led by then prime minister Junichiro Koizumi launched the Visit Japan Campaign (VJP) to increase the number of tourists in 2003 (Japan National Tourism Organization 2003), it significantly increased from just under five million in 2000 to more than 28 million in 2017 (Japan National Tourism Organization 2018). Although Buschfeld et al. (2018) see increasing tourism as an extra-territorial force, it is in fact an intra-

territorial force in the case of Japan. It should also be noted, however, there were a number of external factors such as the depreciation of the Japanese yen and the economic growth of China in the early 2010s (Andonian et al. 2016), and thus tourism in Japan – and its effect on increased or lessened use of English – needs to be viewed both as intra- and extra-territorial force.

In reaction to the demand for English by overseas visitors, more and more tourist spots and shopping areas are providing multilingual signage and language services (Backhaus 2006). Backhaus (2007) reports that English is often used as the sole language to pass information to non-Japanese in the Tokyo area, and this use of increased signage shows relevant contexts in Japan in which English functions as a communication tool. Backhaus also studies the linguistic landscape diachronically, and illustrates the increase of official English signage in the last 20 years in Japan, as well as the increase of Chinese and Korean in the last ten years (Backhaus 2005). Similarly, S. Ike (2017a), based on her survey of signage at two major train stations in Japan (Kyoto and Nagoya), reports that more than two-thirds of signage regarding location and direction on Japan Railway (JR) platforms are provided in English and Japanese. More recently, a major typhoon which swept the full length of Japan on 30 September 2018 was accompanied by extensive instructions on the NHK television network targeting foreign residents and advising, via easy-to-read enlarged English text visuals, on proper precautions to take. Such actions address not only short-term travellers, but demonstrate the reality of international mobility, and small-scale immigration.

Meanwhile, there is also a natural growth at the grassroots level of those using English through electronic media to interact with friends and associates from around the world. As highlighted by some scholars such as Seargeant and Tagg (2011), the explosion of internet use, and SNS in particular, opens up many opportunities for increased use of English. It is not clear as yet to what extent the ELF-like interaction by Japanese with those from a variety of native-speaker / non-native-speaker backgrounds may engender further development of Japanese English, but it is sure to have an impact. Recent data indicates that 47.54 million Japanese were users of Social Networking Systems (SNS) in 2015, and is expected to be 63.63 million in 2022 (Statista 2018). Clearly this is both an intra- and extra-territorial force of globalization, which will have an impact on Japanese English, and multilingual language use of the Japanese. Japan is also a dynamo with regard to translation of English fiction and academic/scientific works, with over 50,000 works translated annually (Higuchi 2007). In addition, Japan has produced products such as the professional translation software Trados (SDL 2018), a computer-assisted translation tool which allows for a high degree of accuracy by giving translators a range of options at the phrasal level, allowing for the translator to make the most accurate choice considering the complex variety of usages inherent in language. The extent to which such technological breakthroughs may impact variety development, remains to be seen.

Partly due to the limited domains of English use, and partly because of English education still largely focusing on reading/writing (Hino 2018), bilingualism in Japan is not very common, and general English proficiency remains low. Honna and Takeshita's (2000) study shows that most university students, who have had at least six years of formal English instruction, are unhappy with their English proficiency, and the average score on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) was ranked 149th of 162 countries, according to the Educational Testing Service (ETS) in 1993. As of 2017, the mean TOEIC score in Japan is 516, compared to that in Korea, 679, Malaysia, 644, and China, 586, although surprisingly, the mean score in Hong Kong, 515, is below that in Japan (ETS 2018a).

Similarly, Japan's mean TOEFL score is ranked 27th among 29 Asian countries (ETS 2018b). Some caution should be observed in using this data, since Japan, as an affluent country, has a large percentage of high school and university students take these tests, many of whom may not be so serious about the future role of English in their lives. Nevertheless, the figures may indicate some lack of an adequate intra-territorial force to strongly promote depth of English proficiency across wider swaths of Japanese society.

The statistics reported here suggest that English has not fully spread in all domains in Japan, and there are a few counter-forces preventing English variety development. In fact, even in large Japanese corporations, only about 10% of employees will need English for their work (Honna 2008). The use of English is generally limited to communication between English-speaking communities in Japan, and communication between Japan and the outside world (Makarova & Rodgers 2004). In sum, Japan could be seen to be in a late phase of Exonormative Stabilization or a very early phase of Nativization, but whether it develops further despite all the counter-forces remains to be seen.

iii. Language attitudes

Lastly, language attitudes need to be examined. The assumption that English is used between Japanese and "native" English speakers held by the very top government policy makers in early 2000s, is accurately reflected in the teachers' and the students' attitudes towards English. For example, Honna and Takeshita's (2000) survey shows that most students learn English in order to communicate with native English speakers; very few have non-native speakers in mind. Butler's (2007) survey also reveals that more than half of elementary school teachers think English is best taught by native speakers. Similarly, according to a survey by Nakai (2003), almost half of the students either in English teaching courses or majoring in English at a university believe that native speakers are more successful in teaching English than non-natives. He concludes that native speakers are seen as ideal English teachers in Japan, given the low confidence of Japanese teachers in pronunciation, authenticity, and accuracy. Greisamer (2006) notes university students' comments such as "real English is better" and "native speakers have better pronunciation" in support of native instructors. The assumption here is that English

spoken by native speakers is "real" and "authentic," but English spoken by Japanese or other non-native speakers is not, showing that in terms of language attitudes, Japan is still in an early Exonormative Stabilization Phase.

Similarly, students' lower tolerance of Outer- and Expanding-Circle varieties has been reported. McKenzie's study (2008b) shows that Japanese university students evaluated two Japanese English speakers lower than the other four native English speakers (two American and two British) in terms of language competence. Adachi's (2007) questionnaire results show the exclusion of non-native English speakers in students' minds more clearly. While more than 80% of the students strongly agreed with the statement that they would like to be able to communicate with native English speakers, only 36% showed strong agreement to the statement that they would like to be able to communicate with people whose mother tongue is not English. Adachi argues that this is due to the lack of awareness of the ELF and World Englishes perspectives among Japanese learners of English.

More recent surveys, however, show that an increasing number of students in Japan are familiar with the concept of World Englishes, and although still few in number, more and more Japanese are in support of Japanese English as a variety, recognising its function as ELF (Hino 2012, Murata et al. 2018). D'Angelo (2016, 2018), based on data from 10 years of graduates and their actual English needs, indicates that students exposed to pluralistic models of English truly see the value of such approaches, out in the working world. He proposes that WE, EIL and ELF can work in harmony in Japan, under the term "The World Englishes Enterprise." There have been various attempts among educators and scholars to integrate the notion of World Englishes (WE) into English teaching in recent years, such as the inclusion of characters with various language/cultural backgrounds in English textbooks (Yamanaka 2006) and specific WE courses in tertiary education (Yoshikawa 2005). In the academic domain, WE is actively discussed in a number of societies, such as The Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET) and The Japan Association for Asian Englishes (JAFAE).

The importance of recognition and acceptance of Japanese English as a legitimate new variety has been argued by a number of scholars (Hino 2008, 2012, Honna 2008, Honna & Meinhof 1999, S. Ike 2010, 2012, 2014), and the features and distinctiveness of Japanese English have been discussed (Fujiwara 2012, S. Ike 2012, 2016, 2017b). Studies on acceptability of Japanese English (S. Ike 2012) suggest that Japanese English is intelligible and acceptable in ELF communication, and non-Japanese participants had mostly positive attitudes towards the variety; yet Japanese participants still held fairly negative attitudes (S. Ike 2012). In terms of identity, the ownership of English is still very much L1-oriented, and little evolution of that view is observable. However, these recent movements may suggest that Japan is slowly moving toward a Nativization Phase.

In this section we have considered the history of English in Japan from the time of earliest contact to the present day. The EIF model has been applied to the various developments which have occurred in a diachronic study, and the model, with its flexibility and use of the extra- and intra-territorial forces shows evidence of being

quite useful in capturing certain aspects of variety development that the Dynamic Model was unable to do.

4. Discussion and concluding remarks

As mentioned earlier, there is need for a new model which attempts inclusivity for and concrete analysis of Non-PCEs, since it is common knowledge today that non-PCE users of English outnumber native and PCE users. The previous section suggests that the EIF model works well in Expanding Circle cases, yet shows that the model needs improvement in some areas. In this section, we review the significance of the model and discuss possible modification.

In looking at Japan, the identification of forces in the EIF model partially accounts for the Foundation Phase, and these can help scholars look at factors influencing variety development. The time factor in later phases in the case of Japan (and probably many other Expanding Circle contexts in this volume) is quite compressed as compared with a classic PCE such as that in Singapore, but this is the reality we face today. The incubation period is less important, whereas forces such as language policy, attitudes, and globalization play a much larger role. Identified forces in the model are also quite useful in evaluating the status of English in a given context, and having a set of forces to look for enables scholars to examine and compare English development across nations/regions.

At the same time, our case study indicates that certain points need to be considered. First, distinguishing extra-/intra-territorial forces needs to be further clarified. Often the same forces in the EIF simultaneously act externally and internally. This may make it hard to decide if a particular force is internal or external, but if one realizes that the international roles and use of English are more important for the non-PCE, as well as increasingly for the PCE contexts, such as India's, then one need not be overly concerned about the interplay of the same force on both levels. In terms of the model display, however, bi-directional arrows should be used to show the continuum-like nature of the forces.

Second, while the EIF contains the same five phases as the Dynamic Model, the clear identification of these developmental phases is yet to be explored. It is hoped that with time, progress will be made towards that end. In addition, as outlined in section one, Schneider's four parameters (especially identity re-settings and linguistic developments) are not defined in the EIF model, and these are important considerations in variety development. Hence, the sociolinguistic parameters and linguistic parameters do not necessarily correspond, especially with regard to attitudes and features. The EIF may indicate that identity construction and attitudes towards English are intertwined in one category or force, but identity construction as an "English speaker" and as a "Japanese person" are still two different concepts in early phases, and thus need to be taken into account separately. The model seems to imply that sociolinguistic conditions and structural consequences are synonymous, but the integration of these two aspects may have the effect of eliminating the space for discussion of Japanese English features.

Third, we argue that the term "exonormative" should remain in the EIF model. In many Expanding Circle cases, in Asian countries in particular, there remains a clear preference for "native" English as a learning model. This means that English has not just been stabilized in a given context but it retains its attribution of ownership to L1 users. Therefore, English is recognized as the language of "others" instead of "ours," and this phase needs to be clearly demonstrated in the model. In some way it remains to be seen whether the extra-/intra- forces can replace the STL/IDG strands of the Dynamic Model. Whether the forces are sufficient to replace the important role of these strands needs to be demonstrated through detailed practical application in further research.

A final point is that other forces not yet identified in the EIF model may need to be sought out and considered. Technological development such as increasingly sophisticated translation software (e.g., Google translate, TRADOS) may act as a counter-force and make variety development in non-PCE contexts a less pressing matter. Another factor which the model does not directly consider is the possibility of "world mindedness" (D'Angelo 2016) or general awareness of world Englishes, potentially acting as an intra-territorial force affecting language attitudes.

Our case study of Japan generally supports the validity of the EIF model, as it allows us to consider variety developments in Non-PCE and PCE settings. The model shows some compatibility between the two settings, especially in identifying the Foundation Phase, although modification such as displaying intra-extra forces in continuum, and clear description of each phase in terms of four parameters, seem to be necessary. The model also considers idiolectal use of English (as speech communities become more dynamic), beyond the consideration of national varieties, and demonstrates the ongoing importance of revising our models to meet the changing conditions of global English use (D'Angelo 2018). Clearly, the EIF needs more testing in specific Non-PCE settings, but we hope the proposed modifications presented here will strengthen the applicability of the model to a wider range of contexts.

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Bionotes:
James F. D'ANGELO, Ph.D. is Professor and Chair of the Global Liberal Studies Major at Chukyo University, Nagoya JAPAN. He is editor-in-chief of the Taylor & Francis journal *Asian Englishes*, and serves on the Advisory Board of *Routledge Advances in Teaching English as an International Language* book series. He has authored various articles and book chapters, including 'The Status of ELF in Japan' in the *Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca*, and is co-editor of (Springer) *Functional Variations in English* published in Autumn 2020. Areas of research include world Englishes, EIL, English as a Lingua Franca, and EMI in Japanese higher education.
Contact information:
Chukyo University
Yagoto Honmachi 101-2, Showa-ku, Nagoya, Japan 466-8666
e-mail: dangelo@lets.chukyo-u.ac.jp
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3030-2304

Saya IKE is Associate Professor, Meijo University, Nagoya, Japan. She serves as lead-handling-editor of Taylor & Francis journal *Asian Englishes*. Her research interests include Pragmatics in interaction, Interaction Analysis, along with world Englishes and English as a Lingua Franca. Her most recent publication includes a co-authored chapter in Modelling

World Englishes: A Joint Approach towards Postcolonial and Non-Postcolonial Englishes (Edinburgh University Press, 2020).

Contact information:
Faculty of Foreign Studies, Meijo University
4-102-9 Yadaminami, Higashi-ku, Nagoya 461-8534, Japan
e-mail: saya@meijo-u.ac.jp
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4905-1357

Сведения об авторах:
Джеймс Ф. Д'АНДЖЕЛО, Ph.D.**,** профессор, зав. кафедрой глобальных либеральных исследований в Университете Тюкё, Нагоя, Япония. Главный редактор журнала *Asian Englishes* (Taylor & Francis). Состоит в редколлегии книжной серии "Routledge Advances in Teaching English as an International Language". Автор многочисленных статей и глав в книгах, в том числе в книге "Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca". Является соредактором книги "Functional Variations in English" (Springer, осень 2020). Научные интересы: варианты английского языка, английский как международный язык, английский как лингва франка, английский язык как средство обучения в высшем образовании Японии.
Контактная информация:
Chukyo University,
Yagoto Honmachi 101-2, Showa-ku, Nagoya, Japan 466-8666
e-mail: dangelo@lets.chukyo-u.ac.jp
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3030-2304

Сая ИКЭ – доцент, Университет Мэйдзё, Нагоя, Япония. Возглавляет отдел передовых статей журнала "Asian Englishes" (Taylor & Francis). Ее научные интересы включают прагматику взаимодействия, анализ взаимодействия, а также варинты английского языка и английский язык как лингва франка. Одна из недавних публикаций – глава в соавторстве в книге "*Modelling World Englishes: A Joint Approach towards Postcolonial and Non-Postcolonial Englishes*" (Edinburgh University Press, 2020).
Контактная информация:
Faculty of Foreign Studies, Meijo University
4-102-9 Yadaminami, Higashi-ku, Nagoya 461-8534, Japan
e-mail: saya@meijo-u.ac.jp
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4905-1357

Research Article

English as a Lingua Franca from an applied linguistics perspective: In the context of Japan[1]

Nobuyuki HINO

Osaka University
Osaka, Japan

Abstract

For the past two decades, the concept of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has been a topic of much debate among researchers in the global use of English, including those involved in English language teaching (ELT). While in many respects ELF may be viewed just as a new name for its predecessors, such as World Englishes (WE) and English as an International Language (EIL), in other ways it also provides some fresh perspectives for the function of global Englishes. In particular, having grown chiefly out of Europe, where English has traditionally been studied as a foreign language rather than a second language, the ELF paradigm is often suited for the needs of learners of English in the Expanding Circle. With Japan as a primary example, the present paper discusses the significance of the concept of ELF and of the studies within its framework for ELT in the Expanding Circle. An important argument of this article is that studies in the early days of ELF, seeking for elements to facilitate international intelligibility, are still highly useful for ELT in the Expanding Circle. They cater especially to ELT in the Asian Expanding Circle, where pedagogical models are of crucial importance, no less than current ELF studies focusing on the fluid and translingual nature of ELF do. This paper points to the need for ELT teachers to be eclectic and integrative, learning from multiple paradigms, including ELF, WE, and EIL, while even going beyond the newness and oldness of pedagogical approaches, in order to best serve their students.

Keywords: *ELF, English Language Teaching, English as a Lingua Franca, World Englishes, EIL, English as an International Language, ELT, Expanding Circle, Japanese English*

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Английский язык как лингва франка в аспекте прикладной лингвистики: в контексте Японии

Нобуюки ХИНО

Осакский университет
Осака, Япония

Аннотация

В последние два десятилетия концепт английского языка как лингва франка (ELF) стал темой многочисленных дискуссий среди тех, кто занимается проблемой глобального использования английского языка, в том числе тех, кто связан с преподаванием английского языка. Несмотря на то что по многим параметрам ELF можно рассматривать как новое наименование предыдущих концептов, таких как варианты английского языка в мире (World Englishes, или WE) и английский как международный язык (English as an International Language, или EIL), в некотором смысле этот термин раскрывает новые перспективы функционирования вариантов глобального английского языка. В частности, получив развитие преимущественно в Европе, где английский традиционно изучается как иностранный, а не второй язык, парадигма ELF часто соответствует потребностям изучающих английский язык в Расширяющемся круге. Взяв в качестве основного примера Японию, автор данной статьи обсуждает значимость концепта ELF и его изучения в рамках преподавания английского языка в Расширяющемся круге. Основная мысль данной статьи заключается в том, что самые первые исследования ELF, нацеленные на поиск того, что обеспечивает понимание в международном масштабе, до сих пор представляют большую ценность для преподавания английского языка в Расширяющемся круге. Особенно они ориентированы на азиатские варианты Расширяющегося круга, где решающую роль играют модели обучения, не меньше, чем современные исследования ELF, сфокусированные на гибкой транслингвальной сущности ELF. Статья подчеркивает необходимость требований эклектичности и интегративности в подходе к обучению английскому языку, преподаватели которого должны взять все полезное из теорий ELF, WE и EIL, выходя за рамки инноваций и традиций педагогических подходов, что будет весьма благотворно для студентов.

Ключевые слова: *английский язык как лингва франка, варианты английского языка в мире, английский как международный язык, Расширяющийся круг, японский вариант английского языка, преподавание английского языка*

1. Introduction

The present paper discusses the concept of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) from an applied linguistics perspective, with special attention to the significance of ELF from the viewpoint of English language teaching (ELT) for the Expanding Circle (Kachru 1985, Proshina 2019), where English has only limited functions domestically. In this undertaking, Japan is employed as a sample from the Expanding Circle. ELF is a relatively new school of thought that made a major debut with Jenkins (2000) and has been growing fast in the field of applied

linguistics. In the latest development, Kecskes (2019) sheds new light on ELF from the perspective of pragmatics. As a study of global Englishes, the notion of ELF is preceded by more conventional paradigms with different orientations, most notably World Englishes (WE) (Kachru 1976, 1985, 1997) and English as an International Language (EIL) (Smith 1976, 1978, 1981).

The emergence of the ELF school has revitalized the study of Englishes for international communication in response to today's social needs, especially for the Expanding Circle, which has often been left behind in WE studies in its relative focus on the Outer Circle, where English has important intra-national functions. On the other hand, despite its short history of only two decades thus far, there have already been notable transitions in the focus of ELF studies. Pedagogical implications of those shifts will also be analyzed here.

2. Transitions in the concept of ELF

As mentioned above, there have already been some major transitions in the trend of ELF research. Preceding the latest focus on the multilingual or translingual nature of ELF, called the "ELF3" phase by Jenkins (2015), a shift of emphasis toward interactional dynamism ("ELF2") was a conspicuous change, as explained in this >.

The study of ELF started as a search for "core" elements that would make it possible for speakers of different varieties of English to understand each other: the "Lingua Franca Core" (LFC) proposed by Jenkins. Her studies at this stage (Jenkins 2000, 2002), now known as "ELF1," included the description of core and non-core features in the phonology of Englishes for international communication. ELF research in those days also triggered the expectation that the concept of the LFC might be applicable to some aspects other than pronunciation as well, such as lexicogrammar (Seidlhofer 2006).

Jenkins' research on English as an international language aroused much interest among ELT professionals across the world, perhaps with even a stronger impact than any of her predecessors in the study of global Englishes. It is also my view that Jenkins (2000) had the potential of bringing about significant advances in ELT pedagogy. However, her proposal met with criticisms not only by conservative linguistic purists but also by a lot of WE and EIL scholars who were supposed to share her philosophy of de-Anglo-Americanization of English, or the idea of liberating non-native speakers from native speaker norms.

This unfortunate discord was exhibited, among other instances, in a symposium "Perspectives on English as a Lingua Franca" at the 2007 conference of the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE) in Regensburg, Germany, whose panelists included two of the representative ELF scholars, Jennifer Jenkins and Barbara Seidlhofer, and some noted WE scholars. This panel discussion, held at the annual meeting of WE (and EIL) researchers, was a rare occasion for those both from WE and ELF camps to exchange their views at a major academic conference. However, what I witnessed was that the atmosphere created

through the discourses at this symposium was not exactly friendly. Especially, some comments from the floor criticized the ELF position for attempting to prescribe and impose one monolithic variety of English (a cardinal sin for WE proponents in their quest for diversity), though this claim was refuted by Jenkins on the spot as a misunderstanding of the concept (cf. Jenkins 2009).

In fact, Jenkins had reiterated many times that ELF is for diversity (e.g. 2006, 2007), but WE scholars on the whole did not seem to be convinced. I basically agree with Jenkins that it is a sort of misunderstanding, though the notion of LFC is indeed often interpreted to aim for one uniform English.

Interest in the LFC has also gradually waned among ELF scholars themselves. While early ELF literature was filled with discussions of the LFC, current publications on ELF, including articles in the *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, only make sporadic mention of the concept. It was especially ironic that the fad had already passed when Robin Walker published a significant book in 2010 on an application of LFC to actual pedagogy, which turned out to exert only limited influence despite its usefulness. Though in my observation even ELF researchers generally fail to appreciate the true value of the LFC, this attitudinal change among ELF proponents is also a reflection of a shifting tide in human and social sciences, namely, a move toward constructivism (e.g., Kohn 2018).

The notion of constructivism, when used in language study, refers to a view that linguistic behaviors are constantly dependent on interactional dynamism, always occurring in a fluid manner in ever-changing situational contexts. In this line of thinking, presupposition of fixed and stable elements in communication is criticized for being "essentialistic." From the constructivist position of ELF researchers today, the concept of LFC seems to look too static to reflect the dynamic nature of actual ELF interaction. The emphasis on the fluidity of ELF interaction is most evident in an argument by a representative of the ELF school, Henry Widdowson (2015), that ELF should be viewed in terms of "variation" in contrast to WE studies that deal with the issues of "variety" (cf. Seidlhofer 2011).

3. Pedagogical implications of ELF research: Past and present

As presented in the previous section, the transitions that have taken place during the two decades of ELF studies can be summarized as a shift in focus from the LFC to interactional dynamism, with translingualism as the latest trend. This section will analyze pedagogical implications of both the early and later ELF studies, with more emphasis on the former, which tends to be neglected nowadays.

In academic research, when a theory is replaced by a newer version, the older one is often deemed useless. However, previous theories actually should be considered to retain their own worth and remain useful in certain contexts. In the field of language study, for instance, throughout the developmental process of Chomskyan linguistics since Chomsky (1957) to date, the model proposed in Chomsky (1965), known as the Standard Theory, is still the most usable if the purpose is direct application to pedagogical grammar in ELT, regardless of

Chomsky's or other theoretical linguists' intentions. The paradigm of methodological analysis in ELT is another example. While the trinity of "approach, method, and technique" (Anthony 1963) seems to have been taken over by another analytical framework, "approach, design, and procedure" (Richards and Rodgers 1986), the former still serves better when the researcher wishes to separate the issues of teaching materials from methodological considerations. Likewise, early ELF studies, represented by Jenkins (2000), have pedagogical potential that later ELF research has come to de-emphasize without much further exploration.

3.1 Significance of early ELF studies for ELT

From pedagogical perspectives, Jenkins (2000) was significant at least on four counts. Below, each of those points will be discussed, especially with regard to their current relevance to the teaching of English in Japan.

3.1.1. Issues of intelligibility revisited

Firstly, Jenkins (2000) brought back the issue of phonological intelligibility across varieties of English. Since the classic study by Smith and Bisazza (1982), it has generally been assumed that understanding English with varieties of pronunciation is a matter of "getting used to," and that exposing learners to the diversity will solve the problem. However, Jenkins (2000) revealed that unintelligibility due to diversified phonology deserved more systematic treatment, as it could bring about serious difficulty in using English for international communication.

3.1.2. Highlighting the importance of accommodation

Secondly, Jenkins (2000) pointed to the importance of "accommodation" that had often been made light of in WE studies. With the strong emphasis on the value of diversity in the WE paradigm, a general assumption among WE proponents is that listeners and readers are primarily the ones who should make efforts to understand varieties of English (though usually restricted to Inner and Outer Circle varieties). In other words, there is some tendency among WE scholars to de-emphasize the need for accommodating one's language to the interlocutors' receptive repertoire. Highlighting the significance of accommodation remains one of the greatest contributions of Jenkins (2000) to the study of global Englishes to date.

3.1.3. Upholding the legitimacy of Englishes from the Expanding Circle

Thirdly, Jenkins (2000) was a gospel for users of English from the Expanding Circle. While the WE paradigm has been instrumental in improving the status of Englishes in the Outer Circle vis-à-vis those in the Inner Circle, WE scholars have traditionally been rather negative about extending the same privilege to their

Expanding Circle counterparts. Historically, the WE school can be traced back to Halliday, McIntosh, and Strevens (1964), a group of leading UK linguists, who recognized the development of new varieties of English in former British territories, namely, the Outer Circle. Since then, postcolonial Englishes, or varieties in the Outer Circle, have been the primary concern for WE scholars. As a result, while liberating the Outer Circle from native speaker norms, the WE paradigm created a new discrimination between the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle (Hino 2009a). On the other hand, Jenkins (2000) spoke for the rights of the Expanding Circle to employ their own models of English. Though Jenkins herself is from the U.K., it is no coincidence that many leading ELF scholars come from the Expanding Circle, including Barbara Seidlhofer (Austria) and Anna Mauranen (Finland). Drawing on the title of one of the *Star Wars* films, ELF may be characterized as "The Expanding Circle strikes back."

3.1.4. Paving the way for new models of English through LFC

Last but not least, though often interpreted otherwise, the LFC proposed by Jenkins (2000, 2002) helps to identify new pedagogical models of English as an alternative to the traditional target of Anglo-American English. While boosting international intelligibility with the use of core features, speakers of English for international communication, the majority of whom are non-native speakers, are allowed to express their own identities by exploiting non-core features, without always adhering to Anglophone norms.

