

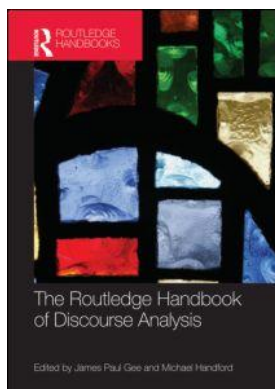
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# World Englishes and/or English as a lingua franca

*Andy Kirkpatrick and James McLellan*

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## Introduction

As many chapters in this handbook illustrate, the phrase ‘discourse analysis’ can carry a range of meanings. Most scholars agree, however, that discourse analysis involves the study of the way language is used in a variety of sociocultural contexts. The study of discourse is an ‘enquiry into how people make meaning, and make *out* meaning’. Meanings are ‘socio-cultural constructs of reality’ (Widdowson, 2007: xv–xvi). Paltridge defines discourse analysis as ‘an approach to the analysis of language that looks at patterns of language across texts as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the texts occur’ (2010: 1). Gee (1999: 6) has made a distinction between discourse with ‘a big D’ and discourse with ‘a little d’. ‘Little d’ discourse refers to the way languages are used ‘to enact activities and identities’ (1999: 6). But we cannot rely solely on language to establish identities and complete activities. We also need what Gee refers to as ‘non-language stuff’ to establish successfully our identity/ies and complete actions. This non-language stuff includes such things as clothing, manner, gestures, tools and technologies. And when this non-language stuff combines with language in use, then we have ‘big D’ discourse (1999: 7).

In this chapter we shall use forms of discourse analysis to analyse representative samples of world Englishes (e.g. Malaysian English and Nigerian English) and English as a lingua franca (e.g. the English used in interactions between Malaysians and Nigerians). We shall use discourse analysis to test the following interrelated hypotheses.

- (i) Any variety of world English is, by definition, primarily concerned with establishing an identity and membership of a particular speech community. As such it will be characterized by lexical items and idioms that refer to specific items and beliefs that are of particular importance to the local culture and environment. As the great majority of speakers of a particular world English are multilinguals who have learned English as an additional language and who share a linguistic repertoire (that is to say, they speak the same languages), a world English may also be characterized by frequent use of code-mixing and code-switching. This use of code-mixing serves to establish identity and belonging to a speech community. Finally, a world English will also be characterized by the reflection of cultural values and pragmatic norms specific to its speakers. Needless to say, these cultural values and pragmatic norms will differ across different world Englishes.

- (ii) As the major function of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is to act as a common medium of communication between people who do not share the same first language and culture, its role is primarily one of ensuring successful communication between people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As such, ELF will be characterized by the relative absence of lexical items and idioms that refer to culturally and locally specific items and beliefs – for the simple reason that such lexical items and idioms are unlikely to be understood by people from outside the culture. As mutual communication is the goal of English as a lingua franca, the latter will also be characterized by a lack of code-mixing and code-switching, as participants in lingua franca communication are unlikely to share the same linguistic repertoire. Finally, English as a lingua franca will not normally reflect cultural values and pragmatic norms specific to a particular culture, as these may also interfere with successful cross-cultural communication.
- (iii) In world Englishes and in English as a lingua franca, communicative success does not depend on the use of standard native-speaker forms. World Englishes can develop their own standard forms, which may well differ from those of standard British English, for example. This includes the many vernaculars of native-speaker varieties of English (Britain 2010). English as a lingua franca will be similarly characterized by the use of forms that would traditionally be classified as non-standard but do not necessarily interfere with communication.

In short, we argue that a world English is primarily, though not exclusively, concerned with identity and membership of a speech community, while English as a lingua franca is primarily, though not exclusively, concerned with cross-cultural communication (Kirkpatrick, 2010a). We therefore also suggest that it will be easier to undertake a study of ‘big D’ discourse with excerpts from world Englishes than with excerpts from English as a lingua franca.

