English in a changing world
L'anglais dans un monde changeant

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Introduction

This AILA Review focuses on an issue which concerns us all, in both our professional and private lives: the emergence of English as a global lingua franca, and the changing role it now plays in people's lives.

The increasing use of English in the world arises from complex economic, technological and social processes. It is seen by some as an inevitable consequence of economic globalisation, by others as a legacy of colonialism and imperialism. Proficiency in English is regarded by many as a gateway to economic improvement - both at an individual level as well as that of nation-states. Simultaneously, those of us working in the educational field are all too well aware of the social inequalities which an uncritical requirement for proficiency in English can bring.

What is abundantly clear is that the issues raised by global English go beyond concerns about teaching methodology, or the linguistic analysis of varieties. The collection of papers in this volume demonstrates the range of approaches which applied linguists, from different parts of the world, are now taking. Together, they provide a snapshot of concerns in the mid 1990s.

Change is taking place at such a rate that conventional publication can scarcely keep up with events in the world. Since these papers were first written, economic crises in Asia have perhaps dampened enthusiasm for the idea that globalisation is the only way forward. The launch of the euro seemed for a while to be creating a new, western economic power block which would rival that of the US. Although it is difficult to discern long-term trends, we can be sure that the global context will continue to change, helping shape the use of English in the world. The papers gathered here provide a fascinating insight into attitudes, trends, and social processes related to the English language, and will help us take stock of its changing world role at the turn of the millennium.

David Graddol and Ulrike H. Meinhof
♦ English around the world

♦ L' anglais dans le monde

David Graddol, Tom McArthur, David Flack and Julian Amey

Abstract
David Graddol talks to three people with very different professional relationships to global English: Tom McArthur, Editor of English Today and the Oxford Companion to the English Language, David Flack, Senior Creative Director of MTV Asia, and Julian Amey, Director General of Canning House. In these three interviews, Tom McArthur takes a global view of English, David Flack assesses English in the entertainment business of Asia, and Julian Amey explores the significance of the language for the Americas.

Resume

Interview with Tom McArthur, Editor of English Today

Introduction

Tom McArthur will be known to many readers as the Editor of English Today - a journal begun in 1984 and which now has a wide circulation among both academics and others interested in international English. Here, Tom McArthur speaks to David Graddol about the development of a global English language, drawing on his experience of commissioning articles, reviewing contributions and editing English Today, as well as his own linguistic biography.
Tom, can you tell us about your own linguistic background?
I grew up in Glasgow, and my family background was from Perthshire, so I was aware that there were two kinds of Scots being used. Then when I was at school we could flip between a classroom language and a playground language easily throughout the day. As I got older I would flip languages throughout my life. In England, for example, as an army officer, I discovered I had to do new tricks - jump through a whole lot of linguistic hoops - in order to succeed. I became intensely aware of both a north-south difference and lower-higher difference: I came from a background where people spoke a language that was broad, low and dose to the ground, but if I wanted to get on in life in the UK I had to elevate myself in some way.

So I grew up with a sense - although I couldn't have put a label on it - that there was a doubleness in everything I did linguistically. It's only much later that I became conscious of a tradition in Scotland which regards Scots as a separate language from English. Whether one regards it as completely separate or separate in part, it leaves me feeling that I learned Standard English as 'something else'. Not as a second or foreign language but half a second or foreign language.

In most of Britain there is a kind of sociolinguistic pyramid, with RP regarded as the most prestigious accent. Is this true in Scotland?
Essentially RP is regarded by Scots as an alien imposition; something which is true for the aristocracy, and therefore by definition, not true and appropriate for everybody else. There is a 'counter-gentry' feeling which accounts for a lot of the socialism in Scottish background. Alternatively, there have been attempts, in Edinburgh for example, and to some extent in Glasgow, to produce a Scottish form which resembles English but still retains a degree of separateness. Nowadays that manifests itself in younger, middle class people having retroflex 'r's, like the Irish, Americans and Canadians. They didn't want to go the whole way towards an r-less universe but they didn't want to speak with the trilled or tapped uvular r which dominated Scots in the past and is still largely standard for the mass of the population.

How do you see the situation at a global level?
I think one has to conceive of 'Standard English' as a complex, not as a monolith. We all use it in different ways; we all approximate to something which isn't there, but which we idealise about, negotiate and compromise. There are communities which do very little negotiating and compromising but they're usually communities of socially, culturally, financially secure people. One could talk, for example, about upper and upper-middle classes in the home counties of England, or the traditions in Boston USA.

These are issues about the enlargement of the middle classes in the last 150 years, and the various strategies people have employed in that time to make themselves verbally comfortable: it goes with better houses, opportunities, schools and so on. Oddly enough, with the role of English as a world language, this desire of the middle classes has been projected beyond the indigenous situation in the UK, and beyond the immigrant situation in the USA, to the whole world. East Asia especially is a good example, where the
entire middle class seem to want English for their children as an international vehicle which they can then use with the rest of the world - it's not a British or American thing.

When you say the middle classes want English, are you thinking within a particular country or across ethnic or linguistic groups?
Across boundaries - Hong Kong people, for example, wanting to talk English to work with mainland Chinese, Taiwanese, Vietnamese and Australians. And, since we already have Singapore and Hong Kong as ‘centres for commercial excellence’ where English is important, these tigers are also able then to plug into the US and elsewhere.

In terms of ‘plug in’ I mean literally the ‘plugging in’ into an electronic network, whether it’s the radio, TV, cinema or the Internet and the World Wide Web. This is what I once called in a book, Worlds of Reference, a ‘global nervous system’ and although it is highly unlikely that such a nervous system will be in English alone, English will probably dominate it. It certainly dominates it at the moment, but other languages are moving into this electronic net and will continue to do so. There will be this enormous amount, there as elsewhere, of bilingualism and hybridising - Standard English, for example, is hybridising with other kinds of English and also with other languages and producing dynamic and systemic, stable hybrid forms. Hybridising seems to me to be a very important and vigorous process in the modern world.

Do you think this makes English special - that it easily hybridises?
It's significant that English itself is an enormously hybridised language, but I don't think that's a special nature of English as such. I think it points to the nature of language - the nature of world languages especially. When languages become dominant over large areas you get hybridisation. While hybridisation itself is infinitely varied, the idea of hybrids is stable: it's been with us for thousands of years as part of the processes we call civilisation. So I wouldn't like to suggest that English has some kind of 'magic component'. People have talked about a mongrel tongue and a hybrid heritage for decades; Latin and Greek, for example, are languages which are as vigorous indirectly today as they ever were directly in the past.

The process of one language flowing into another indeed continues today: English flows into Malay, for example, and Latin and Greek flow into Malay with English. To some extent, the high language, like Arabic, for example, flows downwards into the lower language like Persian or Turkish, which could be high on other occasions for other purposes. The situation may change but at the moment English is the high language and it tends to flow into everything else, downward, like water.
Would you agree that English is changing the role it plays in people's lives, not just for public communication, but also within the family?

Yes, I think you get good examples of this in places like Singapore with its four official languages - English, Mandarin, Tamil and Malay. English is so dominant for all practical purposes in Singapore that middle class communities and families are shifting to speak Singaporean English in the home with the children, at least as much as they speak anything else, and probably more than they speak other languages. This is abetted by the fact that even though Tamil is an official language, you can't speak it with the Chinese Singaporeans or the Malay Singaporeans. Similarly, what many Tamil and Malay speakers want, as do the Chinese, is more English, and English which works beyond Singapore.

I'm convinced that the long-term use of English will depend on what happens to 'big languages' like Mandarin, Malay, Indonesian.

In Malaysia, the ministry of education has its own lexicography unit to convert and standardise English words into Malaysian Malay. English terms, rather than Dutch terms, are entering Bahasa Indonesia on a large scale, so what we will see, is in the same way as we saw the Latinisation of English, is this Anglicisation of Malay or Malayisation of English material.

In China too, it seems to me inevitable they will need English. In the same way that India uses English as a window on the world, China too will require this window. And although English has been shaky in Hong Kong, the vigour of English learning in mainland China will probably have a side effect on Hong Kong and make it more significant there for the Cantonese population than it has been previously. We have to think then of how English will shape East Asia and become, in the process, an Asian language.

Of course we have to look too at English as a big language and how that is changing. We might look at the powerhouse of modern English across the Pacific, in North America. One of the crucial areas is California. There are four fundamentals about that state which are unique in the world. The first is Silicon Valley and the electronic revolution. The second is the new age philosophy and the therapy industry which has spread worldwide. The third is Hollywood, from where a California-based American English has been spread around the world, not only directly through movies and TV, but indirectly in the effect it has on dubbing. When you dub American English into other languages, those languages have to be amended to fit with mouth movements on screen. And fourth, the relationship between English and Spanish. This has many repercussions, both for so-called Spanglish, and for the way in which the Spanish of Mexico and Latin America relates to the Spanish of Spain, and to English at large.

Can you see an English-Spanish bilingual culture emerging in parts of the world?

Yes. When there are hybrids, there's a discussion that follows - whether for Spanglish or Ebonics, the African-American English usage - which focuses on whether these are English versions or whether they're separate languages.

Whatever, it seems likely that Spanglish will spread beyond the US, if it hasn't already. Spanglish has been associated with poor, immigrants, or day
labourers and so on, people who supposedly didn't know Spanish very well and couldn't know English very well, and therefore spoke a rather problematic mix. Yet this mix seems to animate all levels in and around us. Certainly middle-class Hispanic Americans have been saying they know both languages well, and like to mix them. Although people have expressed anxiety about what this might do for 'the language of Cervantes', at the same time a Spanglish surge seems inevitable over the next few decades.

It's possible that such mixing, of English and Spanish, will follow grooves or currents, or flow in certain directions and become semi-standardised. Although the mixing of languages can seem chaotic and unprincipled, it probably isn't so. Take India as an example: people educated in Hindi or Urdu and in English are growing up with these two language complexes side-by-side. People mix those languages because they're reading, thinking and receiving both of them. Although we talk about English 'borrowing', I think it's more about 'coexistence'.

Incidentally, the idea that stable monolinguals are the model - the reality of language - that idea has come and gone. In the past, instability seemed to be the norm for languages. Today, as we move towards some kind of 'new world order' we can see that instability at work again. The monolingual who doesn't learn or want another language is a minority.

Do you see the spread of English around the world as involving any kind of cultural imperialism?
I can see the arguments for a resistance to English since it represents a form of cultural imperialism, and then I can see the fears of people who worry about English being spoiled by all this and wishing they could get back to a pristine state, where they can feel secure with the English of England. Neither of these positions worry me. I don't enjoy the idea of imperialism but I don't have any personal feeling for the defence of England. The idea that English belongs particularly to a nation state or group or social class is not one that I have a lot of sympathy for.

If we look at history it seems inevitable that English will move into the past. The interesting question to me is how separate are languages as they move on? Persian changed to become saturated with Arabic, for example. So in 50 years time, good fluent Malay is going to contain other things. It's already one of the most mixed on earth, with Sanskrit, Arabic, Dutch, Portuguese and English. I think English will change too, and we might call it English, but not as we know it now: the same way we call Anglo Saxon 'English', but it's not the English of today. In 200 years from now, we'll use forms of languages which may only resemble what we use now.

What of Europe? English hasn't historically been the main language of Europe; that seems to be changing rapidly.
Countries are entering the EU where English is the 'second first-language' or the 'first second-language'. This has altered the EU balance. People in countries such as Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, and to some degree Germany, have acquired English so successfully through school or media that they can slip into English with great ease. You could almost think of the
Scandinavian-Dutch bloc as a kind of neutral Anglophone presence. Ireland is another English-speaking country in the EU - Gaelic is negligible. And meanwhile huge numbers of people in Spain and Italy are gobbling up the English language. So it seems likely that English will be the working language not only for European institutions, but also a lot of Europeans.

I don't want to be the hegemonist for English, but wherever you go you see this immense engine at work. For example, with the collapse of the Soviet Union there's a collapse of Russian, and in the ex-satellite countries, the vacuum left by Russian appears to be filling rapidly with English.

We should be aware of a great diversity too, of course. For example an older person might strive for a flawless RP accent, but a younger person is influenced by American. An internationalised Americanised accent may dominate and blend with the phonologies of the original background languages and dialects. I say dialects deliberately because there are indications in Anglophone countries of a degree of Americanisation of accents as well. Where once upon a time there might have been a British colonial veneer, there will be an American veneer. This will happen to native and foreign users of English. And demographically in the future it will be a veneer over millions and millions of people. Institutions like the BBC World Service and the British Council will have to cope with that.

Interview with David Flack, Senior Creative Director, MTV Asia

Introduction
Worldwide, MTV reaches millions of people. So successful has the global entertainment channel been, that the MTV world has split into three major markets: Europe, Asia and the US. Now the company is localising further. Recently it has begun re-shaping itself to target more closely the highspending 16-34 age group which forms its main audience. Language is playing a key part of the strategy. David Graddol talks here with David Flack about MTV Asia's approach to the English language and its policy of linguistic localisation.

Many people think of MTV as American English blasted uniformly from a satellite over a large area, but you started programming in two languages in South-east Asia: English and Mandarin. How has MTV's approach to language developed since?

We started out with two channels; one channel covered basically the part of Asia that has a high proportion of English speakers. The Mandarin channel is for Taiwan but also reaches Singapore and mainland China. Places like Singapore get both English and Mandarin. We've also done various deals with local TV stations, because of the lack of cable in a lot of the areas we're in, which has meant we've localised further. It's been very successful; we've now got shows either in a mix of English and a local language or completely in a local language.

There have been various ideas about how we should tackle localisation. I'd like us to go as far as possible in using local languages. English will always be the prevailing language in MTV in those regions where it's relevant, but
otherwise I would like us to go fully into the local and regional language. For a lot of countries that's already happened. MTV Brazil is in Portuguese, MTV Mandarin is in Mandarin. Here in South-east Asia, if we split into channels further for different countries I would imagine that the Philippines would stay largely English but Indonesia would become Bahasa with a smattering of English.

Now we're mixing languages. On a Malaysian terrestrial TV station we launched a show called MTV Syok! which means Great! Fantastic! It's like a colloquialism which is effective here - it works in English as well. It's a mixture of Bahasa Malaysia and English; a smattering both ways. It's important as well to keep some English just for the hip factor, but it's good to be talking in a local language. What's interesting for us is that in places like Taiwan people speak Mandarin but if they want to throw in something of a youth language then they'll use English. In Taiwan the English might be a superficial word thrown in, but in some of the South-east Asian countries people use English as a base and throw in the local language: the mix works both ways depending on where you are.

We also target specific countries. I guess it's the same thing that happened in Europe: we broadcast MTV Europe but realised more and more how completely irrelevant it was to almost everybody! DJs speaking bad English with heavy accents isn't particularly enjoyable for anyone. It put off the English viewers too; anybody that wasn't from that country couldn't understand what the DJs were saying because of their accents. While it's true that the 'global youth' has lots in common, we have to speak directly to individuals, and that means fine-tuning our appeal, including language use. A 24-hour TV channel can't be one big bland statement, it has to be individual statements to different people with a smattering of other things. Indian audiences, for instance, are extremely interested in what's going on in the rest of the world but they don't want to see that all day, they want to see something for India most of the day with things from everywhere else occasionally. They want to see American entertainment news or they want Oasis from England, but they want to see it packaged for India. They don't want to see it packaged for everyone. I don't think we're far enough along the line yet, and even though at one stage MTV did think it was going to be a global TV youth programme, I don't think that's going to happen. I think people retain their identities.

What local languages are you now using for programming in the South-east Asian region?

For Malaysia, Bahasa Malaysia is a necessity. Thailand has a rule on Thai language use. For Indonesia we have one show, an English-Bahasa Indonesia show, and we have another show there which is completely Bahasa.

If you look at the current programming over 24 hours, there's still not that much in the local language but we're in the process of localising some Shows and aiming them specifically for particular markets. There probably has to come a time when we split the South-east Asia channel into different country
categories, because the further we go towards localisation, or the further we go towards catering just for Indonesia, for example, the more irrelevant the shows will be for Thailand or the Philippines. If we decide to go more local, to give a stronger audience, then we're going to have to split again. At the moment the Philippines is happy with English because their English is strong and it's considered cool to speak English.

Is this drive to localisation through language coming from the youth audience, or is it driven by the need of advertisers and programmers to reach more specific markets?
Again, it's a mix. Almost all the countries in Asia now are able to receive us; a prime age group is between 16 and 24. That audience is torn between being proud of wherever they're from, but also having an incredible interest in the rest of the world, and not just America, although that's the largest influence now. American English is used widely in Asia - apart from some countries like India, which speak a kind of 1950s English - and it's very much American English largely learned off the TV I think we are popular enough in some areas to be starting to construct a 'youth culture' - Indonesia is a good example - but I also think that we're riding a wave that's already existing, I think we're helping it go along, hopefully in a fairly constructive way, but I think that there is a kind of 'youth culture teen-spirit thing' emerging, and we're both a catalyst and a reaction of that. The interest was already there: we've come along and expressed it.

Likewise, people like to advertise with us because we give them the right audience, it may not be a huge audience, but they're all the right ones. The classic method of watching MTV is to turn it on for ten minutes, switch back over again or switch us on when there's nothing else. We're perfectly aware that's the way we're watched. But we're finding that when we do a local show, people sit down and watch the whole thing and we're getting good ratings. In that way we are changing the way the audience is watching.

Would you say that MTV is actually helping build up national youth cultures?
Definitely. I think originally that wasn't the idea, but we've learnt we have to do that. And I think that we're actually helping build national identities. For example, my job is to commission creative material on the channel. I've made a personal rule not to commission anything outside of a country for that country, so if we're doing a show for Indonesia the title sequence and all the rest has to be made by a production company in that country. It keeps the programming relevant and the style local. And also it stops us - the great big ugly outsiders - doing the picture-postcard scenes. There's a danger of using 'tourist material', travel-ad stuff which is not relevant for people living in Asia. It's like being English and seeing Big Ben and Beefeaters. You probably don't feel strongly attached to those images. For youth programmes especially, we have to mean something to the kids; we have to appear cool and relevant. If we don't, they won't watch us.
Can we turn to the relationship of language and music. What part does English play in the music culture of South-east Asia for the youth audience?

It's in music where the English language is the biggest success. A lot of bands, even local bands, sing in English: it's the language of rock and roll. One band in India recently argued they could sing in their local language and were quite successful, but generally Indian bands sing in English when they sing rock music. When they sing something like Hindi pop then it's in the local language. The culture now forces them to make this big jump - as soon as the band wants an international audience or an international style of music, it has to be in English.

It may swing back though. Because with music you can use just about any language if people love the tune. In Taiwan there was a well-known song, Lemon Tree: there are versions now in Mandarin of that. I don't know what the words mean, perhaps they're fairly meaningless, but the point is, people do feel more comfortable in their home language. And we find that once a song is popular in English, people want to translate it.

The other development in the Mandarin channel is that the audience sees the words written in the local language at the bottom of the screen. It's not just a karaoke culture. People want to know what the lyrics mean, they want to understand them. When we broadcast in China we broadcast two hours a day and found that one of the biggest frustrations of the audience was that they didn't know what Western pop Bingers were singing about. They wanted lyrics at the bottom of the screen in Mandarin so they could understand the song, and see if what they're singing corresponds to the video.

Do you think developments like this will create new hybrid forms of music or language which will cross over country boundaries?

Difficult to say In Europe, German music and some Italian music is starting to cross over. In Asia music crosses over quite a bit. In a limited way this may continue, and were certainly always on the lookout for a band that will cross over into Europe, but it's hard for a band to cross over to the US. A lot of Americans don't know the world exists outside the US, so breaking one of our videos into the US play list, even on a show which isn't mainstream, is difficult. I don't think we've done it yet. There is an interest in a kind of world music, perhaps in Europe and in Britain, but there's a long way to go before we see a big cross over. It's much of a one-way flow at the moment.

In many countries in Asia, particularly India perhaps, English is the language of bureaucracy, used for formal, public communication. Can it also develop in importance for the youth audience - as a hip language of irreverence?

In India, definitely. We've had ideal for promos using that form of government language - the bureaucracy language - which itself is almost like another form of English. It's a language young people can use to show that they're aware of the outside world, that they know what's going on. Indian and English humour is also similar, and that has an effect in the use of English as a language of expression. In India, you can be sarcastic, rude, ironic, in ways that you can't
be throughout the rest of South-east Asia and they use English for that. I think there's a humour barrier somewhere near Bangladesh! That's why you need local writers to write humour beyond that barrier. It's not that American shows don't work. Beavis and Butthead - an archetype for American English - goes down well in Taiwan as an American icon, but humour for Taiwan has to be written by Taiwanese.

To stay with India, there are big differences between north and south in terms of language and, I would have thought, music culture. How do you cater for such differences?