It was unfortunate that many readers of early ELF research literature mistook the LFC as restrictive for non-native speakers of English. In my observation, the misunderstanding is caused by regarding core features as important items and non-core features as unimportant ones. Actually, non-core features are the most exciting part of LFC, which provide users of English with freedom of expression.

For example, stress-timed rhythm, which is characteristic of native speaker English, is classified as one of the non-core features (Jenkins 2000, 2002). This means that non-native speakers of English are free to use syllable-timed rhythm, a more natural rhythm for many of them, without impeding international intelligibility.

Though it is true that the LFC is not universal, as intelligibility depends on who the interlocutor is (i.e. "intelligible to whom?"), this concept has still opened up a possibility for new models of English, which can be particularly useful for traditionally underprivileged speakers of English from the Expanding Circle. However, as the notion of "model" itself has come to be de-emphasized with the rise of constructivism, subsequent ELF research has not fully explored this potential.

3.2. Significance of present ELF studies for ELT

Much of current ELF research, under the pervasive influence of constructivism, views ELF communication as dynamic and fluid (e.g., Seidlhofer

2011, Jenkins with Cogo and Dewey 2011, Jenks 2014, Baker 2015, Rose and Galloway 2019). An implication of this position for ELT pedagogy is an emphasis on authentic interaction in ELF. That is, it is important for teachers to lead their students to participate in a community of ELF users so that they may learn to cope with dynamic and fluid ELF situations through such experiences. On the other hand, one problem with this educational philosophy is the difficulty of trying to set up authentic ELF environment in traditional ELT classrooms. This issue will be taken up again in the next section.

Another major feature of present ELF research is, as briefly mentioned earlier, an emphasis on the translingual nature of ELF (Cogo 2012, Jenkins 2015, Baker 2015). This stance works as an antithesis against conventional monolingualism in ELT, where the use of students' native languages has been discouraged, if not entirely forbidden. Such traditional insistence on monolingualism in language teaching has already been criticized by Cook (2010) and others, but recent studies on the translinguality of ELF have further enhanced the awareness that it is only natural for ELT classrooms to be bilingual or multilingual.

4. ELF for the teaching of English in Japan

Pedagogical implications of ELF studies for ELT in Japan, an Asian Expanding Circle country, are enormous. Of particular significance among them are the following.

4.1. LFC for developing models of Japanese English

While native-speakerism in ELT is prevalent in Japan, as in many other parts of the world (Houghton & Rivers 2013, Houghton & Hashimoto 2018), it has also been a long-cherished dream for the Japanese to enjoy an indigenous Japanese English that can adequately express themselves in international communication. Indeed, the philosophy dates far back to Saito (1928) who claimed that "the English of the Japanese must, in a certain sense, be Japanized" (preface). While such a Japanese wish has often been met with cold shoulders from WE scholars due to the Expanding Circle status of Japan (Hino 2012b), Jenkins' LFC, particularly its description of non-core features, has provided very useful clues about how to take a step forward toward the development of original pedagogical models[2] of Japanese English. The following two sections present two examples.

4.1.1. Features of connected speech as non-core items

Studies of the LFC endorsed, with empirical evidence, an earlier observation by Hino (1987, 1989) that features of connected speech, such as linking and elision,

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[2] In discussing this issue, I try to use the expression "models of Japanese English" where possible, with the plural form "models" because it is my standpoint that each teacher and each learner should be entitled to their own model.

are often counter-productive with respect to intelligibility in international communication. Connected speech is typical of native speaker phonology, which also contributes to the formation of the stress-timed rhythm characteristic of Anglo-American English. An implication of this fact is that models of pronunciation for Japanese English may employ syllable-timed rhythm[3] with only minimal features of stress-timed connected speech (Hino 2009b, 2012a, cf. Kirkpatrick 2010). Such pronunciation also has the advantage of representing Japanese identity even when speaking English. This will be a drastic change in ELT as opposed to the traditional view that it is ideal for users of English to sound like native speakers.

Features of connected speech are excluded, in principle, from my pedagogical model of Japanese English (Hino 2010, 2012a). In addition to the intelligibility factor, one of the reasons for this practice is the fact that pronouncing English that way makes me feel as if I am trying to assimilate myself into Anglo-American culture by giving up my "Japanese-ness." This attitudinal issue will be further discussed in the next section.

4.1.2. Suggesting a need for going into the phonetic level

The LFC can also be interpreted to suggest a need to include some allophonic differences into models of Japanese English. While American English has been employed as the model for ELT in the public school system in Japan, pronunciation for production has usually been taught at the phonemic level without going into phonetic considerations, as evident in the transcription of pronunciation in ELT textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education. This traditional policy is largely based on the idea of teaching pronunciation with phonemics, especially well-known for the concept of "minimal pair," where "distinctive features" are highlighted with a de-emphasis on "redundant features." This conventional practice has brought about the interesting consequence that ELT in Japan does not really lead students to pronounce English like native speakers, in spite of the American English model, as far as allophones are concerned.

This issue has long been a contentious point among Japanese applied linguists who are interested in the globalization of English. The following is an excerpt from a talk in 1985 between two leading Japanese scholars in the field, Ikuo Koike and Harumi Tanaka.

> Koike: Some concrete standards would be necessary. For example, we should perhaps lead students to acquire pronunciation at the phonemic level rather than expect them to achieve it at the allophonic level….
> Tanaka: I must disagree with you on your advice that pronunciation be taught at the phonemic rather than allophonic level. Supporting the teaching at the phonemic level means that pronunciation is considered fine as long as sounds that make differences in meaning can be distinguished.

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[3] The present paper will not go into the distinction between "syllable-timed rhythm" and "mora-timed rhythm."

However, some points are quite important even at the allophonic level,
for instance, aspirated sounds of [p][t][k][4]….
Koike: Such as the distinction between [pʰ] in "pit" and [p] in "top."
Tanaka: Right… (Tanaka & Koike 1985: 8. In Japanese. Translation mine)

The aspiration of word-initial voiceless plosives that Tanaka and Koike are talking about is one of the core features listed in Jenkins (2000). It is remarkable that Tanaka, an EIL pioneer who had been showing interest in the problem of intelligibility across varieties of English since the late 1970s (Tanaka 1978, cf. Hino 2014), was arguing for the teaching of pronunciation at the phonetic level, 15 years before Jenkins did likewise in her data-based study.

However, this idea of going into the allophonic level continues to be controversial. Concerning the arguments put forth by Jenkins (2000) on issues such as allophonic vowel length besides that of aspiration, Paroo Nihalani, a noted linguist well known for his research in Indian English, offers his criticism based on experiences in the Commonwealth that "speakers of L2 varieties have been communicating fairly successfully without such allophonic features" (Nihalani 2010: 32). He further comments from the perspective of pronunciation as an identity marker, a viewpoint mentioned in 4.1.1 above, that "attitudinal studies undertaken in India, Malaysia, Nigeria and Singapore at the undergraduate level have clearly revealed resentment against the native-like use of allophonic variants" (Nihalani 2010: 32). Summarizing this position, he asserts that "national identity is characterized by the phonemic vowel system of the local variety" (Nihalani 2010: 33). Thus, Nihalani holds that requiring learners to adhere to native-like allophonic norms is problematic both in terms of intelligibility and identity.

In discussing the feasibility of Japanese English for international communication in Hino (1989), I mentioned the teaching of pronunciation at the phonemic level as one possible option, while I also expressed some reservation about this position by calling it "a rather rough argument" (Hino 1989: 8).

As far as the issue of aspiration of word-initial voiceless plosives is concerned, I basically support, as a pedagogical model of Japanese English, the one without aspiration. My stance is due to the same two reasons cited by Nihalani, intelligibility and identity (Hino 2010, 2012a), informed by my years of experience in using English in international settings, although Japan belongs to the Expanding Circle, unlike the countries in the Outer Circle that he cites.

As to the former factor, international intelligibility, I usually pronounce those sounds without aspiration (e.g. [pet] rather than [pʰet]), and in my observation, just as in Nihalani's, it hardly hampers communication. While many of Jenkins' proposals on the LFC match my experiences in communicating with both native and non-native speakers, this item is one of the exceptions. Regarding the latter identity issue, again as pointed out by Nihalani, pronouncing stops with aspiration makes

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[4] Although I follow the original transcription in this quotation, it would be more appropriate if these sounds were transcribed as /p//t//k/ in this context.

me feel like a parrot, merely mimicking someone else's pronunciation while surrendering my own identity (Hino 1987).

However, it must be made clear here that the model of Japanese English that I propose is just a suggested alternative, which should never be forcefully imposed on any learner. Any of my students certainly has every right to aim for native-like pronunciation if that is their wish.

In summing up, while even the conventional American-English-based ELT in Japanese schools generally had not dealt with pronunciation at the phonetic or allophonic level, Jenkins' LFC (2000, 2002) suggests, drawing on empirical data, that it may be necessary to go into the phonetic level for some sounds to ensure international intelligibility. This proposal is somewhat ironic in that it will partially result in promoting native-like pronunciation when Jenkins' fundamental philosophy entails freedom for non-native speakers to deviate from native speaker norms. However, in any case, it would be fair to say that Jenkins' LFC, though controversial, has shed valuable light on the issue of international intelligibility of Englishes, which helps us greatly in reexamining the teaching of pronunciation in ELT in Japan.

4.2. The importance of engaging learners in authentic ELF interaction

Today's ELF research puts great emphasis on the dynamic and fluid nature of ELF interaction. This aspect has been especially highlighted since the ELF2 phase of ELF studies, but the idea was already implied in the ELF1 phase, when Jenkins (2000) argued for the significance of accommodation, adjusting one's English so that they will be better understood by an interlocutor in ELF communication. Although all human interactions are dynamic and fluid, enormous diversity in the participants' backgrounds, coupled with a vast variety of situational contexts, makes these aspects particularly salient features of ELF communication. Besides accommodation, the importance of "negotiation of meaning" (e.g. Seidlhofer 2009), the construction of meaning through collaboration between interlocutors, is also underscored in ELF studies today, though to a somewhat lesser degree than the concept of accommodation.

Traditional CLT (Communicative Language Teaching) hardly meets this new educational demand from ELF perspectives. So-called communicative activities in CLT classrooms are too often artificial simulations, which are not effective enough to help students acquire interactive communication skills to cope with dynamic and fluid ELF situations, such as accommodation and negotiation of meaning.

An even bigger factor affecting ELT in many Expanding Circle countries is that the great majority of students share their first language (usually Japanese, in the case of Japan), which makes peer interaction simply unauthentic. Not only does this fact reduce students' motivation for engaging in classroom interaction, but also such an unauthentic setting can produce the kind of English that is intelligible only

to compatriots, without a chance for the students to find out what sort of English will be actually understood by international interlocutors.

Therefore, from the viewpoint of current ELF studies, a major task for English language teachers is to provide their students with authentic ELF environments in classrooms. One solution for this difficult problem in the context of higher education is to exploit English-Medium Instruction (EMI) (Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra 2013, Jenkins 2014) classes for learning ELF skills (Hino 2018a, 2018b, 2019). With the demand for globalization of higher education, a number of Japanese universities have recently been launching content courses taught in English both at the undergraduate and graduate level. In addition to local Japanese students, many of those EMI classes include international students from various countries, most of whom are non-native speakers of English. This is an authentic ELF environment with great potential as an opportunity for students to experience ELF interaction in person, whether it is a biology, engineering, economics, or any other course.

I am presently working on the development of a pedagogical approach for helping students to acquire ELF skills, mainly through reflective practice in my graduate EMI class. Partly by drawing on the concept of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), I have named the approach Content and English as a Lingua Franca Integrated Learning (CELFIL) (Hino 2015, 2017a, 2018a, 2019).

A technique that I have devised for CELFIL is what I call Observed Small Group Discussion (OSGD) (Hino 2017b, 2018a, 2019). A group of four students, constituting an authentic ELF environment in consisting of both international and Japanese students, discusses a given topic while being observed by all their other classmates. After that, the teacher leads a whole-class discussion in which observers and discussants share their reflections not only on the content of the small group discussion but also on the communication strategies employed there, such as clarification, confirmation, translanguaging, backchannel, and non-verbal cues. In the next class, observers and discussants change places, applying to their new roles the knowledge that they gained in the previous session. Thus, in OSGD, students learn collaborative meaning-making in ELF through the cycle of observation, reflection, and practice.

4.3. Endorsing the use of Japanese in ELT

The announcement by the Japanese Ministry of Education in 2008 that ELT classes in senior high school "should in principle be conducted in English" (translation mine) has caused controversies among ELT teachers as well as applied linguists across the nation. Japanese, the first language for the majority of students, has generally been used extensively in ELT in this country. This traditional linguacultural and educational practice, known as *yakudoku* or *kundoku*, dates back more than a thousand years to when the Japanese studied classical Chinese by translating it word-by-word into their native language (Hino 1988, 1992).

As briefly discussed earlier in section 3.2, recent ELF studies have shown that translanguaging is a natural aspect of ELF, and that insisting on the monolingual use of English in ELF communication is groundless. Along the same line as Cook (2010), who raised awareness among ELT professionals in the positive role of translation in the classroom, those ELF3 studies may be interpreted to endorse the legitimacy of the use of Japanese in ELT. On the other hand, in the sociolinguistic context of Japan, caution should be also taken so that Japanese should not be overused in ELT classes. In fact, the aforementioned *yakudoku/kundoku* tradition is so powerful in this country that both teachers and learners are strongly tempted to use Japanese whenever possible even in ELT situations.

5. Conclusion

This paper has analyzed some pedagogical implications of the concept of ELF for the Expanding Circle, with Japan as an example, placing a relative emphasis on early ELF research represented by Jenkins (2000), whose true significance does not seem to be recognized even by ELF scholars.

Each of the three major schools of thought on the study of global Englishes, namely, EIL, WE, and ELF, have their own strengths and limitations. It is desirable for ELT professionals to learn from all of them, along with other relevant disciplines, in order to devise appropriate pedagogy that will best prepare students for intercultural communication in English.

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Bionote:

Nobuyuki HINO, Ph.D. is Professor, Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University, Japan. He is a former director of the International Association for World Englishes as well as a former president of the Japanese Association for Asian Englishes, and currently serves on editorial/advisory boards for Routledge, Wiley, and Springer. His primary research interest is the teaching of EIL (English as an International Language) in the Expanding Circle. Along with numerous book chapters and journal articles, his recent single-authored book is *EIL Education for the Expanding Circle: A Japanese Model* (Routledge, 2018).

Contact information:

Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University

1–8 Machikaneyama-cho, Toyonaka, Osaka 560-0043 Japan

e-mail: hino@lang.osaka-u.ac.jp

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-8761-6278

Сведения об авторе:

Нобуюки ХИНО, Ph.D., профессор, магистратура Школы языка и культуры Университета Осаки, Япония. Входил в исполком Международной ассоциации исследователей вариантов английского языка, является экс-президентом Японской ассоциации исследователей азиатских вариантов английского языка. В настоящее время входит в редколлегии издательств Routledge, Wiley и Springer. Основной научный интерес – преподавание английского как международного языка в Расширяющемся круге. Автор многих статей и глав книг. Опубликовал книгу "EIL education for the Expanding Circle: A Japanese model" (Routledge, 2018).

Контактная информация:

Graduate School of Language and Culture, Osaka University

1–8 Machikaneyama-cho, Toyonaka, Osaka 560-0043 Japan

e-mail: hino@lang.osaka-u.ac.jp

ORCID ID: 0000-0001-8761-6278

Russian English and what it is not

Alexandra A. RIVLINA

National Research University Higher School of Economics
Moscow, Russia

Abstract

The arguments against the Expanding Circle (EC) Englishes being varieties in their own right are often provoked by terminological inaccuracies both in professional and folk-linguistic debate. The aim of the article is to particularize the concept of Russian English by highlighting the differences between Russian English as an EC variety per se and a number of English-related forms and practices in Russian-based intranational communication, which also might be referred to as Russian English or Rus(s)lish/Runglish. The article discusses the notion of Ruslish in detail, drawing on the recent surveys of "hybrid Englishes," or "X-lishes" in World Englishes theory. The study provides a qualitative analysis of a corpus of examples illustrating different conceptualizations of Ruslish and some of its major tokens. As a result, Ruslish in the narrow sense of the term, as the basilectal sub-variety of Russian English, is distinguished from Ruslish as a broader language-contact concept embracing various cases of English-Russian interaction, primarily the Englishization of Russian, which is closer to its folk metalinguistic interpretation. A special emphasis is placed on the cases of "mock Russian English/Ruslish," a form of bilingual language play, a linguistic parody, when distinctive features of Russian English or Ruslish are exaggerated and ironically quoted in "styling the Other." The article also follows the translanguaging approach to hybrid Englishes investigation and some emergent practices of translanguaging in written English-Russian interaction, specifically some cases of Roman-Cyrillic "trans-scripting," or "tranßcripting", are tentatively defined as "new Ruslish."

Keywords: *World Englishes, Russian English, Rus(s)lish (Runglish), mock language, translanguaging*

Научная статья

Русский английский и то, чем он не является

А.А. РИВЛИНА

Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»
Москва, Россия

Аннотация

Аргументы, на основании которых оспаривается самостоятельный статус вариантов английского языка Расширяющегося круга, зачастую обусловлены терминологическими неточностями как в профессиональных, так и в любительских лингвистических дискуссиях. Цель

статьи – уточнить понятие русского варианта английского языка через сопоставление его с теми языковыми формами и практиками в русскоязычной внутринациональной коммуникации, которые связаны с английским языком и тоже иногда определяются как «русский английский» или «руслиш/рунглиш», но отличаются от русского английского как варианта Расширяющегося круга. В статье подробно анализируется понятие «руслиш» на основе недавних исследований так называемых «гибридных английских» или «X-лишей» в теории контактной вариантологии английского языка. Исследование представляет собой описание корпуса примеров различных концептуальных пониманий руслиша и его основных маркеров. В результате становится возможным разграничить руслиш в узком понимании этого термина, в качестве базилектного подварианта русского английского, и в широком понимании, которое более характерно для обыденного метаязыкового сознания и подразумевает различные типы взаимодействия русского языка с английским, в первую очередь англизацию русского языка. Особое внимание в статье уделено шутливо-пародийному русскому английскому, одной из форм билингвальной языковой игры, языковой пародии, при которой дистинктивные признаки русского варианта английского языка и руслиша иронически преувеличиваются и воспроизводятся в процессе «стилизации Другого». Кроме того, в статье используется транслингвальный подход к описанию «гибридных английских», в соответствии с которым все более заметные транслингвальные практики в письменном взаимодействии русского и английского языков, в частности, «транскрипталзм» во взаимодействии кириллицы и латиницы, предлагается рассматривать как проявления «нового руслиша».

Ключевые слова: *контактные варианты английского языка, русский английский, руслиш (рунглиш), пародийный язык, транслингвизм*

1. Introduction

The status of Expanding Circle (EC) Englishes alongside the Inner Circle (IC) and Outer Circle (OC) English varieties is "a thorny subject of incessant metalinguistic and sociolinguistic discussions" (Proshina 2019: 233) in both professional and lay debate. One of the major sources of disagreements on this issue lies in the intransigent metalinguistic beliefs and attitudes of "folk linguists" (Niedzielski & Preston 2000), whose perception of EC varieties such as Russian English cannot but influence professional linguistic discourse.

Similar to other EC countries, the majority of Russian speakers tend to discuss a number of English-related forms and practices, especially those which are frowned upon in Russian-speaking society, under the rubric of "Ruslish" ("Russlish," "Runglish," etc.).[1] When the term "Russian English" is used, it is often equated with Ruslish.

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[1] In his thorough investigation of different "lishes," Lambert (2018: 30) has enumerated and estimated the frequency of a dozen of "Russian + English" portmanteau terms, including the most frequent ones, "Russlish" and "Runglish", and some rare ones, such as "Ringlish" or "Rublish." Epstein (2006) insists that "Russlish" is the only correct term, mainly because it was the first one introduced into English in Arthur C. Clarke's novel *"2010: Odyssey Two."* A small subplot in the book concerned a *Stamp Out Russlish!* campaign aboard a Russian-American spaceship. In this article, "Ruslish" is employed as the term most widely used in World Englishes publications.

The aim of this article is to particularize the concept of Russian English by highlighting the differences between Russian English as an EC variety per se and a number of English-related contact-induced phenomena which might be also referred to as Russian English or Ruslish in certain contexts, primarily in folk linguistics. First, the notion of Ruslish will be discussed in detail drawing on recent surveys of "hybrid Englishes," or "lishes" in World Englishes theory. Next, a special focus will be made on the cases when distinctive features of Russian English or Ruslish are exaggerated and played on. These cases are described in terms of "styling the Other" and "mock language" research. It is argued that "mock Russian English/Ruslish" should not be confused with Russian English as an actual variety: "mock Russian English/Ruslish" is a form of bilingual language play, a linguistic parody, which implicitly testifies to Russian speakers' increasing awareness of Russian English, but is in many critical ways different from it.

Finally, this article tackles the controversies in Russian English investigation through the perspective of translanguaging, one of the most significant current trends in sociolinguistics of globalization and multilingualism research. Translanguaging refers to fuzzy and fluid "discursive practices that cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of language" (García & Li 2014: 22). In recent studies, translingual use of English language resources by local language speakers in EC countries is sometimes interpreted as "new X-lishes," for instance, "new Chinglish" (Li 2016, Xu & Deterding 2017). This article will discuss some emergent practices of translanguaging in written English-Russian interaction that are tentatively termed "new Ruslish."

2. EC Englishes and linguistic hybridity research

Proshina (2019) highlights that the arguments against EC Englishes being varieties in their own right are often based on terminological misconceptions and inaccuracies. In most cases, confusion is caused when EC varieties, actually performed by speakers of local languages when using English, are equated with the following:

—— with the "model" (input) of English teaching and learning, which in EC contexts is based on British or American varieties norms, or on the abstract model of English as an International Language (EIL);

—— with English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), which is not a variety characterized by certain distinctive features, but a function, or an activity mode in intercultural communication; or,

—— with so-called "learner English" or with learner's "interlanguage," which are psycholinguistic concepts dealing with an individual's language state.

Overall, different conceptualizations of Englishes do not exclude each other, but rather overlap and complement each other, reflecting the increasingly diversifying English uses worldwide from different angles. The complexity of these multifarious language phenomena generates the analytical complexity and a

number of terminological confusions have to be disentangled before EC Englishes are granted or denied the status of a language variety.

One of the misconceptions leading to terminological mix-up in Russian English research is connected with the notion of Ruslish. In the World Englishes theory, each variety is treated as a sociolinguistic bilingual cline, a continuum of functional zones called "lects" – acrolect, mesolect, and basilect – based on different levels of English proficiency from the highest to the lowest. Russian English as a variety embraces all three functional zones. On this cline, the distinctive features are particularly manifest at the mesolectal level, which is therefore referred to as Russian English in the narrow sense of the term (see the summary in Proshina 2020, Proshina & Eddy 2016: 81–120). Within this framework, the term "Ruslish" is related to learners' deficient English, that is, to basilectal performance of English by less proficient Russian speakers (Proshina 2020: 242, Proshina & Eddy 2016: 26–27).

Basilectal performance of local English speakers is the primary meaning of similar portmanteau terms built on the formula "X [language name] + English," known as "Anglo-hybrids," "hybrid Englishes," "X-Englishes," or just "lishes" (Schneider 2016, Lambert 2018).[2] In public discourse, such hybrids are usually stigmatized as "broken English." However, a basilectal local version of English is not the only sense in which various "X-lish" terms are used, especially in folk-linguistic discussions in different countries. For example, Lambert (2018: 7) summarizes quite a number of various characterizations of Japlish (Janglish, Jangrish, etc.). Some of them exhibit the idea of Japlish as the negatively assessed basilectal sub-variety of Japan(ese) English – "poor English," "a stilted Japanese version of English," "bastardized English" – while others expand it to all "English as spoken by Japanese" or, vice versa, narrow it down to specific Japanese-English contact results, such as "Japanese-coined English phrases," "the invasion of Japan by English words," "weird translational malapropisms," "a hybrid grammar introducing English components to standard Japanese, or Japanese components to standard English," "Japanese words spelled out in English," or "English written in katakana." As Lambert comments, "[l]eaving the abundance of negativity aside for the time being, in aggregate these attempts at definition speak to the multitude of linguistic phenomena characteristic of language hybridity in multilingual settings, albeit explained with differing emphases by different definers" (Lambert 2018: 7).

There have been attempts to streamline a host of interpretations of X-lishes and to distinguish them terminologically. One of the approaches is to suggest different terms to separate the two directions of English-vernacular interaction. D'Souza (2001: 9–11) writes about Hinglish A, which she describes as a variety of Hindi with English as a source for lexical borrowing, and Hinglish B, which is, vice versa,

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[2] Besides "X [language name] + English," other less common blend patterns may be used for various language combinations, such as *franglais* in France or *Sheng* in Kenya (see the survey in Schneider 2016 and Lambert 2018). In Russia, other terms for Rus(s)lish/Runglish are *rusangl* ("angl" as in *angliiskiy*, English) (Marinova 2013: 142) or *rungliiskiy* (Merkulova 2015: 48).

a variety of English with Hindi as a source of borrowing. In Greek linguistics, the term Greeklish often refers to Latin-alphabet transliterated Greek, while a different term, "engreek," is introduced for the reverse process, English-related forms written with Greek characters (Androutsopoulos 2015, Spilioti 2019). The term "rusangl," used by some Russian linguists for the overuse of Anglicisms in modern Russian speech (Marinova 2013: 142), may be seen as an attempt to stay away from Ruslish controversies in lay linguistic discussions. On the other hand, Lambert, when highlighting similar terminological pairs in other countries (Spanglish vs. Englanol, Hunglish vs. Engarian, etc.), argues that they "fall into the common definitional trap of being overly precise" (Lambert 2018: 7). X-lishes resist any attempts at neat compartmentalization, first, because in many cases they involve processes of intense mixing that are "not in line any longer with the idea of 'matrix' or 'base' language" (Schneider 2016: 351), and second, because "[w]ere such restricted senses to actually be adopted in the field of linguistics, these might be at odds with wider usage, thus creating nomenclature ambiguity" (Lambert 2018: 9).