In the next section we provide a brief introduction to world Englishes and then conduct a discourse analysis on authentic texts of world Englishes. We then provide a comparable introduction to the use of English as a lingua franca and conduct a discourse analysis on naturally occurring examples of English as a lingua franca. Finally we summarize our findings on the basis of the discourse analysis and consider whether the hypotheses outlined above are supported or not.

### *Background to world Englishes (WE)*

While many scholars have developed theories and models of world Englishes (e.g. McArthur, 1998; Schneider, 2007), the discipline ‘world Englishes’ owes a great deal to Braj Kachru, who, along with Larry Smith, can be called the founders of the discipline. Kachru’s great insight was to see that many different varieties of English were developing throughout the world and that many of these were able to be independent in the sense that they could derive their own linguistic and sociolinguistic norms from within, rather than being dependent on traditional ‘native-speaker’ Englishes. Kachru’s ‘circles’ model has been particularly influential.

The current sociolinguistic profile of English may be viewed in terms of three concentric circles ... The Inner Circle refers to the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English (e.g. *Britain, USA, Australia*). The Outer Circle represents the institutionalized non-native varieties (ESL) in the regions that have passed through extended periods of colonization (e.g. *Singapore, India, Nigeria*) ... The Expanding Circle includes the regions where the *performance* varieties of the language are used essentially in EFL contexts (e.g. *China, Japan, Egypt*).

*(Kachru, 1992: 356–357)*

In the next section we analyse samples of both ‘inner’ and ‘outer circle’ varieties of world Englishes (WE), with an initial focus on idioms.

### Examples from WE

Before proceeding, it is important to stress that idiom has been defined in a number of ways, to include two-word phrases (such as ‘of course’) and strong collocations (such as ‘hard facts’) as well as proverbs and idiomatic expressions (Pitzl, 2009: 299). In our analysis here, we focus on idioms that can be defined as expressions whose meaning is more than, or distinct from, the sum of its individual components. That is to say, we are interested here in expressions whose meanings cannot be derived from the meaning of each individual word in the expression. To give a simple example, the meaning of ‘to kick the bucket’ cannot be derived from ideas of ‘kicking’ and of ‘buckets’.

(i) ‘a different kettle of fish’

The text ‘Aussies will be a different kettle of fish’ (5 October 2009) was published in the Dominion Post newspaper, based in Wellington, both in print and in online editions. It is taken to represent a sports opinion (‘op-ed’) text in an inner-circle variety, New Zealand English (NZE).

One characteristic discursual feature of this genre is the frequent use of idioms and figurative expressions (Grant, 2005: 436). Writers often choose expressions which are clichés, rather than original or creative turns of phrase, in order to invoke a sense of solidarity and to appeal to readers, who have come to expect idiomatic phrases as a stylistic feature of sports reports and opinion texts.

The wider context is the build-up to an international cricket match between New Zealand and Australia, part of a competition staged in South Africa, in which the New Zealand team had managed to advance to the final stages by defeating three teams normally considered stronger in this form of the sport.

The text of 540 words contains a total of 32 idiomatic expressions (77 words), giving a ratio of idiom to total words of 1: 7.01, which is very high when contrasted with other written genres, including comparable subgenres in media discourse.

The core idiomatic expression in the title (‘Aussies will be *a different kettle of fish*’) is found to occur frequently in New Zealand sports media texts, as is evident from a search of the webpages of the Dominion Post newspaper, which shows eight uses of this exact expression relating to New Zealand’s premier national sport, rugby, two relating to soccer, and one in a political rather than a sports story. A further example – ‘A different kettle of kai moana’ (where ‘kai moana’ [Te Reo Māori] means ‘food sea’, thus ‘sea food’) – also occurs in a rugby text, illustrating how idioms can cross language boundaries.

Table 46.1 lists the expressions deemed to be either idiomatic or figurative, or to have one non-compositional element (ONCEs), according to the definitions proposed by Grant and Bauer (2004).