For India we took a major decision to use very little Hindi, purely because that language put off audiences in the south. The line for us at the moment is that most of our audience will be able to speak English, that it's the 'universal language of India', and that most people able to afford a TV set can speak and understand English. I think TV channels will probably end up splitting in India to serve the two different regions. English doesn't allow you to get down into the daily lives of people. For example, we're introducing station promos which give the channel its life and irreverence, and we're starting to do some of those in local languages. That's to address the Situation: to put things on the channel that might be relevant to people, to get deeper into their thoughts, to make them laugh. One of the biggest things in India is to make people laugh: they judge a show on whether it's funny or not. And, while you can make people laugh there in English, if you can do it in the local language it's much more powerful. We've just done some Hindi film promos which spoof the movies. We also did a promo for our launch with 26 different Ms from the different regional languages of India, all turning into each other. That was funny for the audience. It was funny for us since we had to position some of the languages away from each other because of regional conflict between the speakers.

Is there evidence of a new youth culture in Indian cities?

Definitely. In most cities in South-east Asia there's a big gap between those with the money to do the things they want and those that haven't, but in India it's magnified. There's the top echelon of young kids who've got enough money to go out every night, do whatever they want, and live a fantastic life. Then to the middle class in India there is a sudden drop in wealth. It's not the middle class that Europeans might know, it's a middle class that can afford a scooter. Below that, people can't afford a TV. So yes, we do appeal to the 'top end', but at the same time it's up to us to try and get our appeal down through those cultures and that's partly a language issue for us.

Do you think the rush to learn English will continue, especially if China becomes the world's largest economy, or when Vietnam and Indonesia become economically more important?

India will always use English as the working language. People there tend to have a conversation in Hindi then have a conversation in English to finalise things. English is so entrenched there I don't think that's ever going to change. China, that's another issue. In the short-term, most of the countries in this region need to speak English. A lot of people in Asia learn to speak English to
deal with other countries in this region. So an Indonesian will learn English to speak with a Thai. It'll be the language of business. But it has variations. I deal with a distinct Singlish in Singapore which is stronger than I thought. When the local staff talk to me they talk straight English but when they talk to each other I can't be sure whether it's English or not. And in writing too, the plurals and singulars are different and the sentence structure's different. I sometimes have to rewrite a memo written in Singlish to make it suitable for an international audience. In one way that shows people in this region are quite secure in who they are.

What of the language of MTV itself. Your programming may be localised but is English the main language of your Organisation?
It depends where you are and at what level in the company. The heads of department meeting is in English, but I've been in a lot of meetings where the language is Bahasa or Mandarin. In fact we just had a meeting about organisational communication: one of the problems in sending email, or even phone calls, is often the message doesn't go past a certain level because person may not understand it, or even disregard it if it comes in English.
In the mid term I would say there'll be less and less people here from the west; a proportion of the management team is still American or English, bu we'll slowly go somewhere else and local people will run the place. Eventuall you may see MTV Mandarin based in Taiwan or based in mainland China There's no doubt English will stay a working language but we have to, encourage the use of local languages.
Personally I feel quite inept at not being able to speak these language people tend to apologise to me for their lack of English rather than me having, to apologise for my lack of their language.

The global audio-visual entertainment market is becoming more crowded, with competitors finding new niche markets. Where wil MTV Asia go, especially in its language policy?
Music videos aren't new to anybody now, which is where localisation has beet really successful for us in re-shaping our appeal. I think we're the only channe in Asia going so far into fine-tuning what we're doing. The further we go towards meaning more to the audience than just broadcasting western pop music, the more successful we'll be. The digital technology is important here - localisation will probably now spread as fast as technology allows.
And then we keep in mind that we're not just a music video channel MTV's a place to go. We need to follow that and keep researching what our audience wants to stay one step ahead of the game.
Interview with Julian Amey, Director General, Canning House

Introduction
Latin America must come second only to Asia in terms of Anglophone corporate interest - its populations and economies have been steadily growing during the 1990s. But Latin America has an ambiguous relationship to English: Spanish rivals English in terms of the global number of native speakers, though Portuguese is the language of the region's dominant economy. Many Latin American countries have a dual geopolitical alignment, towards the US and Canada on the one hand and Europe on the other. Julian Amey, Director General of Canning House in London, has extensive experience of cultural and business relationships between Europe and Latin America. He talks here about the impact of changing economic relationships on the status of languages in the region.

Can you briefly describe the present status of languages in Latin America?
It might be helpful to look at some of the economic groupings emerging in the region. From that I think flows quite a lot of the language strategy of individual countries. There are two major groupings that are going to affect the region in economic terms. The first is Mercosur, the grouping in the south which consists at the moment of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay, and which has associate membership from Chile and Bolivia - that's a very powerful grouping with the engine being both the Brazilian economy and, particularly, trade between Brazil and Argentina. The second major economic grouping is in the North, Nafta (the North America free trade area) which consists of Canada, the US and Mexico. The US administration strategy has also aimed to bring about a free trade area of the Americas by something like 2010, so there is an integrative process which - although there may be pohtical potholes - has started to drive strong economies in the region.

In terms of the English language, it's interesting because the predominant language in the Mercosur grouping, for much of the informal trading that goes on, will be Spanish, or what's locally called Portuñol, which is Brazilian-Portuguese, versioned to be understood by Spanish speakers. In my experience, Portuñol is successful informally. It's possible to version in the spoken language, Portuguese, to the point where you can have a basic business conversation. However, for any level beyond the informal which requires a degree of sophistication - which Portuñol certainly doesn't have - the dominant language locally will turn out to be Spanish. Portuguese is less easy to acquire and less easy to understand than Spanish. Spanish is more vocal and clearer to the Portuguese speaker than vice versa. Undoubtedly, there'll be a growth of the use of Spanish in Brazil. It marks quite a change from a few years ago, when Spanish was not learnt extensively in Brazil. It's a language change driven by major economic change in the region.
Do you see renewed political enthusiasm for educational movements in Latin America? Are politicians, for example, talking now about the need to learn and teach Spanish?

There's certainly greater political enthusiasm for education. These are nations which absolutely understand the role of education in development, so that's one important sign, in terms of language. I wouldn't say it goes as far as to encourage the learning of Spanish, particularly because I think most Portuguese people feel they can probably, over a weekend, adjust sufficiently. I think there's a divide at what I'd call 'professional language learning' - the point at which further sophistication is required - that's when English becomes the lingua franca. Technical language, business language, legal language and so on - English assumes importance in these areas. However, because of the influence of the US, even as far south as Mercosur, I notice increasing numbers of professionals now assuming that to do their job they need to be bilingual. Bilingualism implies Spanish and English, or Portuguese and English. So English increasingly is part of the bilingual mix, even though the influence of Mercosur brings about further understanding of Spanish.

If Mercosur is enlarged, and more countries in South America and Central America join the South America free trade area - Safta - will that economic power create a pressure for Spanish or English?

Mercosur is in the process of becoming Safta. Bolivia and Chile already have associate status and Venezuela is likely to want to get associate status. Other Andean countries, principally Colombia and Peru, will themselves probably adhere to greater Mercosur, that is to say Safta, rather than initially join the North American grouping. The use of English for the area would never come about in a formal way, but it will certainly have a place.

Politically there's a strong interest in the southern part of the continent where Brazil and Argentina are seen to be playing a key role, whereas the free trade area of the Americas is something of a US creation. All the countries I've mentioned, being Spanish speaking, will communicate with each other in Spanish. But when these countries or these economic groupings look at target overseas markets, outside their own boundaries, they need a second language which isn't either Portuguese or Spanish. These economies are trading both with Asia, where they will use English, and with Europe, which is for Brazil a third of its overseas trade. So naturally, access to Europe, apart from Spain and Portugal, is seen as being conducted in English.

What would be the changes in use of English and Spanish if the proportions and flows of trade changed, say as the South and North free trade zones became more closely integrated?

Proportions of trade will certainly alter internally. There will be a greater amount of inter-trade between Brazil and the surrounding countries, Brazil being the industrial powerhouse of the region. That may reinforce the learning of Spanish in Brazil and some learning of Portuguese in the smaller countries, such as Paraguay and Uruguay. But these, in my view, aren't 'mega trends': they're adjustments. For example, in Colombia, a UK delegation heard the President saying that his vision was of a bilingual Colombia. He clearly meant
English and Spanish. It's interesting that North America, particularly the US, is also moving to a Spanish-English bilingualism - the proportion of the population speaking Spanish over the next 10 or 20 years looks as if it's going to increase substantially. The Spanish speaking population will be seen in the US as an economic resource. Miami, for example, influences the regional development of trade as it capitalises on the linguistic resource in Florida and beyond. There are a number of professionals there now who speak both English and Spanish. This will be the norm over the next 20 to 25 years - people engaged in trade, and in professions such as law, will see themselves as requiring bilingualism.

**Will Mexico, positioned between the north and south, help establish Spanish as a working language within Nafta?**

Mexico is an important case. Apart from a big population, it has enormously important connections with the US in terms of trade, emphasised by the development of Nafta.

At the moment, in terms of Nafta, Mexico has a high status; there's also a huge number of Mexicans in the US and I believe in Canada. Mexico probably has much more influence in the US, in English-Spanish bilingualism, than other countries of Latin America. Yet there are acute issues of cultural imperialism involved in the role of English in Mexico alongside the tremendous need among professionals in Mexico, and especially the vocational area of the Mexican workforce, to acquire English.

For trade outside the region, Mexico might play a role in funnelling trade from South America into North America. It also offers a particular advantage, through Nafta, for companies to set up joint ventures which can then preferentially access the US market. What you might find, for example, is a Colombian joint-venture in Mexico taking advantage of Nafta status and consequently establishing an English-Spanish usage.

Otherwise, Mexico might play a role similar to the one played by the UK which allows Japanese joint ventures to to be set up, with access to the European community using English. One of the biggest investors in Mexico at the moment is Singapore, which is using this Mexican base to access the US market. There might be an increasing level of Asian investment in Mexico to take advantage both of labour rates in that country and access the Nafta market. Those links are presumably conducted through English. But when joint ventures involve, for example, the exchange of engineers, at that point Spanish might might take over. So at the level of strategy the language will be English, but at the level of operations it might well involve Spanish.

**If Spanish is used as a language of operations, will it now develop a language register for legal contracts, say, or new technology, at an international level?**

To an extent. As countries become affluent they bring in cars, electronic and domestic goods, which all require technical manuals written in a local language, so to that extent yes, Spanish provides for the local audience.

Yet other trends are more important. The Internet is drawing English into the household as well as into the school or university in Latin America, and
trends such as MTV are bringing English into the youth culture - not to the exclusion of local language - but they open up a window on the world for a child connecting to Asia or Europe or North America.

What of the shoots of closer economic integration with North America - English language teaching for example. Brazil has both American and British models of teaching English, with private languages schools orienting to one or the other, and indeed there's an indigenous model as well. Will American English or British English succeed in Brazil?

There are probably two issues here. The first is ‘which country drives trade?’ At the moment the US is seen as the driver of trade. So it tends to be American English which is most evident in business communication, and if people make a choice for business communication, then the American model is likely to be chosen. Relative to that is the status of British English, if one wants to identify it that way. It's seen as more culturally neutral. Therefore in everything outside the business context there is a marginal preference for British English; it's seen as less culturally invasive, not by everybody, but the strong tradition of the Cultura Inglesa has influenced the way English is spoken in Brazil and in other parts of the region.

The second issue is, will North America continue to dominate in trade or is there an opportunity for Europe to redress the balance? I think the answer to this is that Europe now has a much greater opportunity in Latin America. That's linked to the opening of the economies of the region, which had, before the mid 1980s, been closed. The opening and liberalisation of trade in Latin America means that Europe now has a greater interest in participating in these economies. That may benefit other languages in Europe, besides English. There will be an increased interest in German, for example, with the tremendous amount of German investment in Brazil. I'd expect there to be more linguistic variety, in terms of choices of second-language learning in Brazil. And remember that Brazil has other minority communities within it: an important Japanese community, for example, which plays an important role in developing trade links with Asia.

Could we contrast Latin America with South-east Asia? Latin America has a tradition of monolingualism - many countries speak Spanish or Brazilian Portuguese - but in South-east Asia there's a tradition of multilingualism. Does this tradition affect the degree to which people want to learn other languages?

There's a historic difference - Latin America was, over most of its history, content to deal largely within its own borders, where Spanish or Portuguese was sufficient. In South-east Asia, the interface between west and east has almost always required another European language, be it French or English.

Les professionnels partent du principe qu’ils ne peuvent accomplir leur tâche correctement sans être bilingues.
Now that Latin America has reached this point in its development and is becoming part of the global economy, Spanish or Portuguese ceases to be sufficient for greater integration. I see bilingualism as the choice of professionals for the very immediate future. I don't think that in Spanish-speaking families, children will necessarily be brought up speaking English as a first language. Spanish or Portuguese is rooted with cultural connections, whereas English is the language with which you travel. In Latin America I think the two languages sit happily together. The parallel might be, ironically, somewhere like India. There, both English and the local language have their own Status.

Essentially, I don't think Latin American countries are insecure about the role of Spanish or Portuguese. They're confident about the continuing role of those languages, and people don't have any need to refer to English to support their own strong cultures, they just recognise the value of English. In Malaysia, it's been interesting to see the reassertion of English over the last two or three years since the perception was made that younger people were losing out. Although they had a firmer Bahasa, they didn't have the English to be competent internationally. That's the trend I see in South East Asia, and the one I see even more firmly in Latin America.

**Is the future, globally, a bilingual one?**

There will probably need to be a world language. I think there's a tremendous advantage in having such a language which is a lingua franca for a world community that will be travelling evermore and communicating evermore. The idea of a world language which many millions of people have access to, is a very exciting and attractive proposition to me. At the same time, I also, being interested in language and language acquisition, hope that people will tend to acquire languages other than their own for pleasure and knowledge. Even though I may be able to communicate with a Brazilian in English, I only learn about Brazil, or deeply about Brazil, when I communicate in Portuguese.

I think that the promotion of language learning is very important: languages are rich sources of cultural expression and knowledge. If you ask me what would be an ideal future, it would be one where there is an accepted, non-invasive, world language available to millions, with a culture of language learning which understands the richness that language brings.
♦ Englishisation:
one dimension of globalisation

♦ L'anglicisation: un aspect de la mondialisation

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Abstract
This article suggests how the idea of Englishisation' can be approached, and considers some of the types of data that would facilitate a more informed analysis of the processes of global English. It also contains a description of the following: some factors which influence the expansion of English in Europe; language-policy questions; and a presentation of a pilot empirical study of attitudes to an increased use of English by academics in one continental European country, Denmark. The final section returns to explore broader aspects of Englishisation and resistance to it, including the question of whether there is any prospect of 'reducing English to equality', to adapt a phrase first used in South Africa by Neville Alexander in relation to Afrikaans.

Résumé
L'article montre comment on peut aborder 'l'anglicisation' et considère quelques-unes des données dont l'examen pourrait faciliter une analyse plus profonde de la mondialisation de la langue anglaise. Il contient aussi une description de quelques facteurs qui contribuent à l'expansion de l'anglais en Europe, des défis de la politique linguistique, ainsi qu'une présentation d'une étude pilote sur les attitudes envers l'utilisation croissante de l'anglais par les chercheurs d'un pays européen, le Danemark. La section finale de l'article revient au contexte plus général de l'anglicisation ainsi qu'à la résistance à ce développement, et il pose la question de la possibilité de 'reduire l'anglais à l'égalité', expression utilisée originellement par Neville Alexander en Afrique du Sud à l'égard de l'afrikaans.
Introduction
English is deeply involved in ongoing processes of globalisation and localisation. Yet if the role of English, globally and locally, is to be addressed adequately, scholarship in this branch of applied linguistics needs to be informed by work in economics, political science, and political sociology, communications, cultural studies, history, discourse analysis, and sign languages.¹

However, as applied linguists operate within institutional structures that influence decisions on language policy at national, sub- and supranational levels, particularly in educational reproduction and change, we ought also to be familiar with work in peace and conflict studies, development studies, multilingual education, ideology, human rights, and the relationship between biodiversity and linguistic and cultural diversity.²

A useful umbrella term for addressing the language dimension of such concerns is 'language ecology', launched by a pioneer in language planning and bilingualism studies, Einar Haugen, in 1972 (Dil, 1972) and increasingly visible in the literature on language policy and its multiple features and ramifications (Fill, 1993; Mühlhäusler, 1996; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996).

It is clear then that a major multidisciplinary effort is needed, if we are to understand the roles played by English and other languages in the contemporary global linguistic ecology.

The special responsibility of language professionals
Just as policy-makers and specialists in the natural sciences are concerned about the consequences globally of ecological imperialism, reduced biodiversity, dwindling resources, and the death of species (Crosby, 1986; Groombridge, 1992), it would seem to us that language professionals have a special responsibility to address the linguistic and cultural dimensions of diversity (Maffi, 1996; Maffi, Skutnabb-Kangas and Andrianarivo, in press), including solid descriptive work (for an example, see Hallamaa, in press) and the causal factors working on language ecologies, both global and local. We would also need to assess in what ways the ‘triumph’ of English and other major dominant languages is linked to the predicted demise of, or threat towards, 90 per cent of the world's languages within a century (Krauss, 1992, 1995; Posey, 1997; World Commission on Culture and Development, 1995).

The privileged position of English has been established, through processes of linguistic hierarchisation, in a world that is manifestly and monstrously skewed in favour of a minority of haves and a vast majority of have-nots. Current figures from the United Nations (the Human Development Index) report that 1.3 billion of our fellow human beings do not have enough to eat, and an increasing proportion of the world's children in countries in both North and South grow up in abject conditions. Inequalities are on the increase: the 225 richest individuals in the world control assets which correspond to more than the earnings of 45 per cent of the world's population. The proportion of the global gross national product of the richest 20 per cent of the world’s population increased from 60 to 86 per cent in the 38-year period between 1960-98, while the proportion of the poorest 20 per
cent went down from 2.3 to 1.4 per cent (UNDP, 1998).

We are urgently in need of fresh thinking if we are to tease out how English is involved in complex processes affecting so many aspects of the lives of billions of people. Globalisation is multifaceted and, as the scientific approaches named earlier suggest, can be approached from many angles.

We are not suggesting that there is a simple correlation between haves, many of whom speak English as an L1 or L2, and have-nots, many of whom do not, but it must be a responsibility of 'experts' on language to investigate what correlational or even causal links there might be, and how command of English relates to contemporary power structures. Likewise, we have to investigate how the manifestly false promises to have-nots about the acquisition of (some) competence in English leading them towards economic prosperity are produced and marketed, and why this marketing is so effective.

Addressing these issues represents a challenge of monumental proportions. The scientific and journalistic literature in many of these areas is immense. Yet language matters do not figure prominently in much political discourse, nor in much social or political science. However, if applied linguists fall in even provisional efforts to situate the study of a language that is currently perceived as being globally triumphant (the 'worldliness' of English, Pennycook, 1994) within wider perspectives - intellectual and material, theoretical and practical - then our scholarly discourses may remain as intellectual escapism and therapy; fitting smugly and smugly within the mould of much postmodernist writing in increasingly neoliberalist and consumerist times.

We would claim that ethical dimensions and accountability are central to work in this area. For example, ethical codes of conduct are being elaborated and key moral issues confronted in the 'development aid' business (see Hamelink, 1997), which language policy permeates. The donor policies of the North have been ostensibly committed in recent years to the Promotion of human rights but are being subjected to critical scrutiny (Tomalevski, 1997). Language is the medium for most North-South links, whether in the field of finance, technology, or entertainment - and global flows, from North-South, and South-North, are predominantly in the languages of the North, and quintessentially in English.

Value judgements influence the behaviour of all of us, as scholars as well as people, whether we choose to acknowledge this or not. Neither Englishisation itself nor the study of Englishisation is a neutral activity. Scholarship that purports to rise above politics when analysing language policy and global English (e.g. Crystal, 1997) suffers from a high degree of self-deception, particularly when a spurious 'neutrality' seems to reveal myopia about the way
power is approached in social or political science and in the humanities, and the epistemological roots of scholarship in these areas. One can always hope for a changed awareness. TESOL, for instance, has taken sociopolitical concerns on board as the columns show of TESOL matters and statements of policy on 'English Only'. And one luminary has disarmingly admitted that he wished applied linguistics had been more aware of sociopolitical constraints much earlier (Kaplan, 1995).

While the complexity of the topic would require book-length treatment rather than a brief article, what can be attempted here is a glimpse into some features of the globalisation of English. The macro level examples have strong connections to macro level structures and processes. Thus we focus on some of the agents who seem to be facilitating the spread of English. Agency is a key dimension to pursue, and important if samples of the discourse of global English are to be anchored contextually in identifiable types of social reproduction. Languages do not 'spread', just as 'countries' do not talk to each other (which Crystal writes, 1997:11). It is users of English who influence processes of globalisation and localisation, and who are involved in power structures that frequently reflect linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988) through both unequal resource allocation and legitimation processes that validate 'big' languages at the expense of 'small' ones. Whether linguistic imperialism is involved in any given context is an empirical question (Phillipson, 1992). Granted the decisive role of human agency and responsibility, change to a more equitable direction is always possible in principle, which gives grounds for challenging the current hegemonic ordering.