It seems to be the case that numerous X-lish definitions, vague and ill-defined as they are, have a common denominator. All X-lishes, including Ruslish, reflect a simplified but powerful linguistic ideology of languages as discreet entities with clear-cut borders between them that need to be upheld (hence, the negative attitude to hybridization). Folk linguists appear to use these terms to refer to a nebulous cluster of linguistic constructs united by such ideology, though in each particular case some manifestations of an X-lish are emphasized while others are overlooked.

Another important distinction, which causes confusion when it is overlooked, is the distinction between Russian English as a variety with Ruslish as its basilect, on the one hand, and on the other hand, language play on Russian English and Ruslish, which may be described as "mock Russian English/Ruslish". The concept of "mock languages" was developed in linguistic anthropology to describe the practice of exaggerating and spoofing the stereotypical linguistic features of speakers of other languages in order to create a jocular or pejorative effect. In English-speaking contexts, "mock languages" overlap with X-lishes, revealing similar hybridized forms and practices. For example, incorporated into English-based American discourse, "mock Spanish" implies either playful "hyper-vernacularization" of English, for instance, *el cheap-o* for "cheap" (Spanish morphology mixed with English vocabulary), or "hyper-anglicized" ludic representations of vernacular lingual units, for instance, a double entendre *grassy-ass* for *gracias*, "thank you" (Hill 1998: 682). Despite similarities in linguistic techniques, the mixture of Spanish and English in "mock Spanish" is in most cases different from Spanglish, and Spanish speakers themselves would not use most of such "mock Spanish" tokens when speaking English.

From the point of view of linguistics, "mock language" is not a linguistic variety but linguistic parody based on "speaking from behind a verbal mask" (Zemskaia et al 1994: 180), "styling the Other" (Hill 1999), or "performing the Other" (Pennycook 2003: 515). It foregrounds and alienates some linguistic

features of a particular community in order to reveal the parodists' attitudes to its members, "distributed along a continuum between aggression and mocking to playful appropriation to heartfelt identification" (Hill 1999: 547).

"Mock language" is most visible when performed by professional comedians and impressionists. Different varieties of English being mocked in comic shows are tackled in a number of publications: see, for example, Crystal (2003: 410) on "variety humour" in English, Moody (2009: 190–194) and Moody & Matzumoto (2012) on special English language entertainment genres and shows in Japan, or Chun (2004) on "mock Asian" of American comedians mimicking Chinese, Korean, and Japanese speakers of English. At the same time, like all the other types of bilingual creativity and language play, "mock language" is often employed to contribute to "everyday creativity" in regular informal communication.

The theorizing of English varieties is further complicated due to some emergent discursive practices triggered by the English language globalization and defined in modern sociolinguistics as "translanguaging" (Canagarajah 2013, García & Li 2014). It implies that various English-related linguistic resources are increasingly often employed by people all over the world not as part of an autonomous foreign language system, but as part of their own fluid "linguistic repertoire with features that have been societally constructed as belonging to two separate languages" (García & Li 2014: 2). The globalization of English has generated an upsurge in English-related linguistic fluidity in EC communities and some researchers describe the manifestations of the translingual use of English language resources by local language speakers in EC countries as "new X-lishes," for instance, "new Chinglish" (Li 2016, Xu & Deterding 2017).

Especially noticeable are English-related translingual practices blurring the distinctions between English and local languages in writing, because the globalization of English along with the expansion of computer-mediated communication has resulted in global English-local digraphia, or biscriptalism. It means that speakers of local languages, even if they are not proficient in English, master the Roman script associated with English in addition to their local script and broker this resource without switching into English (Androutsopoulos 2012, Rivlina 2016). The products of such biscriptal practices cannot be easily assigned to either the local language or English, and they do not comply with the established features of local English varieties. Thus, these practices are interpreted as "script-focused translanguaging," "trans-scripting" (Androutsopoulos 2015: 188), or "tranßcripting" (Li & Zhu 2019). It should be stressed that trans-scripting and translanguaging in general are not new sociolinguistic phenomena, but "[r]ecent forms of globalization have given more visibility to such forms of communication" (Canagarajah 2013: 2).

As for the study of language varieties, the researchers of translanguaging underline that their practice-based perspective does not mean that other competing constructs should be disregarded (Canagarajah 2013: 27). In other words, the increase in fluidity and fuzziness in linguistic practices due to the globalization of

English does not undermine "the continuing validity of separate languages" (Jaspers & Madsen 2016: 246). As Creese and Blackledge put it (2011: 1196), the sociolinguistic position of translanguaging, or "flexible bilingualism," which views language as fluid and changing, with permeable boundaries, coexists with the position of "separate bilingualism," acknowledging language as a social construct which demarcates and reifies identities. Neither of the approaches is to be discarded as they reflect complex realities and different needs of multilingual speakers in different circumstances. Nor, for that matter, should the construct of local English varieties be fundamentally challenged by a translingual approach. What it means in the changing practical and theoretical climate, as language forms transcend national and territorial boundaries, is that "a monodimensional, static listing of reified varieties" is no longer acceptable (Onysko 2016: 198–199). All English varieties, including EC varieties and Russian English among them, should be seen as "fuzzy and prototypical categories" (Onysko 2016: 215), with a lot of fluidity, flexibility, and overlap between them and other contact phenomena.

3. Data and methodology

This article is part of an ongoing investigation of the Englishization of Russian over a period of more than fifteen years. Some of the issues pertaining to English-Russian contact phenomena which are dealt with here have been discussed separately in the author's previous research; see, for example, bilingual language play in (Rivlina 2015, Rivlina 2020), "mock Russian English/Ruslish" in (Proshina & Rivlina 2018), or translanguaging in Roman-Cyrillic interaction in (Rivlina 2016, Rivlina 2017). Most of the examples in this article have been culled from the corpora collected for those publications. In addition, a small-scale informal study using Internet search engines (*Google* and *Yandex*) and the *Russian National Corpus* (RNC) has been carried out for this article to illustrate the use of the key terms "Russian English" and "Rus(s)lish/Runglish," and some of the Ruslish token forms in Russian-based discourse. The videos addressed in the "mock Russian English" part of this article were discussed in the author's presentations at the conferences of the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE) in 2017 and 2018, and the Internet links to them were re-accessed and confirmed in December 2019.

4. Ruslish among other hybrid Englishes

In Outer and Expanding Circle countries, people typically voice their understanding of X-lishes by pointing to a symbolic public figure who epitomizes the heavily accented, error-ridden and embarrassingly hybridized local English sub-variety. Their English speech idiosyncrasies become the tokens of national "lishes." For example, as Alison Edwards states in her interview (Nicholls-Lee 2018), "[p]opular culture has made a folk devil of football manager Louis van Gaal and his bewildering Dutch-English." In Edward's opinion, van Gaal's English is

perfectly functional and far from basilectal, however, many people see it as Dunglish because of his pronounced Dutch accent and his penchant for literal translations of Dutch idioms into English (Woolcot 2015), a feature which is regarded as a basilectal deficiency.

In Russia, as commonly agreed and registered both in academic and numerous non-academic publications, the then Minister of Sport Vitaly Leontyevich Mutko came to prominence as a symbolic Ruslish figure in 2010, when he gave a prepared speech starting with the words *Let's mi spik from may khart, in Inglish* during the bidding process for the 2018 FIFA World Cup. This phrase, pronounced in a strong Russian accent, immediately became an Internet meme and a token of Ruslish. In addition to the accent, it has been mocked for a typical English-learner mistake – the substitution of the construction *let somebody do something* by *let's do something*. This substitution may be described in terms of interlanguage theory as a fossilized English learner mistake caused by overgeneralization and transfer of training (Tarone 2018: 2–3), because English learners acquire the latter (*let's sing, let's read*) earlier than the former. An article in the *Moscow Times* (Dolgov 2015) explains some of Mutko's other famous quotes that exemplify Ruslish. For example, speaking to reporters in Switzerland in 2015, he mixed up English and Russian words to produce the following: *Criminality? No criminality… Tomorrow? Nu … tomorrow meeting budet yevro association. Mozhet budet recommendation, nationalization the yevro.* This English-Russian mishmash is hard to understand unless you know that *nu* is a Russian interjection similar to a hesitant "well*,*" *budet* in Russian means "will be*,*" *yevro* means "euro*,*" and *mozhet* means "maybe*.*" Dolgov (2015) comments that Mutko speaks "a version of English that sounds like he learned the language from stereotypical Russian characters in Hollywood movies."

Similarly to other "lishes," Ruslish as a basilectal version of Russian English is not the only understanding of this term. The fact is, there is no universally accepted definition of Ruslish, but rather there are a multitude of definitions with varying emphases, some of which are specific for the Russian-English contact situation and others which are common for X-lishes in general, as outlined above. Since the scope of this article does not allow for a thorough review of all the sources on the issue of Ruslish, it will suffice to note that, to our knowledge, there has been no major research focusing on Ruslish as an object of study, apart from several short publications (such as Ivleva 2005 or Merkulova 2015). In most cases, Ruslish is not addressed specifically, but is mentioned in connection with other linguistic or sociolinguistic phenomena, for example, Russian-English bilingualism, as in (Kabakchi 2015). Moreover, few dictionaries or reference books include Ruslish/Runglish as an entry (Mostitskiy 2012, Pankin & Filippov 2011: 109). Though there is no shortage of printed media, online media, and other online resources revealing public beliefs about and attitudes to Ruslish in Russia and in other countries (Cole 2010, Epstein 2006, Khudyakova 2018, Kuznetsov 2012, Nikitin 2009, Vorobyevskii 2017, "Ruslish:…" 2016, Wikipedia 2019), these

sources still wait for an in-depth sociolinguistic analysis. So far, in addition to Ruslish as the basilectal performance of English by less proficient Russian speakers, the cited sources yield the following interpretations:

− Ruslish as Russian-English code-switching and code-mixing in bilingual communication, for example, by International Space Station crews or between employees in international companies in Russia;

− Ruslish as heavily hybridized and pidginized speech of Russian immigrants in English-speaking countries, for example, in the Brighton Beach community in the US;

− Ruslish as typical deficiencies of Russian learners of English, for example, thick Russian accent, mispronunciations of English words under the influence of Russian, and other types of Russian language interference in English;

− Ruslish as English spoken by Russians in general;

− Ruslish as an informal Romanization of Russian, usually following English spelling rules;

− Ruslish as borrowings from English into Russian being erroneously Russianized, mispronounced or misinterpreted; and

− Ruslish as the Englishization of the Russian language, first and foremost, the influx and overuse of Anglicisms in Russian-based communication.

Numerous examples to illustrate each Ruslish categorization are provided in the sources listed above (though neither the list of sources nor the list of categorizations is exhaustive). It should be stressed here that in Russia, the interpretation of Ruslish as the negatively assessed Englishization of Russian due to excessive borrowing from English dominates in public discourse. It is also the only meaning of the term "Ruslish/Runglish" registered in Russian general dictionaries and in the *Russian National Corpus* (RNC) as of 2019. Compare the following:

> руслиш, неол. (русский + инглиш) – русский язык, засоренный чрезмерными заимствованиями из английского (Mostitskiy 2012).
> Ruslish, neolog. (Russian + *inglish*) – the Russian language polluted by an excessive number of borrowings from English;
> Интервью, данное на так называемом самим Волковым рунглише (потоком сознания, изложенном на русском языке с постоянным вворачиванием английских словечек и выражений), представляет собой дичайшую смесь оскорблений с клеветой… (RNC).
> The interview given in what Volkov himself defines as Runglish (a flow of consciousness presented in Russian abundantly interspersed with English buzzwords and expressions) is an absurd jumble of insult and slander…[3]

Turning back to the main focus of this article, it is obvious that Russian English as an EC variety should be distinguished from Ruslish as a broad concept embracing various cases of Russian-English hybridization or interference summarized above, especially, when it comes to the Englishization of Russian.

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[3] Translated here and further on by A. Rivlina.

Another point that needs to be discussed concerns the cases when Ruslish is interpreted as all English spoken by Russians. It might be referred to as "Russian English" in popular discourse. This type of Russian English folk interpretation equating it with Ruslish, which makes no difference between Russian English distinctive features and Russian learner English deficiencies (hereafter, Russian English/Ruslish), reflects the same entrenched ideology of "pure" English and "pure" Russian common for all the other Ruslish categorizations. Consider the following examples:

> Хорошее произношение еще как нужно! «Русский» английский звучит довольно-таки смешно (RNC).
> Proper pronunciation is extremely important! "Russian" English sounds rather ridiculous;
> Ruslish – русский английский – язык, на котором говорят очень многие жители нашей страны <…> русский английский просто кажется неестественным и иногда смешным. Ниже приведен текст на русском английском и его перевод на естественный английский, сделанный мной с моими американскими коллегами <…> (Nikitin 2009).
> Ruslish, or Russian English, is a language spoken by many Russian citizens <…> Russian English simply does not sound normal and is sometimes ludicrous. See the text below in Russian English and its normal English translation, which I made together with my American colleagues <…>.

Similar confusion of local English varieties with their respective X-lishes can be found in some academic publications. For example, comparing Runglish with other hybridized Englishes such as Hinglish, Merkulova (2015: 47–48) uses the terms Hinglish and Indian English interchangeably and claims that these varieties are primarily the result of educational problems and the fossilization of Hindi-speaking English learner's mistakes. This is used as an argument to deny the existence of Russian English or Ruslish as a variety, because unlike Indian English or Hinglish, it is restricted functionally and is not considered to be a norm in Russia.

There is certainly a huge difference between "true" or "thriving" mixed codes (Schneider 2012: 55) like Hinglish in India or Taglish in the Phillipines and hybridized Englishes in most EC countries such as Russia, which Schneider describes as "ephemeral" X-Englishes (Schneider 2016: 349). He explains that "in the majority of instances these refer to local languages which have undergone heavy lexical borrowing from English rather than stable new varieties" (Schneider 2016: 349). However, be it norm-developing varieties in OC countries like India or norm-dependent, exonormative EC varieties in countries like Russia, it would be wrong to equate local varieties of English with respective hybrid Englishes. They overlap, but exist alongside each other, serving different sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic purposes. For example, many Filipinos today view the Philippine English as elitist and tend to use Taglish as a relatively unmarked type of verbal behavior in casual contexts (Schneider 2016: 345).

To conclude this section, denying the existence of Russian English as a variety is deeply flawed on a number of grounds from the point of view of modern sociolinguistics and World Englishes theory. One such case is when Russian English is equated with Ruslish. It does not mean, however, that Ruslish is not a linguistic term at all, as some publications argue (Merkulova 2015: 46). It means, firstly, that "folk Ruslish" as a fuzzy broad concept embracing various instances of stigmatized English-Russian hybridization should be separated from a linguistically rigorous interpretation of this term as the basilectal sub-variety of Russian English. And secondly, this issue remains highly controversial because hardly any serious linguistic research has been carried out on Ruslish and many other X-Englishes, though there is a high degree of awareness of their existence and a lot of local discussions (Schneider 2016: 341). Thus, further documentation of Ruslish and its thorough investigation in tandem with Russian English as an EC variety are crucially important.

5. Russian English and Ruslish vs. "Mock Russian English / Ruslish"

Since it is an important part of the present-day linguistic situation in Russia, Ruslish is played on and mocked a lot both in the entertainment industry and in everyday Russian-based discourse. For example, the various categorizations of Russian English/Ruslish discussed above are exhibited in a number of sketches of the *Comedy Club* show on TNT (as of 2018, the sixth most popular Russian TV channel with a predominantly young audience). One recent sketch parodying Ruslish[4] shows a business meeting in a company, where the managers drive their "normal Russian"-speaking employee crazy by ridiculously overusing Anglicisms, such as *саплай-менеджер* (supply manager), *десижн-мейкеры* (decision makers), *месседж нашего нейминга* (the message of our naming), etc.

Ruslish as "broken English" is mocked in another *Comedy Club* sketch,[5] which portrays a presumably American radio-host interviewing a British producer who promotes an Indian pop-singer. They all speak English with exaggerated respective accents, and the host can hardly understand either of his guests. One especially funny part starts when a Russian listener calls the studio and asks questions in heavily accented and highly hybridized Ruslish. It appears that the only two people who understand each other perfectly well are the non-native speakers, the Russian and the Indian. Other sketches in the Russian English entertainment genre include snapshots of typical Russian English/Ruslish deficiencies of simple-minded Russian businessmen trying to communicate in English abroad,[6] incompetent English language teachers and their students in a Russian classroom,[7] or under-

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[4] URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=23&v=j7vewLSZ2eg&feature=emb_logo

[5] URL: https://rutube.ru/video/7c806393a9705797d7e92c4a05493d5d/?pl_id=3131&pl_type=tag

[6] URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r3B9I-BpN3A&t=11s

[7] URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0RFz0_MPQyw

qualified Russian-English interpreters who are baffled by untranslatable culture-specific Russian lexis, confuse homonymous words, and ludicrously translate Russian idioms word-for-word.[8]

Overall, "mock Ruslish" belongs to a common type of "variety humour" in various EC countries, which aims to stylize and ridicule a locally relevant stereotyped X-English speaker (Lee 2014). When comedians "fake" linguistic incompetence and assume that their audience can discern the mistakes, they identify themselves and the audience as being different from this "ridiculous Other," which creates a positive communicative bond. Moreover, as pointed out in Lee (2014) and Moody & Matsumoto (2012), local-English-variety entertainment helps the community to relate to often frustrating shared experiences of English learning and to deal with their "language anxieties."

Similar connotations are rendered when Russian English/Ruslish is stylized and mocked in everyday communication in Russian. A number of linguistic strategies are used for this. One of them is when a real or imagined representative of the social group being mocked is "ironically quoted" (Hill 1999: 552). For example, as was mentioned above, some of Vitaly Mutko's attempts at speaking English have become tokens of Ruslish and are nowadays often quoted to allude to Ruslish as "broken English" in a jocular manner. Consider the following examples:

> Говорите с акцентом, как Мутко. «Лец ми спик фром май харт». – Акцент остался, его не стесняюсь (RNC).
> You speak with an accent, like Mutko. "Lets mi spik from may khart." – The accent remains and I'm not ashamed of it;
> Хорошие синхронисты в страшном дефиците, даже самые маститые лингвистические вузы не учат художественному переводу. Но стоит ли по этому поводу переживать? Почти все мы способны перекинуться с иностранцами парой слов на английском, и те обязательно поймут, если «спик фром май харт» (Novosyolova 2013).
> Good conference interpreters are in an awfully short supply and even the most prestigious linguistic universities offer no courses in belles-letters translation. Should we be concerned about it? Almost each of us is capable of exchanging a couple of words with foreigners in English and there is no doubt they will understand us, if "spik from may khart."

Unlike in Mutko's speech, which is an example of authentic Ruslish, *"[lets me] spik from may khart"* in the excerpts above is a manifestation of "mock Ruslish," a symbolic quote thrown in jokingly.

It should be noted that this phrase, like most of the other "mock Russian English/Ruslish" tokens in Russian-based writing, is presented in Cyrillic, mimicking Russian accent and stressing the idea that it is not "genuine" English that is inserted or switched into. This practice of English being playfully rendered in non-Roman scripts can also be interpreted as a specific "mock language"

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[8] URL: http://odnajdi-v-odesse.video.az/de/video/117857/garik-harlamov-timur-batrutdinov-i-demis-karibidis-perevodchik-na-formule-1-v-sochi?locale=ru

technique similar to but in many cases different from standard transliteration, normally employed in the process of borrowing. Spilioti (2019: 2) describes such bilingual practices as "written performances," or local script "refashionings," "respellings" of English that allude to spoken stylizations and associated personas. She analyses *engreek*, Greek-alphabet respelt English against the backdrop of Greek-accented English stylizations for the humorous portrayals of non-fluent learners of English (Spilioti 2019: 5). In Russia, Cyrillic-refashioned English is widely employed to mockingly index Ruslish. For example, the then Prime Minister of Russia Dmitry Medvedev in his jocular birthday post to Vitaly Leontyevich Mutko on the government's official Instragram page in 2015 wrote *«С днем рождения, Виталий Леонтьевич! Э нью эра фо зе волд бигэн!» / "Happy birthday, Vitaly Leontyevich! E new era for ze world began!"* (Dolgov 2015).

Another notable "mock language" strategy is aggressive "hyper-vernacularization" of lexis, or the fabrication of deliberately erroneous loans from English that allegedly mimic typical misunderstandings or mispronunciations of borrowed terms by X-lish speakers. It sometimes results in stylistically opposed loan doublets, a regular loan being used in stylistically neutral contexts and a mock one in jocular or ironic contexts. As for hyper-Russianized mock loans from English, in addition to being just fun, they are used to voice the disapproval by the majority of Russian speakers of the Englishization of the Russian language, of Ruslish as the overuse of Anglicisms, and also in a wider sense, to imply resistance to the globalization and Westernization of the society. An illustrative example of this technique is the "mock Ruslish" loan *лухари* (pronounced as /ˈluᵏhari/), which is a mock doublet of a stylistically neutral borrowing *лакшери* ("luxury", pronounced in Russian in a similar way, as /ˈlʌkʃəri/). In the case of *лухари (lukhari),* the word *"luxury"* is being playfully "misread," reflecting typical Russian English-learner mistakes – confusion of two variants of the English letter <u> pronounced as /ʌ/ or /u/ and confusion of the English letter <x> with its Russian homograph pronounced as /ᵏh/. The source of this mock loan was also an Internet video that went viral and became a meme in Russia.[9] It features two Russian girls presumably returning from an upscale Moscow suburb shopping mall *Barvikha Luxury Village*. When asked where they are coming from, they ridiculously maim the English name of the place, with *"luxury"* pronounced as /ˈluᵏhari/. People still disagree if it was real-life footage or a staged performance of Ruslish. Anyway, whether it is just an "ironic quote" of a real Ruslish episode or a deliberate ludic distortion of the word parodying Ruslish, the lexical variant *лухари (lukhari)* has been taken in by Russian speakers as a derogatory term for pseudo-luxury, the opposite of real "luxury," a pretentious and vulgar imitation of wealthy life-style, a disapproved striving to emulate the Westernized elite. Like many other "mock Ruslish" loans, *лухари (lukhari)* has triggered a lot of offline and online public discussion (see the survey in Partanenko 2016) and even a hashtag *#лухари*

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[9] URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2lSHisd0U14

on Russian Instagram, where people reveal their understanding of and their attitude to what this word stands for.

Though the object of study in this article is Russian English as an EC variety, it is worth mentioning that Russian English is also a recognizable English variety in Inner Circle (IC) countries, and as such it is also frequently stylized and mocked. However, the repertoire of tokens employed, their sociolinguistic indexicalities and even the terms used to denote this type of "mock language" are drastically different. To begin with, most English speakers are seldom exposed to the Russian language, but they do have "media-fabricated familiarity" (Hill 1999: 552) with numerous Russian characters speaking schematically Russianized English, marked primarily by phonological peculiarities, such as thrilled /r/, /w/ substituted by /v/, indistinguishable tense and lax vowels, or specific intonation contours. That is why, in folk metalanguage in IC countries, Russian English is referred to by a metonymically expanded term "Russian accent."[10] When Russian-accented English is stylized, the "stylized Other" is an imagined Russian speaker. Therefore, it can be described as Anglo-American "mock Russian," or, to be more precise, as "mock Russian English" which is used to index "Russianness" and to allude to various stereotypes associated with it in the IC. "Mock Russian/Russian English" implies a specific set of not only phonological, but also lexical, grammatical, and even some graphic tokens (for instance, Cyrillic graphemes inserted into English words in writing).

As is often the case, these tokens are employed and stereotypes about Russians are revealed most vividly in "mock Russian/Russian English" performances of English-speaking comedians. Trevor Noah,[11] Rebel Wilson[12] and many other comic artists mimic Russian English in typical "scary Russian accent" jokes, for example, about deliberately faking a Russian accent to put off unwanted people. Lexically and grammatically, similar to other "mock languages," "mock Russian/Russian English" in IC countries is based on "reductive oversimplification" (Cutler 1999: 439) and general "mock non-standard English" (Fuller 2009: 663). It means that it is limited to a dozen recognizably Russian personal names, such as *Ivan* or *Boris*, emblematic borrowings, such as *nyet* or *comrade*, and some random violations of English grammar. For example, a famous *comparethemarket.com* advertisement campaign features Russian animated meerkat characters speaking Russian-accented English,[13] however, their slogan *"Simples!"* and some other allegedly Russian-influenced linguistic features have

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[10] The term "accent" is regularly used in folk linguistics to define various English varieties and "mock languages"; for example, Chun writes about "an imagined variety of American English frequently referred to as a 'Chinese accent'" (Chun 2004: 263).

[11] URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=85VHW86GHG8; http://scrapsfromtheloft.com/2017/04/22/trevor-noah-afraid-dark-2017-full-transcript/

[12] URL: https://www.cheatsheet.com/entertainment/why-rebel-wilson-often-uses-a-russian-accent-in-real-life.html/

[13] URL: https://www.bglgroup.co.uk/businesses-and-brands/compare-the-market

little to do with the distinctive features of authentic Russian English as described in Proshina & Eddy (2016) or Proshina (2020).

For further discussion of "mock Russian/Russian English" in IC contexts, "mock Russian English/Ruslish" in Russia, and "mock Englishes" in general, see Proshina & Rivlina (2018), Rivlina (2015: 448–449), and Rivlina (2020: 417–418). Overall, this type of bilingual language play testifies to speakers' awareness of the distinctive features of local Englishes and X-lishes; however, it needs to be distinguished from actual bilingual communication and varieties of English, such as Russian English.

6. Translingual English-related forms and practices: "New Ruslish"?

Finally, a few words need to be said about Russian speakers' translingual use of English language resources, which, similar to "new Chinglish" in China, can be described as "new Ruslish."

"New Ruslish" is primarily evident in English-Russian translanguaging in writing, namely, in Roman-Cyrillic trans-scripting. Regarding such practices, Angermeyer (2012) analyzes what he calls "bivalent," or "ambivalent" written elements employed by Russian immigrant communities in advertisements and automobile-number plates in the US. Russian speakers creatively manipulate the overlap in Roman and Cyrillic scripts to spell English-Russian cognates so that the form could be read in both alphabets, but in either case, the reader would be required to draw on the other alphabet for its interpretation. For example, one such bivalent form *ADBOKAT*, which represents the Russian word "адвокат" (*advokat,* "attorney", correlating with its English cognate *advocate*), makes use of a Cyrillic reading of the shared letter <B>, pronounced in Russian as /v/, and includes the letter <D> that is not shared, but resembles the cursive variant of the Cyrillic letter <Д> – <∂> (Angermeyer 2012: 265).