This sample text of NZE sports journalism, whilst locally situated in terms of its content and informal style, includes a wide range of mostly clichéd idioms, which are arguably intelligible across most of the inner-circle varieties of English, with the exception of those of Canada and of the USA, where cricket is not a major national sport. Whilst it is monolingual, unlike the other world Englishes texts discussed in this chapter, it can be considered as borderline deviant in terms of the high frequency of idiomatic expressions, yet at the same time representative of media text in this genre, as can be established through the investigation of a corpus of comparable texts from the New Zealand print media.

The online edition of the Dominion Post newspaper allows for readers to submit comments on the article and thus to participate in the processes of print media news and opinion dissemination. In the 19 comments submitted by readers in response to this piece on 5–6 October 2009, none referred to any stylistic aspects of language use or to the surfeit of idiomatic expressions. From this

Table 46.1 Idioms, figuratives and ONCEs in a sports opinion article

	Category	Text
Headline	Core idiom	<i>Aussies will be a different kettle of fish</i>
1.	ONCE	On paper it is a win to Australia ...
2.	ONCE	a dropped catch like the howler by Younis Khan yesterday ...
3.	Fig.	... can all turn a big game on its head
4.	ONCE	a team on a winning roll ...
5.	ONCE	can be hard to peg back ...
6.	Fig	that is a big tick for New Zealand ...
7.	Fig.	With their patched up squad, ...
8.	Fig.	New Zealand have defied the odds ...
9.	ONCE	... with three sudden-death victories ...
10.	ONCE	Sri Lanka choked ...
11.	Fig./Fig.	England toppled in a lottery ... (x2)
12.	Core idiom	Australia will be a different kettle of fish.
13.	Fig.	They have the all-conquering Ricky Ponting in vintage form
14.	Fig.	... favoured to do a similar demolition job on New Zealand
15.	ONCE	Australia's firepower is vastly superior.
16.	Fig.	For decades scrapping has been a forte of New Zealand sides
17.	Fig.	But rolling their sleeves up might not be enough here
18.	Fig.	... that a couple of blokes in black uniforms have to play out of their skins otherwise New Zealand will finish second
19.	Fig.	Bond has been a mixed bag at the tournament ...
20.	Core idiom	... his opening spell against Pakistan yesterday morning was top drawer
21.	ONCE	... the final may hinge on whether ...
22.	ONCE	... he can get an early crack at Ponting
23.	Fig.	... for the seventh time in 10 clashes ..
24.	Fig.	... Australia has been content to milk Vettori for 30–40 runs
25.	Core idiom	... they can fill their boots against the other bowlers.
26.	Fig.	But Bond is back in the mix, ...
27.	ONCE	They can't sit on two bowlers.
28.	Core idiom	McCullum has pulled finger at the Champions Trophy ...
29.	ONCE	... a niggle in Vettori's lower back or hamstring
30.	Fig.	Hats off to Vettori's men for making it this far.
31.	ONCE	... if they were able to stun the cricketing world ...

Source: Millmow, 2009, 5 October

we can draw the opposite conclusion, that the text is not deemed deviant or exceptional as an exemplar of the sports opinion article genre in New Zealand English.

Thus one stylistic feature of this text, the high frequency of clichéd idiomatic expressions, signals both conformity to local discursual norms and deviation and distinctiveness within inner-circle varieties of English in a specific genre.

(ii) Advertisements in the print media in East Malaysia

Despite sharing a number of pan-Malaysian cultural features, the East Malaysian states of Sabah and Sarawak, on Borneo Island, are ethnically, linguistically and culturally distinct from the states of the Malay Peninsula (West Malaysia). Many research studies on Malaysia assume the situation in West Malaysia to be the default norm, and marginalize or ignore Sabah and Sarawak.