**English in the brave new Europe**

In March 1997 the American ambassador to Denmark, Mr Elton, at an informal lunch at our university (Roskilde), stated that the most serious problem for the European Union (EU) was that it had so many languages, this preventing real integration and development of the Union. His comments appear to reflect ignorance of the commitment of the member states of the EU, confirmed in EU treaties and European Parliament resolutions, to maintain Europe's cultural and linguistic diversity. Likewise one might be forgiven for thinking that it is the EU member states themselves who will decide how European language policy will evolve, and whether a single dominant language should be accorded a special Status. But to assume that European leaders are in a sovereign position to dictate policy would be disingenuous: there are many extra-European, 'global' players and influences. One of these is the US government, which the ambassador represents. The Clinton administration has been frank about its geo-political agenda:

The first grand objective, of course, is to keep America as a European power, not just for today but for the indefinite future. What the European Union and Nato are trying to do in central Europe is nothing less than to complete the promise of the Marshall Plan, which was thwarted by Joseph Stalin some 50 years ago, and bounded at the Iron Curtain. We finally have a chance now to take that grand effort to completion. (Martin Walker, *Guardian Weekly*, 12 January 1997,)
reporting on an address by the US Ambassador to NATO, Robert Hunter, to the European Institute in Washington DC.)

The Marshall Plan tends to be portrayed as US charity altruistically kickstarting post-war European economies. The injection of US capital did indeed have this effect, but simultaneously it served to integrate European economies into patterns determined by US global economic interests, with major consequences for agriculture, transport, industry, culture, and language. US government policy is determined by US commercial and military interests, then as now. This is the involvement of the US as ‘a European power’.

Yet it is probable that politicians and ambassadors are weaker players than transnational corporation directors: it is likely that what Mr Elton or even Mr Clinton says is much less important than what Ted Turner, Richard Murdoch, or Bill Gates does. Relatively speaking, a higher degree of globalisation has been achieved in the world of communications (in such domains as air transport or satellite TV) than in politics, economics, or military affairs. Increasingly the various interests coincide and coarticulate. For instance, the dominant transnational media concerns are part of the military-industrial complex: General Electric, recently merged with the computer giant Microsoft, also owns the giant American media network NBC; Disney owns the other large American media network, ABC. These examples show the importance for economic and military interests of infotainment - its content and form/language - about which peace researchers are increasingly concerned. In many fields (the environment, trade, and so on), global integration is potential, fluid, and in a constant flux of negotiation. This is the case in ‘global’ organisations such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organisation. Regional organisations, such as the EU, involve policy-making in multiple areas of collaboration, and these are of major significance locally and globally (Richardson, 1996).

Elites in each field are serviced by a limited set of dominant languages, English above all. Language policy in the EU is such a political hot potato that few concerted high-level initiatives have been taken. Language policy itself does not have a high profile: most language policies are covert rather than overt. Moreover, the ‘national interest’ may be construed differently in larger as opposed to smaller countries; post-imperial versus non-imperial countries; and largely monolingual versus more multilingual countries. The use of certain languages at the supranational level may serve particular national interests (e.g. those of France or the UK), but the relationship between the ‘national interest’ and supranational interests (e.g. European ‘integration’) is by no means clear. Most of the explicit language policy agendas (on language use in EU institutions, or on promoting the learning of foreign languages) are minimalist, aiming at some kind of equity among the 11 official languages. In theory the architects of Europeanisation proclaim that cultural and linguistic diversity is to be maintained. However, the reality is otherwise. There is incontrovertible evidence that English is expanding at the expense of other potential lingua francas - French and German in particular - though the picture is far from uniform. (Schlossmacher, 1996; Labrie and Quell, 1997; Quell, 1997; Hagen, 1993.) Official policies play some lip Service to national minority languages and disregard immigrated minority languages.3

As the editor notes in an issue of the International Political Science Review on ‘The emergent world language System’ in an article devoted to the EU:
The subject of languages has been the great non-dit of European integration. There was much talk of milk pools and butter mountains, of a unitary currency, of liberalizing movements for EC citizens and restricting access for outsiders, but the language in which these issues were dealt with remained itself a non-issue. (de Swaan, 1993:244)

There is a growing literature in the area of EU language policy (Ammon, 1996; Labrie, 1993), and many contributions to the annual sociolinguistica (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1997; Phillipson, 1998), but the number of empirical studies is relatively small. There remain many unanswered questions: is the EU moving towards diglossia, with English as a second language for elites other than the Brits and the Irish, who will remain mostly monolingual? Or can a more substantial degree of multi-directional and reciprocal multilingualism be established? Will EU institutions continue with a cumbersome system of translation and interpretation, or will they re-think their policy for working languages and the drafting of texts, particularly if the EU expands to take in new members. 4 Are current schemes that fund student mobility (such as Erasmus and Socrates) achieving their declared goal of strengthening the less widely used EU languages, or are they in fact boosting English? Is there any informed discussion of the viability of other alternatives, for example, an increased use of Esperanto, as proposed by The Working Group on the Language Problems of the European Union. 5 Which constituencies exercise most influence on language policy formation - national or supranational elites, professional bodies, or mythology generated in the media world and political discourse? Is it fair to assume that the political sensitivity of the issues, coupled with the fragility of the infrastructure, nationally and supranationally, for guaranteeing informed public debate about the issues, means that market forces will progressively strengthen English? And if this happens, will it be necessarily at the expense of (speakers of) other languages?

What is clear is that the issues are complex, and that they have hitherto been subjected to little systematic scrutiny within any disciplinary tradition, let alone in an informed multidisciplinary way. What is currently available is fragmentary, and largely impressionistic, though some trends are clear. Much is at stake, at multiple levels (individual, regional, societal, global) and in many domains (cultural, economic, political, and so on). Englishisation needs to be studied in specific local linguistic ecologies as well as at a macro level.
Something of the complexity of the topic can be seen from our small empirical study, summarised in the following section.

**A pilot study: Englishisation in academic discourse in Denmark**

In order to shed light on how Englishisation is perceived in a ‘marginal’ North country, we conducted a pilot study of the use our colleagues at the University of Roskilde make of languages of scientific communication, of their experience of Englishisation, and the possible consequences for Danish as a language of scientific communication (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996a and 1996b).

A few words initially about the context. Though spoken by only five and a half million people, Danish is among the world's 100 biggest languages. Danish is one of the official languages of the EU. It has a rich cultural tradition and is widely used in all domains in Denmark. For the past century Denmark has been projected as an essentially monocultural and monolingual country. It thus fits into the classic mould of western European states attempting to impose cultural and linguistic uniformity on a diverse, heteroglossic and multilingual reality reflected in elite bilingualism; immigration; strong external links; the idea of Danish as a hybrid language substantially influenced by borrowing; and the use of languages other than Danish in, for example, the German border area, Greenland, and the Faroes.

English is used increasingly in higher education in Denmark. Students of virtually all subjects are expected to read books and journals in English, and their school English largely equips them to do so (ESP is unknown). Scandinavian scholarly journals, aiming at the international public, also use English. Many doctoral dissertations are written in English. Some departments with students from abroad are shifting to English as the medium of education, at least partially and mostly at postgraduate levels. Policy is decided by the institution in question, and is not guided by any explicit national policy. The funds provided by the EU for increased student and staff mobility have accelerated trends to a greater use of English, even when some funds are nominally intended to support the ‘smaller’ European languages such as Danish.

In our empirical study, we are grateful to the goodwill of all tenured professors and lecturers in the humanities, social and natural sciences at the university, who returned 83 completed questionnaires: a response rate of over 50 per cent. Our colleagues are of diverse origins, nationalities, and mother tongues, but the majority are Danes. The questionnaire covered the following:

- assessments of their competence in Danish, English, French, and German, and other languages;
- perceptions of difficulty in writing in a foreign language, and whether they are assisted (translation, native-speaker checking a text, and so on);
- the languages in which they publish and whether there is any change as compared with 10 years ago;
- the language(s) used in conferences in their field;
- attitudes to language policy and whether such matters are discussed;
- whether any research has remained 'unnoticed', because it was
• how far the obligation to write in a foreign language has influenced their scientific approach;
• whether the increased use of English represents a threat to Danish.

The responses show that there is a wide range of perceptions of what is happening in the ongoing Englishisation of higher education in Denmark, of what is at stake, and what the implications are. Some Danes admit to difficulties in functioning in English:

To me writing and speaking English represents a reduction in accuracy - and an extra workload.

Many scholars claim the opposite, and are happy to operate in English. A diverse picture similarly emerges from responses about the actual use made of English and Danish:

At Nordic conferences, English is spreading as the medium of written papers, although many speakers present them in Danish, Norwegian, Swedish.

Most regard contact with scientific English as beneficial for Danish research, but some feel that conforming to the dominant language and its scientific norms involves sacrifice. Some feel that the obligation to function in a second language, in their written work and at conferences, puts them at a disadvantage vis-à-vis native speakers. Some write exclusively in English, and feel Danish is not at risk, boldly reporting that 'Danish is not a scientific language' and 'one language is enough for science'. Others feel that some research is undervalued simply because it is written in Danish:

The most important thing to do is to abolish the snobbery of international publications, ratings, and so on. Assessment should be by quality rather than Status.

Although few comment in detail an the link between the medium and scientific paradigms, this concern is also felt:

I don't see writing in English as the problem. The problem is the strength of US research an the market, i.e. as scientific commodities (not necessarily the same as excellency in theoretical level etc.). Nobody in Scandinavia can publish without discussing an American premisses - or in relation to them. The reverse does not hold.

Some of these colleagues also operate in other languages, and feel Anglo-Americans are handicapped if they are restricted to input, from and in, one language.

I really think that it is an advantage to come from a small country where one has been forced to learn languages - especially compared to the Anglosaxons.

There is no antagonism between maintaining one's cultural identity (as a Dane), and working/living in foreign cultures, speaking/writing in two
to four languages. Rather, it enriches your life.

The majority experience is that there is no threat or only a minor threat to Danish. For a small number the threat is moderate and only for 10 per cent, nearly all of them language specialists, is the threat major. However, a substantial number are convinced that research not available in English has gone unnoticed. There is little discussion of language policy in professional circles, in most subject areas none at all, and it is exclusively scholars with a professional interest in languages who are hooked on this topic!

Our results suggest that our informants can be grouped into three broad categories, which we label English-only, Danish-mostly, and Multilingual.

**English-only** This group seems to consist predominantly of natural scientists and to have the following characteristics:

1. they publish in English only;
2. they often rate their linguistic competence in English as very good or excellent;
3. they feel that they have no problems whatsoever in writing in English - though to judge from some responses, competence is far from optimal, and writing in English may be 'moderately' demanding;
4. they generally feel that English is the 'natural' and self-evident language of science, and that Danish is not a scientific language or a language for scientific work/publication;
5. they mostly feel that Danish researchers are not at a disadvantage as compared to native speakers of English;
6. they think that there is no change in their use of languages as compared with 10 years ago, and if there is any change, it is towards more use of English - and for the good;
7. they have their English checked by native speakers only seldom, the reason being that they claim there is mostly no need;
8. they think that there is little or no need to assist researchers to become functionally multilingual, though some endorse residence abroad and special course work;
9. they see no threat from English to Danish;
10. there is no discussion about language policy in their field;
11. their conferences, including Nordic ones, are generally exclusively in English; some are multilingual;
12. they are mostly not familiar with research which has gone 'unnoticed' because it was written up in a Scandinavian language, and often such work is available in English after a time-lag;
13. they feel that their scientific approach has not been influenced by needing to write in English, and generally contact with English represents enrichment;
14. they are more often male than female.

**Danish-mostly** This group seems to have the following characteristics:

1. they are mainly scholars in such fields as history, Danish, education, and
topics which are by their nature concerned with Danish conditions or texts, or which are seen as of little interest to outsiders for other reasons, or where the researcher is oriented towards communicating results to a Danish audience (e.g. environmental studies);
2 they share few of the characteristics attributed to the English-only group, though there is a tendency towards needing to be able to operate in English in publications and at conferences;
3 they generally sense that the Danish language is in some ways threatened by English but tend to be resigned to this trend or pessimistic about whether it can be influenced or resisted, so that there is often an implicit acceptance of this `modernisation' paradigm;
4 some protest that publications in Danish are not seen of equal value as those in English, i.e. that language tends to be more important than quality in evaluations and appointments;
5 there is a higher percentage of females than in the other groups.

**Multilingual** This group seems to have the following characteristics:

6 they are individuals from a wide range of subjects;
7 they have developed their command of several languages through marriage, or emigration, or a variety of circumstances;
8 though they are keenly aware of what one loses when not functioning through one's mother tongue (with its nuances, accuracy, irony, and so on), they are convinced of the benefits of not being monolingual, unlike speakers of English with no access to other cultures and scientific traditions;
9 they express more appreciation of multilingualism in many contexts, e.g. at conferences;
10 they often have ideal an how to manage change, in practices and attitudes, but often only at the level of the individual;
11 they are aware of shifts of paradigm in their scientific approach through an increased use of English, and some are critical of native English speakers at conferences and American dominance in general.

The results of our modest pilot study demonstrate that multilingualism is entrenched in Danish higher education, but that the general, although by no means sole, trend is towards a strengthening of English. Anxieties are expressed increasingly in the media and professions about the invasion of English: the editor-in-chief of a major Danish national encyclopedia has written that some contributors who are natural scientists are unable to communicate their scholarship in Danish for a Danish audience (Lund, 1995). Worries have been expressed that the choice of topics taken up in economics reflects the preferences of the international scientific community rather than local needs.

The only official Danish language policy body interprets its mandate as being restricted to corpus planning and excluding Status and acquisition planning. Some anxiety has been expressed by linguists about excessive lexical borrowing from English into Danish, about the potential loss of certain professional domains to English, and Danish in reality having few rights in EU
institutions (Haberland and Henriksen, 1991; Haberland, 1993).

If the Position of Danish is not to be marginalised further, and if competence in a variety of languages in the EU is to be nurtured, there is a need for academic policy-makers and gatekeepers to pursue more active, explicit, and equitable language policies. These should also include support for immigrants' minority languages, which are effectively more marginalised in Denmark, both in the educational system and generally, than in most other EU countries. To guide this, further research is needed. Although there are few signs that language policy is of broad concern, a move in the direction of making multilingual policies more explicit would be in tune with recent changes towards more managed control of higher education and research. In parallel, and of perhaps greater importance, would be the need to intensify dialogue between language professionals and decision-makers - particularly politicians - in a wide range of fields.

**Charting and countering Englishisation**

Englishisation processes in Denmark are occurring in academic life in parallel with comparable developments in many other domains and discourses, in which the picture is also fluid and dynamic. Thus a range of questions deserve study. When Danish transnational corporations, such as Carlsberg and Novo Nordisk increasingly shift to English as the in-house company language, is there mutual reinforcement of English and Danish? Or is the process subtractive, with English replacing Danish? What is the impact an domestic film production of internationally successful film directors, such as August and von Trier, making English-medium films? If pop music is increasingly English-only, what consequences are there for music in local languages? (Denmark has not yet experienced what Finland, Iceland, and Norway have: important popular singers proudly and intentionally switching from English to singing in their own languages and even using old folklore as inspiration - e.g. the Finnish national epic *Kalevala.*) If cultural change is largely asymmetrical, following agendas set by Hollywood, McDonalds, and Microsoft, does it make any difference whether English or a local language is used, provided the products, processes, and values are adopted? (Danish television shows huge amounts of American films with original sound-tracks, whereas *Wheel of Fortune* and quiz programmes use Danish but follow American models.) What is the significance of senior Danish politicians, who use English with moderate proficiency, inevitably creating false and unintended impressions when talking impromptu to the 'world' press?

As an aside to this latter question, it should be mentioned that the four Danish exceptions to the Maastricht Treaty were hammered out at a summit in Edinburgh in 1991, at the dose of which the Danish Foreign Minister referred to the 'so-called Edinburgh agreement', implying that no real obligations had been entered into. When Salman Rushdie came to Denmark in 1996 to receive an EU literature prize - an event that was postponed because of a security scare - the Danish Prime Minister was asked by Rushdie whether the death threat was real or hypothetical, to which he replied that he did not have the 'ability' to answer the question (a revelation that many Danish citizens
might agree with, as the whole affair was mishandled). Are both errors due to mother-tongue transfer?

Danes have grown up with Grundtvig (the father of the folk high schools) and his 'Modersmålets sang' (the paean of the mother tongue) and often feel sentimentally positive about, and proud of, descendants of Danes in the US who have maintained their Danish language and culture as immigrants in addition to having learned American ways and English. But contrast this to the lack of understanding of the importance of the maintenance of the mother tongue, and the additive rather than subtractive learning of Danish, when it comes to immigrated minorities in Denmark.

Clearly, there are problems in making sense of such processes at several levels: what data, how much, and of what type, is needed for generalisations to be valid? Can one specify structural and causal factors, so that exemplification is unambiguously linked to the role performed by English in a given context and the consequences for other languages? Are our theoretical concepts and analytical frameworks sufficiently sensitive and powerful to permit scholarly study to go beyond personal impressions and assessments, and to trigger productive professional dialogue and analysis?

We would claim that it is possible to take informed analysis further with the help of the disciplines referred to initially in this paper. A great deal of stimulating and informed work is appearing, for instance an Englishisation in East Africa (Mazrui, 1997) and in Asia (Baumgardner, 1996). There is a wealth of description of the forms and functions of English in contributions to such journals as English Today, English Worldwide, and World Englishes. There is evidence from several countries of domains, genres, and rhetorical traditions succumbing to the force of Anglo-American dominance (e.g. in scientific writing in Sweden, Gunnarsson and Öhmann, 1997; and in Finland, Mauranen, 1993). Kachru is calling for a paradigm shift in the study of the diffusion and impact of English, one that would be less ethnocentric and that does justice to linguistic and cultural pluralism (e.g. Kachru 1996a, 1997). There are some attempts to tackle causal factors and underlying patterns, for instance the anthology edited by Fishman, Conrad and Rubal-Lopez (1996), to which a reply and rejoinder is needed (Phillipson, forthcoming). There are analyses of whether agendas in 'English Studies' are local or global - meaning, in this case, British (Kayman, 1997). The sociology of language is lop-sided, as Kachru has noted in a review of a book on Indian language policy by a Canadian:

This is a typical specimen of Indian and Western collaboration: superficial and patronizing ... By ignoring scholarship in India's regional languages on Indias language issues, we are missing vital insights. The English language provides us just one dimension, one perspective and one window. (Kachru, 1996b, 138, 140)

In parallel, there are lively debates in Hungarian social science journals about the unequal relationship between North American researchers and their Hungarian 'partners' (see the special issue of replika: Colonisation or partnership? Eastern Europe and western social sciences, 1996; we are grateful to Miklos Kontra for drawing our attention to this). Throughout Eastern and Central Europe,
linguistic imperialism interlocks with academic imperialism in ways that are much cruder and more visible than in Denmark, and that are rooted in unequal access to resources, asymmetrical relations in academic discourse that the status of English consolidates, and a hierarchy of research paradigms that is often legitimated and internalised without question.

It is significant that even though most of the exemplification in Linguistic Imperialism (Phillipson, 1992) relates to the post-colonial world, the book is evidently regarded as of direct relevance in post-communist contexts. There is an awareness here, and in such 'periphery' contexts as southern Europe, of the need to counteract linguistic imperialism in the area of language teaching, enshrined in structures and ideologies, and educational discourses also analysed in Pennycook's The cultural politics of English as an international language (see Dendrinos, 1996 and 1997; and for debate an linguistic imperialism, see Bisong, 1995; Phillipson, 1996; Davies, 1996; Phillipson, 1997). Native speaker authority is under impressive non-native speaker challenge (Medgyes, 1994). An increasing number of applied linguists and language teachers are attempting to situate their work in broader sociopolitical frameworks.

Not all commentators are willing to do so. Thus Widdowson (1997) focuses on the relative strength and authenticity of the roots of English in different parts of the world, so as to be able to characterise English as a potential of infinite variability rather than an instrument of power. This line of argument is supposed to exonerate the North from responsibility for what happens in the South, even in relation to an assumed global community of users of English for specific purposes (science, commerce, and so on). This permits Widdowson to ignore the social stratificational purposes that English de facto performs in post-colonial and post-communist contexts, and the role language professionals play in its promotion.