A number of Roman-Cyrillic bivalent or translingual written forms in intranational communication in Russia, specifically in modern Russian linguistic landscape and in the Internet domain names, are discussed in Rivlina (2017). Some of them are stylistically neutral. For example, the site name *transport.ru* can be seen both as English and as Roman-transliterated Russian cognate word "транспорт" (transport), which is quite plausible because the site itself is in Russian. Many cases of trans-scripting are deliberately playful. For example, the pun name of the flower salon *Цвет'ок,* meaning "flower", plays on the ambivalence of shared Roman-Cyrillic graphemes <O> and <K>: the Russian substantive suffix <-ок> is homographic with the English *OK* and the borrowing "*ок*" in Russian*,* thus, additional graphic manipulation through the use of an apostrophe (which is a marker of the English writing system) makes this part of the word ambiguous, or translingual.

When investigating "new Chinglish," Li (2016) explains that "new Chinglish" re-appropriates English in the linguistic practices that used to be associated with "broken English," but are employed nowadays for deliberately created new forms

to express a range of locally relevant meanings and intentions. It is an "indigenous use of English" (Xu & Deterding 2017: 126), as in most cases one needs to know Chinese to fully understand the meanings. Unlike Chinese English, "new Chinglish" forms are not intended for international communication and enjoy increasingly positive attitudes "not just among the young and urban elite, but across a much wider spectrum of Chinese society" (Li 2016: 14–15).

The same applies to "new Ruslish," the increasingly frequent translingual manipulation of English-related forms in Russia. Being intended for intranational communication, "new Ruslish" needs to be investigated as a phenomenon related to Ruslish and Russian English, but different from them.

7. Conclusion

It is crucially important to spell out what Russian English is and what it is not by looking deeper into various conceptualizations of English-Russian interaction in modern-day intranational communication in Russia. What is referred to as Russian English or Ruslish often differs from the rigorous sociolinguistic treatment of the English language variety actually spoken by Russians, though there might be a good deal of shared forms with or deliberate language play on Russian English distinctive features. That includes the cases defined in this article as "folk Russian English/Ruslish," "mock Russian English/Ruslish," and "new Ruslish." Therefore, two interrelated but separate linguistic phenomena need to be distinguished: Russian English as an EC variety including Ruslish as its basilect on the one hand, and on the other hand, Russian English or Ruslish as a broader language contact concept embracing various cases of English-Russian hybridization and interference, which is closer to its folk metalinguistic treatment.

There is no denying the fact that language contact is "an underlying mechanism for all Englishes" (Onysko 2016: 196). This inevitably leads to certain overlap between different typologies of English varieties and general language contact categorizations. However, the overlap or fuzziness of borders between various contact-induced linguistic outcomes in speech practice and in their theoretical identification cannot be used as an argument for dismissing the idea of Russian English or any other EC variety as a sociolinguistic entity, a generalized linguistic construct characterized by certain distinctive features. I hope that the analysis suggested in this article will contribute to the continuing debate on Expanding Circle Englishes as varieties in their own right.

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Bionote:
Alexandra A. RIVLINA is a Candidate in Philology, Associate Professor of School of Foreign Languages, National Research University Higher School of Economics in Moscow. Her research interests include language contact, World Englishes, and English-Russian interaction. She is a member of the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE) since 2010. She contributed to the edited books *Russian English: History, Functions, and Features* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), *The Handbook of World Englishes* (Wiley-Blackwell Publ., 2nd edn., 2020) and the journal *World Englishes.*
Contact information:
School of Foreign Languages, National Research University Higher School of Economics, 20 Myasnitskaya Ulitsa, Moscow, 101000, Russia
e-mail: rivlina@mail.ru; arivlina@hse.ru
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-9772-3349

Сведения об авторе:
Александра Абрамовна РИВЛИНА **–** кандидат филологических наук, доцент Школы иностранных языков Национального исследовательского университета «Высшая школа экономики» (Москва). Научные интересы: языковые контакты, контактная вариантология английского языка, взаимодействие русского языка с английским. Член Международной ассоциации исследователей вариантов английского языка (IAWE) с 2010 г. Среди ее публикаций – главы в коллективных монографиях *Russian English: History, Functions, and Features* (Cambridge University Press, 2016) и *The Handbook of World Englishes* (Wiley-Blackwell Publ., 2nd edn., 2020), статьи в журнале *World Englishes.*
Контактная информация:
Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»
101000, Москва, ул. Мясницкая, 20
e-mail: rivlina@mail.ru; arivlina@hse.ru
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-9772-3349

Research Article

English in the Russian-based recruitment discourse

Elena S. GRITSENKO[1] and Anastasia V. ALIKINA[2]

[1] National Research University Higher School of Economics
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia
[2] MBOU School № 33
Nizhny Novgorod, Russia

Abstract

The paper addresses the use of English in the Russian-based recruitment discourse. Language is viewed through the prism of the sociolinguistics of globalization and understood as a set of mobile trans-locally operative resources used to achieve specific goals of communication. The corpus for analysis includes job ads and résumés posted on the recruitment platforms HeadHunter and Super.Job, videotaped conversations of job seekers with recruiters and employers, and ethnographic interviews with recruitment professionals. We used discourse analysis, ethnographic methods, and quantitative measuring to analyze the data. The study consists of two stages. During the first stage, we found out that English can be used as the main language of recruitment or in the form of "insertions" in the Russian-based texts to demonstrate professionalism, position the company, and "filter" the candidates. The second stage revealed that the all-English segment of the Russian recruitment discourse has narrowed, while the use of English in "truncated" forms has increased. This dynamic is caused by the expansion of the digital segment of the Russian job market (social media, Internet channels), where English-mediated technologies are the main instrument of interaction with clients. It results in further hybridization and boosts translingualism in work-related settings. English, with its tendency to informal personified communication patterns, also affects the communicative conventions of the Russian-based recruitment discourse. The study demonstrates the growing role of English as an agent of global professional discourses and an intermediary between people and technologies.

Keywords: *Expanding Circle, globalization of English, bilingualism, language hybridization, recruitment discourse, indexicality*

Английский язык
в российском дискурсе трудоустройства

Е.С. ГРИЦЕНКО[1], А.В. АЛИКИНА[2]

[1] Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»
Нижний Новгород, Россия
[2] МБОУ школа № 33
Нижний Новгород, Россия

Аннотация

В статье анализируется использование английского языка в российском дискурсе трудоустройства. Язык рассматривается через призму социолингвистики глобализации и трактуется как набор мобильных транслокальных ресурсов, используемых для достижения конкретных целей коммуникации. Материалом для анализа послужили объявления о работе и резюме, размещенные на онлайн платформах HeadHunter и Super.Job, видеозаписи интервью кандидатов с работодателями и рекрутерами и этнографические интервью с представителями кадровых агентств. Использовались методы дискурс-анализа, этнографический и количественный методы. Исследование проводилось в два этапа. На первом этапе было установлено, что английский может использоваться как основной язык процесса трудоустройства, а также в качестве фрагментов и вкраплений в русскоязычном тексте для демонстрации профессионализма, позиционирования компании, привлечения нужных и отсеивания неподходящих кандидатов. На втором этапе работы было выявлено, что при сужении сферы использования английского языка как основного инструмента рекрутинга растет его присутствие в «усеченной» форме. Это связано с появлением цифрового сегмента рынка труда (социальные сети, интернет-каналы), где опосредуемые английским языком технологии становятся основным средством взаимодействия с клиентом. В результате растет гибридизация профессиональных коммуникативных практик, усиливается транслингвальный характер общения. Наряду с этим отмечено растущее влияние англоязычных образцов на коммуникативные конвенции дискурса трудоустройства (тенденция к неформальному персонализированному стилю коммуникации). Проведенный анализ демонстрирует растущую роль английского языка как агента глобальных профессиональных дискурсов и посредника между человеком и технологиями.

Ключевые слова: *расширяющийся круг, глобализация английского языка, билингвизм, языковая гибридизация, дискурс трудоустройства, индексальность*

1. Introduction

In recent years, the focus of research on English in the Expanding Circle shifted from feature-oriented description of new varieties to "the most exciting areas <...> dealing with the slippery linguistic spaces between and within particular speech communities, where the use of English is juxtaposed with other international, national, regional, and local languages" (Bolton 2012: 33). The transnational use of various kinds of resources of English available to individual

speakers in specific contexts has become an important and challenging topic. The notion of "English" in this framework covers not only the standardized variety and its forms and functions but also "elements and fractions of it," which "can be employed and adopted selectively and integrated into new contexts where they retain old or adopt new functions" (Schneider 2014: 25).

Outlining the principles of sociolinguistic research in a globalized world, Blommaert (2010) argues that globalization transforms not abstract languages but specific speech forms, genres, styles, language repertoires and practices. In other words, the impact of globalization is "niched." Recruitment discourse in Russia is one such niche. According to Barber, recruitment includes the "practices and activities carried on by the organization with the primary purpose of identifying and attracting potential employees" (Barber 1998: 5).

The approaches to the linguistic study of recruitment discourse in the Expanding Circle may vary due to the differences in the sociolinguistics status of English, proficiency level and access to language learning in particular countries. Oftentimes, the role of English in the local job market is addressed in the context of other relevant issues, such as socio-economic inequality and national educational policies. Some authors focus on the racial bias of English-related recruitment discourses. Based on the analysis of the professional websites advertising employment opportunities for TESOL professionals in Southeast Asia (language schools in China, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Thailand), Ruecker and Ives show that "the ideal candidate is overwhelmingly depicted as a young, White, enthusiastic native speaker of English from a stable list of inner-circle countries" (Ruecker & Ives 2015: 733).

The role of English as a divide between the wealthier, educated urban populations and other socio-economic and geographic groups is addressed in a few studies involving Latin America (Ecuador, Columbia, Argentina, Brazil). According to Perez (2019: 46), in this part of the world, English is rather seen as a symbol of prestige and an asset for social mobility than a necessary requirement for professional contexts.

The demand for English in the Turkish job market is attributed to its role in globalization, international trade, and upward mobility of individuals. Discussing the market value of English in Turkey, Dogancay-Aktuna argues that it acts as a gate-keeper for advancement in prestigious jobs. Her survey of job advertisements in two largest national newspapers shows that "for the higher level, better-paid white-collar positions in well-known companies, employers sought candidates with knowledge of a foreign language and specified English especially as a job requirement" (Dogincay-Aktuna 1998: 34). Although over 45% of job openings did not require foreign language proficiency, those were much less prestigious positions. Notably, 20 % of the ads were printed in English, thus cutting off those who did not know the language.

In European countries, where the socio-economic inequalities are less acute and the range and depth of English penetration into professional, academic and

everyday life are much higher, the focus of research is different. Van Meurs investigates the use of English in job advertisements in Netherlands from three perspectives: the sender of the ad's message, the message itself, and the target audience (Meurs van 2010). He shows how the use of English may affect the comprehension of the ads, the attitude to the job and to the organization, and subsequently the receivers' behavior, i.e. job pursuit intentions and application decisions.

Different reasons are offered for using English in job advertisements. Moor and Varantola observe that in job ads in Finnish newspapers English is used "for global image building" (Moor and Varantola 2005: 138). Seitz reports that English job titles in German ads "transfer a more modern and innovative image," "function like an eye-catcher," and "as euphemisms for low-prestige jobs" (Seitz 2008: 42). Based on the analysis of all-English job ads in German and Swiss newspapers, Hildendorf and Martin (2001) and Watts (2002) conclude that they emphasize the importance of language skills for advertised positions: even if the advertisement has no explicit reference to language requirements, applicants "are expected to infer […] that the major language with which they will be expected to communicate is English" (Watts 2002: 117). Gerritsen argues that the use of English job titles in a Dutch context helps to avoid gender bias (Gerritsen 2002: 103). According to Larson, the use of "an English-sounding job-title" in a Swedish job ad makes the job sound "more appealing and challenging" (Larson 1990: 368).

The issue of English in the Russian-based recruitment discourse received much less attention. Stebletsova compared structural and pragmatic peculiarities of English and Russian recruitment discourses and examined the cultural differences of self-representation in the genre of CV/resume focusing on identity issues (Stebletsova 2010, 2016). Golovushkina & Voyachek addressed some lexical and stylistic features of English and Russian job ads (Golovushkina & Voyachek 2018). As part of a larger study on globalization and language ideologies, Laletina examined the attitudes to English on the Russian job market (Laletina 2012). The functional range of English and its role as a meaning-making resource in various genres of the Russian recruitment discourse was addressed in our own previous research (Alikina 2014, Alikina & Gritsenko 2015). However, the ongoing changes in the socio-economic situation and technological developments call for a more in-depth analysis of the topic with emphasis on the dynamics of the domain-specific use of English.

2. Overview of the study

2.1. Theoretical foundations

The study is guided by the concept of language as a transnational mobile resource, a set of semiotic repertoires used to achieve specific communicative goals (Blommaert 2010), and the research on language ideologies which link the assumptions people have about a language to their social experience (Silverstein

2003, Woolard & Shieffelin 1994). We bring together sociolinguistic and ethnographic approaches to investigate how the spread of English manifests itself and what functions English performs in the Russian-based recruitment discourse.

In the assessment of the scope of English in various recruitment genres, we follow Bhatia and Ritchie and take into account not only English words, but also "the use of English wrapped in non-Roman scripts" (Bhatia & Ritchie 2013: 573). Bearing in mind that speakers can use English as a creative resource without necessarily switching to English, we take into consideration "pseudo-English in Roman characters" (Proshina & Ustinova 2012: 43) as well.

We draw on the insights from critical genre analysis (V. Bhatia 2019) to explore how recruitment professionals use language to achieve their objectives within the context of specific institutional culture and to highlight the role of interdiscursive performance in professional practice.

2.2. Terminology

The English term "recruiting" (Rus. "рекрутинг" [rekruting]) was borrowed into Russian in the 1990s to name professional activities of HR agencies and in-house recruiters connected with attracting, screening, and selecting suitable candidates to positions within an organization. There was no pre-existing Russian word since the recruitment industry came to Russia with the advance of the market economy. The Russian word "трудоустройство" [trudoustroistvo] has a different focus: it denotes activities connected with helping people to find jobs, i.e. providing employment. The word is translated into English as "employment," "recruitment," and "placement" ("job placement") In this paper, we use the term "recruitment" to cover both foci and understand recruitment discourse as "purpose-driven interaction of job market participants connected with searching for jobs and personnel" (Stebletsova 2016: 78). The terms "recruitment ad," "job ad," and "job posting (job post)" are used in the paper interchangeably.

2.3. Data and method

The study consisted of two stages. During the first stage (May 2013 – January 2014) we looked at how English is used and what pragmatic functions it serves in the Russian recruitment discourse. The material for analysis included 566 job ads and 300 résumés selected from the data bases of two largest Russian online recruitment platforms HeadHunter (hh.ru) and SuperJob (superjob.ru), as well as eleven televised job interviews from the TV series "Kadry Reshayut" (www.uspeh-tv.ru). This educational documentary shows real-time conversations of applicants with employers/recruiters followed by experts' evaluations of applicants' performances during the interviews. To verify and clarify the results of the analysis, we conducted quasi-ethnographic interviews with two professional recruiters.

The goal of the second stage of the study (March – April 2020) was to reveal the dynamics in the spread of English and its functional range. Using the search

instruments of the recruitment platforms hh.ru and superjob.ru, we found out the percentage of all-English job ads and résumés, the percentage of ads in which English is listed as a necessary requirement, and the percentage of résumés where applicants mentioned the knowledge of English as a professional skill. The findings were compared with the previous phase of the study. Then we screened 570 job ads from hh.ru (0.1% of the total data base) and 211 ads from superjob.ru (0.1% of the total data base) to trace the changes in the use of English and its impact on shifting the local conventions of professional communication.

3. Analysis and results

3.1. Stage I

The recruitment platforms HeadHunter and SuperJob are Russian companies. Their target audiences are speakers of Russian. All navigation tools and standard relevant information (company address, sphere of activities, regions of available vacancies) are provided in Russian. However, companies can choose the language of self-presentation (introductory information posted on the platform) and the language of job postings.

At the first stage of the study, we divided the sample of job posts and résumés into three parts (all-English, mixed, and all-Russian) and focused on the first two parts.

It was found that all-English job ads are usually posted by local affiliates of international companies, such as Microsoft, KPMG, Visa, and Russian companies that work on the global market, such as Kaspersky, LUXOFT, Severstal. In such companies, English is either the language of corporate communication or a "must" for successful professional performance. Language proficiency is a prerequisite for employment; therefore, job openings are advertised only in English, résumés are also submitted in English, and applicants are evaluated for their knowledge of English. The testing procedures may vary, from a conversation on professional topics during a job interview to a written text in English to screen out candidates prior to an interview (Gritsenko & Laletina 2016).

Mixed job posts and résumés are Russian-based texts in which English words and Anglicisms are used as insertions. Most of them refer to the spheres of sales, marketing, advertising, PR, banking, and other industries that came to Russia with the market economy and brought with them new brands, products, concepts, and terminologies. English is used to name jobs (*data scientist, account assistant*), computer software and digital platforms (*Python, GoogleAds, Power BI, MyTarget, Twitter, ARIS, MS Visio*), professional skills and activities (*e-Commerce, testing A/B*), and general work-related concepts (*dead-line, soft skills*). Hybrid terms are very frequent (*event-менеджер [ivent menedzher]* – Eng. *event-manager; оператор call-центра [operator kol tsentra]* – Eng. *call-center operator)*, as are transliterated English words adapted to Russian grammar, e.g. *генерить кэшфло [generit' keshflo]* – Eng. *to generate cash flow'; увлечен*

юзабилити [uvlechon yuzabiliti] – Eng. *keen on usability improvements*). An implicit presence of English is felt due to abundant translation loans and calques, e.g. *продуктовая линейка [produktovaya lineika]* – Eng. *product line; банкетный менеджер [banketnyi menedzher]* – Eng. *banquet manager; клиентоориентированность [kliyentoorientirovannost']* – Eng. *client orientation',* and so on.

The functions of English in Russian-based recruitment discourse are manifold. English fills lexical gaps by providing names for jobs and professional activities for which there are no already-existing Russian words (*data scientist, актуарий [aktuarii]* – Eng. *actuary*) or when English names more accurately convey the specific features of certain professions (*трейдер [treider]* – Eng. *trader; букер [buker]* – Eng. *booker (in fashion and cinema industries)*). English also performs an indexical function by connoting various sociocultural meanings connected with language ideologies circulating in Russian society. The symbolic meanings of English have been explored across regions, discourses, and genres (Kachru 2006, Hildendorf 2010, Kirilina 2011, Bolton 2012, Proshina & Ustinova 2012, Bhatia & Ritchie 2013, Rivlina 2015, Zhang 2015, Gritsenko 2016, Khokhlova 2017, Martin 2019, Nelson, Proshina & Davis, 2020, etc.). In Russian-based recruitment ads, employers use English to position their organizations as modern, progressive, and globally oriented (see examples 1–3 below). They also resort to English for targeting the audience: only those candidates who are familiar with English-based professional vocabulary and/or are prepared to accept the corporate culture are encouraged to apply (examples 4 and 5).

> *(1) Опыт работы от 3-х лет, уровень middle-senior. В портфолио должны быть сложные интерфейсы.*
> *[Opyt raboty on tr'okh let, uroven' mid-sinio. V portfolio dolzhny byt' slozhniye interfeici].*
> *Work experience from three years up, mid-senior level. Portfolio must include complex interfaces.*
> *(2) Работа в главном department store страны.*
> *[Rabota v glavnom department store strany].*
> *Work in the main department store of the country.*
> (3) *Превосходное владение русским языком, желание писать действительно много текстов в разных форматах –* ***must have*** (emphasized in the original – E.G.).
> *[Prevoskhodnoye vladenie ruskim yasykom, zhelaniye pisat' deystvitel'no mnogo tekstov v raznykh formatakh – must have].*
> *Excellent command of Russian. Willingness to write a lot of texts in various formats – must have.*
> *(4) Опыт работы SMM-менеджером в fashion-сегменте.*
> *[Opyt rabuty SMM-menedzherom v feshen-segmente.*
> *Experience as SMM-manager in the fashion segment.*
> *(5) Прокачай скилы: на новых проектах высокая планка качества и множество вызовов.*

[Prokachai skily: na novykh proektakh vysokaya planka kachestva i mnozhestvo vyzovov].
Pump your skills: new projects set a high bar of quality and pose a lot of challenges.

Job seekers use English in their résumés (6, 7) and in job interviews (8, 9) to demonstrate professional competence and raise their value in the job market:

(6)   Размещение POS-материалов – ценники, воблеры.
[Razmeschenie POS-materialov – tsenniki, voblery].
Placement of sales materials – price-tags, wobblers'.
(7)   Осуществляла поставку по бренд-букам
[Osushestvkyala postavku po brend-bukam].
Shipped goods according to brand-books.
(8) Это будут кампании стабильные, большие, которые будут генерить хорошо кэшфло.
[Eto budut kompanii stabilnye, bol'shie, kotorye budut generit' khorosho keshflo].
They will be stable, big companies that will generate cash flow really well.
(9) Перед тем, как прошел дьюдил, проводить тендер – это обязательно.
[Pered ten kak proshol d'udil, provodit' tender – eto ob'azatel'no].
Prior to due diligence, holding a tender is a must.

The "commodification" of English (Heller 2010) is connected with its high social prestige and wide spread in professional communities. For recruiters, foreign language competence is not only a sign of professionalism but an index of positive personal characteristics; these features can be seen in the following statements from an employer and a recruiter:

"A candidate who is fluent in English is better educated, hard-working, prepared to understand western culture" (Marina, HR agency director);
"Good knowledge of English means that a person is goal-oriented, hard-working, diligent, and disciplined" (Lisa, recruiter).

The study showed that English and Anglicisms are more frequent in job ads than in résumés. In ethnographic interviews, recruitment professionals explained that for employers it is important to cut off the unfitting candidates at the very beginning: they use English as a "filter." On the contrary, job seekers want to reach the maximal number of potential employers (both globally oriented and local companies) and abundant use of Anglicisms can be a disadvantage.

"If a candidate uses too many English words, it [is] a signal of orientation to western corporate culture. We do not recommend such candidates to local companies" (Marina, HR agency director).

In job interviews, Anglicisms are more often used in conversations of applicants with employers (professional to professional) than with recruiters

(professional to non-professional). In the example below, a candidate to a position of marketing director is speaking to director of the company:

> *(10) Для этой целевой аудитории у нас нет пространств, которые бы были френдли <…> Не знаю, правильна ли формулировка "креативный Арт базар', но … это может быть формат опен спейса.*
> *Dl'a etoy tselevoi auditotrii u nas net prostranstv, kotorye by byli frendli <…> Ne znayu, pravil'na li formulirovka "kreativnyi Art bazar', no … eto mozhet byt' format open speisa.*
> *"For this target audience, we have no spaces that would be friendly <…> I don't know if the wording "creative Art bazar" is good, but … it could be the open space format"* (https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLDbZVDV p1foU4vjO-h8NOZg5ROz27tRKv) (5 April, 2020).

In many respects, the use of English in job interviews resembles a hybrid jargon that is typical of informal workplace communication in IT and other professional spheres (Gritsenko & Laletina 2016). In this type of talk, English serves a lexifier language and Russian provides phonological, morphological and syntactic foundation. Based on the resource-oriented approach to bilingualism (Blommaert 2010, Mahootian 2012), these transidiomatic practices of job market participants can be viewed as "truncated" English-Russian bilingualism (Higgins 2009: 3). Depending on the context and goals of communication, speakers switch from monolingual to bilingual mode creating and perceiving additional relevant meanings.

3.2. Stage II

The second stage of the study revealed some changes in the spread of English and its functional range. The percentage of all-English job postings on hh.ru has decreased: 0.5% of the total number of posts on the platform compared to 1.2% in 2013. It may be connected with the fact that under the influence of economic sanctions, some international corporations left Russia or reduced their activities and relocated personnel to other countries, while foreign companies that came to Russia for local clients increased the use of Russian in recruiting. Companies that posted all-English job ads specialize in IT (40%), marketing (12%), industrial production (9%), sales (9%), and medicine (6%); other industries represent less than 5%.

The survey of the job postings of two companies (*Coca Cola HBC Russia* and *KPMG*) confirmed the tendency toward a reduced use of English. For instance, on April 5, 2020, Coca Cola HBC Russia had four job posts in their "sales" category: only one of them was in English, the other three were in Russian. The all-English post advertised the vacancy of "category manager" in Moscow. Russian ads were for the position of sales representatives in the regions. The position in Moscow is hierarchically higher and requires occasional interactions with global headquarters. The sales representatives in regional offices deal with local clients and do not need to use English.

Although there are fewer all-English job ads, English is frequently used in company names, which demonstrate the growing use of "truncated" English language resources. Our survey shows that 9,5 % of the companies on hh.ru have English (or "pseudo-English") names. Alongside names of well-known brands and local enterprises (*Visa, Askona, PepsiCo, Hyundai Motors CIS, SAY YES, Pixelforce, SHARE, FunCorp, DigitalHR* and so on), our sample exhibits numerous hybrids (*Магазин Garage, 2ВАЙФАЙ, лаборатория T&D Lab, ООО SHARE)* and products of creative English-Russian bi-scriptalism *(Manufaktura, Marina Fashion, ZAVOD games, SALO, Uchi.ru.*). The use of English in such names is emblematic: they attract attention, and increase recognition and memorability.

Only 1% of the total number of posts on superjob.ru (2156 out of 211926) list English as a requirement for employment. However, English words (transliterated or in the original script) are routinely used to name positions and describe professional skills and responsibilities *(senior account manager, group head, product manager, character 3D artist, junior GD, head of performance, инфлюенс-маркетинг [infl'uens-marketing]* – Eng. *influencer marketing, предметный фотограф [predmetnyi fotograf]* – Eng. *subject photographer; подобрать блогеров по брифу [podobrat' blogerov po brifu]* – Eng. *to recruit bloggers according to a brief (i.e. a short summary of the objectives and results the customer wants to achieve); развиваем GameDev-направление Critical Hit [razvivayem geimdev-napravlenie kritikal hit]* – Eng. *develop Critical Hit games,* and so on). Apparently, it is assumed that all candidates would be familiar with basic English-linked professional concepts.