As noted by Azirah Hashim (2010: 525–526), there have been studies of the discourse of advertising in the Malaysian media covering radio, television and the print media. However, in terms of their data sources and focus, these have all been oriented towards West Malaysia. In Sarawak and Sabah the greater ethnic and linguistic diversity, allied to higher levels of multi-lingualism, means that advertising text authors need to make choices that reflect their target market, both in terms of which language or languages to use and in terms of which style or variety to choose for maximum appeal and impact. Newspapers are published in English, Malay and Chinese. The *Sabah Daily Express* newspaper has separate English, Malay and Kadazandusun sections. *Utusan Borneo*, a Malay newspaper published in Sarawak, has a section in Iban. Kadazandusun and Iban are the major indigenous languages of Sabah and Sarawak respectively. Particularly in Sarawak, where English-medium education was maintained into the 1980s prior to switching to mainly Malay-medium, English is frequently used for both inter- and intra-ethnic communication. This is especially true in private sector business organizations, where English is used alongside Chinese and both the local Sarawak and the national standard varieties of Malay.

For analysis of language choice and use, a corpus was collected, comprising 174 classified advertisements (CAs) in the *Borneo Post* edition of Tuesday 27 July 2010, and a further 76 that appeared in the Malay-language *Utusan Borneo* on the same day. Tables 46.2 and 46.3 give background details about the languages used in these. Public service announcements, for instance tender notices and court proceedings, were not included, nor were family announcements such as obituaries.

Almost 80 per cent of the CA texts in the *Borneo Post* are in monolingual English, although 15.5 per cent show some measure of code-switching with either Malay or Chinese, and 4.6 per cent are in monolingual Malay.

Whilst we might normally expect all CAs to be in the same language as that of the newspapers' news content, this turns out not to be the case, 43 out of the total of 76 advertisements in the

Table 46.2 *Borneo Post*, language use in 174 classified advertisements published on 27/7/10

Language	Number of CAs	Remarks
English only	139	79.8% of total
English/Malay	15	8.6% of total
English/Chinese	12	6.9% of total
English/Malay/Chinese	–	
Malay only	8	4.6% of total
Other languages	–	

Table 46.3 *Utusan Borneo*, language use in 76 classified advertisements published on 27/7/10

Language	Number of CAs	Remarks
English only	43	56.6% of total
English/Malay	10	13.1% of total
English/Chinese	3	3.9% of total (Chinese for names of companies, hotel and dish being promoted)
English/Malay/Chinese	2	2.6% of total
Malay only	17	22.4% of total
Other languages	1	Iban (job vacancy advertisement)

Malay language *Utusan Borneo* being in monolingual English. Only 17 (22.4 per cent) are in monolingual Malay, and 15 (19.7 per cent) have text in more than one language (i.e. they use code-switching). In terms of the discourse of world Englishes, this is significant, as it shows that advertisers are conscious of the multilingual capabilities of their target readership. Code-switching is thus a prominent feature of these CA texts, English and Malay being the most frequent combination in single advertisements. Examples of code-switching include the following:

[1] Borneo Post

- (a) *Lori di sewa. Pengangkutan Barang-Barang. Pindah rumah, ofis, kedai dan lain-lain.* Services all the way in Sarawak
- (b) *Waiter (mesti ada pengalaman) ... Cook-Malay/Western/Chinese (mesti ada bukti pengalaman kerja)*
- (c) *staff hostel dan staff meal disediakan; lelaki sahaja*
- (d) *Berth at Kuching \_\_\_\_\_ Wharf, \_\_\_\_\_.* Kargo ringan diterima dan penghantaran boleh di buat pada hari yang sama'

Translations: (a) Lorry for hire. Transport of goods. Move house, office, shop etc.

- (b) (must have experience) (must have proof of work experience)
- (c) staff hostel and staff meals available; male only
- (d) ...Light cargo taken and delivery can be made the same day

*Utusan Borneo*

- (e) '黑鸡人参汤. Double boiled black chicken. Ginseng soup with dried seafood'
- (f) *Outstation/Semenanjung Malaysia (menawarkan semua jenis pekerjaan)*
- (g) *We supply wrought iron material, hollow section, flat bar ... Harga Termurah*
- (h) *Emas boleh tukar wang.* One stop service. (*Jual, Tukar, Trade in dan lain-lain*)
- (i) *Cagaran tanah:* Native Land and Mixed Zone Land
- (j) *Terdapat jawatan kosong di cawangan Miri:*  
Office boy cum delivery driver (*lelaki*)  
Cashier (*perempuan*)