The same is true of a recent article examining ‘rivalry’ between French and English in Tunisia (Battenburg, 1997). The article is candid about American, British, and French governments competing for influence, but regards modernisation as unproblematic and apparently accepts that the ‘development’ agenda, with key roles assigned to European languages, is appropriate. It is perhaps not surprising to find such beliefs still prevalent among western scholars (for critique, see Escobar, 1995; Galtung, 1996; and contributions to Sachs (ed.), 1992). Linguistic hierarchies reminiscent of the colonial period still underpin World Bank and IMF education policies (Samof, 1996; Brock-Utne, 1993), which currently set the tone for ‘aid’ alongside notoriously anti-social, poverty-inducing structural adjustment policies:

the World Bank's real position ... encourages the consolidation of the imperial languages in Africa ... the World Bank does not seem to regard the linguistic Africanisation of the whole of primary education and beyond as an effort that is worth its consideration. Its publication on strategies for stabilising and revitalising universities, for example makes absolutely no mention of the place of language at this tertiary level ofAfrican education. (Mazrui, 1997:39)

Earlier agenda-setting World Bank reports on basic education in East African
countries barely refer to local languages. The ensuing educational ‘aid’ reflects the linguist belief that only European languages are suited to the task of developing African economies and minds, the falsity of which many African scholars - including Ansre, Bamgbose, Kashoki, Mateene, and Ngũgĩ - have documented (references in Phillipson, 1992, see also Akinnaso, 1994; DJité, 1993). An early World Bank report which drew conclusions for policy from research findings an education leading to multilingualism (Dutcher, 1982 had little impact. Dutcher's new impressive report (1997) may hopefully get a fairer hearing.

It is precisely this legacy that current South African language planning is attempting to counteract: the ‘blatant hegemony’ of English that is in conflict with linguistic equity and democracy. The policy document published in August 1996, *Towards a national language plan for South Africa*, attempts to set out policies for how all South Africans can learn languages other than their mother tongue (i.e. it is not an either/or, monolingual or subtractive policy, but an additive, both-and-and, multilingual one) and has, in the words of the then Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Dr. B. S. Ngubane, the goal that ‘the African languages which have been marginalised by the linguist policies of the past should be elaborated and maintained’. It appears that in neighbouring Namibia, like in much of Sub-Saharan Africa, language policy has served to consolidate English as the language of power at the expense of those ‘only’ competent in Namibian languages.

As we understand South African policy-makers, they have nothing against English, any more than we do. What is being criticised is the way English is used and legitimating in a range of contexts. English linguistic imperialism serves particular interests, some local (élites), some global (North-South transactions, which use the North language as the medium of exchange, this hegemonic choice being rationalised as ‘natural’ or ‘functional’ or an equivalent legitimising argument). Just as Gandhiji used English in the struggle against colonialism, and Ngũgĩ currently does (1993) in the struggle against neocolonialism, language policy in a globalising world needs to address how equity can be achieved through ensuring that power is shared between speakers of a wide range of languages. What counts is not only the medium *per se* - all languages can in principle be used for all purposes - but the message that choosing one medium rather than another in specific situations carries the issue of differential and hierarchising access to, and use of, these languages, and the question of whether access to them is additive or subtractive.

Linguistic imperialism is unthinkable without decision-makers in both North and South according a privileged position to a particular language, such as English. The issue for applied linguists who are involved in such processes is one of professional and ethical choices. There is not a simplistic choice between English and other languages, but a complex set of choices in the management of the linguistic ecology along equitable, humane lines. Only if this is done will Englishisation serve democratic purposes (Skutnabb-Kangas, in press) and may cease functioning as a Tyrannosaurus Rex in particular scientific domains (Swales, 1997) and flourishing ‘on the graveyard of other peoples’ languages’ (Ngũgĩ, 1993:35).
Notes
3 Ratifications of some recent instruments show this clearly: the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (http://www.coe.fr/eng/legaltxt/148e.htm); Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (http://www.coe.fr/eng/legaltxt/157e.htm).
4 The cost of the interpretation and translation services is often brought in as an argument against official multilingualism. There are substantial costs, but they are very minor as a proportion of the overall EU budget: 0.1 per cent for interpretation and 0.4 per cent for translation (figures quoted in 1997 by the director of EU language services). In addition, the costs for this type of mental communication have to be compared with the costs for physical communication: roads, bridges, tunnels, railways, aeroplanes, cars, and so on (Labrie, 1993; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998). The common agricultural policy absorbs nearly half of the EU budget.
5 This organisation (with its headed note-paper in six languages) is lobbying for greater awareness among members of the European Parliament about a range of language policy issues.
6 The Danes are, of course, not alone in having problems with English. In the latest communication, in tour languages, from the follow-up group preparing the revision of the Draft Universal Declaration on Language Rights, the Catalan secretariat states that this key document is ‘in the way of’ being translated (=in the course of) and that the scientific council is ‘pretending’ to provide a forum for debate (=aiming at). It is unreasonable to expect that Danes, Catalans or other users of English as a second language use English supremely well. The dice are loaded against them, the conditions for communication are not symmetrical, and native speakers often seem to be unaware of this.
7 A recent brilliant Social Democrat proposal was to completely exclude from attending school those minority children who could not cope with Danish as the medium of education in first grade, until they had succeeded in learning Danish. Luckily, the Danish Centre for Human Rights pointed out that the proposal violated human rights principles and the Danish Constitution. If a similar proposal were made as a requirement for election to the European Parliament (‘Unless you know English and French you are not allowed to stand’), it would be seen as scandalous, even if the consequences for the individual are not as serious and even if MEPs de facto need to know these languages.
8 The Englishisation of Namibia has been well documented, both during the liberation struggle and since independence. Little English was used before the 1990s, except in United Nations funded efforts to equip the SWAPO liberation movement with qualified personnel for the time when the South Africans would be forced out of the country. See Pütz, (ed.) 1995; Brock-Utne, 1997; Harlech Jones, 1997; Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas and Africa, 1985; chapter 9 of Phillipson, 1992. The foreign ‘aid’ effort dovetails with the interests of those in power. We recently met some highly articulate student leaders from Namibia (see the interview with Isaiah Kavendji in Zig-Zag, the journal of the Danish NGO Ibis, April 1997 51:3-5), who are alarmed about how the reliance of the elites on English is effectively excluding the vast majority of the population, i.e. people with no or little competence in English, from participation in democratic processes in civil society in this new post-apartheid state.

References


Abstract
The idea that the spread of English was a post-colonial plot perpetrated by the core English-speaking countries, who hoped to maintain their dominance over 'periphery' (mostly developing) countries, has received much attention in linguistic circles. This paper argues that such a notion ascribes too much power to the English language, as opposed to the language policy makers and language users. It views the phenomenal growth of English more as a result of globalism rather than linguistic or cultural imperialism.

Resume
L'idée que l'expansion de l'anglais serait un complot post-colonial concu par les pays anglo-saxons afin de maintenir leur domination sur les pays 'périphériques' (en voie de développement pour la plupart) préoccupe beaucoup les milieux linguistiques. Les auteurs estiment que c'est là attribuer trop de pouvoir à la langue anglaise par rapport aux décideurs de la politique linguistique et aux usagers. Ils perçoivent l'expansion phénoménale de l'anglais comme le résultat de la mondialisation plus que comme celui d'un impérialisme linguistique ou culturel.

Introduction
With the demise of empire, most newly independent countries have had to struggle with the choice of official language policy. English, or some other former colonial language, was often thought of by these countries as the most realistic option for a national language: it apparently favoured no particular
indigenous group and was the language best suited and most immediately available for national development, both educationally and economically. Not surprisingly, most of the former colonies ended up with English as one of their official languages and, ultimately, the predominant language in education, business and government.

However, the retention of a former colonial language as one of the official languages was not without its fears and trepidation. Much of the powerful rhetoric denouncing the continued use of colonial languages came from Western intellectuals such as Fanon (1963), who linked their continuing use to the determination and ability of ex-colonial masters to maintain their economic, cultural, and political dominance beyond independence. The introduction of English into the former British colonies, for example, was said to have the effect of putting into circulation new discursive practices and creating a cultural Other. The Other was marginalised, confined, silenced and had a new subjectivity imposed on it. It was also categorised and evaluated in terms of norms that were alien to it. Often a hierarchical relationship between the colonialiser and the Other was instituted where the unchallenged point of reference was the culture of the coloniser.

It became only a matter of time after World War II before the phenomenal spread of English began to be questioned by language professionals themselves. By the 1980s, more concerns began to surface regarding the theoretical, methodological, ethical, and professional issues related to the global spread and use of English.¹ Researchers began to question the spread of English as being 'natural' and 'neutral', and attempted to deconstruct 'English' and 'EIL'. Tollefson (1991), for example, relates the close relationship between language policy, power, and privilege. Arguing that language education has become increasingly ideological with the spread of English, he shows how language is one criteria for determining which people will complete different levels of education. In other words, whenever people must learn a new language to have access to education or to understand classroom instruction, language is a factor in creating and sustaining economic division.

Phillipson’s (1992) timely book, *Linguistic Imperialism*, an extensive study of the development and spread of ELT throughout the world - and a lucid account of ‘North-South inequalities and exploitation’ - received much attention when it first appeared.² Quoting an English-language entrepreneur who Said, `Once we used to send gunboats and diplomats abroad; now we are
sending English teachers,' Phillipson advanced the idea of 'linguistic imperialism': that is, that the spread of English as a post-colonial plot an the part of the core English-speaking countries, which hoped to maintain their dominance over 'periphery' (mostly developing) countries.

Another term introduced by Phillipson was 'linguicism', a situation where the imposition of a language - in this case, English - was equated to the imposition of the cultural, social, emotional, and linguistic norms of the dominating society onto the dominated society, thus maintaining an unequal allocation of power and resources. Phillipson further cites the preferential allocation of educational resources to English in a multilingual environment as a good example of linguicism in action, and identifies two mechanisms frequently used to legitimise this ideology in the context of English language education. First, the fact that English is the language of science and technology, thus making it the only viable choice of modern education; and second, the effect of disconnecting ELT theory and practice from its broader societal context.

Linked to the suspicion of 'linguicism' is the accompanying fear that the dominante of English, if allowed to follow a natural course, will not only diminish the use of minority languages but replace them entirely (cf. Shannon, 1995; Sonntag, 1995). This is not without some justification since language in contact has become, increasingly, to be viewed as languages in competition (Fishman, 1994; Pool, 1991). Researchers such as Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins (1988) have described the phenomenon of linguistic hegemony in the case of languages achieving the Status of `dominant', `prestigious' or `inferior' as a result of competition with other languages. Once a language achieves hegemonic status, dominated languages are more easily perceived as inferior, and their speakers internalise their lowly status. Consequently users abandon their language for the dominated one. Throughout the world, similar scenarios have been played out between dominant and dominated languages, some examples being French versus Breton, Turkish versus Kurdish, and neonational versus indigenous language.

Pennycook (1994) takes the argument of linguistic imperialism a few steps further. He uses theories of postmodernism to deconstruct the discourse of EIL, English, and indeed, language itself. His argument is that one can never just 'teach a language' since it is bound up with its own worldly ideology. Pennycook develops the notion of the `worldliness of English' and devotes two central chapters to case studies of this phenomenon in Malaysia and Singapore. For Pennycook, English is a remnant of western imperialism, operating globally in conjunction with capitalist forces, especially those of operations of multinational corporations. Besides being the language of science and economic advancement, it is also the language of unequal distribution of wealth.

Case study: Singapore
It is my view that the concept of `linguistic imperialism' ascribes too much power to the language, as opposed to the language policy makers and the language users. I will use the republic of Singapore as a case in point to
illustrate how the early dominance of English came about not so much as a result of linguistic imperialism, but through a conscious decision on the part of its leaders and populace, after the careful consideration of world trends and local conditions. The implementation of a national education System with English as the medium of instruction came about through a 'bottom-up' rather than a 'top-down' process and was attained relatively easily - without strong controversy or bloodshed.

Like the world at large, Singapore has many distinct races and cultures and is a multicultural community possessing extreme multilingualism, both individual and societal. It is also a unique country in the sense that it is a place where the term 'bilingualism' is not associated simply with minority groups or migrants, but one in which knowing and using several languages is expected. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that while many countries try to teach their children to be literate in more than one language, Singapore tries to do it in reverse - it tries to educate an entire population so that everyone is literate in English and at the same time has a reasonable knowledge of their mother tongues (Pakir, 1994). A study of Singapore is therefore a study of how English has edged its way to become the principal school language, a major workplace language, the language of government, and an ethnic link-language, as well as a native language for an increasing number of children.

It must be noted, firstly, that it was a conscious choice on the part of the Singapore government not to indulge in the linguistic nationalism of many post-colonial countries but rather to concentrate an economic survival, which was looked upon as invariably linked with political survival. In 1959, at the point of independence, Singapore was segmented by deep ethnic and linguistic segmentation. It was poor, had a rapidly rising birth-rate and possessed few prospects for economic survival. Political identity was contested terrain and it was dependent largely an external trade. To ensure its survival, it was deemed imperative that it should have a dominant language which would enable it to survive politically, socially, and culturally. English was seen as the language which would attract foreign investment, and give the society the leading edge in education, academic achievement, international trade, and business. The policy of economic nationalism, which had characterised many post-colonial states, was therefore eschewed for one of pragmatic viability in a rapidly changing world.

'Linguistic capital' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), for example, the ownership of the world's foremost auxiliary language, was widely viewed as easily convertible into other forms of capital, such as educational qualifications and higher incomes. This belief was apparent in the large sums of money parents were willing to spend on language tuition for their children and in their personal choice of enrolling their children in English-medium schools so as to give them a 'headstart'. Not surprisingly, enrolments in Chinese, Tamil, and Malay-medium schools began to decline sharply in the 1960s and 1970s. In the 1970s, preference for enrolment into Primary One English-medium schools had risen to a ratio of 8:1. By 1978, the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew had to specially intervene through a series of external measures to save the best Chinese schools as well as the Chinese-medium Nanyang University.
To ensure their existence, 13 Chinese schools were selected by the Ministry of Education to continue teaching Chinese as a first language, but their students also had to learn English as a first language. Similarly, to ensure its survival, Nanyang University was amalgamated with the National University of Singapore through what was known as the Joint Campus scheme of 1978-9.

The choice of English over Mandarin, Tamil, and Malay as the medium of instruction in schools was therefore a 'bottom-up' decision by the populace, the de facto but 'invisible' planner. While there always have been fears that the widespread adoption of English would lead to a loss of ethnic identity and more importantly, a loss of 'Asian values', yet the populace voted with their feet where choice of language-stream schools for their children education was concerned. When it came to the crunch, they valued a situation that left traditional cultures open to risk but with increasing material returns as preferable to the full retention of ethnic pride and culture but with diminishing material returns. There was a pragmatic realisation that their lack of a command in English would mean the continued marginalisation of their children in a world that would continue to use the language to a greater degree. It would also deny them access to the extensive resources available in English - resources which have developed as a consequence of globalisation.

It has been argued that linguicism violates the human rights of speakers of dominated languages. Paradoxically, the aim of ensuring human rights is often used to persuade speakers of other languages that they should adopt English as their dominant language, because English is the key to modernisation and thus political and economic power and control. Where minority languages are concerned, research has also shown that it is not so much numerical domination which is responsible for minority status but linguistic diversity. Countries with the most linguistic diversities often have serious racial problems and a poor economy (Robinson, 1993:52-70). In addition, Fasold (1984) and Pool (1991) have shown how multilingualism leads to slower economic development. After years of economic nationalism, Malaysia (Singapore's closest neighbour) has also been following in its footsteps in the last few years, by renewing an emphasis on the learning of English in the hope of accelerating economic development for itself.

Phillipson's ideological world view has also prevented him from even entertaining the possibility that English can be ever truly considered an adopted African or Asian language. There are many countries where institutionalised second language varieties of English have developed (for example, India, Kenya, Singapore, and Puerto Rico) and where the attitudinal conflict between indigenous and external norms is being resolved in favour of...
localised educated norms (Chew, 1995a). Today, aggressive use of English, not just in Singapore but in other parts of the world, is changing the concept of ownership (Chew, 1995b). English is beginning to function independently, without the participation of nation speakers, for the use and benefit of nonnative speakers. In Nigeria, for instance, English is no longer perceived as the imperial tongue and the reasons for learning it are pragmatic in nature. Bisong (1995) maintains, ‘Nigerians are sophisticated enough to know what is in their interest and their interest includes the ability to operate with the lingua franca in a multilingual Situation.’ As is well known in Singapore, one language can, in fact, be the courier of many cultures and sub-cultures, of myriad values and sets of values, of different religions and of antagonistic political Systems - as is the case of English (cf. Ho and Platt, 1993; Gupta, 1992).

Moreover, bilingualism and biculturalism need not necessarily go hand in hand. In Singapore, the position is stated very clearly: ‘yes’ to English and ‘no’ to western cultural values. Singaporeans like to think of their city as ‘modern’ but not ‘western’. Similarly, while English is the official language of Asean, Asean has not shown itself to be either pro-British or pro-American. In Hong Kong, students and their parents state their preference in English but show little interest in supporting the weight of British, European, or Western culture and civilisation. So although English is the world language, neither British nor Americans seem able to use English to dominate international organisations or their policies as they might wish to.

Perhaps there is a lesson for the rest of the world grappling with the issue of cultural identity and language maintenance. One of the unfortunate aspects of the world debate an culture is the emphasis which some people place on the preservation of culture, almost with the same attitude that one has towards the preservation of museum pieces. A ‘pragmatic multilingualism’ (Pakir, 1991), such as that observed in Singapore, views the study of cultures as important human endeavours as long as the profit and prestige involved in these activities do not become motivating forces blocking the progress of a whole people. Preserving one’s culture does not mean clinging to the past but changing as one goes along. In the light of unceasing globalisation and cultural diversity, perhaps it is time to highlight the use of the international auxiliary language more as a means to an end rather than as an emblem of culture (Chua and Chew, 1993).

In a recent paper, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996), recounted the plight of people from all parts of India whose family history reflected a loss of the mother tongue in a short period of time. While this is a situation deserving of empathy, sometimes sacrifices are necessary for future gain. In Singapore, many grandparents have been unable to communicate with their grandchildren due to the loss of the mother tongue. However, there has been no strong protest despite swift changes because there has been a shrewd willingness on the part of the older generation to sacrifice - accepting a personal inconvenience for the material well-being of the younger generation in a fast-changing world. A high level of instrumental motivation has also enabled increasing numbers of younger Singaporeans to compete effectively with native-speaking children in Britain, taking, for example, the Cambridge
'O' level examination. In a recent survey whereby 1,800 nine-year-olds in independent and state schools in England and Wales completed a series of tests, it was discovered, ironically, that British pupils were in the bottom half of the ranking! The British standard fell below the top 10 countries, led by Finland, whose pupils' average score was considerably higher. *(Straits Times, Singapore, 2 August 1996.)* We may surmise, even from this isolated example, that while the widespread use of English gave English-speaking nations a headstart advantage in the world arena, this was relevant only during the period of transition. As more and more non-native speakers begin to learn English from an early age - indeed there are now more non-native than native speakers in the world - they will begin to compete with 'traditional' native-speakers for the top literary and journalistic prizes. Eventually, the Standards and norms will also, necessarily, need to reflect the cultural histories and identities of the users *(Kachru, 1985).*

At this point, it should be noted that we are talking about an international auxiliary language and not about a language to replace all the others. Bilingualism can be a source of great joy, increased intellectual development, creativity, and cultural sensitivity, and it is perfectly possible to organise education so that children develop high levels of competence in at least two languages. One notes that while English is the official language in, for example, Nigeria, it has not succeeded in displacing any of the indigenous languages. The Scandinavians and Dutch with a good command of English have also not phrased out their own languages or been educated through the medium of English. Similarly, in Singapore, English is learnt in school together with another official language - Mandarin, Tamil, or Malay.

For Singaporeans, the mechanistic view that English is incorrigibly permeated with imperialism and reaction is something quite alien since it denies the complex social potential of language. A language must be at the service of people who use it. There is a 'pragmatic multilingualism' in existence, a situation where the population has knowingly done a calculation and views the adoption of English not so much as a threat to their own languages but as the key to a share of the world's symbolic power: towards the accumulation of cultural, political and economic capital.

**Globalism and the English language**

English is indisputably the language of international communication. It has official status in 60 countries and a prominent place in 20 more *(Johnson, 1996).* It is the main language of books, academic journals, the media and international sports and entertainment. The 20th century has witnessed the emergence of a world language with no dose rival and, while it is a familiar phenomenon for one language, for example, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Arabic, and French to serve as a lingua franca over a large area of many languages, what is unusual is that never before has a single language spread for such purposes over most of the world as English has done in this century.

The growth in the use of English should be seen more as part of the worldwide movement of 'globalism' rather than as an aspect of linguicism. The recent emphasis on the study of power and domination in language use has led
to a blinkered view where the growth of English is concerned. There seems to be a denial of the salient underlying momentum of the whole of the 20th century - globalisation. A new world requires new ways of perception. Its auxiliary, the technological revolution in communication, also precludes the turning back to a more secluded and nationalistic lifestyle.