In 11% of résumés posted on superjob.ru (1 591 322 out of 14 175 507), job seekers indicate their knowledge of English (from basic to proficient). This shows that English continues to be viewed as a competitive advantage. Yet, there is an imbalance of supply and demand: only 1% of job posts on the platform require the use of English, while 11% of candidates offer this skill. The survey of 165 recruiters on hh.ru `agrees with these findings. Answering the question "*Candidates with what skills are most difficult to find?"* only 2% of in-house recruiters selected the option "*proficient in English."*

Two explanations can be offered for this trend: (1) the number of people who learn English and bring this knowledge to the job market is growing; (2) with a shrinking pool of vacancies in international companies, emphasis is shifting to other professional skills.

The first supposition is supported by our own findings: the survey of recruitments ads on hh.ru showed a significant increase of employers who provide educational services online (business schools, language schools, professional development courses). Recruitment ads of such employers constitute about 1% of the total number of job posts on hh.ru. Most of them offer various English courses for young people and professionals. They hire English language instructors, tutors, consultants, and so on. Among the most active employers, there are schools

teaching English online (*SkyEng; Инглекс [Ingleks], EnglishDom, Yes!Please, Let's skype, Parta, etc.*).

The second conclusion is consistent with the opinions expressed by representatives of Russian recruitment agencies in the publication of "Vedomosti," a Russian-based business daily. They stressed that in the changing Russian job market, proficiency in English is vital for employees of international companies and, in some cases, for senior personnel, while many local businesses tend to focus on candidates' professional expertise (https://www.vedomosti.ru/management/ articles/2017/11/14/741590-pomogaet-li-angliiskii). Nevertheless, the role of English as symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991) remains significant. English is considered critical for technological development and innovation, which is a top-level policy agenda. It is the main medium of communication in the global digital economy.

Scholarship in world Englishes has long been interested in the impact of digital media on the spread of English worldwide (Lee 2020). Our study yields some relevant results concerning this issue. As mentioned above, the all-English segment of the Russian recruitment discourse has narrowed, but the use of "truncated" English language resources has increased. The increase is to a great extent connected with changes in the job market. New occupational areas have appeared, such as social networks, Internet channels, and so on, where telecommunications are the main instruments of dealing with clients. It caused an influx of English professional terms and non-terminological vocabulary that are nativized in transliteration or in the original English script, e.g. *хэштэг [kheshteg] – hashtag, лонгрид [longrid] – longread, стример [strimer] – streamer, блоггинг [bloging] – blogging, гейминг [geiming] – gaming, бродскаст [brodkast] – broadcast, трафик [trafik] – traffic, You Tube, Instagram, tik tok, VK.com, Facebook, Twitter* and so on).

The need for English in the digital job market is determined by the target audience (Russian speakers or international social media communities). Even if English is not required for employment, many jobs in the surveyed sample have English names (*SMM lead, 3d designer, head of performance* and so on), and Anglicisms are routinely used to describe required skills and activities, e.g. *разработка новых фич в игре [razrabotka novykh fich v igre] – developing new features for a computer game; опыт работы групхедом от 1 года [opyn raboty grupkhedom ot odnogo goda] – experience as group head over a year*). Names for new occupations are not only taken (borrowed) from English; they can be coined by Russian speakers using English as a word-building material', e.g.:

- **файндер** *[fainder] – a person whose responsibilities are to find new ideas on the Internet* (the word is not connected with the English name "finder" – "an unregistered broker"; it was coined by Russian speakers in the Russian context);

- **пикчер** *[pikcher] – a person whose work is connected with providing entertaining (funny, challenging) visual content for news posts and social media publications* (the word was coined in the Russian meme-making community based

on the jocular phonetic and graphical adaptation of the English word "picture": "picture" → "пикча" [pikcha] → "пикчер" [pikcher]).

This phenomenon can be viewed as yet another form of language creativity among Expanded Circle speakers of English: being understood as intended, the new occupational names are in conformity with the "encoding rules" and meet the conditions of "communicative feasibility" (Widdowson 2019). This novel form of translingual word-building, triggered by occupational diversity in social media, demonstrates the growing role of English as an intermediary between people, work, and technologies.

Outlining priorities for World Englishes research in professional communication, V. Bhatia argues "for an integration of discursive and professional practices in order to facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of how professionals exploit generic resources (at various levels, including lexico-grammar, rhetorical structures, discourse organization, conventions and constraints on and across genres) to create new and hybrid forms to achieve their disciplinary objectives, invariably transcending geographical, disciplinary, institutional, as well as cultural, boundaries" (V. Bhatia 2019: 31). In her comparative study of Russian and English recruitment discourses, Stebletsova noted an important stylistic and cultural difference between Russian- and English-based résumés: Russian texts were formal, reserved, and unemotional, while English résumés were less formal and more emotional, promoting personal achievements (Stebletsova 2016).

The same is true with reference to job ads. Traditionally, the function of job ads in Russia has been to inform job seekers about open vacancies; no additional meanings were intended or expected. In the recruitment practices of the US and global business cultures, the goal of job ads is to attract top-talent employees. To gain their trust and inspire them to choose their company over the competitors, employers use special strategies bringing recruitment and marketing efforts together. Oftentimes, elements of other professional genres (public relations and advertising) are appropriated to create an appealing and memorable image of the company.

In Russia, employers are also beginning to use strategies similar to above. Following the global pattern, recruitment ads for Russian corporations now routinely have a short introduction – company presentation. This highlights those aspects of the company's image which are considered critical for shaping public opinion and attracting potential employees. For example, the ad for the position of "*senior actuary*" posted on hh.ru by Sberbank Life Insurance, a subsidiary of the biggest Russian commercial bank (Sberbank), has the following introduction:

(11) Сбербанк страхование жизни – это масштабный проект на российском страховом рынке, прошедший стремительный путь к уверенному лидерству. Клиентоориентированная сплоченная и дружная команда, которая предлагает клиентам инновационный подход к страхованию жизни.

Мы работаем для того, чтобы помочь гражданам России не бояться планировать свое будущее <…> Благодаря нашим продуктам мечты, устремления и обещания, данные себе и своим близким, будут реализованы. Несмотря ни на что.

Sberbank life insurance is a large-scale project on the Russian insurance market, which has rapidly covered the path to confident leadership. A client-oriented, solid and friendly team that offers innovative approach to life insurance.

We work to help the citizens of Russia not to be afraid of planning their future <…>. Thanks to our products, your aspirations and promises given to yourself and to your loved ones will be implemented. No matter what.

The issues of leadership, innovation, and public good are prominent themes of corporate public relations discourse. They are appropriated to present a commercial enterprise as a benevolent project that improves people's lives. In the post-Soviet Russia, market reforms exacerbated social inequalities. In this context, the message of improving people's lives is very pertinent. It makes the image of the employer more appealing and motivates worthier candidates to apply.

The job ad posted by the Russian metallurgical giant Severstal appropriates the rhetoric of advertising – build trust by adding a personal touch. Potential employees are addressed in an informal and friendly way with a second-person singular imperative and the corresponding familiar personal pronoun *ты [ty]* – Eng. *"you."*

(12) Не упусти возможность попасть в самую эффективную металлургическую компанию мира! Если ты ответственный, про активный, хочешь развивать новые продукты, то подавай заявку в нашу команду.

Don't miss the opportunity to get to the most effective metallurgical company in the world! If you are responsible, proactive and willing to develop new products, apply to our team!

This personalized address form is a syntactic calque from English. It reflects the adoption of western patterns of informal and friendly interaction. Unlike English, Russian grammatizes the difference between formal and informal address, and for professional communication, the unmarked form has always been formality. The emphasis on the individual has never been characteristic of the Russian language and culture, but under the influence of English, it is becoming more common. Thereby, register conventions also tend to shift from formal and reserved to relaxed and friendly.

The examples above show how English-based norms are appropriated to regulate communication in Russian. When professional industries globalize, and businesses move into new markets abroad, they take their communicative norms along with them (Cameron 2008). Today, the genre of job advertising in Russia (like other recruitment genres) is largely regulated by global (English-based) conventions. Russian job ads reproduce their English "prototypes" in form and translate similar messages, but naturally the appropriation of global conventions

involves their adaptation to Russian cultural norms. An example of such adaptation is found in a job post for "Prosvesheniye Publishers," the leading educational publishing house of the Russian Federation. The post has a standard four-part structure – introduction (company presentation) and three sections: "*What objectives we set for the candidate,*" "*What is important for us,*" and "*What we offer You.*" In the last section, the employer uses a capitalized form of the second-person plural pronoun *Вы [vy]* – Eng. *you*. It is a respectful form of address that is typical of the genre of personal correspondence in Russian. This interdiscursive manipulation helps the employer to sustain a balance between the global requirements of personalization and Russian norms of politeness that require formality in professional communication.

4. Concluding remarks

The spread of English in the Russian recruitment discourse manifests itself in different ways. English can be adopted as a primary language of interaction between job market participants (in this case, "English" means the whole system of the language.) Certain lexical elements (words, phrases) can be borrowed and become nativized (transliterated or in the original script). English-based norms can be appropriated to regulate communication in Russian.

In Russian-based recruitment discourse, English is used to fill in lexical gaps and convey a wide range of socio-cultural implications (indexical meanings) connected with the perception of English as a marker of globalization, business efficiency, professional competence, and so on. Employers use English to position their companies as modern and progressive. They also employ it as a "filter" to target good professionals and cut off unfitting candidates. Job seekers use English to demonstrate their expertise and emphasize professional identity. English is more often used in professional-to-professional type of interaction.

In the current socioeconomic situation, the all-English segment of the Russian recruitment discourse is shrinking, but the use of "truncated" English language resources (insertions, hybrids, calques, communication patterns) is growing. This growth is driven by the expansion of the digital/social media sector where English serves as an intermediary between people, work and technologies and mediates global professional discourses.

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Bionotes:
Elena S. GRITSENKO, Doctor of Philology (Habil.), Professor, National Research University Higher School of Economics, Nizhny Novgorod, Russia. Research interests include sociolinguistics, language and globalization, World Engishes, language and gender, discourse analysis. She was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at the University of Florida, Gainesville, USA, and a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow at the Bellagio Study and Conference Center, Italy. She is author and co-author of numerous journal articles and books, including *Language, Gender, Discourse* (2005), *Gender Construction in Blues and Rap: Global and Local* (2013), *Gender in British and American Linguacultures* (2016), and serves on the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Psycholinguistics*.
Contact information:
603155 Nizhny Novgorod, Bolshaya Pecherskaya 25/12
e-mail: elena.s.gritsenko@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 000-0001-8669-360X

Anastasia V. ALIKINA is English Language Instructor, Municipal School № 33, Nizhny Novgorod, Russia. Research interests include sociolinguistics of globalization, discourse analysis, EFL teaching.
Contact information:
4 Urozhainiy pereulok, Nizhny Novgorod, 603000, Russia
e-mail: alikina.ru@gmail.com

Сведения об авторах:

Елена Сергеевна ГРИЦЕНКО – доктор филологических наук, профессор, Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики», Нижний Новгород. Научные интересы: социолингвистика, язык и глобализация, контактная вариантология английского языка, язык и гендер, дискурс-анализ. Была Фулбрайтовским профессором-исследователем в Университете Флориды, Гейнзвил, США, и исследователем-резидентом Центра Белладжио Фонда Рокфеллера, Италия. Автор и соавтор многочисленных научных статей и монографий, среди которых «Язык. Гендер. Дискурс» (2005), «Конструирование гендера в блюзе и рэпе: глобальное и локальное» (2013), «Гендер в британской и американской лингвокультурах» (2016). Является членом редакционного совета журнала «Вопросы психолингвистики».

Контактная информация:

Национальный исследовательский университет «Высшая школа экономики»

603155, Нижний Новгород, Большая Печерская, 25/12

e-mail: elena.s.gritsenko@gmail.com

ORCID ID: 000-0001-8669-360X

Анастасия Владимировна АЛИКИНА – преподаватель английского языка, Муниципальное бюджетное общеобразовательное учреждение «Школа № 33 с углубленным изучением отдельных предметов». Научные интересы: социолингвистика глобализации, дискурс-*анализ, преподавание английского как иностранного*.

Контактная информация:

603000, Нижний Новгород, пер. Урожайный, 4

e-mail: alikina.ru@gmail.com

Research Article

English in Germany:
Evidence from domains of use and attitudes

Julia DAVYDOVA

Vorarlberg University of Higher Education
Feldkirch, Austria

Abstract

This paper discusses the changing role of English in Germany drawing on evidence from domains of English use and speakers' attitudes. In so doing, it reports two case studies carried out at the University of Mannheim, Germany. The quantitative data and its methods of evaluation are discussed in the sections reporting case studies. The first study documents the use of English across formal and informal settings as well as in spontaneous interactions. In so doing, it reports the results of a survey collected from 172 students. The second study discusses the results of a survey tapping into German speakers' attitudes towards two native (British, American) and two non-native (Indian, German) Englishes, thereby eliciting respondents' attitudinal orientations towards English varieties including their own. This case study is based on data stemming from 94 students. The first case study shows that English in Germany has been continuously expanding its social domains of use and there is a small but stable minority of German speakers using English in spontaneous daily interactions. The second case study highlights the importance of the native-speaker model for the attitudinal mindset of the German learners; they see no value in speaking German English and clearly do not identify with this linguistic variety, a finding which reveals their exonormative orientation. Against this backdrop, I conclude that whereas English spoken in Germany shows clear signs of evolving into an ESL variety, it is still, by and large, an EFL English, at least in terms of attitudinal orientations professed by educated young adults.

Keywords: *attitudes towards English, domains of English use, ESL, EFL, English in Germany*

Научная статья

Английский язык в Германии:
сферы языкового использования и отношение к языку

Ю.Г. ДАВЫДОВА

Форарльбергский педагогический университет
Фельдкирх, Австрия

Аннотация

В статье рассматривается изменение роли английского языка в Германии. Объектом исследования стало использование английского языка в разных сферах деятельности и отношение

к нему. Исследование выполнено на материале двух кейсов, изученных в Мангеймском университете, Германия. В первом случае выполнен количественный анализ использования английского языка в формальном и неформальном контекстах, а также при спонтанном взаимодействии. Второй кейс представляет обсуждение результатов исследования отношения немецкоговорящих коммуникантов к двум национальным вариантам английского языка, являющегося родным для его носителей (британского и американского), и к двум вариантам (индийскому и немецкому), не являющимся родными для их пользователей. Тем самым рассматриваются аттитюдные тенденции к вариантам английского языка, включая собственный вариант пользователей. В заключение делается вывод о том, что несмотря на явные сигналы того, что английский язык, используемый в Германии, постепенно превращается в английский как второй язык, он, тем не менее, все еще остается иностранным языком, по крайней мере, судя по отношению к нему со стороны образованных молодых немцев.

Ключевые слова: *отношение к английскому языку, сферы использования английского языка, английский как второй язык, английский как иностранный язык, английский язык в Германии*

1. Introduction

English is the first truly global human language that, over the centuries, has morphed into a plethora of different lects (see, for instance, Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008, for an overview). Native vs. non-native Englishes is perhaps the most salient of these distinctions, and amongst the latter, it is the division into English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) that has sparked scholars' attention (Mukherjee & Hundt 2011, Hundt & Gut 2012, Buschfeld et al. 2014).

Much has been written about the ESL / EFL distinction and there seems to be an implicit agreement amongst experts that different varietal types are not set in stone. Rather, different forms of language are endowed with the capacity to evolve in time (for instance, from EFL to ESL and vice versa) due to various historical and socioeconomic circumstances (Buschfeld 2014, Kautzsch 2014). Another insight stemming from this line of academic inquiry is that the ESL/EFL contexts represent a continuum rather than a dichotomous distinction (Kautzsch 2014).

Assuming that this is the case, the analyst needs a list of criteria that would allow them to determine the varietal status of the type of English under investigations. Indeed, previous research has put forward a number of factors allowing for the descriptions of the ESL / EFL differences (Kachru 1985, Mollin 2007, Buschfeld 2013, Kautzsch 2014). To give one example, Kautzsch (2014) singles out three factors relevant to the description of the status of an English – spreading bilingualism, exonormative orientation, and the nativisation of pronunciation features.

Aligned with previous studies and listed below are the definitive characteristics of English as a Second Language, which I propose here as a heuristic assessing the degree to which an English variety can be classified as either ESL or EFL.

(1) As a second language, English must have expanded its status from formal to informal settings; the formal domains of use include mostly educational contexts, whereas the informal domains of use comprise various types of social and mass-media products.

(2) Furthermore, ESL must necessarily be used as a means of interaction during daily linguistic practices within a speech community.

(3) Finally, ESL speakers are acutely aware of the fact that they speak their own form of the language that may, in part, be drastically different from the English spoken by L1 speakers. They recognise their own form of English as a variety in its own right. In other words, they exhibit an endonormative attitudinal orientation.

As a foreign language, English is mainly restricted to educational domains; it is not used for interspeaker communication in a speech community. Crucially, EFL speakers are most likely to be willing to align themselves with L1 speakers in terms of linguistic norms and cultural expectations. In other words, they demonstrate an exonormative mindset (see Davydova 2019 for an overview).

Against this backdrop, this study sets out to explore the dynamics underlying the evolution of English in Germany, a traditionally EFL variety, and in so doing, to re-assess its varietal status in the light of two types of evidence, stemming from contexts of use on the one hand and speakers' attitudes on the other. Before proceeding to the discussion of English in Germany, let us consider the relationship between English, the global language, and German, a major European language.

To be able to understand the nature of the relations between English and German, it may be instructive to recall the Global Language System, a classification of languages proposed by de Swaan (2001), hyper- and super-central languages, as well as central and peripheral languages (see also Mair 2018). The status of each language (hyper, super, central or peripheral) reflects the socioeconomic position of the social group or the nation it represents. It is, however, the communicative value of a given language that is at the core of this classification. Communicative value describes the potential of a given language to connect speakers within a given level of the societal structure.

Within this system, English is the sole hyper-central language because of its default status as a lingua franca in various social settings across Europe and also world-wide. In turn, German is a formerly super-central language, which is now confined to four contiguous nation states (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and Liechtenstein) and some other areas, notably South Tyrol, Italy, where it has been actively supported through various linguistic-equality measures (Stavans and Hoffmann 2015: 74–76). The factors that contributed historically to the super-central status of German include its strong presence in the countries of Eastern Europe in the first half of the 20th century and its status as a major academic language (on a par with French and English) in the 19th century (Mair 2020: 15, see also Watson 2010). And while German is undisputedly the main language of the German-speaking nation states, its relationship with English is clearly asymmetrical, as there are many more people world-wide learning English as a

second (ESL) / foreign (EFL) language nowadays than there are people who are learning German with the same goals in mind. This functional asymmetry between the two languages on the level of the global societal structure has inevitable consequences for the role that English plays within the local German-speaking context.

In fact, Germany itself is a country where English is taught as the main foreign language in secondary schools, and there are more and more middle-aged Germans who take up learning English as a hobby. Perhaps even more importantly, English is viewed by many Germans as a valuable lingua franca in both international and domestic settings. In Germany, English is indispensable in both elite (academia, business) and non-elite (pop culture, asylum-seeking) social domains (Mair 2020: 27). Furthermore, there are indications that English has become an inextricable part of the linguistic repertoire of many young Germans pursuing high academic goals and social aspirations.

With this said, this contribution aims to tap into the changing status of English in Germany by way of exploring its domain of use and attitudes. This paper is structured as follows. Firstly, I provide a brief overview of the history of English in Germany. Next, I provide an overview of research by scholars investigating the current status of English while studying its forms and functions and exploring the attitudes that German speakers harbour toward native and non-native varieties of English. I will then present and comment on the results of two case studies. The first study ascertains the degree to which English is used in various types of formal and informal settings including spontaneous interactions. The second study explores the attitudinal mindset of German learners of English and in so doing, determines the degree to which they identify their English with native or non-native speaker varieties. Drawing on these two types of evidence, I will then discuss the characteristics of English spoken in Germany according to the parameters introduced in (1) through (3) above. I conclude that ESL / EFL settings form a continuum rather than a binary distinction and should be studied as such. I also conclude that whereas English spoken in Germany shows clear signs of evolving into an ESL variety, it is still, by and large, an EFL English, at least in terms of attitudinal orientations professed by educated young adults.

2. English in Germany: A brief historical overview

Although English is historically related to and derived from the Germanic dialects spoken by the Anglo-Saxon tribes in the fifth century, Anglo-German contacts remained sporadic up until the mid-17th century (Berns 1988, Busse & Görlach 2002). The 18th century saw the rise of the influence of English literature on European culture. The advent of the Industrial Revolution promoted British influence in various domains of technology, notably ship building, railway construction, weaving, and clothing production. The British also contributed to the popularisation of certain lifestyles across Europe, including sports and animal breeding (horses and dogs). Similar to many other European countries (and Russia),

Germany was affected by an ever-increasing Anglomania in the 19th century. The result was the acceptance of English as a language of education by large parts of the German population. English was introduced as a school subject in many German schools and thus began to play a central role in modern foreign language teaching rivalling that of French. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, English continuously gained ground as an important academic language. It should be noticed that in those times, English competed with German and French as a language of science.

After 1945, English was introduced as the main foreign language in all secondary schools in West Germany (Busse & Görlach 2002). From that time onward, all German school children have been consistently introduced to English as a foreign language through formal education. This means that German-speaking communities have seen a continuous rise of L2 speakers of English over the past decades. German-English bilingualism in Germany is a stable trend that is likely to continue well into the future.

3. English in present-day Germany: Domains of use and attitudes

Given its historical development, English spoken by the German population exhibits one major variant. It is the main foreign language taught in secondary schools throughout the country. As much as 78% of German school children learn English as a school subject (Syrbe & Rose 2016). It is also increasingly used as a medium of instruction in international and bilingual schools, most of which, however, are private, and for that reason elitist, institutions.[1] Against this backdrop, it is not surprising that 56% of the German population claim to be able to carry out a conversation in English, a finding that places them in the top bracket of proficiency in Europe (Ozón 2016: 77).

English has also been gaining ground as a medium of instruction in German universities (Knapp 2011). Like many other countries of Western Europe, Germany is striving to obtain a fair share of the international education market. For this reason, many German universities have introduced English-taught programmes, thereby increasing their chances in the competition for foreign students. English-taught programmes are appealing to students because such programmes are widely believed to increase subsequent success on the labour market. To illustrate this point, Ginsburgh and Prieto (2011) show that enhanced proficiency in English is associated with higher income in many European countries, including Austria and Germany. Furthermore, the knowledge of English allows its speakers to participate in global socio-political developments such as the internationalisation of professional and personal domains of activity (Coleman 2006). More than a third of all German students take part in exchange programmes, which take them as far

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[1] For more information see https://www.internationale-schulen.de/ (accessed: January 23 2020).

as Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (DAAD 2013, cited in Davydova & Buchstaller 2015: 467).

Increased student mobility is not the only factor fostering the spread of English in Germany. Mastery of the language also entails that one can consume and, in so doing, benefit from the products of the mainstream culture, including TV and social media goods as well as products of the entertainment industry. There are, to the best of my knowledge, no studies reporting on the amount of English mass media consumption in Germany, a gap that is addressed in this study.

Given its history, its contexts of use in Germany as well as the mode of acquisition (through formal instruction), English has been characterised as a result of foreign language learning. More recent studies, however, present evidence that English in Germany may have been changing its status from a foreign (EFL) to a second language (ESL) (Berns 1988, Hilgendorf 2005, Kautzsch 2014). Regarding that, Berns (1988) highlights the market value of English as many German employers list knowledge of English as a job requirement. Hilgendorf (2005), in turn, comments on the institutionalisation of English as a medium of instruction in the German system of higher education, a development that arguably supports the spread of German-English bilingualism. Kautzsch (2014) reports increasing German-English bilingualism that extends well beyond speakers with a high degree of education, for whom the knowledge of English, as he notes, is vital. Kautzsch (2014) explores the degree of nativisation of two phonological features but comes to the conclusion that his findings do not support the hypothesis of the ongoing nativisation of English pronunciation by the German speakers.

As a second language, English spoken in Germany has some distinctive properties. Firstly, English is usually taken up as an additional language in the context of formal education. The extent to which English might be used as a medium of communication amongst the most recent migrant groups needs further investigation (see Mair 2018). Secondly, the local use of English seems to be limited to educational contexts, such as its use as a medium of instruction (Ozón 2016: 78). Studies reporting the use of English in non-educational contexts, such as media are still few and far between.

As for attitudes towards English, existing studies indicate that German speakers consistently maintain an exonormative mindset that endorses the native-speaker model of English and reject contact varieties such as German English or Euro-English (Kautzsch 2014, Gnutzmann, Jakisch & Rabe 2015, Mohr, Jansen & Forsberg 2019).

4. Case Study: Anglophone practices in Mannheim, Germany

Has English spoken in Germany indeed been changing its status from EFL to ESL, as suggested by the previous research? And if so, what type of evidence can be adduced in order to support this contention? In order to explore this issue, I present and discuss the results of survey data which I collected from 172 students (63 males and 109 females) enrolled in Bachelor and Master's programmes at the

University of Mannheim from 2013 to 2015. Aged 20 to 25 at the time of data collection, my informants represented a young population segment, allowing me to tap into the most recent local practices of English use. An overwhelming majority, 161 students (93%), reported being monolingual native speakers of German. Seven students said they had been raised bilingually with German as one of their languages. There were four non-native speakers of German in the sample. These were international exchange students. All respondents reported having learned English at school as a foreign language.

Participants and materials

The questionnaire aimed at eliciting the amount of exposure to English in both formal and informal settings. It also explored the extent to which German speakers used English in spontaneous interactions both in and outside the university. The survey thus consisted of three parts, summarized in Table 1 for convenience: (1) items 6 through 9 elicited the amount of formal exposure to English; (2) items 10 through 13 tapped into the degree of contact with English through various types of informal media, notably TV and film industry; (3) items 14 through 17 ascertained the amount of English use in various types of social settings. For each item, students had to indicate whether they carried out a particular activity every day, two or three times a week, once a week, less often than once a week, or never.