As we near the year 2000, political scientists speak of a 'New World Order'. Many dramatic changes have happened internationally. Who would have dreamt that the Iron Curtain would come down so quickly? The end of the Cold War and the relaxation of East-West tensions are unsettling national stabilities in several countries. Even the United Nations is finally gaining prominence in world events. It may be observed that with the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil 1992, the world moved towards a stronger acknowledgement of its global finitude. At this point of time, it is obvious that globalism has not as yet assumed transcendency since nationalism is the banner to which every country still ascribes. However, while global thinking is certainly not new, it is gaining recognition and acceptance. And while nationalism traditionally has been a dominant force in social identity, it is losing strength. Just as environmentalists encourage people to think globally and act locally, countries are beginning to juggle global concerns with national issues.

Suddenly, the rise of the big blue marble as the backdrop to television news, as the logo for international conferences, sports events and commercial enterprise is discernible in every corner. Whether we realise it or not, it has become the icon of the age. This world icon has come to represent a sign or symbol that not only denotes a set of ideas pertaining to globalism but also connotes, at one precise strike, such emotions as reverence, conviction, and inspiration.

Until World War II, the tallest buildings in any city or town provided stark witness to the leading belief systems. For many years, churches were probably the tallest buildings in any town. Only in the last few decades, have banks and office buildings come to dominate the urban landscape. The western world has moved through a variety of religious, emotional, and social mindsets. In the western world, Christianity has long been the dominant mindset. For many centuries, there was a pervasive use of crosses and other religious symbols: people still continue to make the sign of the cross and wear crosses. A more predominant symbol since the 1950s has been the frightening and fatalistic image of the mushroom-shaped cloud of the atomic bomb. An atomic mushroom has consistently, if not consciously, ruled international relations and stimulated personal fears. Following this - and perhaps as a result of the terror, or an effort to countermand that deep fear - we have completed an era where the Coca-Cola sign was identified as the most widely recognised trademark. This image of consumerism, with its swirls and bubbled letters, has been surveyed as the most readily recognised symbol throughout the world. More recently Mickey Mouse has become the most popular image. Indeed, Mickey Mouse's ears have been surveyed as the most well-recognised icon to date! The popularity of this symbol represents the prominence of American popular culture.
Lately, however, a new symbol has entered our collective consciousness. The graphic portraits of the Earth could be only imagined until the 1960s. A satellite photo of the Earth first gained prominence at Expo 67. This image has since then penetrated every aspect of culture and media: the big blue marble icon is now pervasive. As with previous icons, the satellite picture of Earth is now increasingly used as a motif on clothing and accessories, posters and in advertisements. This icon, symbolic of a new consciousness, proposes the important economic, political, and social concerns that must be addressed in world shifts from the dominant paradigms of capitalist economies to a global (named in this case 'environmental') mindset, that supersedes global limits in relation to conventional capitalist guidelines for economic development.

In the past, it was possible for people to be born into a family, to remain within the clan, live in a small community, work in a pre-assigned occupation, and die without much accomplishment beyond having survived harsh conditions. Even today, masses of humanity are still living under such circumstances. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that the situation is changing. The technological advances that have greatly facilitated the movement of people and ideas have removed the barriers that have kept people apart and ignorant. Whether we like it or not, the era of isolation has come to an end. The global village heralds the dawn of association and integration.

Whenever there is change, there is resistance. Therefore, it is not surprising that we are also witnessing a huge worldwide increase in nationalistic and ethnic fervour. These developments are the final efforts of various segments of humanity to establish and affirm their respective identities. From a psychological perspective, this is an essential aspect of the development of human societies, as well as human individuals.

By some stroke of its own sheer good fortune, the English language seems to be bound up in the phenomenon of globalism. Each world war and technological development seem to propel it forward. The cost in battling globalism is tremendous and it is doubtful whether any country can survive the battle. First the financial expense - to be spent on supporting translation services, terminological commissions, scientific and technical societies and so on. Second, the human cost in the distribution of the labour force, the fact that thousands of highly-educated workers have to be channelled to work on language issues, and third, the moral cost of supporting community linguistic rights over individual rights.

Beaucoup de grands-parents ne sont plus capables aujourd'hui de communiquer avec leurs petits-enfants parce que ceux-ci ne connaissent pas la langue d'origine de la famille. Pour commencer une nouvelle vie dans un autre pays, an était tout à fait prêt à abandonner la langue du pays d'origine.
It is probably not possible to survey briefly world events over the last decade without feeling intense excitement, without being aware that one is witnessing events of great historical significance. Dicken's reference to the French revolution in the opening sentence in *A Tale of Two Cities* seems to capture the sense and the spirit of the age in which we live: 'it was the best of times, and it was the worse of times.' The current age is, indeed, one of expectations and hope as well as deepening contradictions and uncertainties. In the context of this paper, what the current age does show, however, is that it is just too simplistic to ascribe the growth of the foremost international language merely to the notion of linguistic imperialism without considering the relentless march of globalism and the pragmatic perspective of newly formed nations which have recognised this trend early in their history.

**Notes**

1. For example, at the 26th Annual Convention of TESOL held between March 3-7 at Vancouver, Canada, there was a colloquium on *Partnership and Patronage in ELT Development* to explore the methods, motives, and effects of ELT in the countries of the Commonwealth and Eastern Europe.
2. The book was immediately reviewed by five professionals in *World Englishes*, 1992, 12,3:335-73.
3. The Census of 1980 showed English as a clear indicator of socio-economic Status. Homes which declared English as a predominant household language had higher income levels.
4. With independence in 1959, Singapore decided to retain the system of four language-medium schools (English, Mandarin, Tamil, and Malay) to cater to the needs of the different ethnic groups.
5. This returned attention to English is also happening in Sri Lanka.
6. Brzezinski (1993:ix-x) writes: 'History has not ended but has become compressed. Whereas in the past, historical epochs stood out in relatively sharp relief, and could thus have a defined sense of historical progression, history today entails sharp discontinuities that collide with each other, condense our sense of perspective, and confuse our historical perceptions'.
References


English in Japanese society:
reactions and directions

L'anglais dans la société
japonaise: réactions et directions

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Abstract
While languages such as Spanish and English have absorbed vocabulary from many languages over the centuries, Japanese has primarily absorbed loanwords from China and, more recently, from English. (Miller, 1967; Hoffer, 1990, 1997; Loveday, 1996) Over the past five decades, the number of English loanwords has grown geometrically from near zero to over 30,000. Clearly, English has diffused into almost all aspects of Japanese society, from ordinary conversation to governmental documents. Yet in neither the Chinese nor English borrowing situation was there any strong or prolonged intimate contact between the two cultures. Perhaps the voluntary nature of the absorption has muted, to at least some degree, the reactions against the pervasive presence of English in the school system and of borrowed words in almost all areas of Japanese life. In this paper, a section on the reactions to English and the current status of English follows a discussion of the English language in Japan.

Résumé
Alors que le vocabulaire de langues comme l'espagnol et l'anglais contient des mots empruntés au cours des siècles à de nombreuses autres langues, le japonais a emprunté presque uniquement au chinois et plus récemment à l'anglais (Miller, 1967; Hoffer, 1990, 1997; Loveday, 1996). Pendant les cinquante dernières années, le nombre des emprunts à l'anglais s'est accru géométriquement de presque zéro à plus de 30,000. De toute évidente, l'anglais a pénétré quasiment tous les secteurs de la société japonaise, de la conversation courante aux documents administratifs. Pourtant, ni dans les circonstances des emprunts au chinois ni dans celles des emprunts à l'anglais il n'y eut de contact intime intense ou prolongé entre les deux cultures. Il est possible que la nature volontaire
de ces absorptions mesure la force des réactions contre la présence envahissante de l'anglais dans le système scolaire et des emprunts dans presque tous les aspects de la vie japonaise. Dans cet article, une discussion de la place de l'anglais au Japon est suivie d'une section consacrée aux réactions vis-à-vis de l'anglais.

English in Japanese education
About 50 years ago the Japanese made the study of the English language all but required during middle and high school. Universities then added an entrance requirement in written English and, more recently, some have added oral components. In addition there are hundreds if not thousands of special, intensive courses in English available at private teaching facilities. Dozens of magazines and journals too are devoted to the study of English and the related Western culture.

This commitment to an educated public able to handle an international language has had a predictable impact on Japanese over the decades: loanwords became more and more frequent as the English requirement gave more and more Japanese a level of facility in the language. The current estimate of English loanwords is high, as noted. The percentage of English words used in ordinary conversation is estimated as being as high as 11 per cent. In fact, 60 to 70 per cent of new words in the annually-revised dictionaries of neologisms are from English (Honna, 1995).

Even with this influx of English words, centuries of use of Chinese loanwords have resulted in the high percentage of borrowings from Chinese now represented in the Japanese dictionary. There are some parallels between the two borrowing situations, although the differentes are perhaps more important to understand.

Chinese in the Japanese language
A millennium and a half ago, Japan encountered China at 'arm's length' (Hoffer, 1997). This rather indirect contact between Japan with Chinas advanced world culture led Japan to absorb much of Chinese culture, adapt it, and make parts of it components of their own culture. Religions, architecture, science, and so on, were studied and the Chinese language was adopted by the court of Japan. The Chinese writing system became the basis for the Japanese writing system. Indeed, Japan's writing system and two syllabaries were derived from Chinese characters and now use a subset of Chinese written characters. More recently, of course, alphabetic symbols have also been absorbed into the writing system.

In addition to learning elements of the Chinese writing system, those Japanese who were educated in Chinese also learned tens of thousands of vocabulary items. Many of these vocabulary items entered the Japanese lexicon and are still in use. Dictionaries of Japanese, based on Chinese written symbols, are many hundreds of pages long and contain a large number of words from Chinese.

When Chinese first arrived in Japan, it significantly became the language of officialdom: tourt and officials were well trained in Chinese, and the ability to
handle Chinese became the mark of an educated, literary person – and remained so into the beginning of this century. The great Japanese novelist of the Meiji period (1868-1912), Natsume Soseki, was perhaps the last great literary figure who wrote Chinese verse as an avocation.

A major change in Japan's knowledge of the world then took place during the Meiji period, which marked the re-opening of Japan to the West after two and a half centuries of no contact. Japan sent young scholars to Europe to study and bring back the knowledge of the West. Natsume Soseki, for example, studied in England, returned, and for a time taught English at the Imperial University. While Western languages for the first half of this century remained to some extent 'scholastic' languages, in the second half of this century, the influx of English and its use across the social spectrum began.

English in Japan

Il apparaît clairement que derrière tous les emprunts, il y a un besoin de japonisation. Les mots d'origine étrangère deviennent donc des mots japonais non seulement du point de vue de la structure, mais aussi du point de vue de la sémantique. The use of Chinese did not extend beyond the elite classes to the ordinary farmers and others. In this area of language use, there is more of a contrast than a comparison between the absorption of Chinese and the absorption of English. The use of Latin as a language of education in Europe, after Latin had been transformed into the Romance languages, would be a better parallel between Chinese and Japanese, although that parallel is also limited. Chinese was used at court, in the government, in Buddhism and in the education of those involved in these and related activities. In contrast, at least some level of proficiency in English has spread through all segments of Japanese society, from ordinary citizens' speech to the bureaucratic vocabulary of governmental documents.

Over the past few decades, the high percentage of Japanese who have studied at least a few years of English has clearly facilitated the absorption process. The use of English language texts in colleges, international travel, study made possible by Japan's growing economy, and contact through the international media have all contributed to the easy use of new words from abroad. The advanced state of Japan's technology has also added to the growing number of acceptable new words. In technical fields such as computing, English terms are understood less as English per se than as 'international' terms. Just three decades ago many new words, even in technology, were written in Chinese characters; English phrases have now became preferred terms. For example, 'kikai honyaku' was used in Chinese until recently but now the phrase 'machine translation' is common.

To some extent then, the status of English as one of the world's
international languages must be kept in mind when evaluating both the impact of 
the use of the English language, and the borrowing of English vocabulary into the 
Japanese language. In the next few sections, examples are given of borrowed terms 
and of some adaptations of those terms.

**English transformed into Japanese**

English vocabulary items used in Japanese are often used as units, but the more 
interesting examples are those which are adapted in various ways, such as 
shortening, compounds of shortenings, compounds using both languages, and 
English roots with Japanese grammatical endings. These are discussed below. Other 
types of uses are covered elsewhere (Hoffer and Honna, 1988; Hoffer, 1990).

English speakers shorten many types of words in English, as in the use of 
acronyms such as ‘scuba’ for ‘self-contained underwater breathing apparatus’ and 
first syllables such as ‘ad’ for ‘advertisement.’ The Japanese use both those 
processes (Miura, 1979) with English words, but also include acronyms which contain 
items from Japanese and from other languages. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ABC} & \quad \text{American or Australian Broadcasting Company} \\
\text{NEC} & \quad \text{Nippon Electric Company}
\end{align*}
\]

A recent loanword dictionary from Sanseido Publishing Company (Sanseido 
Henshubu, 1987) has some 200 pages of alphabetic acronyms that the daily reader 
encounters in reading the Japanese newspapers.

Japanese also shortens many English words that are not usually shortened in 
English. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{apaato} & \quad \text{apart(ment)} \\
\text{depaato} & \quad \text{depart(ment)} \\
\text{famikon} & \quad \text{fami(ly) com(puter)}
\end{align*}
\]

Compounds made of shortened English words are especially difficult for native 
English or non-Japanese English speakers to interpret. Japanese who are speaking 
English to native English speakers may expect the listener to understand such 
compounds, but the compounds are often opaque to the listener as they are not 
used by native speakers. Hundreds of examples could be listed that take this form:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{puroresu} & \quad \text{pro(fessional) wres(tling)} \\
\text{waa puro} & \quad \text{wo(rd) pro(cessor)}
\end{align*}
\]

Loanwords are interesting too for their migratory habits: in Korea ‘waa puro’ is 
considered a Japanese loan. An example of such shortened mixed language 
compounds is shown below, from International Christian University in Tokyo, where 
a ‘honjapa’ is the term for a native Japanese, while a ‘hanjapa’ has one non Japanese 
parent. Depending on the writer, these compounds can be written with various 
combinations of written symbols:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{honjapa} & \quad \text{hon (‘true, real’); japa(nese)} \\
\text{hanjapa} & \quad \text{han (‘half’); japa(nese)}
\end{align*}
\]
Some English items have been in use long enough to have entered the Japanese dictionary decades ago, but the more recent items appear first in special loanword dictionaries, and then, in many but not all cases, achieve the status of a regular Japanese vocabulary item which may be used with Japanese inflectional endings. One such example is:

*daburu* from ‘double’ (increase) plus the verbal ending ‘ru’

A more recent example of an English root with Japanese inflection is the adjective ‘now’ as in ‘the Now generation’:

*naui* ‘now’ plus ‘I’ the present tense adjectival ending
*naukatta* ‘now’ plus ‘katta’, the past tense adjectival ending

Another type of double-language example shows how ordinary citizens know English so well that they often have little difficulty in understanding puns, humorous mis-usage, and various types of word play. One well-cited example is ‘an-shinji-raburu’, which consists of the Japanese word for ‘believe’ and the English prefix ‘un-’ and suffix ‘able.’

What is conspicuous in all these borrowing patterns is the drive for Japanisation. Although foreign loanwords are visually recognisable in reading because of their representation in the special katakana syllabary, they are structurally and semantically treated as Japanese words. They have been and are being incorporated into Japanese. They have become an integral part of the Japanese lexicon and grammar and are used frequently in diverse ways and called upon to play an important set of roles in contemporary Japanese society.

These examples also serve, among other things, to demonstrate that English is a living language in Japan. While the ability to handle English as an independent language varies with the individual and with the amount of time spent in the study, the ability to use English loanwords in new and creative ways is pervasive in Japan.

**English across society**

In addition to encountering English loanwords - usually written in the katakana syllabary in the newspapers - Japanese speakers encounter English in all types of advertisements; as titles of many dozens of Japanese magazines; as slogans from travel agencies and other businesses; and on countless tee-shirts worn by the younger generation. Those non-Japanese who have travelled around Tokyo may have seen areas where signs in English seem to outnumber those in Japanese! Clearly, businesses would not use English loanwords if they thought that such use would hurt business. And, while English is not a prestige language in Japan in the Sense of prestige as ‘reverence,’ English may be used as a prestige language to sell selected items in the same way that French is used in England to sell perfume, fashions, and other merchandise.

Business and commerce in general seem to hold this view. For example, advertising campaigns by major travel agencies for travel within Japan may use English-only slogans. In many international companies too, an ability in English is essentially a requirement. While it is not unusual for an American stationed at a branch in Japan to know no Japanese at all, it is unthinkable that a Japanese in a similar position would not know some English.

The degree of diffusion of English terms in Japan can be seen clearly in the growing acceptance of officially approved loanwords in government documents.
One early example is the approved official use of the acronym ‘DK’ based on the English compound ‘dining/kitchen.’ The term is used in Western-style houses, where cooking and eating areas are arranged differently from traditional Japanese patterns.

In short, the Japanese have, for generations, studied Japanese in school but have encountered English - or at least English loanwords - in the newspapers, in magazines, on television shows, in ads, on businesses, in official documents, and so on. Indeed, the process of adoption and adaptation of English has advanced to an astonishing degree in only five decades. One of the few areas where English has not made an impact is in religious ceremonies, where sacred languages are preserved. In brief, English has impacted on most areas of language usage in Japan and fills several functions or roles in that usage.

**The functions of English loanwords in Japanese**

A few of the functions of borrowed terms are simple to state - they are used for code-switching, new borrowings, prestige, and euphemism.

Simple code-switching, a process which may occur in any situation where speakers and listeners know two languages or ‘codes’, is one of the most frequently encountered uses of English loanwords. Words or phrases from the second language are substituted for a variety of reasons and rhetorical effects which are outside the scope of this treatment.

New borrowings also often represent new items and concepts, as is usual in borrowing situations, with a subset of terms used for internationalised fields, such as computers and math. Thus it could be said that a country which decided to use native terms within its own scholarship would have to translate those terms into international terms for use abroad. This internationalisation of terminology helps scholarship in general.

Historically, borrowed words can be used for prestige terms, in the loose sense described above.

In Japanese, English also functions at times for euphemism. In English, a ‘garbage collector’ may become a ‘sanitation engineer,’ which sounds much better. And although Japanese can use its own vocabulary for such euphemisms, English is employed as well. For one example, the trains have seats designated as ‘silver seats’ (English words used) which are for senior citizens. An intriguing example at the highest level is given in Honna (1995):

The Ministry of Construction, for example, sponsors a council whose tack it is to map out what is intra-departmentally referred to as the charming construction identity (CCI). There has been a change in the
termiology of construction work: from traditional Japanese terms to English loans. As such, 'koojigenba' (construction site) is renamed as station, 'sagyouin' (worker) as outdoorman, 'hanba' (eating place) as outdoor residence, and 'genba kantoku' as supervisor. Obviously, the purpose is for euphemistic effect, since the work and working conditions [are 'charmingly' rephrased from terms which suggest the dirty, dangerous and painstaking nature of the work].

All of these uses and functions of English in Japan are almost completely the result of the decision several decades ago to require English in the schools. A brief profile of English in education follows.

**English education in Japan**
The program of teaching English as an international language in Japan started in junior high schools in 1947. Learning English was considered a necessity for new Japan's young generation if they were to obtain a clear picture of the world and, with international knowledge and communication, make Japan a great trading country. The time spent learning English was eventually extended from three to six years as increasing numbers of students chose to attend senior high. In 1991, over 94 per cent of the nation's 15-year-olds went to senior high. There is now in Japan a large majority of people who have had six years of English by the time they complete their schooling.

The adoption of English as a key subject in junior and senior high schools has undoubtedly encouraged students to work on the language. Competence, in at least written English, became a critical factor in a pass or fail at the entrance examinations for higher education and, for many Japanese students, a high test mark is almost exclusively the only purpose for study. They spend an astonishing amount of time and energy in the study of English. The critical importance of a college education in Japan has in effect spawned the development of a variety of lucrative testing industries, including cram schools and proficiency certification organisations which deal with the English language. During the period 1979 to 1994, more than 600,000 students took TOEIC tests (Test of English for International Communication). TOEIC is administered by a corporation endorsed by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. The STEP (Standard Test of English Proficiency), which is supported by the Ministry of Education, is even more popular, attracting over 1,310,000 examinees in the first of a twice-a-year series of tests in 1994 (Honna, 1995).

**Reactions to the study and spread of English**
In terms of a positive impact an Japanese international business, on Japanese scholarship, and on international communication, the commitment to an international language has been proved, conclusively, as beneficial to Japan. The Japanese economy has gone from essentially zero five decades ago to the top ranks of world economies. Japanese students, business people, and tourists can handle themselves in any country where English is used as one of the languages.

There are, however, critics of the English language education policy. The
huge commitment of students to the study of English has not had the effect of producing a commensurably large number of bilinguals. In the views of those critics, actual results have been impressively inadequate: an insufficient percentage of people have developed proficiency in English as a language for international communication. In fact, they point out that the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) Scores of Japanese students have been unquestionably low. According to an international comparison of seven countries, Japan is ranked among the lowest group.