Table 1

Questionnaire 2013–2015, University of Mannheim. Item inventory

Items	Formulations
Amount of formal exposure	
Q6	How often do you have a university lecture in English?
Q7	How often do you speak English at the university in a formal context, for instance, while making a presentation or talking to a professor/lecturer?
Q8	How often do you write academically or professionally in English?
Q9	How often do you read English reference books?
Amount of informal exposure	
Q10	How often do you read newspapers or magazines in English for pleasure?
Q11	How often do you use the Internet in English?
Q12	How often do you listen to English song lyrics?
Q13	How often do you watch original TV shows or movies in English?
English use in spontaneous interactions	
Q14	How often do you speak English at the university in an informal context, for instance, while chatting with your friends?
Q15	How often do you speak English with your social contacts outside the university (close friends, relatives, etc.)?
Q16	How often do you speak English in your family?
Q17	How often do you use English for communication in the social networks on the Internet (Facebook, Twitter, etc.)?

If English spoken in Germany has indeed been evolving into an ESL variety, then we should be able to attest elevated rates of English exposure and English use

not only in formal but, crucially, in various types of informal settings including interpersonal communication. Exploring the contrasts in the use of English across formal and informal contexts is a relevant measure because ESL varieties develop through constant linguistic practices in every-day communication.

Results

I now explore the amount of English exposure in formal settings. Reported in Table 2, the results indicate that an overwhelming majority of the respondents (about 72%) attend university lectures in English at least two or three times a week (Q6). Table 2 instructs us further that solid 45% of all students studied here deliver academic presentations in English two or three times a week (Q7).

Table 2

Amount of formal exposure (total N = 172, 100%)

	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9
never	21 (12.2%)	21 (12.2%)	16 (9.3%)	5 (2.9%)
less than once a week	8 (4.7%)	24 (14.0%)	64 (37.2%)	36 (20.9%)
once a week	18 (10.5%)	38 (22.1%)	37 (21.5%)	30 (17.4%)
two or three times a week	98 (57.0%)	78 (45.3%)	43 (25.0%)	74 (43.0%)
every day	27 (15.7%)	10 (5.8%)	12 (7.0%)	27 (15.7%)
no data	NA	1 (0.6%)	NA	NA

While the writing habits of these students are quite dispersed (Q8), their habits of reading academic reference work are much more consistent (Q9). A solid 58% of the respondents read academic English at least two or three times a week. As for the amount of informal exposure to English, Table 3 informs us that our informants are moderate consumers of various print products (magazines, newspapers, etc.) in English (Q10). We also notice, however, that these young adults are in need of English whenever they go online (Q11): fully 62% report the need for English while using the Internet on a daily basis, and when compounded with those who use the Internet two or three times a week, this number adds up to 79%.

Table 3

Amount of informal exposure (total N = 172, 100%)

	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
never	21 (12.2%)	1 (0.6%)	2 (1.2%)	3 (1.7%)
less than once a week	54 (31.4%)	20 (11.6%)	2 (1.2%)	38 (22.1%)
once a week	32 (18.6%)	13 (7.6%)	5 (2.9%)	19 (11.0%)
two or three times a week	32 (18.6%)	30 (17.4%)	15 (8.7%)	71 (41.3%)
every day	33 (19.2%)	108 (62.8%)	148 (86%)	41 (23.8%)
no data	NA	NA	NA	NA

Furthermore, most of the informants (86%) are avid listeners to popular songs featuring English lyrics (Q12), and more than a half (64%) watch TV series and films in English (Q13). An informative picture emerges when we consider students' habits of English use in informal interspeaker encounters as reported in Table 4.

Whereas our informants exhibit varying habits of putting English to use in their social contacts in and outside of university (Q14 through 16), 50% report relying on the language while engaging in various activities on social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter (Q17).

English use in spontaneous interactions (total N = 172, 100%)

	Q14	Q15	Q16	Q17
never	25 (14.5%)	24 (14.0%)	134 (77.9%)	14 (8.1%)
less than once a week	47 (27.3%)	52 (30.2%)	26 (15.1%)	46 (26.7%)
once a week	42 (24.4%)	36 (20.9%)	6 (3.5%)	26 (15.1%)
two or three times a week	41 (23.8%)	32 (18.6%)	0 (0.0%)	39 (22.7%)
every day	17 (9.9%)	28 (16.3%)	5 (2.9%)	47 (27.3%)
no data	NA	NA	1 (0.6%)	NA

I also notice that even though the majority of students (77%) confess to never using English for communication in their families, there are nevertheless a few (26, 15%) who report doing so less than once a week. This finding is interesting, as it lends weight to the argument that the ESL / EFL distinction is a continuum rather than a pair of mutually exclusive categories. It is this fundamental insight that must inform our future endeavours to tap into the differences between second language and foreign language learning settings. I will return to this issue in the subsequent discussion.

5. Case study: Attitudes towards English in Mannheim, Germany

In this paper, I argue that the description of ESL / EFL differences must necessarily include the attitudinal component. Speakers' attitudes to language determine their linguistic practices, and these, in turn, shape linguistic outcomes. Moreover, exploring learners' beliefs and feelings about native and non-native English allows the analyst to ascertain which linguistic and cultural norms the group under study is aligned with. If the English spoken in Germany has indeed been evolving into an ESL variety, then we can expect German learners to show signs of an endonormative orientation.

With this said, I report a study (Davydova 2015) that elicited German learners' attitudes towards native and non-native Englishes. The native speaker varieties included British English and American English; the non-native speaker varieties comprised Indian English and German English. In 2013, I asked 94 Bachelor and Master students at the University of Mannheim to fill out a survey. The students indicated the degree to which they agreed or disagreed with six statements for the four varieties under study. Reported in Figure 1 for convenience, the statements elicited German learners' conscious attitudes towards the four varietal forms of English on the dimension of social status (statements 1 and 2), social attractiveness (statements 3 and 4), and linguistic identity (statements 5 and 6).

Quickly read the following statements about *variety X* and decide to what extent you agree with each statement.

1. I think *variety X* is a high-status variety.

     1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

  I strongly disagree   I strongly agree

2. I think *variety X* is prestigious.

     1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

  I strongly disagree   I strongly agree

3. *Variety X* is socially attractive.

     1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

  I strongly disagree   I strongly agree

4. I use *variety X* to express my solidarity with others.

     1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

  I strongly disagree   I strongly agree

5. *Variety X* is a form of English that I speak.

     1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

  I strongly disagree   I strongly agree

6. *Variety X* is a form of English that I strongly identify myself with.

     1   **2**   **3**   **4**   **5**   **6**

  I strongly disagree   I strongly agree

Figure 1. Participants' instructions and the assignment of the language attitudes survey (Davydova 2015)

Table 5 reports the results of the repeated measures ANOVAs carried out in order to test whether the differences in the mean evaluations British English, American English, Indian English and German English were statistically significant or not for each statement.

Table 5

Repeated measures ANOVAs of the mean evaluations (total N = 94), Davydova (2015)

Statement	Mean Scores				F-value	D.F.	P-value
	BrE	AmE	GerE	IndE			
Dimension: status / prestige							
1. I think X is a high-status variety	4.50	3.62	2.97	2.21	70,101	2.8, 254.8	.000
2. I think X is prestigious	4.36	3.39	2.78	2.00	89.126	2.9, 267.9	.000
Dimension: solidarity / social attractiveness							
3. X is socially attractive	4.00	4.39	2.87	2.06	66.598	2.9, 268.2	.000
4. I use X to express my solidarity with others	2.30	3.58	2.56	1.29	46.075	2.7, 252.0	.000
Dimension: identity							
5. X is an English that I speak	2.78	4.25	3.22	1.14	58.545	2.2, 202.2	.000
6. X is an English that I strongly identify with	2.55	3.75	2.37	1.47	45.820	1.9, 181.2	.000

If English spoken in Germany has indeed been involving into an ESL form, then we can expect that German learners will use their own form of English, i.e. German English, to express solidarity with other users. We can furthermore expect them to believe that German English is the form of language that they speak and strongly identify with.

These results indicate that the German learners tested here provide statistically different assessments of the four varieties for all six statements. Further perusal of the survey patterns yield three informative trends. Firstly, I observe that both British and American English receive higher scores for social status and social attractiveness when compared to non-native Englishes. Crucially, it is American English, not German English, that our respondents are most likely to want to recruit in order to express their solidarity with others. Finally, the majority of students also believe that American English is the variety that they (aspire to) speak and most certainly identify with. These findings are in contrast with those documented for ESL speakers of Indian English. Davydova (2019) reports on 49 Bachelor and Master students from Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, who provided their opinions of British English, American English, Indian English, and European English in terms of the six statements discussed above. The data revealed that Indian students were unanimously willing to have recourse to Indian English whenever they wished to show their empathy towards other people. They were likewise aware that they spoke Indian English, which was the variety with which they strongly identified.

Against this backdrop, the findings for the German group can be interpreted as a sign of their exonormative orientation. We can conclude that in terms of their attitudinal mindset, German students behave like EFL learners, not ESL speakers.

6. Discussion and conclusions

This paper proposes that the varietal status (ESL vs. EFL) of a given form of English can be assessed with respect to three criteria: (1) the amount of English use across formal and informal domains; (2) the amount of English use in daily interactions within a speech community; and (3) speakers' attitudinal orientations towards their own form of English. The word "amount" is important in this context, as it suggests, following previous research (Buschfeld et al. 2014), that use of an English variety can be described in terms of "more or less" rather than "either/or." In other words, the ESL / EFL distinction forms a continuum, along which a given variety can be placed.

The first case study reported on here demonstrated that, as expected, German speakers consistently use English on various formal occasions, typically in the university context. A majority of students have to rely heavily on their knowledge of English while attending university lecturers, giving academic presentations, or consulting about academic work. However, formal occasions are not the only instances of English use by German learners. The students regularly engage in

consuming mass culture products (listening to popular music, watching TV series and films, communicating on Facebook and Twitter), activities which they routinely carry out in English. The latter findings generally lend weight to the argument, also defended in some previous studies (Berns 1988, Hilgendorf 2005, Mair 2018), that English in Germany has been expanding its domains of use over the past decades, thereby developing into an ESL variety.

A further diagnostic factor allowing for the assessment of the varietal status of English in Germany is the amount of English use during spontaneous interactions. The data presented here has pointed out that, whereas English is still not part of daily linguistic practices for a majority of informants, there is a conspicuous minority (15%) who report using English in the family at least once a week. This piece of evidence can be interpreted to bolster the contention that that English in Germany has, indeed, begun making inroads into the most intimate domains of social communication and has, by this token, been developing into an ESL variety.

The second case study on the other hand, makes it clear that German learners are still very much in favour of the native speaker English model. Crucially, they see no value in speaking German English and clearly do not identify with this linguistic variety, a finding which reveals their exonormative orientation. This interpretation, in turn, suggests that as far as the attitudinal dimension is concerned, English in Germany is an EFL form of English and has apparently a long way to go before it achieves an ESL status.

Overall, then, it can be concluded that when the three parameters proposed in this paper are taken into consideration, English spoken in Germany is perhaps best classified as an EFL variety with some clear ESL developments. Most German speakers of English, as presented here, use English as the other (foreign) tongue in various academic settings and exhibit a clearly exonormative attitudinal mindset. At the same time, evidence stemming from the domains of English use also shows that formal occasions are not the only settings preserved for communication in English. English has expanded well beyond the formal academic domains, and is being increasingly recruited as an additional language for various leisurely activities. Last, but perhaps not least, English seems to be slowly developing into a language used for communication in the family.

The findings reported here are informative for two reasons. Firstly, they arguably suggest that the ESL / EFL distinction represents a continuum because we can ask how often a particular activity is carried out in English and thus quantitatively measure the degree to which the language has established itself in a given domain of use. Such quantitative measures, in turn, allow us to compare directly different varietal forms of English in distinctive domains vis-á-vis each other. To illustrate this point, we could elicit the amount of English use in the family from three population groups representing three different sociocultural settings. These hypothetical data are presented in Figure 2. Considering this data, one could argue that Variety X is more EFL conformant than Variety Y, and Variety Y is

more EFL conformant than Variety Z. In contrast, it is variety Z that is the most ESL-like of the three.
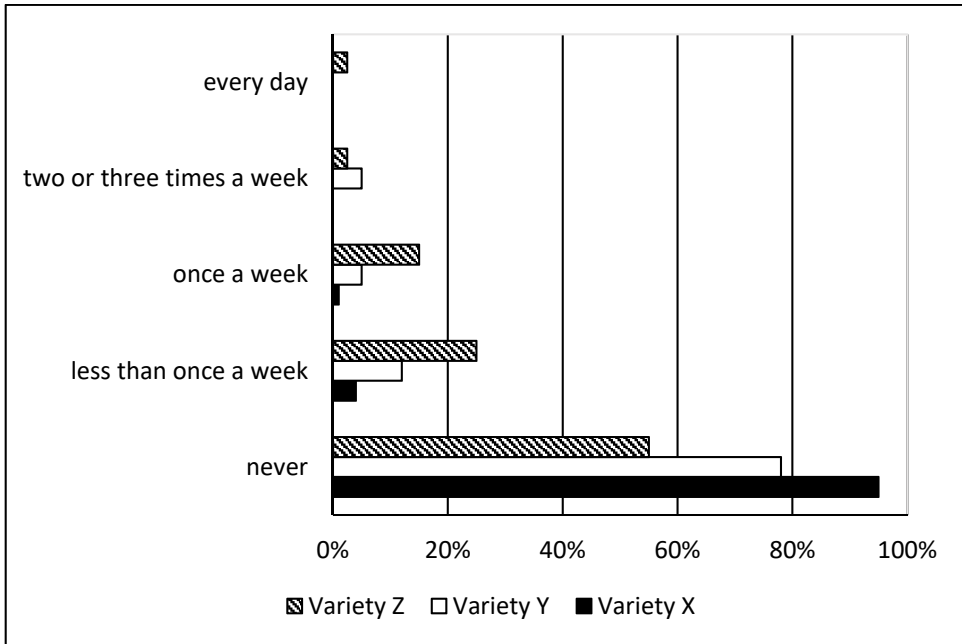

Figure 2. The amount of English use in the family across three (hypothetical) varieties

Secondly, diagnosing the varietal status requires complementary evidence stemming, *inter alia*, from reported domains of use and reported language attitudes. Juxtaposing both types of data is important because a variety may exhibit an ESL status on one dimension and an EFL status on the other. Conclusions about the varietal status of a given variety should thus draw on converging evidence from different domains (Garrett 2010).

In conclusion, I would like to elaborate on several caveats to the arguments advanced here. Firstly, the studies reported here have addressed just one highly specific population segment, namely educated young adults pursuing ambitious goals in life, receiving a high academic degree and securing thereby a stable position in German society. Admittedly, the findings reported here cannot be generalised to all population groups living in Germany. A more comprehensive study would thus be needed in order to ascertain whether the results documented here are borne out when a wider population group is taken into account.

Secondly, what also needs to be borne in mind is that spontaneous language data has not been accounted for in this paper. Language-production data arguably adds another important dimension to the analysis of the ESL / EFL distinctions because it allows the analyst to pinpoint creative language use – lexical and morphosyntactic innovations, code-switching patterns, etc. It is spontaneous use that is indicative of a true ESL setting.

Finally, exploring the details of the acquisition of English in Germany via both quantitative and qualitative tools will surely help to provide a more fine-grained description of the varietal status of English in Germany.

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Bionote:

Julia G. DAVYDOVA, PhD, Habilitation, Professor of English Linguistics, English Linguistics. Institut 2. Vorarlberg University of Higher Education (Pädagogische Hochschule Vorarlberg), Austria. Her research interests include English linguistics, Sociolinguistics (language variation and change), Sociocognition (language attitudes). She has authored the book *The Present Perfect in Non-Native Englishes: A Corpus based Study of Variation* (De Gryuter, 2011), *Quotation in Indigenised and Learner English*: *A Sociolinguistic Account of Variation* (De Gryuter, 2019); co-authored *Research Methods in Sociolinguistics: A Practical Guide* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014); co-edited *Multilingualism and Language Diversity in Urban Areas: Acquisition, Identities, Space, Education* (John Benjamins, 2013). She also published a number of articles in *Language in Society, World Englishes, Linguistics.*

Contact information:

Pädagogische Hochschule Vorarlberg
Liechtensteinerstraße 33-37; 6800 Feldkirch, Austria
e-mail: julia.davydova@ph-vorarlberg.ac.at
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3442-9011

Сведения об авторах:

Юлия Геннадьевна ДАВЫДОВА – доктор филологических наук, приват-доцент, профессор английской филологии факультета английской лингвистики / Институт 2 Форарльбергского педагогического университета, Австрия. Научные интересы: лингвистика английского языка, социолингвистика (языковая вариативность и изменения), социокогнитивизм (отношение к языкам). Автор книг: *The Present Perfect in Non-Native Englishes: A Corpus based Study of Variation* (De Gryuter, 2011), *Quotation in Indigenised and Learner English*: *A Sociolinguistic Account of Variation* (De Gryuter, 2019); соавтор *Research Methods in Sociolinguistics: A Practical Guide* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2014); соредактор *Multilingualism and Language Diversity in Urban Areas: Acquisition, Identities, Space, Education* (John Benjamins, 2013). Автор ряда статей в журналах *Language in Society, World Englishes, Linguistics*.

Контактная информация:

Pädagogische Hochschule Vorarlberg
Liechtensteinerstraße 33-37; 6800 Feldkirch, Austria
e-mail: julia.davydova@ph-vorarlberg.ac.at
ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3442-9011

Research Article

World Englishes and learner lexicography: View from the Expanding Circle

Galina N. LOVTSEVICH and Alexander A. SOKOLOV

Far Eastern Federal University
Vladivostok, Russia

Abstract

This article analyzes a World Englishes paradigm shift in four monolingual English-language learner's dictionaries designed to meet the reference needs of people learning English as a non-native language in the Expanding Circle. The study investigates the question of how modern learner's dictionaries reflect the current global status of English. The dictionary focus on educational learner needs exclusively seems to ignore the today's range and depth of the socio-cultural functions of global English. The authors examine the dictionaries' coverage of non-Inner Circle varieties of English and, in particular, analyze culture-loaded borrowings from Northeast Asian countries (China, Japan, Korea, and Russia) where English is widely used for intercultural communication. The particular interest is in the way the dictionaries define such entries and represent non-English cultures and identities of their speakers from the Expanding Circle through borrowings. Analysis of the wordlists of learner's dictionaries reveals an ethnocentric approach in compiling the dictionaries. This is manifested both in the patchy coverage of non-Inner Circle varieties of English in the dictionaries and in the inexplicable selections of borrowings to be included. Words associated with the Northeast Asian countries tend to be selected arbitrarily and according to Western rather than regional culture priorities. Anglocentricity is also evident in the definitions of the headwords related to Northeast Asia. The majority of the borrowings are defined in British or American terms without any perspective of the culture from which the words arise. The authors conclude that the representation of non-English cultures in learner's dictionaries is ideological and ethnocentric and therefore cannot meet the challenges of the globalized world.

Keywords: *ethnocentricity, learner lexicography, native speaker, World Englishes*

Научная статья

Контактная вариантология английского языка и учебная лексикография: взгляд из Расширяющегося круга

Г.Н. ЛОВЦЕВИЧ, А.А. СОКОЛОВ

Дальневосточный федеральный университет
Владивосток, Россия

Аннотация

В статье представлено исследование четырех англоязычных учебных словарей для изучающих английский язык как неродной в странах Расширяющегося круга с позиции возможного отражения ими положений контактной вариантологии английского языка. Основное внимание уделено тому, как современные учебные словари отражают текущий глобальный статус английского языка. Словарь, ориентированный исключительно на образовательные потребности обучающегося, как представляется, игнорирует весь спектр и глубину социокультурных функций глобального английского языка. Авторы исследуют представленность в словарях вариантов английского языка, не относящихся к Внутреннему кругу и, в частности, анализируют культурные заимствования из стран Северо-Восточной Азии (Китая, Японии, Кореи, России), где английский язык широко используется для межкультурного общения. Особый интерес представляют определения подобных заимствований в словаре и то, как в них представлена национальная идентичность пользователей английского языка из стран Расширяющегося круга. Анализ словника учебных словарей выявляет этноцентрический подход при составлении словарей. Это проявляется как в неоднородном охвате в словарях вариантов английского языка, не относящихся к Внутреннему кругу, так и в необъяснимом отборе заимствований для включения в словари. Слова, ассоциируемые со странами Северо-Восточной Азии, как правило, отбираются произвольно и в соответствии с приоритетами западной, а не региональных культур. Англоцентризм проявляется и в содержании словарной статьи. Большая часть заимствований определяется с позиции англо-американской культуры безотносительно к исходной культуре. Авторы приходят к выводу, что представление неанглийских культур в учебных словарях является идеологическим и этноцентрическим и поэтому словари не отвечают вызовам глобализированного мира.

Ключевые слова: *этноцентризм, учебная лексикография, носитель языка, варианты английского языка*

> By marginalizing the global uses of English, we are walling in an important world vision for which world Englishes have become an important resource.
>
> (Kachru 1996: 18)

1. Introduction

This paper looks at modern learner's dictionaries of English as a world language and the way they reflect the current state of the language from the point of view of World Englishes.

It was Braj Kachru's plenary paper given at the JALT 1996 conference that sparked our interest in this issue. Kachru stresses the role of world Englishes in different parts of the world (Africa, Asia, North and South America, Eastern Europe) as "a resource, as a key to crossing borders and barriers of various types – cultural, linguistic, ethnic and social" (Kachru 1996: 10). This dimension of English is manifested in the fact that "English has acquired cultural identities which no other language has acquired." Kachru emphasizes the cross-cultural, pluricentric functions of English as an international language, comparing it with a shifting "grid" through which "we gain access to a variety of Western and non-Western cultures, ideologies, mythologies, and philosophies." Outer and Expanding Circle varieties of English express the ideas and cultural identities of their speakers, not those of Inner-Circle variety speakers.

Actually, two points from Kachru's paper strengthened our intention to proceed with the research questions. The first is Kachru's refrain that appears all through the paper on the new (in contrast to the traditional) regions of contact for English, the non-Western world (Chinese, Japanese, Thai, etc.). The second point relates to Kachru's concern about whether "the ELT Empire" and its materials reflect the intercultural dimension of World Englishes. The four myths[1] demystified by the author refer to the "earlier language teaching paradigm" that "suppresses the multiculturalism of English" and centers on the native-speaker cultures and norms.

The twenty-five years that have followed the publication of this program paper have brought a shift toward the World Englishes paradigm in sociolinguistics such that the Inner Circle and Outer Circle varieties are recognized by the majority linguists, and the legitimacy of Expanding Circle varieties is gaining more support (Proshina 2019). Practical lexicography has been contributing to the field of World Englishes by compiling dictionaries of various varieties of English which validate and valorize the regional lexicons. Today the number of dictionaries and glossaries for varieties of English amounts to more than 600 items (Lambert 2019: 415). Whereas English Language Teaching (ELT) practice is still shaped by the traditional native-speaker paradigm, it nowadays creates "a greater tension between what is taught in the classroom and what students will need in the real world once they have left the classroom" (Kramsch 2014: 296). However, the critique of the

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[1] The interlocutor myth, the monoculture myth, the model dependency myth, and the Cassandra myth (Kachru 1996: 16).

imposition of native-speaker norms and proficiency as the target for learners has brought to life the English as an International Language approach that is a pedagogical implication of the world Englishes orientation (Kumaravadivelu 2012, McKay 2012, Lovtsevich 2019).

It is worth emphasizing the heavy ELT dependence on English learner's dictionaries. They have been the main reference and pedagogical tools of ELT since the creation of the first monolingual learner's dictionary[2] in 1942. The worldwide demand and a very competitive and profitable market have made English learner lexicography a well-developed field with an extensive range of high-quality dictionaries for learners of all levels (Bogaards 1996, Herbst 1996, Cowie 2000, Kirkness 2004, Heuberger 2015). The distinctive features of learner lexicography are primarily determined by practical and pedagogical goals and are as follows: a specific elaborate selection of a wordlist, restricted defining vocabulary, pronunciation guidance, grammar notes, collocations and example sentences, usage comments, and culture notes. During almost eighty years of learner lexicography, these learner-centered features have resulted in the major lexicographic improvements to make the dictionaries user-friendly for language learners.

However, the dictionary focus on educational learner needs exclusively seems to ignore the range and depth of the socio-cultural functions of global English. This paper will attempt to tackle this problem and try to see to what extent current English-language learner's dictionaries reflect the shift to the World Englishes paradigm. The paper will begin by analyzing the representation of different varieties of English in the latest editions of the most authoritative English-language learner's dictionaries of the world's leading publishing houses: *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 4th edition (2013) (CALD4), *Collins COBUILD Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 9th edition (2018) (COBUILD9), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*, 6th edition (2014) (LDOCE6), and *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, 10th edition (2020) (OALD10). These dictionaries are known in lexicography as "the big four" (Bogaards 1996, De Schryver 2012), "the perfect learner's dictionaries" (Herbst 1996) and are considered to be one of the most notable achievements of learner lexicography of the 20th century.

The analysis will have three points of focus:

(a) First, it examines the dictionaries' coverage of non-Inner Circle varieties of English (namely, the Outer and Expanding Circle).

(b) The study then focuses on culture-loaded borrowings from Northeast Asian countries representing the Expanding Circle and the issue of their selection in order to determine how the dictionaries convey the source culture as peripheral, exotic, and sometimes ideological.

(c) The third point of emphasis will be on definitions of culture-loaded borrowings and their treatments within dictionary entries. It will tackle the problem of Inner-Circle Anglocentricity in interpreting the source culture.

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[2] Hornby, A.S., Gatenby, E.V. & H. Wakefield. Idiomatic and Syntactic English Dictionary: The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English. Tokyo: Kaitakusha, 1942.

2. English coverage in learner's dictionaries

2.1. The definition of English

In order to see to what extent the learner's dictionaries recognize English as a language of international communication, we first turn to the dictionaries' entries for the *English language*.

Three out of four dictionaries display an Anglocentric view in defining English as the language used in Inner Circle countries (mainly the UK and the US):

> **English** – the language that is spoken in the UK, the US, and in many other countries. (CALD4)
> **English** is the language spoken in Great Britain and Ireland, the United States, Canada, Australia, and many other countries. (COBUILD9)
> **English** – the language used in Britain, the US, Australia, and some other countries. (LDOCE6)

These definitions show no recognition of the use of English in the Outer Circle post-colonial countries (India, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, South Africa, to name a few), to say nothing of the Expanding Circle countries.

In this respect, it is OALD10 that stands out. It is the only learner's dictionary which does not single out traditional countries, but instead explicitly legitimizes the global status of English, giving a reference to England just as the place of origin of the English language:

> **English** – the language, originally of England, now spoken in many other countries and used as a language of international communication throughout the world. (OALD10)

Moreover, the definition is accompanied by an example, "*world Englishes*," and a detailed *World English* culture note:

> *World English*
> **Culture note**
> English is the most widely spoken language in the world. It is the first language, or mother tongue, of over 350 million people living in countries such as Britain, Ireland, the US, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, and it is spoken as a second language by many millions in countries where English is an official language. English is learned by many more people worldwide as a foreign language. English has many regional varieties such as South African English and Indian English and has also developed as a global language or international language, used as a lingua franca (shared language), sometimes called ELF (= English as a Lingua Franca) between people for whom it is not a first language. It is estimated that now only one out of every four users of the language speaks English as their first language.
> <…>

> As a global language, English can no longer be thought of as belonging only to British or American people, or to anyone else. As the number of people using English as a second or foreign language is increasing faster than the number who speak it as a first language, further movement away from a British or American standard is likely.
> <…>

The culture note presents the history of English, including its global spread, as well as its current statuses (as first language, second language, foreign language, global language). It recognizes regional varieties of English in formal colonies and declares the global ownership of English. It should be noted that this is a recent trend, as the earlier 6th edition of OALD (2000) provided an Anglocentric definition of *English*:

> **English** – the language of Britain, Ireland, N. America, Australia and some other countries. (OALD6)

2.2. Regional varieties of English

Representation of different regional varieties of English by learner's dictionaries can also be observed in the use of regional labels. The table below represents the regional labels used in the learner's dictionaries under study (Table 1).

Table 1

Regional labels in learner's dictionaries

Dictionary	Regional labels
CALD4	Australian English, Indian English, Irish English, Northern English, Scottish English, South African English, UK (British English), US (American English)
COBUILD9	Am (American English), Australian (Australian English), Brit (British English), Northern English, Scottish (Scottish English)
LDOCE6	AmE (American English), AusE (Australian English), BrE (British English)
OALD10	AustralE (Australian English), BrE (British English), CanE (Canadian English), EAfrE (East African English), IndE (Indian English), IrishE (Irish English), NAmE (North American English), NBrE (Northern British English), NZE (New Zealand English), SAfrE (South African English), ScotE (Scottish English), SEAsianE (South-East Asian English), US (US English), WAfrE (West African English), WelshE (Welsh English)

The analysis shows that all four dictionaries legitimately recognize the Inner Circle varieties of English (British English, American English, and Australian English). Outer-Circle Indian English and South African English appear in two dictionaries (CALD4, OALD10), whereas East African English, West African English, and South-East Asian English are listed in only one dictionary (OALD10).

Speaking of OALD, it should be emphasized that its coverage of World Englishes has been slowly increasing over the last two decades. The 6th edition of OALD (2000) included only seven English varieties, admitting variability only inside the Inner Circle (American English, Australian English, British English, Irish

English, Northern English, New Zealand English, Scottish English), whereas the current 10th edition (2020) reflects fifteen varieties of English, including some varieties in the Outer Circle. This is in tune with the OALD publisher's claim[3] that "the dictionary focuses on language change and its evolution through the years, and has ensured that the language and examples used in the new edition are relevant and up to date with the times." The latest edition of OALD10 features, for example, 26 new Indian English words, including *Aadhaar, chawl, dabba, hartal,* and *shaadi.*

As for the Expanding Circle varieties of English, learner's dictionaries do not recognize them, despite the fact that the majority of English users (500 million – 1 billion) are in Expanding Circle countries (Crystal 2012: 61). We have not observed a single regional label denoting an Expanding Circle country. English words coming from Expanding Circle countries are included in learner's dictionaries as *borrowings*.

2.3. Inclusion

Within the framework of this article, we will examine the presence in the learner's dictionaries of four Expanding Circle varieties of English of Northeast Asia – Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Russian. The choice of this particular region is intentional on the part of the authors, who live in Vladivostok, in the Russian Far East – the region bordering China, Japan, and Korea, where English is widely used as an intermediary language for intercultural communication. Therefore, we are raising the issue of how the English of users in this region is reflected in the learner's dictionaries.

The present study shows that all the learner's dictionaries under consideration include, in varying degrees, culture-loaded words that came into English from Northeast Asia, a region where performance varieties of English are used in the context of the Expanding Circle. The dictionaries treat the borrowings in the entries as rare and unusual in a number of ways: by indications of a donor language, the absence of usage or cultural notes, the absence of collocations and illustrative examples. The donor language indications are of four types:

⸺ indication of a donor language prior to the definition: *from Russian, from Japanese*;

⸺ indication of a specific country where the word originates from, sometimes together with the field in which this word is most commonly used: *in Chinese philosophy, in the former Soviet Union*;

⸺ etymological information[4]: *late 17th cent.: from Chinese (Cantonese dialect) kam kwat 'little orange'*;

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[3] URL: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/aadhaar-dabba-hartal-shaadi-make-it-to-oxford-dictionary/articleshow/73584050.cms

[4] Etymological information appeared in the online version of two learner's dictionaries (LDOCE and OALD) in the form of separate Word Origin notes relatively recently. Unfortunately, it is absent in paper dictionaries.

— indication of the word origin within the definition itself: *used especially in Russia for…, used in Japanese cooking, a Korean dish made of…*

Table 2 below shows the distribution of borrowings among four countries within the dictionaries.

Number of borrowings in the learner's dictionaries

Word origin	CALD4	COBUILD9	LDOCE6	OALD10	Total amount of different words
Chinese	83	44	121	96	169
Japanese	83	30	97	84	161
Korean	10	1	17	9	21
Russian	57	38	138	75	166
Total	233	113	373	264	

The quantitative analysis of Northeast Asian loanwords reveals that words of Chinese, Japanese, and Russian origin are approximately equally represented in learner's dictionaries (169, 161, and 166 lexical units respectively), while only 21 words are of Korean origin. It is worth noting a large-enough representation of Japanese borrowings. Even though the area of the country is many times smaller and geographically remote, the level of loanword donation is almost the same as that of China or Russia. The small number of Korean loanwords listed in the dictionaries might reveal little interaction across the languages and cultures, and also socio-economic and political factors.

In general, the study shows that loanwords of Northeast Asian origin are in the periphery of the dictionaries, which are still Inner Circle centered. The headwords with references to Northeast Asian origin constitute approximately 0.001% of the total number of headwords, which is true for all the dictionaries under consideration.

It should be pointed out that LDOCE6 stands out among all four dictionaries as listing the largest number of borrowings. They amount to 373 items, because of the dictionary's encyclopedic character[5]. It includes a rather large proportion of proper names: eminent figures, literary works, cultural phenomena, historical events, geographical names, etc. It is this dictionary's abundant examples of encyclopedic definitions on which we base our ethnocentricity arguments below.

How the borrowings to be included in the dictionary are selected and how borrowings from non-Inner Circle cultures are defined are key questions. Are these lexemes key words widely used in the source language? Or are they widely used in

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[5] The revised 1992 edition of *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture* in addition to a complete language dictionary included a further 15,000 cultural and encyclopedic entries covering people, places, history, geography, the arts, and popular culture which are available now in LDOCE online.

Inner Circle English varieties and so can be assigned to its core vocabulary? To answer these questions, we analyzed the thematic affiliations of the borrowings.

Table 3 shows the 18 major categories of all the words associated with China, Japan, Korea, and Russia according to lexico-semantic categories.

Table 3

Lexico-semantic categories of borrowings in the four learner's dictionaries

Categories	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Russian
1. Art	7	18		38
2. Business	4	7	3	
3. Ethnonyms	5	1	3	2
4. Flora and fauna	14	12		3
5. Food and cooking	**30**	22	2	6
6. Household items	8	7		11
7. Medicine	4	2		
8. Natural phenomena	2	2		
9. Philosophy and religion	15	5	2	
10. Place names	16	15	**6**	17
11. Politics	22		1	18
12. Recreation	4	11		
13. Science and space				10
14. Sport	2	11	1	3
15. State and society	10	11	2	**45**
16. Technology	3	**27**		
17. Weapon				2
18. Miscellaneous	23	10	1	11

The thematic affiliations of the borrowings from Northeast Asian countries in the dictionaries demonstrate a broad range of topics, from art to weaponry. However, the distribution within the categories and the predominance of some specific categories may correspond to the British stereotype of a region. The selection seems to have been made not from the perspective of the local culture (with dominant distinctive items from this or that country), but rather from the perspective of the "center" (Britain). Obviously, this selection leads to stereotypical representations of the countries. Thus, the bulk of Chinese borrowings are represented by food and cooking (30 items). Russia is depicted mostly through the borrowings of societal changes: from the revolution in 1917 to the Soviet period (45 items). Japan is presented as a country of technical advances and multinational conglomerate corporations (27 items). In the context of English as an international language, such a representation of national cultures causes an Anglocentric view of the world to leak into the modern dictionaries.

To reveal the subjectivity of the selections of borrowings from Northeast Asian countries, we compiled a list of words that occur in all four dictionaries under review, as shown in Table 4.

Borrowings from Northeast Asian countries occurring in the learner's dictionaries

Word origin	Borrowings from Northeast Asian countries	Number of words, % of all different words borrowed
Chinese	Cantonese, Chinatown, Chinese, chop suey, chopstick, chow, chow mein, feng shui, fortune cookie, ginseng, gung-ho, joss stick, junk, ketchup, kowtow, kung fu, lychee, Mandarin, paper tiger, pidgin, rice paper, Sino-, soy sauce, spring roll, t'ai chi, Taoism, tea, Triad, typhoon, wok, yang, yen, yin, yuan	34 words, 20.1%
Japanese	anime, bonsai, emoji, futon, geisha, haiku, hara-kiri, honcho, Japanese, judo, kamikaze, karaoke, karate, kimono, manga, origami, rickshaw, sake, samurai, satsuma, shiatsu, Shinto, sudoku, sumo, sushi, tsunami, tycoon, Walkman, yen, Zen	30 words, 18.6%
Korean	Korean, Moonie, North Korea, North Korean, taekwondo	5 words, 23.8%
Russian	agitprop, apparatchik, astrakhan, balaclava, Bolshevik, caftan, cosmonaut, glasnost, gulag, the intelligentsia, Kalashnikov, the Kremlin, mammoth, Molotov cocktail, parka, pavlova, perestroika, pogrom, the Politburo, rouble, Russian, Russian roulette, samovar, shaman, Soviet, steppe, troika, tsar, tsarina, tundra, vodka	31 words, 18.7%

China and Japan are presented as the exotic "Orient" with *chopstick, feng shui, kung fu, yin, yang, geisha, hara-kiri, kamikaze, kimono, sake, sumo*, etc. Such a representation is in compliance with the definition given to *Japan* in LDOCE6 which explicitly declares that "When people in the US and UK think of Japan, they typically think of …its traditional culture, such as geishas (= traditional female entertainers) wearing beautiful kimonos and sumo wrestlers." Global English-language learners will get to know Russia as a backward country, stuck somewhere in the period of the Iron Curtain and the Cold War, with such outdated Russian words as *Bolshevik* and *politburo*. These are not the key features of the source culture to introduce to the world of English-language learners.

To sum up, by analyzing the wordlists of learner's dictionaries, we can clearly see evidence of the ethnocentric approach. This is manifested both in the patchy coverage of non-Inner Circle varieties of English in the dictionaries and in the inexplicable selections of borrowings to be included. In particular, the dictionary wordlists remain British/American, to which the regional items are added as marginal. Words associated with the Northeast Asian countries tend to be selected arbitrarily and according to Western rather than regional culture priorities.

3. Northeast Asian culture-loaded borrowings defined

3.1. The structure of definitions

An encyclopedic definition is a type of intensional analytical definition reflecting world knowledge rather than knowledge of the language as such. It usually conforms to a specific pattern that we have already encountered: the headword of the definition identifies a broader category to which the definiendum

belongs (*genus proximum*), and the rest of the definition specifies the characteristics that single out the defined item within that broad category (*differentias specificas*) (Sterkenburg 2003). To distinguish analytical from encyclopedic definitions, some scholars name the former "lexical". Below is an example of a lexical definition:

> **balaclava** – a type of hat made of wool that covers most of the head, neck and face. (OALD10)

The genus proximum is "hat"; the differentias specificas is "made of wool" and the fact that it "covers most of the head, neck and face."

An encyclopedic definition is illustrated by *Pinyin*:

> **Pinyin** – a system of writing the Chinese language in the Roman alphabet officially recognized in China since 1958 and used in Western newspapers and other public documents. (LDOCE6)

The genus proximum is expressed by the minimum salient information ("a system of writing the Chinese language in the Roman alphabet"), while the differentia specifica is some additional information that is salient but not essential ("officially recognized in China since 1958 and used in Western newspapers and other public documents").

Usually, it is the definer who has to select encyclopedic information under the pressure of the economy of space. And here, there is the danger of a definer's bias due to their cultural assumptions to supplement the differentia specifica part of the definition with additional highly specific and overt or covert evaluative information about the concept it refers to. In other words, our argument is that of the importance of encyclopedic definition thorough analysis. It is through the definition of the words related to Northeast Asia that we may see whose cultural context the definition expresses in making the referent known to the broader world. For these reasons, encyclopedic definitions in learner's dictionaries are in the focus of our analysis, but this does not exclude the attention to lexical analytical definitions as well as synthetic synonym definitions. Below is an example of a synonym definition, where a Chinese borrowing is defined by its British synonym:

> **junk** – a Chinese sailing boat. (LDOCE6)

3.2. Synonym definitions

We will turn now to the last type of definition, where the salient information about regional referent is conveyed by British/American synonyms.

This pattern is observed in the definition of *astronaut* and *taikonaut*:

> A **cosmonaut** is an astronaut from the former Soviet Union. (all dictionaries)
> **taikonaut** – an astronaut from China. (LDOCE6)
> **astronaut** – a person whose job involves travelling and working in a spacecraft. (OALD10)

The forms of the definitions reveal that, of the three nouns, *astronaut* is a dominant word. It lacks any regional label, and what is more important, it is used as defining vocabulary for the intensional description of Russian English and Chinese English words. Actually, in contrast to *astronaut*, *cosmonaut* (Russian) and *taikonaut* (Chinese) are not fully defined for non-Inner-Circle users. Therefore, the non-Inner-Circle users who encounter the incomprehensible word *astronaut* in definitions for *cosmonaut* or *taikonaut* would have to look up that word from the one they looked at in the first place.

The same British/American synonym *astronaut* is used for *Yuri Gagarin,* the first man to travel to space:

> **Gagarin, Yuri** – (1934–1968) a Soviet astronaut. On 12th April 1961 he became the first man in space when he travelled round the Earth in Vostok I. (LDOCE6)

The definer seems unaware of the Russian English word *cosmonaut* that might be the proper word to use in the case of a Russian cosmonaut.

The entry for *dacha* demonstrates the use of a British synonym in the definition:

> **dacha** – a Russian country house. (OALD10)
> **dacha** – a large country house in Russia. (LDOCE6)

In these examples, the definer chooses not to define *dacha* in its own terms but instead refers to the type of housing known to the British reader (a large house in the country, especially one that belongs or used to belong to a rich and important family). The British definition of *dacha* as a variation of its British counterpart is actually quite vague if not misleading. It gives the wrong idea of *dacha*, as a large country house of a rich family or even a palace like Blenheim Palace near Oxford (a culture note in OALD10), whereas in Russia, it often means a rather small piece of land in city suburbs where the family grows crops in summer.

From the analysis of synonym definitions, we may draw the conclusion of the Anglocentric treatment of the regional borrowings as if the intended reader of a dictionary came from the Inner Circle only. Using the British/American synonym in definitions makes the meaning of the loanword clear only to Inner-Circle speakers of English, while the international users can have only a vague idea of what the referent might mean in the source culture. It leads to a view of the global English language "through the British eye."

3.3. Encyclopedic definitions

Usually lexical in genus proximum form and encyclopedic in content, encyclopedic definitions may have room for cultural/ideological judgment. It should be noted that some lexicographers have acknowledged that English dictionaries are ethnocentric works (Lee 1989, Cowie 1995, Whitcut 1995, Benson 2001, Chen 2019). In his study of Chinese loanwords in the *Oxford English*

Dictionary, Benson emphasizes the role of encyclopedic definitions in this respect: the definition of evaluative style plays "an important role in establishing the cultural center of the dictionary as one from which knowledge of the periphery is constructed and made known" (Benson 2001: 51).

With the question of whether encyclopedic definitions for an English-language learner's dictionary incorporate an Anglocentric perspective or the perspective of the international group they refer to, we proceed to the analysis of definitions. In the description of the study that follows we go by a class of words that imply an ideological evaluation (public figures, historical events, and place names).

3.4. Defining public figures

Many entries of this kind exhibit explicit evaluations of the public figures they refer to. LDOCE6 defines Catherine the Great of Russia as follows:

> **Catherine the Great (also Catherine II)** – (1729–1796) the empress of Russia from 1762 to 1796 who greatly increased the size of the Russian empire. She is known for having had many lovers. (LDOCE6)

The first part of the definition gives biographical information about the Russian empress Catherine II, which is a typical way of defining public figures as the referent of the encyclopedic definition. The second part is an explicit evaluation of her as the empress who "had many lovers." The information that is judged as salient is evidently an Inner Circle interpretation of the deeds of a great Russian empress. However, in Russian history she is remembered, first and foremost, as the empress of the Enlightenment, who founded the Russian Academy of Sciences and a number of tertiary institutions. Thus, the definition promotes the British/American perspective, absolutely excluding the source culture perspective.

A similar pattern is observed in the LDOCE6 entry for *Boris Yeltsin*:

> **Yeltsin, Boris** – (1931–2007) a Russian politician who became president of Russia in 1991. Bad economic conditions and the growing crime problem in Russia made him unpopular with many, but he was elected president again in 1996. He had very serious health problems, and was sometimes criticized for drinking too much alcohol. (LDOCE6)

In the genus proximum part of the definition, Yeltsin is defined as a Russian politician, and in the differentia specifica part he is described as the president of Russia. The last sentence about Yeltsin's health problems and alcohol addiction does not present defining information, rather it is an opinion of a British definer that is far from the view of Yeltsin held in the cultural context of Russia. It might be even offensive for users in the source culture, as it implies the inability of the Russian people to elect the right person to be their country's president. In the Russian context, Yeltsin is remembered as the first president of the Russian Federation, who introduced societal reforms and prompted democracy in the

country. Thus, the British version of Yeltsin is encoded in the definition without even mentioning the alternative.

The entry of *Leo Tolstoy* is a purely lexical analytical one:

> **Tolstoy, Count Leo** – (1828–1910) a Russian writer best known for his long novels *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina.* (LDOCE6)

This example demonstrates the ethnocentric principle of defining the public figure far from the perspective of the original culture. The genus-differentia definition describes Tolstoy as a Russian writer famous for his novels. The use of the adjective *long* as an attribute characterizing the two named works implies that it is this quality of the novels that made Tolstoy famous in Russia and all over the world. This is an example of an overt subjective evaluation. There are some inadequacies in this definition when it is judged in terms of its expression of its cultural context. Another feature of this definition is that being laconic, it should contain only salient information, and that is the way the reader accepts definition of Leo Tolstoy given in the dictionary. This makes it almost impossible for the international reader to see the inadequacies.

3.5. Defining historic events

The definition of *the Crimean War* is given in two dictionaries: LDOCE6 and OALD10. Comparing them, we are able to observe in what ways encyclopedic definitions carry ideological meanings:

> **Crimean War, the** – (1853–1856) a war between Russia on one side, and Britain, France, Turkey, and Sardinia on the other. It started because Britain and France believed that Russia intended to take control of the Balkans (= southeast Europe), and it ended when the Russians were defeated and lost control of their naval base at Sevastopol. In the UK most people connect the Crimean War with Florence Nightingale, who cared for the injured soldiers and developed new ideas about nursing, and with a battle called the Charge of the Light Brigade, a serious military mistake in which many British soldiers were killed. (LDOCE6)
> **Crimean War, the** – a war fought by Britain, France and Turkey against Russia between 1853 and 1856 in the Crimea, a part of the Ukraine. Russia wanted power over Turkey, and Britain and France wanted to end Russia's power in the Black Sea. Most of the military action was around Sebastopol, the Russian navy base. It was the first war during which the European public were able to follow events as they happened, because of the invention of the telegraph (= a device for sending messages along wires by the use of electric current). (OALD10)

Both definitions are formulated according to the conventional genus-differentia form with the word *war* as a genus proximum and a description of the war (its participants, location, and battles) as differentia specifica. In the differentia specifica part in OALD10, the cause of the war is implicitly attributed to Russia by

using the preposition "against" Russia. In both dictionaries, there is no word of the war being defensive on part of Russia and aggressive on part of Britain, France and Turkey, as they attacked the Russian port Sevastopol and Russia defended it for 349 days. Thus, the information that is judged is no more than the biased British representation of Russia as a power-hungry nation. The other striking feature in the OALD10 definition is mentioning the Crimea as a part of Ukraine at that time of the Crimean War. This is the fact contradicting the official history of the Crimea that became part of the Russian Empire as early as in 1783 and was a part of Russia during the war. We may say that it is a shortcoming of the definition bearing inaccurate information.

It is worth mentioning that the additional information about the referent in both dictionaries puts the war into the British cultural context. The LDOCE6 definition informs the international readers that people in the UK connect this event with British nurse Florence Nightingale and the battle in which many British soldiers were killed. In OALD10 the salient additional information is the invention of the telegraph, which allowed the European public to follow the events of the conflict. We may conclude that both definitions lack an international perspective by ignoring other countries which were involved in the Crimean War. Thus, from the Russian people's perspective, this war is connected with such names as admiral Pavel Nakhimov and vice-admiral Vladimir Kornilov, a sailor Petr Koshka, and a Russian nurse Dasha Sevastopolskaya, who showed heroism defending their native seaport.

It should be emphasized that both definitions convey the ethnocentric assumption that British actions were the determining actions in the Crimean War.

3.6. Defining place names

The LDOCE6 defines two Japanese islands in the form of the classic definition model of genus + differentiae:

> **Iwo Jima** – an island in the Pacific Ocean belonging to Japan, where US forces won a very difficult battle in World War II. There is a statue in Washington, D.C., of US marines raising the US flag on Iwo Jima after they had won the battle. (LDOCE6)
> **Okinawa** – a Japanese island in the west Pacific Ocean, southwest of Kyushu, where an important battle took place between the US and Japan in 1945 near the end of World War II. (LDOCE6)

It is the additional information in both cases that reveals ethnocentricity and bias. Both islands might be lexically defined as "a Japanese island in the Pacific Ocean" with some details specifying the location of the island ("southwest of Kyushu"). Instead, the definition's core is followed by the information irrelevant for the international reader. The choice of the additional information is Anglocentric, giving prominence to the facts that are important in the history of the US ("where US forces won a very difficult battle") and glorifying the US forces. Evidently, the inclusion of these headwords (*Okinawa* and *Iwo Jima*) was not made

on geographical principles but on the Anglocentric principle to select lemmas having historic relevance exclusively in the Inner Circle.

The LDOCE6 definition of Siberia is an example of the British/American stereotype about the vast territory in Russia:

> **Siberia** – a very large area in Russia, between the Ural Mountains and the Pacific Ocean where there are many minerals but very few people. It is known for being extremely cold, and for being the place where Russian criminals were sent, and during the communist years where Soviet governments had prisons to which they used to send anyone who disagreed with them. (LDOCE6)

The definition of this geographical proper name starts with the genus proximum ("a very large area") followed by the more specific information on its location: "in Russia, between the Ural Mountains and the Pacific Ocean." The additional encyclopedic information bears conventional Western interpretation of the nature of Siberia through the use of words "few people," "extremely cold," "criminals," and "prisons." Actually, it is the conventional British vision of remote Siberia that is presented in the dictionary. This version is contested by the official data: today Siberia is home to over 17 million people – 11.6% of Russia's population. Among 29 cities, there are three big cities with a population exceeding one million people each. Novosibirsk, a major city, has a city Metro, one of the best Opera and Ballet Theatres in Russia, several tertiary institutions, and the Siberian division of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Analysis of the treatment of the headwords related to Northeast Asia through the framework of the definitional forms reveals Anglocentricity in learner's dictionary definitions. The majority of the headwords are defined in British or American terms without any perspective of the culture from which the words arise. Despite the inclusion of many Expanding Circle items, the dictionaries remain typical in the representation of the English language as the one owned by its native speakers. Even in the third millennium that witnesses the global use of English as an International Language, English language learner's dictionaries persistently promote the British/American perspective from which these countries and EIL users are to be known globally.

4. Conclusion

We started our research with a certain question in mind: whether there is a shift to the World Englishes paradigm in English learner's dictionaries. We have come to the conclusion that the shift is still very small. Both the inclusion of lexical items from Northeast Asian Englishes and their treatments manifest the Anglocentricity of the four dictionaries we examined. What is more, the study revealed the dictionaries' adherence to assumptions based in the monocultural, monocentric, native-speaker dependency myths described by Kachru, which "block the crossing of borders and suppress the multiculturalism of English" (Kachru 1996: 16).

The on-going diffusion of English, the growth of the family of world Englishes, and the increase in the need to use English to express local culture and identity in intercultural communication challenge current English learner's lexicography, and call for change.

We would like to conclude the paper with Braj Kachru's words, which suggest how it is possible to meet the challenge: "What is needed is a pluralistic vision of models, norms, and canons that will use this immense, unparalleled resource with sensitivity and understanding locally and cross-culturally" (Kachru 1996: 18).