As noted, in recent years some of the top universities in Japan have required an English oral component in their entrance examination. This decision may have the effect of producing a somewhat higher proficiency level, but it is too early to make predictions. Although the original goal was not that of producing a nation of bilinguals, critics have perhaps a valid point in terms of results when compared to the time, energy, and money spent on the topic of English.

donc plus possibleYet a fact that cannot be overlooked is that the English education policy has received total support from the general public. In any democracy, such support is crucial. Criticism of the results of the policy has not reached a level significant enough to cause universal reconsideration.

Another type of criticism that has existed for several decades is that of the 'corruption' of the Japanese language by the intrusion of foreign elements. Many Japanese consider English loanwords in Japanese as the most serious problem that faces the Japanese language today. Simply put, these people believe that the influx of a tremendous amount of foreign words into Japanese is an intrusion and will lead inevitably to the corruption and decay of their national language. Media commentators at times deride those Japanese who make 'inconsiderate' use of foreign words in situations where 'beautiful, authentic' Japanese could be used instead. Letters to the editors' pages of major national newspapers will at times contain similar comments. Some influential government office holders occasionally rail against the assimilation of English into Japanese.

Yet there is an inherent irony here. The written and oral criticism of English education and of English loanwords in Japan uses borrowed words from Chinese and from English. The office holders rail against English, but their rhetoric is usually filled with English loans. As Miller (1967) pointed out during a similar outcry, articles by Japanese scholars a half century ago protesting the 'invasion' of foreign words contained this same linguistic irony. The articles were written in Japanese which consisted primarily of written characters borrowed from China in the middle of the first millennium. By the time of their protests, the 'Japanisation' of the Chinese written system and vocabulary loans had been complete for centuries. It may have appeared that
Chinese would replace Japanese during the time of borrowing yet, far from disappearing under the rapid borrowing of Chinese vocabulary, Japanese thrived and made use of the richness of the Chinese language.

English now has a status in Japan similar to that of Chinese earlier. That is, the process of learning and adapting English is so advanced that a complete reversal would be reactionary to a high degree and is, in fact, probably irreversible. Adaptations of the current policy may be made in terms of potential university students, yet the tens of millions of Japanese who have had years of English training and who support the policies cannot be ignored. As a side issue, the positive effects of having a population which is competent to at least some degree in an international language are the objects of envy of many countries. As Honna (1995) expresses:

There can be nothing to stop the spread of English loans in Japanese. Hiroshi Mizutani, Director of the National Language Research Institute, said of the current influx of foreign words into Japanese: 'The official opinion is that this trend must be contained or at least rationalized'. Actually, the real issue is not how to relinquish them, but how to accommodate them for the enrichment of the Japanese language.

References
The decline of the native speaker

Le déclin du locuteur natif

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Abstract
English, the global language, is growing - in numbers of speakers, in domains of use, in economic and cultural power - or so goes the rhetoric. In this paper, I will explore the largely overlooked but related phenomenon of decline - particularly of the prevalence and importance of native speakers. I will explore the decline of the native speaker of English from three perspectives. First, there is a simple demographic argument: the proportion of the world’s population speaking English as a first language is declining, and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. Second, the international Status of English is changing in profound ways: in future it will be a language used mainly in multilingual contexts as a second language and for communication between non-native speakers. Third, I will explore the decline of the native speaker in terms of a changing ideological discourse about languages, linguistic competence, and identity.

Resumé
The demographic evidence

Discussion of the place of English in the world often centres on numbers, particularly estimates of the growing numbers of people who speak English. This numerological tradition, like so much of our understanding of the history of English, was largely shaped in the 19th century - a century obsessed by numbers and accounting practices required by the new industries, the formation of public companies and the administration of empire. At this time, there also emerged a rivalry between three European languages, particularly French and English but also to some extent German, as languages of international communication. French had been the undisputed international language of diplomacy during a period in which diplomacy formed the basis for international affairs. But in the second half of the 19th century, English challenged the status of French as an international language. The combination of industrial development and the British empire helped position English as the language of global trade, at a time when trade was taking over from diplomacy as the basis for international affairs. French was the catholic language of ideas and diplomacy. Its promoters made much of its beauty, literature and civilised cultural values. English was the protestant, working language of commerce. Its supporters promoted its virtues with frequent reference to numbers relating to its size and global reach.

The industrial revolution had created a commercial culture which routinely dealt in numbers: new typographic styles and printing techniques were developed to handle new informational genres as railway timetables and shareholder accounts. Numbers became an important component of persuasive rhetoric - and the larger the numbers were, the better. It is not surprising that contemporary commentators promoting the place of English employed such rhetoric. Bailey (1992) quotes, for example, the estimates of native speakers made by a Swiss scientist, Alphonse de Candolle in 1870:

In England it doubles in 50 years; therefore, in a century (in 1970) it will be 124,000,000. In the United States, in Canada, in Australia, it doubles in twenty-five; therefore it will be 736,000,000. Probable total of English-speaking race in 1970, 860,000,000. (Bailey, 1992, p.111)

One can detect, even a century or so later, the sheer exhilaration in all those
zeros. Figure 1 shows the logarithmic algorithm employed by Candolle, and projects the numbers of English speakers a century before and after the 100 year period he describes. It suggests that in 1770 there were only about seven million speakers of English, but by 2070 the projected number would be nearly 10 billion: rather more than the expected total population of the planet.

We may now smile at 19th century confidence in forecasts for English, but there undoubtedly remains a fascination with speaker numbers - despite the fast that there are many other aspects of global English which might better capture its growing importance in the world. The issue of 'How many speakers?' remains, for example, top of the list of frequently asked questions about global English according to the British Council's FAQ.1 This paper examines what we know about trends in English language usage and provides a principled basis for estimating and forecasting the numbers of people speaking English in the world.

**Long-term growth of English**

Although languages arise and evolve in fluid ways which prevent any straightforward location an a time-line, English provides an unusually clear starting point of origin in time and space because of a combination of factors: it arose from migration; that migration was to an island territory with well-defined borders; and the pre-existing languages with which the immigrants came into contact (Celtic, Latin) were not close linguistic relatives. Of course, the first boat-loads of immigrants to Britain in the 5th century did not arrive speaking English. They are likely to have spoken various Germanic varieties which may have been mutually intelligible. Here the official histories which tell of three tribes - Angles, Saxons and Jutes - are clearer than the evidence properly allows. But Old English somehow emerged from the mix, at least two or three generations after substantial settlement. This provides a credible starting point of around AD 700, at which time the numbers of speakers must have been in the low thousands. Before the European colonisation of North America in the 17th century, the number of first language English speakers could not have exceeded about seven million, almost all in the British Isles. During the 19th century, numbers of English speakers in North America overtook those in the British Isles, but numbers of native English speakers worldwide are unlikely to have passed the 100 million mark until the end of the 19th century.

Figure 2 provides an overview of the long-term growth of English nativespeakers. It is fairly easy to see where Candolle, and others with similarly extravagant forecasts about the numbers of native English speakers, went wrong. First, it was assumed that the growth of English speakers could be projected from the population trends in North America and Britain, although
these were at a historic height because of large-scale emigration from Europe to the US and rapid industrialisation and urbanisation of the late 19th century. In the event, Population growth in the industrialised world has fallen sharply in the 20th century - in some European countries it has not only stabilised but is actually falling. Second, Candolle's estimates did not allow for the way that English has spread to many more countries - in particular those forming what Kachru (1984) calls the 'outer circle'.

In The Future of English? a research document published by the British Council (Graddol, 1997), I put forward a model for the growth of native speakers of English which provides a basis for projecting future trends. The model relies on two kinds of data: full demographic forecasts for populations of countries in which English is spoken as a first language and estimates of the proportion of those populations for whom English is a mother tongue. In principle, all the major world languages can be modelled in this way, but English is perhaps the most difficult. McArthur (1998, p.42) lists 113 territories which 'currently use English on a widespread, sustained basis.' The Ethnologue database of world languages maintained by the Summer Institute of Linguistics lists 83 countries and territories in which English is spoken. Ideally, any model forecasting numbers of speakers requires data for each of these countries.

Country by country population data is available from the United Nations Population Division. The figures reported in this article draw on the Sex and Age Quinquennial dataset for 1950-2050 (1998 revision). This dataset provides detailed population forecasts, including numbers for males and females in each of 21 age-bands, at five year intervals through to 2050.

Such detailed population forecasts are insufficient on their own. We also need to know the proportion of each country's population who speak English as their mother tongue. This is a surprisingly difficult statistic to obtain. It raises some of the most problematical issues in linguistic surveys, such as 'What counts as a native speaker?' 'How do you collect such information systematically in many countries?' 'How do people interpret questions about language usage?' 'Do people answer such questions honestly?' Even in those countries such as Britain and the US where the linguistic culture is often described as monolingual, it is clear that a significant proportion of the population speak languages other than English as their first language. Furthermore, the assumption of low linguistic diversity in such countries means that language questions are rarely included in national census returns.
We are left with an unsatisfactory rag-bag of sources from partial studies in different years, often based on very different criteria.

The problem is demonstrated by the *Ethnologue* itself which estimates the global number of English first-language speakers at 322 million. They cite two sources for this estimate: a 1984 study of the UK, and the *World Almanac* (1995). The latter provides a half-page table of language statistics below a list of 'pen names of famous writers'. The language data are compiled by a retired professor of psychology with an interest in Esperanto, but there appears to be no published account of how the figures were arrived at.

Despite the problems associated with the estimating native speaker numbers, approximate figures for present-day usage can be derived. David Crystal (1997), for example, provides estimates of L1 speakers in 56 countries, arriving at a total of over 337 million speakers worldwide. These figures can provide a starting point for modelling long-term trends. Since the size of population of each country in 1995 is known, we can estimate the proportion of the population who, according to David Crystal's estimates, speak English as their first language. In practice we can model only 24 of the 56 countries in this way - these are the ones with large enough populations to be included in the UN dataset. The areas excluded from the model are mainly island territories, such as St Kitts and Nevis (with an estimated 39,000 speakers) and Guam (56,000). It is clearly important to include these areas in any comprehensive description of English in the world, but their exclusion from the statistical model makes almost no difference to global estimates.

Figure 3 shows the projections provided by the model for native speaker numbers during the century 1950-2050. It shows that the growth of L1 speakers will slow in about 20 years time, leading to a likely total population of around 433 million in 2050.

Despite the continued gradual growth in absolute numbers of native speakers, the proportion of the world's population who speak English as their first language has, in fact, declined sharply. Figure 4 shows the same numbers as Figure 3, but expressed as a proportion of the world's population calculated year-on-year. It shows the impact on English of the rapid population increase in parts of the world where English is not spoken as a first language. This represents a significant demographic shift away from English to other, non-European languages.

![Figure 4 Decline of native English speakers as a proportion of the world's population](image)

In 1950 over 8% of the world's population spoke English as their first language; by 2050 it will be less than 5%
Second language speakers
The apparent decline in the position of English native speakers does not necessarily herald a decline in the importance of the English language. The future status of English will be determined less by the number and economic power of its native speakers than by the trends in the use of English as a second language. During the 20th century, the number of people using English as a second language has steadily grown. In his *Encyclopedia of the English Language* (Crystal, 1995) David Crystal estimates that only 98 million L2 speakers of English can be identified with confidence, though he suggests that making reasonable assumptions about L2 use in countries where there are also significant proportions of L1 users could bring this to about 180 million worldwide. This figure is broadly in line with the estimate provided by the World Almanac, which suggests 167 million (WA 1999). Both these figures, however, suggest that the use of English in the world is much less than is generally assumed.

Crystal (1997) provides a detailed table of estimated L2 usage in 66 countries, giving a grand total of 235 million L2 speakers worldwide. This seems a good starting point for modelling L2 usage over time. Line B on Figure 5 shows the projections of L2 numbers over the century 1950-2050, based on the assumption that Crystal's figures provide an accurate snapshot of L2 demography in 1995, and using the proportions of national populations which are implied by these figures. Some 50 countries are included in this model. These projections suggest that, based solely on expected population changes, the number of people using English as their second language will grow from 235 million to around 462 million during the next 50 years. This indicates that the balance between L1 and L2 speakers will critically change, with L2 speakers eventually overtaking L1 speakers.

One Problem with these calculations is that 235 million L2 English speakers must also be an underestimate - much lower than the figure of 350-400 million speakers that regularly appears in the literature. Crystal himself draws attention to the gap between his tabulated figures and this consensus total. The problem is not that the number of L2 speakers of English in the world has been grossly over-stated. Rather, there are many countries in

![Figure 5 Estimates of speakers of English as a second language worldwide.](image)
which English is used extensively, but for which there exist no statistics other than those provided by educated guesswork. In several African, Latin American and Asian countries, for example, undocumented numbers of people speak English as a second language.

One way forward, in terms of modelling, is to make a notional allowance of 1% of populations in Sub-Saharan Africa, in the knowledge that this figure may be on the high side for some countries, but an underestimate for others. This brings the total population of second language speakers in 1995 to 278 million. A similar allowance can be made for Latin America, particularly Argentina, Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. This addition brings the estimated total of L2 speakers worldwide in 1995 to 351 millions. By 2050 this may have grown to 668 millions (Figure 5, Line C).

**English speakers in India**

India contains a significant proportion of the world’s speakers of English as a second language, but estimating the number of L2 speakers of English there is difficult. Agnihotri and Khanna (1997, p.36), in a recent report on English usage in India, tell us:

> The overwhelming importance of English in several important domains of Indian society and the vested interests of the English language industry have understandably produced a considerable amount of confusion in the description and interpretation of data on English bilingualism. How many Indians know English? How many of these know it fluently and use it regularly in their day-to-day affairs? What percentage of Indian bilinguals are English-speaking? We do not have very reliable answers to these questions.

Collecting and publishing such statistics in India is, as in many other countries, politically sensitive. The unreliability of census data is highlighted by the way in which English bilingualism appeared to drop dramatically, according to census data, between 1971 and 1981 - from 25 million to 3 million. This reflected a change in the census questions on language rather than actual patterns of English usage.

Mahapatra (1990, p.9) suggests that there has been a ‘deliberate suppression of linguistic data on the extent of Indian multilingualism’. Certainly, there seems to be a tradition of ‘talking down’ the extent of Indian English usage.
Traditionally, almost no Indians are regarded as using English as their first language (a notion which will undoubtedly come under further scrutiny in the future). Crystal (1997) suggests a figure of around 0.03% of the population. Srivastava (1990, p.50) claims 'English is spoken and understood by only 2% of the Population'. Most linguists, however, seem to agree that around 4% of the Indian population speaks English as a second language. Kachru (1984), for example, suggests 4% as a conservative estimate; Crystal (1997) presents a similar figure. This suggests there were a little more than 37 million L2 users in 1995. This figure is represented in Line B of Figure 6.

There is evidence, however, that the number of English speakers in India is higher than this. The magazine *India Today*, commissioned a survey in mid 1997 which claimed:

> 'contrary to the census myth that English is the language of a microscopic minority, the poll indicates that almost one in three Indians claims to understand English, although less than 20 per cent are confident of speaking it.'

(*India Today*, August 18, 1997)

If the figure of 20% is accurate then there must be around 186 million English speakers in India. Of course, it is unlikely that India is the only country in which data is inaccurate. The global number of L2 speakers of English would be significantly affected if similar revisions were made to estimates in Bangladesh and Pakistan. Line D on Figure 5 shows the effect of upgrading the numbers for India and Pakistan to 20%, and Bangladesh to 10%. This trajectory assumes there were around 418 million L2 speakers worldwide in 1995 and indicates that by 2050 there may be 790 million L2 speakers. Although this projection is higher than Line B, the starting point (of 418 million speakers in 1995) is not much higher than the consensus figures. The model allows us to understand better the different projections which result from taking the lower or higher estimates.

**The place of English in Europe**

Outside of the UK and the Irish Republic, English is traditionally regarded as a foreign, rather than second, language in Europe. This view may be out of date. Europe is rapidly integrating and reinventing itself as a multilingual area in which English plays an increasingly important role as a second language. In effect, it is becoming more like India as a geolinguistic space. Eurobarometer...
surveys of the populations of European Union (EU) countries have collected data about language usage for some years, and it is clear that in some countries English is now widely spoken: 77% of Danish adults and 75% of Swedish adults for example, say they can take part in a conversation in English. Eurobarometer 50, based on a survey made in late 1998, concludes that nearly one third of the citizens of the 13 'non English-speaking' countries in the EU 'can speak English well enough to take part in a conversation'. Furthermore, it seems that the function of English is changing: European citizens learn and use English in order to communicate with European nationals from all countries and not just with native speakers. English, in other words, is fast becoming a second language in Europe.

Eurobarometer 41, based on data collected at the end of 1994 and analysed by Labrie and Quell (1997), found large country variations in English usage, ranging from Spain (with 13% of adults able to hold a conversation in English) to the northern European countries such as Sweden (75%) and Netherlands (71%). Figure 6, Line E shows the projections for European L2 use, based on the 13 relevant member countries, together with estimates for Norway and Switzerland. These suggest that in 1995 there were around 95 million English speakers in these 15 countries. The relatively static population figures for Europe mean that this number will soon peak, and then gradually reduce during the next 50 years.

**Modelling language shift**

The European case-study draws attention to another weakness of forecasts of language usage based on population figures alone. It is clear that the use of English in Europe has grown faster than can be accounted for by population growth. There has been a language shift towards English: a higher proportion of the populations of European countries now speak English than was true in previous generations.

In modelling projections of second language use of English, we need to take into account such patterns of language shift. The Eurobarometer surveys provide some evidence of trends in Europe. For example, in 1990, 26% of the French population claimed they could easily engage in a conversation in English. By 1998 that figure had increased to 32%. An analysis of the survey data from 1994, the mid-point of this period, also showed a significant difference between the language proficiency of older and younger people.
(Labrie and Quell, 1997). There is evidence of language shift, therefore, both from trend data arising from surveys made at different points in time and from intergenerational data. (Figure 7).

The shift in Europe towards English - which reflects increased bi- and multilingualism rather than abandonment of other languages - undoubtedly has several causes, including significant changes to language curriculums in school; exchange programmes encouraging young people to move between EU member countries: the growing importance and utility of English as a second language in Europe; and greater exposure to English cultural products. The problem in modelling such shifts is that the rate of shift itself changes (Figure 8). Line F of Figure 6 shows the consequences of making conservative assumptions about the rate of shift in Europe. It assumes that ongoing shifts, as estimated from successive Eurobarometer surveys, are now at their most rapid point of development, and that in the future the rate of change will decline according to the curve shown in Figure 8. Line F should therefore safely underestimate the future trend towards L2 English usage in Europe. Throughout the EU as a whole, the increase in the number of people speaking English seems now to be in the region of just over 3% per year. (So, if 31% of the EU population spoke English as a second language in 1998, we would expect that to increase to 31.9% in 1999 and 32.9% in the year 2000). It is clear however, that the trend towards English is occurring more rapidly in some countries than others. Eurobarometer surveys suggest that of all EU countries, shift is slowest in Portugal and fastest in Spain. The projections in Line F suggest that the present one third of the EU population who speak English will grow to roughly two thirds to 2050. But the EU is likely to acquire new members during this time, such as Hungary and Poland. This will alter the relative positions of major European languages within the EU in less predictable ways.

A similar modelling of language shift can be applied to all countries in the world where English is spoken as on L2. Figure 9, Line G shows the effect of adding the European numbers of L2 speakers to the global figure (i.e. Line D and E added together). This provides a grand total of 518 million L2 speakers in 1995, rising to 880 million by 2050. Line H includes estimates of language shift in all countries with significant numbers of L2 speakers. This starts from the same point of 518 million speakers in 1995, but projects 1.2 billion speakers by 2050. Figure 10 compares the lowest estimates in this paper (Line B) and the highest (Line H). The future is likely to lie somewhere between
these two extremes. The lowest variant (B) suggests that L2 speakers will not outnumber native speakers until the 2030s. The highest variant (H) suggests that native speakers lost their majority in the 1970s.

**Changing discourses of English**

*Problems of definition* There are two approaches to defining a second language user, both of which focus on the status of English in the speaker's speech community. The first identifies 'L2 countries': countries where English serves a role in intranational communication - the language may be officially recognised for such purposes although only a minority of the population actually understand and use English. The second approach defines an L2 speech community as one which is 'norm creating' - that is, developing its own institutionalised variety of English. These are the so-called 'New Englishes': mainly in former British colonial territories.

Problems of definition are becoming acute, as English takes on a role as a global lingua franca, and as 'speech communities' redefine themselves as cross-border affiliation groups rather than as geographic groups in national boundaries. Europe is a case in point, containing an increasing number of fluent speakers of English who do not conform to the traditional definition of L2 speaker and who are excluded from most estimates of L2 usage.