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Bionotes:
Galina N. LOVTSEVICH, Doctor of Philology (Habil.), Head, Department of Linguistics and Intercultural Communication, Far Eastern Federal University. FEELTA President. Research interests include Applied Linguistics, Teaching EIL, Lexicography, Sociolinguistics, World Englishes. She has authored the books on a cultural component in pedagogical terms (2010) and English-Russian dictionary of abbreviated terms of linguodidactics (2009) – in Russian.
Contact information:
Far Eastern Federal University
8 Sukhanova St., Vladivostok, Russia, 690091
e-mail: lovtsevich.gn@dvfu.ru

Alexander A. SOKOLOV is a Postgraduate Student, Department of Linguistics and Intercultural Communication, Institute of Oriental Studies – School of Regional and International Studies, Far Eastern Federal University. Research interests: learner lexicography, World Englishes.
Contact information:
Far Eastern Federal University
8 Sukhanova St., Vladivostok, Russia, 690091
e-mail: sokolov_aa@dvfu.ru

Сведения об авторах:
Галина Николаевна ЛОВЦЕВИЧ – доктор филологических наук, профессор, зав. каф. лингвистики и межкультурной коммуникации, Дальневосточный федеральный университет. Президент Дальневосточной общественной организации преподавателей английского языка. Научные интересы: методика преподавания языков; преподавание английского как международного языка, лексикография, социолингвистика, контактная вариантология английского языка. Автор монографии «Кросскультурный терминологический словарь как средство репрезентации терминологии гуманитарных наук» (2010) и «Англо-русского словаря аббревиатур терминов лингводидактики» (2009).
Контактная информация:
Дальневосточный федеральный университет, Восточный Институт – Школа региональных и международных исследований
690091, Приморский край, г. Владивосток, ул. Суханова, 8
e-mail: lovtsevich.gn@dvfu.ru

Александр Анатольевич СОКОЛОВ – аспирант, кафедра лингвистики и межкультурной коммуникации, Восточный институт – Школа региональных и международных исследований, Дальневосточный федеральный университет. Научные интересы: учебная лексикография, контактная вариантология английского языка.
Контактная информация:
Дальневосточный федеральный университет, Восточный Институт – Школа региональных и международных исследований
690091, Приморский край, г. Владивосток, ул. Суханова, 8
e-mail: sokolov_aa@dvfu.ru

Book review

Review of Zoya G. Proshina and Anna A. Eddy (eds.). 2018. *Russian English: History, Functions, and Features.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 309 p. + xvii p.

Elena V. MARININA

Lomonosov Moscow State University
Moscow, Russia

Рецензия

Рецензия на монографию Zoya G. Proshina and Anna A. Eddy (eds.). *Russian English: History, Functions, and Features.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. 309 c.

Е.В. МАРИНИНА

Московский государственный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова
Москва, Россия

World Englishes, i.e. numerous varieties of the English language, their statuses, and their legitimacy (Proshina 2016), present some of the most interesting, important, and at the same time, controversial issues of modern linguistics and adjoining disciplines, such as sociolinguistics, pragmalinguistics and linguacultural studies. It should be emphasized from the very outset that though quite a number of varieties of English have been already researched, described, and analyzed, *Russian English: History, Function, and Features* is the very first attempt to give a detailed description of Russian English, a specific "European or, to be precise, a Eurasian variety" (p. 1) of English.

Another point to be mentioned is that the book presents the views, ideas and approaches of the best known and most authoritative experts in the field. Taking into consideration that the authors live and work not only in Russia but in some other countries, it may be presumed that the work is a comprehensive overview of the state of the art in the domain of world Englishes in general, and of Russian English, in particular.

This edited work is a brave – and successful – attempt to give a positive answer to an all-important, fundamental question formulated in the title of an earlier paper on the subject: "Does Russian English exist?" (Bondarenko 2014). Russian English presents a complicated object for linguistic research since Russia is a multi-ethnic and multicultural country. This complexity is reflected in the wide range of subjects and approaches covered in different parts and chapters of the book. In order to understand the nature of any linguistic phenomenon, including languages and their varieties, it is absolutely necessary to analyze its history and development. In order to do this, Anna Eddy and Zoya Proshina present a comprehensive overview of Russian-English language contacts from the 16th century till now, showing the peculiarities of each particular period.

The authors provide their answers to two fundamental questions. The first question is: what is meant by "Russian" in the collocation "Russian English"? This adjective may denote the specific ethnicity and at the same time it can refer to all ethnicities of the Russian Federation. In the second case, we can speak of Russian Englishes that will be different from each other mainly in terms of culture-related words. The second question is: who may be considered to be a user of Russian English? It is an all-important question for selecting material for research in the field of Russian English.

In the second chapter, "Russian English in the family of World Englishes," Zoya Proshina concentrates on the methodological and terminological basis for singling out and discussing the phenomenon of Russian English. The author suggests considering the Russian variety of English as consisting of: "the acrolectal *Russia* (or *Russia`s*) *English* as a formal kind of the variety, typical of governmental documents, mass media, … diplomats, well-educated scholars, etc.; mesolectal *Russian English* as a less formal and more casual subtype or a subtype of less educated speakers, and basilectal *Ruslish* also known as *Runglish* or *Renglish*, a subtype used by speakers, and writers with low language competence" (p. 27). These subtypes of Russian English differ functionally, stylistically, and situationally.

The key notion for the whole monograph is *variety*. Proshina defines it as "a social performance continuum that is formed from individual idioms typically and systematically produced by bilingual speakers" (p. 28). Another important characteristic of a non-native variety is the fact that its distinctive features contain not only deviations from exonormative models but also innovations, i.e. "culture-loaded words borrowed by English from an indigenous language" (p. 28). Having discussed the important theoretical and terminological points mentioned above,

Proshina gives the definition of Russian English. It is "a variety of English used by bilingual Russians to express their cultural identity and implement other communicative goals" (p. 28).

Chapter 3 "Russian English Linguaculture" is presented by a group of authors (Zoya Proshina, Alexandra Rivlina, Svetlana Ter-Minasova, Elena Beloglazova, and Victor Kabakchi). This part of the monograph aims at providing a typological comparison of English and Russian and showing those features of the two languages that may influence Russian English. The authors compare English and Russian in terms of morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and phonetics. Accurate and detailed descriptions of Russian and English are provided to explain and foresee the potential problems and difficulties Russian users of English may face, and to show the ways in which the Russian language may influence Russian English. The influence of Global English on Russian may be traced mainly in the development of analytical features, gradual loss of inflections, and increase in the use of informal style features. It is mentioned, that though widely spread, "Englishization" of Russian remains one of the most controversial and debated topics in Russia.

Numerous instances of the heavy influence of English on modern Russian are analyzed in terms of grammar, vocabulary, phonetics/phonology, graphic arrangement and punctuation features, pragmatic and discoursal features, even non-verbal behavior. The long list of linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmalinguistic functions of English-Russian code-switching and code-mixing supports the central idea of the book that Russian English has the status of a variety, as other Englishes of the Outer and Expanding Circles do. Another important point is the changes in Russian culture and Russian mentality caused by a heavy influence of English on the Russian language, culture, and life in different spheres. The final part of the chapter is devoted to the ways Russian culture is introduced to the world through the English language.

Chapter 4, "Linguistic Features of Russian English" (Victoria Zavyalova, Zoya Proshina, Anna Ionina, Anna Eddy, and Tatiana Ivankova), gives the most detailed and comprehensive overview of performance trends typical of many (but not necessarily all) educated Russian users of the English language. Having discussed the linguistic peculiarities of Russian English, the authors pass on to the discussion of the pragmatic features of Russian English, the most important and noticeable of them are:

– politeness;
– imperativeness;
– masculine orientation;
– belittling oneself.

In the following chapters (from 5 to 8) the authors consider the functioning of English in various fields in Russia. The first domain is politics; it is quite reasonable because it is in this field that the most important changes have taken place in the last decades. Having analyzed texts from two political journals and an interview with Sergey Lavrov, the Russian Foreign Minister, Tatiana Ivankova and Elena

Salakhyan make insightful observations about some characteristics of Russian political discourse (unclarity, vagueness, and fuzziness of expression). However, the choice of George Orwell`s essay "Politics and the English Language" (1946) as the starting point for the research may seem disputable.

Another sphere where English plays a very important part in modern Russia is business (Chapter 6 by Irina Krykova & Olesya Lazaretnaya). It may be even said that professional English is viewed as a symbol of status. A large number of loan words came into Russian through business English: however, a great number of such borrowings are not always justified and may cause a negative attitude in the society.

Analyzing the functioning of Russian English in the field of education (Chapter 7), Galina Lovtsevitch starts with a brief review of the history of ELT in Russia, where English has been an essential part of secondary and higher education since the 1930s. The author pays special attention to the review of the textbooks used for ELT in the 1970s and 1980s; they were mainly based on British English. The author proceeds with the changes brought by Perestroika, when English acquired practical value for learners. The *Common European Framework* and communicative competence came to the fore. In 2009, the Ministry of Education introduced the National Unified Exam (EGE) for secondary schools.

One of the fundamental questions in ELT in Russia nowadays is what variety should be taught. Students are well aware of British English and American English models. However, the questions are bound to arise: "Is there a need to get rid of one's Russian accent? Isn`t the role of English in intercultural communication to express the Russian identity of the speaker and to spread information about Russian culture?" (p. 147).

In Chapter 8, "Scholarship," Elena Lawrick shows how English is gaining a competitive advantage in the modern Russian academic environment due to the policy of modernization of the science sector. English is widely used for international publications, but it should be noted that Russian scientists have a lot of difficulties in getting published, mainly because of "low proficiency in academic English and insufficient familiarity with the genre of Western-style research publication" (p. 151).

Another domain where English is widely used in Russia is mass media (Chapter 9 by Anna Eddy, Tatiana Ivankova, and Elena Lawrick). The presence of the English language is especially noticeable on TV, where there was an increase in the use of English during the post-perestroika period. Many Russian TV programs are versions of American and British productions, and their hosts try to imitate the original linguistic patterns and the pronunciation of proper names. A great number of English-language channels are now available, including a 24-hour English-language channel *Russia Today*.

The authors proceed with providing a comprehensive overview of the English language media in Russia: television, the radio, newspapers, magazines, websites aimed at either global readership, viewers, and listeners, or Russian learners of

English. It is important to underline that English-language media in Russia demonstrate different varieties of English: British, American, Russian and other World Englishes.

The field where English has always played a very important role in Russia is tourism (Chapter 10 by Olesya Lazaretnaya). The author analyzes the changes in the use of English as the major means of communication in tourism, which have been taking place since 1929, when the Intourist Agency was founded. The most important and the most interesting conclusion is that nowadays Russian tourists and Russian learners of English are exposed not only to British and American English but to a great number of local varieties of English spoken in different countries.

Other domains where the English language started to have an important, though rather controversial, role due to the influence of Western culture and its values of consumerism are pop culture, entertainment and club culture, the music subculture, extreme sports, and such social groups as young people, gays and lesbians, and music fans (Chapter 11). Anna Eddy provides a careful analysis of the use of English as a medium of communication, self-expression, a signal of status and identity, and even as a marketing device among people belonging to the cultural and social groups mentioned above.

Chapter 12 deals with advertising. Irina Ustinova gives a comprehensive overview of Russian advertising discourse that is characterized by a heavy influence of the English language manifested in code-mixing, code-switching and code-play in all elements of an advertisement layout. Having described the formal characteristics and structural patterns of advertising texts, the author passes on to the functions performed by the English language in this domain. The most important ones are: being a marker of prestige, promoting Western products, creating innovative and attention-getting effect; last but not least, transmitting typical American values.

Chapter 13 addresses literature, which may seem to be rather unexpected in terms of Russian English. However, Evgenia Butenina provides the reader with a thorough analysis of works written by writers who are Russian in origin but who write in English. The author concentrates on Russian-American literature, starting with Vladimir Nabokov. Obviously, there are numerous differences in attitudes, approaches, and styles among the authors: the elusive secret code of Vladimir Nabokov; the elitist code of Olga Grushin; the carnivalesque discourse of Vassily Aksyonov; the satire and parody of Gary Shteyngart and Anya Ulinich; literary Russianness as a strategy of seduction in the writing of Lara Vapnyar and Irina Reyn; the realist mode of David Bezmozgis and Ellen Litman. All of these writers have brought Russian cultural codes, concepts, and values into American literature.

Of special interest is the last part of the book, "Attitudes of Russian Speakers toward Russian English." In Chapter 14, "Competition with Russia as an International Language," Irina Ustinova gives an insightful and detailed analysis of the changes in the status, spread, and functions of the Russian language that have been taking place since the 1990s, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. In Chapter

15, "Linguistic Purism," Olesya Lazaretnaya deals with a wide range of questions. The author describes in detail the reaction of the Russian government and other official bodies to the uncontrolled influx of English borrowings and the excessive, and not always justified, influence of the English language on Russian in the 1990s. Russian linguists emphasize the negative influence of mass "Americanization" not only on Russian vocabulary but also on rhythmical structures and intonation patterns. On the other hand, some scholars are more optimistic, and consider the extensive use of English loan words by Russian young people to be just a popular trend. It is shown, however, that the reaction of Russian people is different and depends on the area they live in. The author concludes by stating that fears about the future of the Russian language are unfounded, since it remains a symbol of national culture and national identity.

In Chapter 16, "Resistance to and Gain in the World Englishes Paradigm," Zoya Proshina and Irina Ustinova concentrate on the concept of Russian English, its status and various attitudes from scholars and the society. It is worth mentioning that the first publications on different regional varieties of the English language, later known as World Englishes, appeared in the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1960s. Nowadays most works are connected with Asian Englishes for obvious economic, political, cultural reasons. However, at the beginning of the 21st century there appeared investigations of the variety of English used in Russia by such scholars as Zoya Proshina, Irina Ustinova, Alexandra Rivlina, Anna Eddy, Elena Lawrick, and Olesya Lazaretnaya. It is interesting to note that most of the researchers avoid using the term "Russian English" because its status remains rather vague in linguistics in Russia. It is used sometimes to denote the most common errors and mistakes made by Russian speakers of English. It should be noted, however, that according to the latest research, the attitude of society in Russia to the idea of Russian English is becoming more positive.

Chapter 17 (Maria Lebedko) describes the functions performed by the English language in one of the Russian regions, Tuva. The author argues that in this republic of Russia, English serves as a secondary means for self-identity, since several dictionaries of Tuvan language and culture have already been published in English. There can be no doubt that publishing culture-loaded words in the global language dictionary is a very good way to make the unique and rich Tuvan culture known to the world.

In the afterword of the volume, Zoya Proshina provides a well-structured and cogent overview of the ideas expressed by the chapter authors. She starts with a definition of Russian English as "a performance variety of the educated Russians who mostly learn it through education in an artificial language setting" (p. 258). It is important to emphasize that *Russian English* should not be equalized with *Ruslish,* "a pidginized hybrid formation used by non-educated Russians" (p. 258). The author proceeds with a brief description of the main distinctive features of Russian English on all levels of linguistic analyses; the results of the mutual influence of the English and Russian languages; the functions performed by the

English language in Russian politics, business, education, mass media, tourism, literature. In conclusion, Zoya Proshina expresses the firm belief of the contributors to the book that though the status of Russian English is still highly disputable, nevertheless, Russian English is a variety of the Expanding Circle.

The collective monograph *Russian English* is an unprecedented and highly important volume which provides a detailed and comprehensive overview of an Expansive Circle variety of English. The contributors to the book firmly believe that Russian English does exist as a variety of the Expanding Circle. However, there can be little doubt that this idea is not generally accepted yet. The status of Russian English is still disputable for several reasons. Firstly, it is connected with terminological difficulties since the term *variety* may be understood in different ways. Secondly, the authors admit that *Russian English* may be understood differently. If we proceed from the assumption that Russian English is a variety used by "minority ethnicities as an additional means for expressing their cultural identity" (p. 263), then we should speak about *Russian Englishes.* Hence, questions are bound to arise: How many Russian Englishes are there (taking into consideration that there about 60 languages just in the Caucasus)? What are their statuses? Thirdly, it is not quite clear whether the most obvious characteristics of Russian English affect communication with speakers of other first languages and native speakers of English. The fact that the volume poses these important questions and generates discussion of them is, no doubt, one of its real merits.

To conclude, the collective monograph under review may be considered as an important first attempt to produce a comprehensive and overall analysis of Russian English, a highly complex language phenomenon. The results of the investigations will stimulate further research and discussion; they are of great importance to specialists working in the field of general linguistics, contact linguistics, social linguistics, language policy, linguacultural studies, and teachers of English as a Foreign or International Language and a Language for Special Purposes.

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Bionote:
Elena V. MARININA, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Foreign Language Teaching Theory, Faculty of Foreign Languages and Area Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University. Research interests focus on English Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Linguacultural Studies, Intercultural Communication, ELT.
Contact information:
Lomonosov Moscow State University
1, bld. 13, Leninskiye Gory, Moscow, Russia, 119991
e-mail: emarinina1@yandex.ru
eLibrary SPIN-code: 6992-5433

Сведения об авторе:
Елена Викторовна МАРИНИНА – кандидат филологических наук, доцент, доцент кафедры теории преподавания иностранных языков факультета иностранных языков и регионоведения МГУ имени М. В. Ломоносова. Научные интересы: английское языкознание, социолингвистика, лингвокультурология, межкультурная коммуникация, преподавание английского языка.
Контактная информация:
МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова, факультет иностранных языков и регионоведения
119991, Москва, Ленинские горы, стр. 13
e-mail: emarinina1@yandex.ru
eLibrary SPIN-код: 6992-5433

Book review

Review of Nelson, Cecil L., Zoya G. Proshina & Daniel R. Davis. 2020. *The Handbook of World Englishes.* 2nd edn. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley – Blackwell. 816 p. + xxx p.

Ekaterina S. LEBEDEVA

Lomonosov Moscow State University
Moscow, Russia

Рецензия

Рецензия на книгу Nelson, Cecil L., Zoya G. Proshina & Daniel R. Davis. 2020. *The Handbook of World Englishes.* 2nd edn. Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley – Blackwell. 816 c. + xxx c.

Е.С. ЛЕБЕДЕВА

Московский государственный университет имени М. В. Ломоносова
Москва, Россия

A handbook provides "the most important and useful information about a subject," says the Cambridge Dictionary. *The Handbook of World Englishes* is a comprehensive guide into the history, description, development, and interdisciplinary issues of the paradigm introduced and substantiated by the prominent linguist Braj B. Kachru.

In 2009, Braj B. Kachru and his colleagues Yamuna Kachru and Cecil L. Nelson published the first edition of *The Handbook of World Englishes*, which for more than a decade has been a beacon for linguists and scholars working in the field

of the spread of the English language. Technological progress, upward sociocultural mobility and global economic changes brought new ideas, criticisms, and views that answered some of the questions asked in the first edition of the *Handbook* as well as raised many more new ones which are to be tackled. As a result, 2020 saw the publication of the second edition of the *Handbook,* revised, expanded, and updated.

Cecil L. Nelson, Zoya G. Proshina, and Daniel R. Davis took a long and complicated journey contributing to and editing the volume, which discusses world Englishes (WE) from all perspectives, responds to criticisms, defends the studies and statuses of the varieties of the English language, and, what is more, opens new domains for the future research. The volume is divided into 9 parts, with each thoroughly and meticulously touching upon different issues related to the field.

Part I provides the historical context of the varieties of the Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circles. Starting with the very beginning of English language history the *Handbook* goes through the historical and sociocultural contexts of the English language in the British Isles, the United States of America, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. The authors, following Kachru's tradition, underline the origins of the English language in the first two chapters on the "First Diaspora," and the chapters on other varieties of the Inner circle in the "Second Diaspora." Interestingly, the research on Caribbean Englishes, which share many similarities with forms heard across English-speaking communities in the Americas in general, appears under the heading of the Second Diaspora although the questions of pidgins and creoles (the way these varieties are called locally) are addressed later in the volume.

It is worth mentioning that the number of pages devoted to the varieties of the Outer and Expanding Circles is two and a half times more than that describing the Inner Circle varieties, which again shows the reality as it is: non-native English varieties outnumber the native ones. In the Second Diaspora section, the contributors give descriptions of Englishes in South Asia, South East Asia, and Africa. The continents and territories, having in common their colonial pasts, share that historical context which defined the use of English in different domains, such as government, education, and for various purposes, for example, identity-shaping and creative writing.

Definitely, the coverage of the Expanding Circle varieties takes a broader geographical perspective: South America, Europe, Russia, and East Asia have their social, political, economic, educational, and cultural environments for the local varieties of English to function and maintain the status of the main foreign language adopted in the regions. All the chapters emphasize the growing demand for English in the education domain, along with other sectors, such as tourism, manufacturing, trade, and advertising. Moreover, apart from the issues of the status and functions of English, the authors describe the features of the varieties in terms of phonology, lexis, syntax, culture, and pragmatics. The authors unanimously underline the language's pluricentricity and stress the multiple number of Englishes which constitute the variety, depending on what local dialect or minority language (as in

case of Russia) English has contact with. The Fourth Diaspora is addressed in chapters on Chinese English and Russian Englishes, which marked the continuous process of Expanding Circle dynamic life.

Part II presents the issues related to contact linguistics, with Rajend Mesthrie stressing the importance of the historical input to individual varieties and relevance of the comparative database and tools for linguistic analysis and variety description. Mesthrie looks into the early contact history and makes a reasonable, however controversial, point concerning the work of creative writers whose literature may not be considered representational in terms of the spoken Englishes of certain communities. The chapter (Salikoko S. Mufwene) devoted to pidgins and creoles defines the terms and describes the functions of these varieties, oftentimes non-standardized, stressing their relevance to general and contact linguistic studies.

Part III deals with the issues of acculturation, with M.A.K. Halliday differentiating between standard and global language and paying particular attention to meaning potential of the both. Yamuna Kachru analyses speech acts and rhetorical strategies in the Outer and Expanding Circles, underlining the processes of nativization of English and Englishization of indigenous languages. The use of genre and style, the definitions of the concepts and numerous examples in the context of WE are given in the following chapter by Vijay K. Bhatia.

Part IV crosses borders and goes deeply into creativity in the context of WE. Edwin Thumboo observes historical and contemporary forces that helped shape the new literatures in English as well as perspectives to study the creative writings of such authors. Alexandra A. Rivlina follows Thumboo's "creative path" with numerous examples of bilingual linguistic creativity, showing bilingual language play on different language levels and in different varieties. Thanks to Larry E. Smith and Cecil L. Nelson, the major questions of intelligibility and understanding across cultures are thoroughly studied. The next chapter gives a chance to, once again, look at the magnificent metaphorical language of the WE founding father, Braj B. Kachru, whose longing for the recognition of the English language varieties makes its way through the English of his text.

Part V addresses such complicated yet significant issues as grammar and standards starting the discussion with 17th–18th century battles fought in the name of grammar, then proceeding to the 19th–20th century usage wars. Daniel R. Davis looks into grammatical description and its potential for world Englishes. It is noteworthy that the last chapter (Gerald Nelson) in this part marks the most recent studies of the corpus linguistics for the WE stressing the necessity to continue corpus-based research into world Englishes.

The other crucial issues under study within the WE paradigm are ideology and identity, and the chapters in Part VI encounter these concepts in different ways giving the perspective of colonial discourse and postcolonial theory and raising questions of the nature of cultural production with creative writings of postcolonial authors being of top priority.

Part VII penetrates into the questions of globalization unveiling the relations between WE and media, advertising and commerce. Recently, the world has turned to social media networks across the board and, as a result, researchers are focusing on computer-mediated communication, which is analysed by means of variable methods. However, the question about whether media reflect the pluricentricity of English is still to be answered. In his chapter, Tej K. Bhatia observes different approaches for advertising analysis and provides numerous examples of global mixing of world Englishes and their mixing with other languages thus raising the questions of cross-cultural translational mishaps and intelligibility. Of no less importance is the expansion of English in commercial contexts where the necessity for prescriptive mononorms outweigh the creativity and variety of language practices in use.

Part VIII considers the practical relevance of theoretical and academic linguistic findings to the governmental organisations defining language policy and planning which, unfortunately, ignore the problems of unfavorable educational environment in some countries. Margie Berns gives a critical review of communicative competence and calls for a pluricentric approach to investigating the nature of acceptability and intelligibility. Aya Matsuda explores the implications of WE studies for pedagogy focusing on English language courses that will embrace the diversity of the language and prompt teachers to expose their students to different varieties of English. Part VIII finishes with the chapters discussing the multidimensional nature and dynamics of English language proficiency and application of WE studies for language testing and lexicography.

The final chapters celebrate the maturity of World Englishes and future expansion of world Englishes. Kingsley Bolton proves that WE shifted the paradigm in the linguistic studies of the late 20th and early 21st centuries and inspired new directions, innovations and discoveries already under study and yet to come. Yamuna Kachru and Larry E. Smith highlight the fact that these innovations and discoveries will come more from the Outer and Expanding Circles than from the Inner Circle.

Each contributor to the *Handbook*, apart from providing profound analysis and an extensive literature review, raised a lot of new questions and opened a never-ending source of ideas and material for future work and further research both in theoretical and applied dimensions.

The *Handbook* gathered linguists from all Three Circles, uniting their individual varieties in the common academic English of the volume, to produce a landmark reference for studies of world Englishes.

Braj B. Kachru, in his chapter "World Englishes and culture wars," criticizes *The Cambridge History of the English Language,* vol. 5 (1994), which was devoted to "English in Britain and overseas" for the exclusion of African varieties because of a notable lack of professional scholarship. Surely, Professor Kachru would have been grateful to his fellow scholars, Cecil L. Nelson, Zoya G. Proshina, and Daniel

R. Davis for covering all the aspects, neglecting nothing, and commemorating the maturity and wisdom of Braj B. Kachru's child.

Bionote:
Ekaterina S. LEBEDEVA is Senior Lecturer, Department of Theory in Teaching Foreign Languages, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia. Her research interests include World Englishes, transcultural/translingual writers, bilingual creativity, and translation studies.
Contact information:
Lomonosov Moscow State University
1, bld. 13, Leninskiye Gory, Moscow, Russia, 119991
e-mail: lebkaterina@gmail.com

Сведения об авторе:
Екатерина Сергеевна ЛЕБЕДЕВА – старший преподаватель кафедры теории преподавания иностранных языков факультета иностранных языков и регионоведения Московского государственного университета имени М.В. Ломоносова. Научные интересы: контактная вариантология английского языка, транскультурная / транслингвальная литература, билингвальная креативность, переводоведение.
Контактная информация:
МГУ имени М.В. Ломоносова, Факультет иностранных языков и регионоведения
119991, Москва, Ленинские горы, 1, стр. 13
e-mail: lebkaterina@gmail.com