*The status of the native speaker* The decline of the native speaker in numerical terms is likely to be associated with changing ideas about the centrality of the native speaker to norms of usage. There has been a lively debate about the 'cult' of the native speaker: do native speakers have privileged access to an understanding of the language, and are they therefore more reliable informants and teachers? The special status accorded to native speakers is long standing. In theoretical linguistics, it is associated with the rise of Chomskyan linguistics and the special role assigned to introspection and intuition in theory-building. The native speaker is claimed to have access to a much richer source of data (in judgements of grammaticality for example) than a researcher could discover by studying a speaker's actual utterances. This theoretical turn has had political repercussions. As the US was the centre of research and publishing in the new paradigm, English became a privileged object of study. Theoretical linguistic studies of other languages lagged behind those of English. Although it was maintained that the project that began with Transformational Generative
Grammar was a universalist one (more interested in universal properties of the human mind than the characteristics of particular languages), English remained the centre of attention.

It would be wrong however, to think that the importance of native speakers began with Chomsky. Traditional dialectologists, as well as anthropologists, drew on similar ideas of ‘good speakers’ (often old, male, nonmobile). But the discourse of the native speaker is even older - it is a product of modernity since the European Renaissance, identities have been constructed according to a particular model of perfection: unified, singular, well-ordered. Language has played a major role in the construction of modern European identities - from the level of nation states and standard languages, to the subjectivities of individual speakers. Multilingualism, both in individual and social terms, does not fit well with concepts of modernity: multilingual speakers and societies have long been regarded with suspicion, and have caused problems for public policy.

During the late 20th century, much of the modernity project has unravelled. The construction of a new Europe has resulted in new formations of identity; greater mobility; and a new hierarchy of languages which places most European citizens in a plurilingual context. In many countries in which English is learned and spoken as a second or foreign language, the centrality of the native speaker is being challenged. At one time, the most important question regarding global English seemed to be ‘will US English or British English provide the world model?’ Already that question is looking dated, with the emergence of ‘New Englishes’, and dictionaries and grammars that codify new norms. But the tantalising question still remains. Large numbers of people will learn English as a foreign language in the 21st century and they will need teachers, dictionaries and grammar books. But will they continue to look towards the native speaker for authoritative norms of usage?

Notes
1  http://www.britishcouncil.org/english/engfags.htm
2  http://www.sil.org/Ethnologue/

References
European literature in translation: a price to pay

Traduire la littérature européenne: le prix à payer

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Abstract
As English increasingly becomes the language of international communication - within the EU as well as globally - concern is voiced about the lesser-used languages of the Community. To protect the unalienable right of citizens of all EU member nations to express themselves in their own language, the European Commission, following a Council decision of 21 November 1996, adopted a multiannual programme to promote the linguistic diversity of the Community in the information society. Projects which are to be promoted aim to improve cross-language capabilities of business in dealing with their commercial partners in Europe and in wider world markets, by demonstrating best practice in overcoming language barriers in trade and business. This article suggests that safeguarding linguistic diversity in Europe is not the only issue: of equal importance is the nature of the inter-relationship between English, in its present position as the lingua franca of Europe, and other European languages.

Resume
Alors que l'anglais devient de plus en plus la langue de la communication internationale non seulement dans l'Union Européenne mais dans le monde entier, on peut s'inquiéter pour les langues moins utilisées de la Communauté. Afin de protéger le droit inaliénable des citoyens de tous les états membres de la Communauté à s'exprimer dans leur langue, la Commission Européenne, appliquant une décision du Conseil en date du 21 novembre 1996, a adopté un programme pluriannuel pour promouvoir la diversité linguistique de la communauté dans une société reposant sur l'information. Les projets
devant être soutenus ont pour but d’être soutenus ont pour but d’améliorer les capacités translinguistiques dans le secteur des affaires afin de faciliter les échanges avec les partenaires commerciaux en Europe et dans les marchés du reste du monde, en abolissant les barrières linguistiques. Cet article suggère que sauvegarder la diversité linguistique en Europe n’est pas tout. Un problème d’importance égale est celui des rapports entre l’anglais en sa position de lingua franca actuelle de l’Europe et les autres langues européennes.

Introduction
As the result of economic globalisation and the communications revolution, rapid changes on a worldwide scale would seem inevitable:

The next 20 years will be a critical time for the English language and for those who depend upon it. The patterns of usage and public attitudes to English which develop during this period will have longterm implications for its future in the world. (Graddol, 1997:2)

Increasingly, a new emerging world order is eroding the well-established basis of sovereignty and national identity founded on geographical and linguistic criteria. In the new world order of the 21st century changes are likely, affecting not only English but also the interaction between English and other European languages. Attention has hitherto focused on providing support for lesser-used European languages in business and technology. There is another problem, however, that has so far received limited attention: the problem of the asymmetry between, on the one hand, the keen interest shown by European nations in literary works written in English, and on the other hand, the language for up to one billion people living outside the old sphere of the British empire. This swing in English is echoed by a Commission report in 1991 (Walker, 1997), which found that four-fifths of European youth are now learning English, compared to a fifth learning French. During the first half of the century, however, the first foreign language was undoubtedly French.

The might of global English
Evidence of the now diminished role of French as a world language of literature is provided by a biography of Victor Hugo (Robb, 1997). By the second half of the century, according to Robb, Hugo - the apostle of progress and the prophet of the United States of Europe - was the most famous writer in the world. But this great virtuoso of the French language belonged to the last phase of French cultural dominance:

His relative eclipse is no doubt due to the disappearance of an international French-speaking elite, capable of appreciating his work in the largely untranslatable original. (Weightman, 1997)

Le roi est mort, vive le roi! French has handed over the sceptre, the role of the language in which world literature is written. It is a prominent role and, like all prominent positions, invested with the responsibility that accompanies office. Entering the 21st century, what then can English learn from French? In the words of Crystal, danger lies in taking 'a "French"over-restrictive view of the
language’ (1997). To this may be added that a similarly, non-restrictive approach would also be the way forward with respect to literary works in English translation from other European languages.

So often a blessing, the might of global English can become a curse if it stifles curiosity. (Tonkin, 1997)

For many European writers to reach a wider audience outside their own country, their work must be mediated by translation. More often than not this process will not work to the advantage of the original writer:

Compared to composers, poets are at a great disadvantage: their music does not cross linguistic frontiers. (Weightman, 1997)

If you have the ambition of becoming a writer, you are out of luck if you happen to be born into a smaller nation where a less widely-used language is spoken. This is the way the dilemma is summed up by Skvorecky, writer and translator between English and Czech (1985). What would have happened for instance to Mark Twain, Skvorecky asks, if his mother tongue had not been English, if he had been born in Bohemia instead of the US? Perhaps, Skvorecky muses, he might have been involved in the revolution of 1848 and, like many others, emigrated to California. His Czech Stories would then have had to be translated into English, perhaps by one of the many German war veterans of the Civil War. He might even have become the star author of the old August Geringer Bohemian Publishing House in Chicago where he would probably have ended his days as a respected - but not a very well known or well-to-do raconteur - in the Czech pubs in the Windy City (cf. Anderman, 1988). This somewhat different fate from that of Mark Twain, writer of world repute, is only too familiar to many European writers who happen to be born in countries where lesser-used languages are spoken.

While many countries in Europe place high value on literary works written in English, and a new novel by an established writer such as Martin Amis often appears in translation within months of publication in England, the status of foreign fiction in English translation is considerably less exalted. Vanderauwera (1985) has studied the critical response to books originally written in Dutch, brought out in English translation during 1961-80. Reviews of the translated books, she points out, generally are disappointingly short, with scant information on the original author and source literature often safely copied from the publisher's blurb. Instead the great 'knowns' of the Low Countries, such as Dutch and Flemish painters, show a tendency to find their way into review articles.

'A self-portrait as realistic as one of Rembrandt's' proclaimed Saturday Review (2 July 1966) about a recently published translation of a Dutch
novel while the literary review in The *Spectator* (15 November 1968) detected in another Dutch book in English translation 'a picture still easily recognisable, I would have thought, to Breughel'.

It is most unlikely that these critics would have been reminded of Rembrandt or Breughel if the books reviewed had not been translated from the Dutch. (Vanderauwera, 1985:201)

Vanderauwera's observations on the reception of Dutch literature in English translation are, however, not unique but reflect quite closely the fate of many other literary works written in less widely spoken European languages. Unlike the reaction in other countries to literary works originating in English, which not infrequently top the best-seller list, foreign literature in translation into English has, in the past, been granted receptions characterised by sentiments closely akin to suspicion. Yet most writers born into a country where one of Europe's lesser-used languages is spoken still harbour the dream of gaining recognition outside their own country. Aware of the reluctance on the part of most publishing houses in the English-speaking world to make a financial commitment to the translation of foreign literature into English, many European countries have set up foundations or cultural organisations with a brief to promote the translation of literary works into English. It still rarely seems to happen, however, that a now living Dutch writer manages to hold his/her own without the mention of Rembrandt and Breughel, or that a book or a play by a present day Norwegian writer is reviewed without incurring comparisons with the work of Ibsen. What then could be the reason for this seeming lack of interest in foreign literature in English translation?

**European literature in English translation**

One reason for hankering to the past, seen in the critical responses to present-day European literature, may be simply the lack of knowledge in the English-speaking world of modern culture and society in many smaller, European nations. Probably the first play by a living Swedish playwright to be staged in English translation at a professional theatre was *Seven Girls* by Seth, which was produced in 1976 at Marowitz' Open Space Theatre; at the time a pioneering, innovative London fringe theatre. The play, written in the polemical theatre climate of the 1970s, was intended originally as a contribution to an on-going rehabilititive versus punitive debate an penal reform in Sweden. Somewhat surprisingly, however, most critics chose to focus their attention on quite
different issues. ‘Why’, one of them wanted to know, ‘were there so many male wardens at an institution supposedly intended for girls?’ This question, although of possible interest to a target language audience favouring single-sex education had, however, not even been considered by the playwright living and working in a country where mixed education had long been the norm (cf. Anderman, 1996).

Lack of knowledge of the culture or social structure of the country where a literary work originates undoubtedly may account for some of the reluctant acceptance of ‘foreign imports’ in translation into English. The resistance is, however, not confined to the literature of smaller European nations, nor does it only apply to works by present-day writers dealing with local issues which may be of limited interest to a wider readership. The German-speaking countries play a sufficiently important part in Europe for an English-reading public to have access to enough information about German and Austrian culture and social customs to be able to follow a play translated from German into English. Nevertheless, in the case of the London staging of *Einen Jux will er sich machen*, later the basis for the filmed musical *Hello Dolly*, it was deemed necessary for this comedy by Nestroy, Viennese actor and playwright during the 1840s and 50s, to undergo the form of surgery known as ‘adaptation’ by British playwright Tom Stoppard. In Stoppard’s new version, entitled *On the Razzle*, the Viennese setting of the play is retained with modified use of street and place names. What is however particularly memorable about the play - the National Theatre’s’ great box office success in 1981 - is Stoppard’s imaginative dialogue, injected with added Viennese atmosphere through lines containing newly-coined expressions such as ‘bad enough to burst a bratwurst’ (Stoppard, 1981:11). This type of translation, frequently favoured by English theatres, involves the use of target-language stereotypical images of the source language culture to provide comic relief. As pointed out by Bassnett-McGuire (1985), this was also often the case with British productions of the plays by De Filippo in the 1970s, the frame text provided by a comic set of signs denoting ‘Italianicity’ as in the National Theatre production of *Filomena Maturano*. Here the text was played with mock Italian accents and much of it rendered in ‘Anglo-Italian’ jargon, resulting in what Bassnett-McGuire describes as a ‘massive ideological shift’, the frame telling British audiences that the play is primarily ‘about’ comic foreigners (1985:90).

This form of English ‘literary colonialism’, developed as the result of the reluctance to accept foreign literary ‘imports’ in English translation, seems, in other words, to befall plays from well known European language areas, alongside those from less widely known areas. This in turn points to the conclusion that other factors might be at work, more complex than simply a lack of familiarity with source language culture. If instead we look at the situation in reverse - at what happens when English literature is translated into other European languages - the asymmetry is further highlighted.

**English literature in translation**

One of the Royal Shakespeare Company's most successful plays of the early 1980s, subsequently turned into a film, was *Educating Rita*. Willy Russell's play
about Rita, the Liverpuddlian hairdresser who enrols at the Open University to read English literature, has been translated into a large number of languages. During her tutorials with Frank, her tutor, Rita discusses a number of the books on her prescribed reading list. It is not unheard of for some of the English literary canon to have remained untranslated into other European languages. A case in point is the transfer of Joyce's *Ulysses* into Norwegian which, after some 10 years of arduous work, appeared in Norwegian translation only a few years ago. Figuring prominently on Rita's reading list is E.M. Forster's *Howard's End*, a book frequently referred to throughout the play. This, however, turned out to be a book not available in Swedish translation when *Educating Rita* was staged at theatres in Sweden. Still, such is the awareness of English customs and culture in a small language area, that even prior to the release of the Merchant-Ivory film version of *Howard's End*, theatres were able to retain the use of the English title of the book without impeding comprehension for Swedish theatre audiences (cf. Anderman, 1988).

The command of English on the part of speakers from lesser-used European language areas may, on the other hand, result in a proprietorial prescriptiveness vis-a-vis English imports in translation into their own language. Skvorecky reports on the unfortunate experience of a Czech translator, faced with the problem of having to re-create in Czech the manner of speaking of Hercule Poirot, Agatha Christie's well known detective. At a loss what to substitute in Czech translation for the Frenchified English of the deceptively naive appearing Belgian, the translator decided to draw on the shared historical past with Germany. Unfortunately but, perhaps predictably, the experiment backfired, resulting in a stream of indignant letters from outraged readers, dismayed at Hercule Poirot sounding like a Sudeten German (Skvorecky, 1985).

Translators for whom English is a first language and who translate from English into lesser-used European languages face quite different problems to translators working out of English into their own first language. Christie's detective books are sufficiently well known in English to have been appropriated by speakers of other languages, often forming their own opinions as to what is the 'correct' translation into their own, individual languages. English language competence alone, however, does not make a translator; of equal importance is the mastery of mother tongue. This fact is, unfortunately, not always fully appreciated with the result that literary translations out of English sometimes fail to do full justice to the original.

The advantages for a writer to have been born into an English-language
speaking community are, however, still considerable: writers of other languages are faced with problems of not only a linguistic nature. While English is at present the global language of communication, it is also the language of a leading literary tradition. For a literary work to be acknowledged in translation into English, it not only has to meet the required linguistic norms, it also has to conform to the postulates of prevailing Anglo-American literary traditions. Fiction written in a markedly different literary tradition is noticeably less likely to be accepted in English translation, a fact that may help to explain the sometimes raised eyebrows in the English-speaking world at the announcement of the annual recipient of the Nobel prize for literature, a decision arrived at by a committee and reflecting the long-established acceptance of foreign literature in translation amongst speakers of a lesser-used language.

It is possible, within a national literary system, for literature in translation from other languages to hold different positions; it can hold either a primary or a secondary position:

We have no choice but to admit that within a group of relatable national literatures, such as the literatures of Europe, hierarchical relations are soon established, with the result that within this machropolysystem some literatures take more peripheral positions. (Even-Zohar, 1978:121)

Even-Zohar points out that while what he calls ‘stronger’ literatures, with long established positions, have the choice of adopting novelties such as literary works in translation, literatures with less strong traditions often depend more heavily on imports in the form of literature in translation. As an example, Even-Zohar mentions the situation of French literature, which he describes as much more rigid than many other systems, with an institution such as the Academie Française, specifically set up in order to exercise control. This, combined with the long, traditional central position of French literature within a European context, has resulted in literary works translated into French assuming a clear secondary position. The situation with respect to Anglo-American literature is rather similar, Even-Zohar points out, while the Russian, German, and Scandinavian literary systems seem to show different patterns of behaviour (Even-Zohar, 1978:124).

Even-Zohar's observation - that in languages with 'strong' literary traditions, translated literature is bound to hold a secondary position - may not seem surprising, but there is a further factor involved that has not as yet been widely acknowledged. Because of the implicit requirement in countries with ‘strong’ literary traditions that foreign literature conform to already existing poetic norms, literary works in translation into French and English are usually expected to be target language orientated. In the case of literary works translated into the languages of smaller nations where translated literature plays a primary role, on the other hand, the literary tradition of the original language of the work is more easily acknowledged. This in turn makes the translation more likely to be source language oriented, showing more clearly the roots of the country of origin of the literary work.
The hegemony of prevailing literary traditions
French literature, both present and past, amply illustrates the fate of literary works in translation into a language holding the ruling position of a prevailing literary tradition. In order to conform to the strict French requirements of neo-classicism, the 18th century saw large-scale rewritings of Shakespeare's plays as part of the 'translation' process. For the first stage production, in 1769, of Ducis' translation of *Hamlet* for the Comedie Francaise, Ducis altered and rearranged the plot, cut down the list of players and the relationship between the main characters. The action solely takes place in Elsinore, within a 24 hour period. The sub-plots of the original - the play within the play, the death of Ophelia, the gravediggers' scene, and Hamlet's 'Alas poor Yorick' meditation - have all been discarded in order to ensure that the unities of time, place, and action are observed. In Ducis' 'translation' Shakespeare has been 'naturalised'; it is what Shakespeare would have written had he been a contemporary and compatriot of Racine. It is the French saying to themselves 'Ah yes, if only he had been French' (Heylen, 1993:28-30). A similar fate seems to have befallen *Julius Caesar* in translation by Voltaire, who omitted two and a half acts of the play in order to ensure that it ended with Caesar's death and not with the later course of events related to Brutus and the other conspirators (van den Broeck, 1988:61).

A more recent example of a similar form of literary 'imperiousness' vis-a-vis foreign literature in translation into French is provided by a different sphere of literature. In 1945, the first of Lindgren's three books about Pippi Långstrump appeared in Sweden. The freckled-faced, ginger-haired Pippi Longstocking, as she is known in English, lives all on her own except for the company of her horse and her monkey. No evil, however, befalls Pippi because of her enormous strength which enables her to ward off any attempts at interference from representatives of the adult world. In French, Pippi appeared in two volumes, published by Hachette under the titles *Fifi Brindacier* (1962) and *Fifi Princesse* (1963); the result of a number of omissions and additions. The changes seem, on the whole, to have resulted from attempts to modify the anti-authoritarian behaviour of Astrid Lindgren's young heroine, in order to make her fit more easily within the prevailing norms of a French adult world and the more conventional and authoritarian attitudes towards child rearing and children's literature.

The translator seems to have been most inclined to cut when Pippi's - French Fifi's - behaviour towards adults threatened their authority or presented them in an undignified light (Heldner, 1993). As a result, a chapter where Pippi engages in a game of 'touch' with some policemen, showing French representatives of law and order in a less than favourable light, has been omitted altogether. Another chapter, where Pippi is the guest at a coffee party and, in spite of valiant efforts, does not succeed in behaving 'properly', failing to comply with the rules of social etiquette, has similarly disappeared. Additions are also not uncommon. When, for instance, the source text does not show Pippi to be sufficiently remorseful because of some misdemeanour, as when she answers the teacher back without apologising, the translator
springs into action with an appropriately apologetic addition:

Don't be angry, Fifi begged her. I'm sorry I made you unhappy. I'm insufferable but, you see, when you live all an your own you get to be a bit different from others. (Heldner, 1993:57-9)

Perhaps most telling of all is the publisher's decision to question Pippi's strength, her most powerful weapon. As a result, French Fifi is not allowed to pick up and carry her horse which, in spite of Lindgren's protestations, was replaced by a pony. French children, it was explained, who had been through a world war would be too realistic to be taken in by a horse but might accept a pony! (Stolt, 1978:135)

Pippi's highly personal idiolect also seems to have gone missing in translation, not surprisingly given the problems frequently encountered by translators trying to transfer non-standard speech into French:

Translating sociolectal works runs into a roadblock created not by an inherent deficiency in the French linguistic system but rather by the linguistic void within its literary normative system. (Brisset, 1989:19)

In the case of the French playwriting system, this void has resulted in difficulties in translating into the French spoken in France the works by American playwrights such as Williams, O'Neill, and Albee. The problem was, however, successfully solved by drawing on a more proletarian vernacular such as the French of Quebec, which allows the translator a wider range of linguistic possibilities (Tremblay, 1970).

In its present role as European lingua franca and the upholder of a long established literary tradition, English could do worse than look to French for warning signs about problems and pitfalls inherent in future interaction with other European languages. But there are also lessons to be learnt from a not too distant English past. In his review of William Morris' translation of the Norse Sagas (1870), G. A. Simcox declared that the 'quaint archaic English of the translation with just the right outlandish flavour did much to disguise the inequalities and incompleteness of the original' (Bassnett, 1991:67). Morris, however, was not only a translator from Icelandic but also of Homer's Odyssey, Virgil's Aeneid, and of Old French romances, all rendered into English too, it appears, in the same 'spirit'. Although Wilde considered Morris' translation of the Odyssey 'a true work of art', he also noted that 'the new spirit added in the transfusion was more Norse than Greek' (Bassnett, 1991:67). Morris, in spite of his homage to the rugged North and Greek antiquity, never seems fully to have left the English countryside in spirit (MacCarthy, 1994). And, consistent with the growth of colonial imperialism in the 19th century, Fitzgerald in 1851 states, writing about Persian poetry:
‘It is an amusement to me to take what liberties I like with these Persians, who (as I think) are not poets enough to frighten one from such excursions, and who really want a little art to shape them.’ (Bassnett, 1991:3)

Today, almost a century and a half later, there are signs that the power of ‘literary colonialism’ is waning and that the gateway to Europe is opening. The reception of Miss Smilla’s Feeling For Snow, by Danish writer Høeg, has shown more recently that foreign literature in translation into English can reach a wider readership. It may be argued that Miss Smilla’s Feeling For Snow is a book likely to fare well in translation: it is written in the familiar tradition of the ‘well made’ novel, with a tightly-constructed plot and, in addition, deals with a subject on our door step. Smilla, an outsider from Greenland, takes a critical look at the vagaries of a European nation, in this case Denmark, an early member of the EU.

While this may well be a forerunner of things yet to come, it is, nevertheless, important to remember that one swallow named Smilla does not a European summer make.

References
The Impact of globalisation on
English in Chinese universities

L’impact de la globalisation de
L’anglais sur les universités
chinoises

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Abstract
This article stands in contrast to others in this volume. Written from a practitioner’s point of view, this paper does not aim at any theoretical analysis, but draws on personal observation as a teacher in a business university for over 30 years. Since China established its socialist market economic system, the country’s annual foreign trade volume has risen to over US$200 billion and, in this respect, places China at 11th in world rankings. Additionally, foreign trade as a share of China’s GNP has risen from 10 to 45 per cent. Clearly, integration in world markets has become a basic fact of Chinese economic life, and consequently business English and business English education are becoming more important in China.

Résumé
Cet article contraste avec les autres de ce volume. Ecrit par un praticien, il ne vise pas une analyse théorique mais repose sur les observations personnelles d’un professeur d’anglais dans une école de commerce sur plus de trente ans. Depuis que la Chine a établi son économie socialiste de marché, le volume du commerce extérieur s’est élevé jusqu’à dépasser les 200 milliards de dollars, ce qui place la Chine au 11ème rang mondial. En outre, la part du commerce international dans le PNB est passée de 10 à 45%. Il est clair que l’intégration aux marchés mondiaux est devenue un fait fondamental de la vie économique chinoise et que par voie de conséquence l’anglais commercial et son enseignement prennent de l’importance en Chine.
Introduction
The British Council's English 2000 Global Consultation Questionnaire (1995) presented 2000 English language professionals worldwide with statements on the development and growth of the English language to which respondents were required to agree or disagree. Several statements received overwhelming agreement from respondents, which form the basis for observation in this paper:

1.4 English will remain the world's language for international communication for the next 25 years. 97 per cent agreed.
2.2 English is a major contributor to economic and social advance in most countries. 73 per cent agreed.
2.11 English is essential for progress as it will provide the main means of access to high-tech communication and information over the next 25 years. 95 per cent agreed.
5.9 The demand for English courses taught in combination with other disciplines or subjects will increase. 89 per cent agreed.

The present paper will discuss the following: first, the factors which are driving the development of business English in China. Second, the results of these factors. Third, the manner in which these factors are reflected in one university in China - the University of International Business and Economics. And fourth, an outline of future needs, together with the practical measures required to meet those needs.

Global, regional, and national driving forces
The forces driving the demand for business English in China can be divided into three areas - global; within China; and those within trading corporations.

Global factors We now think, and talk, in world terms: the successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round of the GATT negotiations promises to raise world trade by up to 12.5 per cent over 10 years, increasing world income by US$5000 billion. The support of world organisations such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) will drive such globalisation processes further. As we construct the world as a 'global village' there are several factors which are of key importance, examined below: the globalisation of economic activities, the development of regional free-trade agreements, and the increasing use of advanced technology.

As the economy and trade turn the world global, English is playing an increasingly important role as the lingua franca for the purposes of communication and understanding, implementing regulations and conventions, as well as for settling disputes. Native English-speaking countries are perceived to be privileged linguistically, while non-native English-speaking countries, in order to alleviate their disadvantage, are launching campaigns to enable more people to use English more accurately and fluently. Thus each of these global areas is also driving, at a local level, the development of specialised English language courses and curriculums.

Alongside those driving forces now operating at a global level are those
forces which operate regionally. A significant phenomenon in recent years is the signing of regional free-trade agreements: acronyms such as Nafta are now everyday language for people in business circles. In the drive to create regional free trade in the Asian-Pacific region, the third informal meeting of leaders of Apec, held in late November 1995 in Osaka, Japan, adopted the 'Leaders' Declaration of Action' and the 'Action Agenda', which gives equal emphasis to trade and investment liberalisation and economic and technical cooperation. English is important for all these regional agreements: it serves as a vehicle for mutual understanding; it is used for reaching agreement within conferences; and it has a place in coordinating actions outside and after such conferences.

Advanced technology is the final area I would like to highlight here as one of the most significant global driving forces now bringing rapid and profound developments to language use. Communication methods with global reach have impacted upon the way we expect to communicate, and the languages we expect to both use and understand. Fax has brought back the Letter form as an important mode of business correspondence, after a period of digression to telegram and telex, while the computer network has encouraged email and EDI communication forms. Thus some proficiency in English is a must. Discussions on patent issues and legal matters, for example, are occurring in electronic and 'paperless' forms. Under such circumstances, English proficiency becomes desirable for a country, for a trading corporation, and for an individual.

Driving forces within China Within China, key factors influencing the development of business English are twofold: first the country's open-door policy, and second, the development of the socialist market economic system.

Since China implemented the policy of opening to the outside world, great changes have taken place. China will, in time, become a member of the WTO. In the world arena, there are clearly many conventions to abide by if we wish to 'join tracks'. For example, in order to fully understand the Uruguay Round agreement, a little English is far from enough, and we have to accept that a translation into Chinese is not always reliable.

On the world stage, during the past 15 years or so, Chinas annual import and export volume has increased tenfold, and many manufacturing enterprises in China have acquired the right to engage in import and export business. This means that more people are using English for overseas business communication as the volume and traffic of correspondence has increased.

Another factor is the absorption of foreign investment and the establishment of joint ventures. The stock of foreign investment grew from under US$5 billion in the early 90s to some US$90 billion in the mid 90s. In the first nine months of 1995, there were 15,740 foreign-invested projects approved, involving foreign investment of US$31 billion. The actual amount

Lorsqu'il n'y a plus de place pour ce qui semblait auparavant nécessaire, alors il est temps d'innover
used amounted to US$16.4 billion. English is vital, both in preliminary negotiations and in the handling of cultural differences after the joint ventures have been established.

Furthermore, a number of China's leading trading corporations, such as Sinochem, Minmetals, and Cofco, are now setting up overseas enterprises. Staff members despatched to these overseas enterprises, apart from a high level of English proficiency, require working knowledge of business management; the legal system of the host country; the cultural differences they are likely to encounter; and the daily interactive skills required to overcome difficulties to ensure success.

There is a clear shift, too, in the requirements of trade from past decades. Previously, China's trading corporations were mainly engaged in the trade of goods, and the trade of services was to a large extent neglected. Now trade in services - including leasing, financial activities, consultancy, insurance, accounting, auditing and legal services - are becoming all the more important. Thus the scope of economic activities involving the use of the English language is much broadened, and the requirement for staff to offer language skills with professional knowledge has never been as important as it is today.

Perhaps one area that needs special mention in the services sector is the advertising industry in China, which remains underdeveloped. In the past, advertising was not important under the planned economy, and little money was spent on it. Many advertisements were poorly or even wrongly translated into foreign languages and, together with poor packaging, left an unfavourable impression about Chinese exports. Yet good advertising involves a range of skills and knowledge in business management, marketing, managing cultural differences, psychology, and design. And language is an indispensable element.

From the above we can see that China's open-door policy has both set high demands on the English proficiency level required of staff in business, and at the same time provided them with the best opportunities. Good English is now an important factor in getting a good job and going abroad for further studies. This, no doubt, will have a strong impact on China's education policies.

**Driving forces within Chinese corporations**
Because of the macro factors now taking place in global and regional spheres, corporations have witnessed great changes in their ways of doing business. In turn, this has had a significant effect on the use of English in these corporations.

On a practical level, corporations have expanded their trade volumes, which means a lot more correspondence is exchanged. Moreover, a larger number of trading corporations have expanded their business scope and become multifunctional. Apart from trade in goods, they are also engaging in

Autrefois, il n'était pas nécessaire pour les fonctionnaires de comprendre une langue étrangère ni de la parler, mais ce qu'on attend d'eux aujourd'hui change très vite.
the trade of services, which certainly extends the range of subject matters covered in correspondence. As China’s trading corporations are becoming international and establishing overseas branches and other forms of overseas enterprises, the need to understand laws and regulations of host countries and handle legal cases has also expanded. A direct impact is that more talented people who can offer a high level of English proficiency are badly needed.

**The impacts of driving forces**

From the above-mentioned factors, it is not difficult for us to see why English is a major contributor to economic and social advance and will remain the world's language for international communication. There is no exception in China. The immediate results in English language use and learning are that more people are learning business English; they are achieving higher levels of proficiency; and the demand for English courses taught in combination with other disciplines or subjects is increasing.

**Rising demand for business English**

In recent years, 'going down to the sea', a phrase used in China to mean going into business, has become fashionable for larger numbers of people; business often means better returns for efforts made. People who work in banks, trading corporations, legal firms dealing with international economic affairs, accounting firms, joint ventures or solely foreign-invested companies, are among the best paid in China. Hence, there is a saying in Beijing: 'The best formation of a family is one family, two systems', meaning that one of the couple works for a state-owned undertaking or enterprise in order to get an apartment, while the other goes to work for a foreign-invested company to get the best possible pay. To attain this aim, more people are seeking to learn business English at different levels.

In the past, there were just four institutions of higher learning offering these disciplines, but now hundreds of such university departments have been set up in China, resulting in keen competition between universities and similar departments. Given such strong competition, graduates from these departments will experience greater difficulties in finding a job than they had expected.

Still more people are learning through distance education. TV universities, evening universities, and numerous other programmes are now in progress. Any one of the TV or radio programmes in business English has been attracting tens of thousands of people during the past five or six years. And it seems that this will continue.

**Increasing standards of proficiency**

Many more students in China are now achieving high levels of proficiency. One of the primary reasons for this is that students following business courses are very well motivated. The University of International Business and Economics, for example, has now become one of the universities where it is most difficult to acquire a place, simply because so many talented young people apply, thinking that going into such a university will ensure them a good job in the Future. In the past, some students might slacken after they had spent so much effort to get into university, but now, when good jobs are sought after, the students work harder in order to beat their peers in the job interviews. Other motivations include the possibility of
going abroad to complete an MBA after graduation. Examples of success by taking this road are not difficult to find.

Some students may have been driven too, by various international and domestic examinations, such as TOEFL, GRE, and GMAT tests from the US; the CAN test from Canada, Cambridge Proficiency Test and BEC from the UK, and EPT and other pre-promotion tests administered by various Chinese authorities. Passing these tests may mean either travel abroad, a good job, or promotion. Indeed, such is the fluency of students that a number of secondyear students are now taking the TOEFL certificate and achieving high scores.

Another contributor to the increasing quality of language proficiency is the teachers' involvement and student access to better facilities. Even if teachers may not be able to spend as much time on students as they might like, most of them have had an extended period of stay abroad. Their exposure to foreign cultures and awareness of the materials available is thus much broader than in the past. The much improved sources of materials and better equipment available have also provided students with facilities that are simply not comparable to those for students in the 1950s, 60s or even 70s.

Integration of language proficiency with business expertise One not insignificant factor causing a shift in the way the English language is integrated into business, is the example set by, and the expectations of, high-ranking Chinese officials. Whereas such officials once did not need to speak or understand a foreign language to become, say, a director general in a government department handling foreign affairs; a chief executive in a foreign trade corporation; or a commercial counsellor in a Chinese embassy abroad, but would always use an interpreter, expectations of their roles are now changing gradually as an effect of Chinas opening policy. More letters are drafted in English direct and it is perhaps more difficult to rise up the promotion ladder, especially in departments related to international affairs, without using a second language. And, of course, this provides very strong motivation for those students whose ambitions lie in official advancement.

In a corresponding shift, it was not unusual for many English majors to adopt interpreting as their career when officials relied heavily an the skills of an interpreter. But now the demand for interpreters with general skill levels is falling, as more people turn to English as a personal tool for business communication. However, as the subject matters under discussion become more complex - because economics, international economic organisations, and law are themselves highly specialised - the interpreters who will be in demand, and who will be provided with very good opportunities, are those who, if their English is also good, can offer professional knowledge in the related areas. On the other hand, those who have little knowledge either about economics, business management, or international economic law, will find themselves in a difficult position. And so this shift has led to the integration of language proficiency with business expertise, raising the demand for a combination of English courses with other disciplines or subjects.

Case study: the University of International Business and Economics
So far this paper has concentrated an the achievements and rising demand for
business English in China, but there are many challenges ahead. Primarily, the number of people who are comfortable using English while working in a related subject, such as economics, is still limited. This shortfall is noticeable particularly when people are sent from China to overseas enterprises. Sometimes a Chinese company requires a couple of people to do work which, in other countries, might be achieved by just one person.

At a general level too, English proficiency is still not high enough, particularly in writing. When approaching the completion of a manuscript, for example, we still find that competent people who can ensure near-native standards are few and far between. In speech situations too, good simultaneous interpreters are scarce.

Social and economic needs are often reflected in the educational arena, creating new educational initiatives, enhancements to courses, and developments of educational techniques. And, apart from the practice that has been adhered to in the past 40 years (which is to place much emphasis on English proficiency both for English majors and students majoring in other subjects) my university - the University of International Business and Economics - has now adopted such initiatives and developments to tackle the challenges we face. A selection of our initiatives are described below.

**Awarding a second Bachelor's degree** This was introduced by the University of International Business and Economics in 1987 when we saw the demand for people with expertise in the multiple areas of science and technology, foreign languages, and international business. Since it is extremely difficult to teach science and technology to students of business and foreign languages, we do it the other way round. We enrol people who have already obtained a Bachelor's degree in science or technology to study for two years, concentrating on language skills and knowledge in international business.

While it is not uncommon in international academic life for students to complete a Masters or second higher degree in an area different from their first degree - and indeed it is not unusual to meet Harvard professors who are experts in managing global business but who did first degrees in history or other subjects - in China the situation is different; students on such a course as ours are as yet awarded a second Bachelor's degree, according to prevailing rules of the SEDC.

On tracking those students who have graduated from our second Bachelor's degree, we are delighted to find that they are most welcome by corporations engaged in technical trade business.

**Changing the contents of business English textbooks** When corporations were engaged primarily in the trade of goods; when the trade volume was small; and when there were few large projects involved, the standard textbook - for example an business correspondence - was relatively simple, consisting of lessons covering the steps in the import/export procedures, such as inquiry, offer, negotiation of price, delivery, payment, and arbitration. Typically, each lesson contained a couple of simple letters and a list of useful expressions.

As corporations are now international and multifunctional however, it is no longer possible to organise a textbook of this kind according to a simple
sequence of steps leading to a transaction. A newly-published course book in China on international business writing demonstrates this. It has now changed the organisation principle of the contents: sections are arranged according to function, including, for example, routine inquiries and requests; letters with neutral and positive information; letters with negative information; letters of persuasion; special goodwill letters; and so on. Similarly, a new course book in international business talks includes such topics as consultancy, international credit, a turnkey project, tenders and technology transfer.

This example reflects, I feel, the fact that ‘real life’ in business has become so much more involved, and simultaneously demonstrates that we are introducing innovations and new ways of learning. When we can no longer find a place for everything that seemed necessary in the old format, then indeed it is time for us to innovate.

Project development: Into Business With English Over the past few years, to specifically address the need for better business English education, the University of International Business and Economics has collaborated with the Overseas Development Agency (ODA, now DFID) and the British Council to create a range of entirely new English materials. After eight years of painstaking efforts, a set of four textbooks and four teacher’s books has been published, entitled Into Business With English and subtitled Towards Communicating in English. The books are designed to form key elements of an English course to be taken in the first two years of tertiary education, and lay particular emphasis on conversation and negotiation. The books adopt a more communicative approach than traditional materials, and have thus aroused heated discussion amongst teachers. But the use of these textbooks is spreading, and I believe that it is through the interaction of the communicative approach with the strengths of Chinese tradition, that an approach suitable for English language teaching and learning in China can be fully worked out.

Teaching courses through English Realistically, English is the lingua franca in actual business practice. Thus teachers at the University of International Business and Economics teach selected courses - in international business, business management, accounting, economics and law on international business and economics - through the medium of English. Here we recognise that the right conditions are essential: the right teacher, the right students, the right textbook, the right approach, and the right proportion between the language and the subject matter taught. Yet by English medium teaching, we seek to achieve success both in language learning and in teaching the business content.

Joint programmes with foreign universities and other institutions To develop its students as internationally-minded business executives, the University of International Business and Economics has run programmes in collaboration with universities and institutions worldwide.

One such example is with CGA Canada. In this model, the textbooks and software are imported, teaching is shared between Canadian and Chinese teachers, and the test is the same as it is administered anywhere else in the world. After completing all subjects, participants receive the qualification of
CGA. The result, we have found, is that participants competing on a world stage are strongly motivated and achieve extremely satisfactory results.

In a similar project, we have cooperated with professors from Harvard Business School in running a 'Managing Global Business' programme. Other programmes include language training centres in conjunction with Germany, France, and Italy, and seminars and international conferences in cooperation with United Nations departments.

The future: a challenge for universities

The University of International Business and Economics, explored in the case study above, has already begun to address many challenges in practical ways; perhaps because of this, we have the foresight to identify issues that are emerging with which we will yet have to deal.

There are now several trends observable in the world of business and the use of English which will need to be addressed. First, in business circles, there will be a great need for a large number of competent business executives, who should both understand management issues and offer a good command of a foreign language, especially English. This is not simply a need emerging for the reform of state-owned enterprises in China, it is also the need of joint ventures and wholly foreign-invested companies. Many of these companies are already seeking to reduce the number of employed expatriates.

There will be a need too for the correct handling and good management of cultural differences. International business is an area that requires cultural sensitivity and responsiveness, and this is of paramount importance within joint ventures. Unfortunately, insensitivity and misplaced attitudes can cause business blunders. If we look at international business as a means to enhance mutual understanding and friendship, apart from profit-making, then the importance of cultural awareness cannot be overestimated.

We should recognise further that new business demands create a corresponding demand in the provisions made for education at tertiary level. The University of International Business and Economics feels this most strongly; a university system is the cradle of future business executives. Curricula, textbooks, and teaching methods need to be further improved, and should aim to create an education System that can develop people who have strengths to offer in business management, cultural awareness, and English.

All the above, however, depends on a large number of good teachers. The University of International Business and Economics, like many Chinese universities, seeks to develop strategies to avoid the 'brain drain' that occurs as younger teachers come back to say that the world outside university is magnificent! And, in terms of material incentives, universities are indeed no comparison to well-paying trading corporations and joint ventures. Even though the flow of human resources is a natural phenomenon, universities will need to maintain a relatively stable contingent of competent teachers. Without this resource, bringing up talented young people will always be out of the question.

In reference again to my case study - the University of International Business and Economics - we have now decided to work on several areas for
the future to improve the teaching of business English in our university, and the resources available to teachers. We are seeking, for example, to establish a data bank in business English, including a frequency count of vocabulary used and favourable grammatical structures, telling us to what extent business English is similar to and different from the common core. This strategy is to be effectively divided into several stages. Our first target is a data bank in business correspondence, to be followed by data banks for English in international business, international finance and international economic law. We hope that efforts in this direction will provide a solid basis for new improvement in textbook compilation, in actual teaching, and in research.

Furthermore, in order to build closer links between The University of International Business and Economics and business circles, the university should seek to introduce other innovations: more in-service training programmes, more scientific research projects that cater to the actual strategic need of enterprises, and the provision of better services for enterprises. In this respect, our university will engage in a joint project with the ODA in establishing a training programme in conjunction with a data bank for investment purposes. This aims at providing both necessary information and consultancy to foreign and Chinese enterprises. We believe that one or two authoritative data banks of this kind will greatly improve the relationship between universities and enterprises.

However, as the shortage of competent teachers of English will inevitably continue, since there is no sign of improvement in the near future, we will continue to explore the possibility of innovations in educational technology. Multimedia may be one of the key areas that deserve exploration.

This paper has focused on some personal ideas about business English in China, and specifically, in one university. In this, it necessarily cannot engage with the full range of different opinions of how we might proceed, but the final note here must be that we will continue to work hard, exploring possible futures, hoping a new horizon will dawn before too long.
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