Translations: (e) (the English is a direct parallel translation of the Chinese here)

- (f) *Outstation/ Malay Peninsula* (offering all types of work)
- (g) ... Lowest prices.
- (h) Gold can be exchanged for cash... (Sell, exchange, trade-in and others)
- (i) Security for land:...
- (j) There are vacancies at Miri branch:  
Office boy cum delivery driver (male)  
Cashier (female)

Along the predictable dominance of English CAs in the English newspaper, English is also encroaching into the Malay newspaper, where CAs in monolingual Malay are a minority. Other instances of code-switching with Chinese involve the advertiser's name and are therefore not included in this set of examples.

In terms of deviation from international standard English norms, a few examples occur in both the English and Malay newspaper CAs:

[2] Examples of non-standard English usage

*Borneo Post*

Show time are subject to change without prior notice (*Cinema advertisement*)

Check this professional service provided as follow: ... (*Housing repair advertisement*)

Hands-on site experiences in construction is an advantage ... (*Job vacancy*)

\_\_\_ Plumbing Service ... specialized in toilet problem, blocked, pipes leakages ...

(*Plumbing company advertisement*)

5 working days, working hour 8.00 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. (*Job vacancy*)

We provided various cloth & uniform for company, association, school, kindergarten ...

(*Clothing company advertisement*)

Gold can exchange with cash. One stop service (*Gold trader's advertisement*)

*Utusan Borneo*

Show times are subject to change without prior notice (*Cinema advertisement*)

Show times are subjected to change without prior notice (*Cinema advertisement*)

Never suppress your dream, the \_\_\_\_\_ **Music Studio** has made it **Easy** and **Fun**

to achieve. Even start with **ZERO** musical background, you'll be able to **play your favorite songs** from ballads, the latest hits, Oldies, Worship, etc.

(*Music Studio advertisement, original emphasis*)

A proviso about guarding against 'incidentalism' is important here: these examples do not show serious deviations from standard English, a point also emphasized by Gupta (2006) in her discussion of standard English and Borneo. Nor can any of these deviations be deemed to affect intelligibility. They do, however, reflect commonly attested syntactic features of both world Englishes and ELF, including zero plural marking and free variation between past and present tense verb morphemes.

Through their language choices, especially in the genre-specific moves and strategies of product promotion, naming of the advertiser, location of the business premises, listing of goods or services offered, these texts display high levels of conformity with the communicative norms of the discourses of advertising globally, whilst adhering to local norms and expectations in terms of language choice (see discussion in Bhatia, 2009: 166).

In terms of the main analytical framework for this chapter, the advertisement texts present a challenge to the identity-communication continuum. The CA texts, aimed at English- and Malay-knowing multilingual Malaysians who form the majority of the readership, contain textual reflections of the shared identity of advertisers and their addressees. At the same time the particular nature of advertising text as discourse ensures that communication is also a key factor, as is shown by the obligatory and optional generic features of this small corpus of advertisements.

(iii) Extract from Brunei public online discussion forum posting:

[3]

(1)Thats why drg should to hangout and chill somewhere. (2).Salah kah?

ABBR. 'diaorang', 3P\*

Wrong DM?

(3)Jgn salahkan urg lepak.. (4)Pls read ur alls

ABBR 'jangan' NEG IMP accuse ABBR 'urang', people loaf

minds thats kamu ato over negative thinking. (5)Tau sudah country ane

ABBR 'kamu', 2P DEM

Know already

DEM

very low entertainment cuba try to make a new place for chill. (6)Tantu kan! (7)About this



try Sure NEG

probs jua byk                      urg                      tane run away from another  
*also ABBR 'banyak', many ABBR 'urang', people 1pI*

country for release theirs tension and go vacation frm ths place..<sup>(8)</sup>Pls concern about this  
 probs before got a bad respond from other people. <sup>(9)</sup>Don't make our town like a haunted  
 place. We need to make a best decision about this probs. <sup>(10)</sup>Indeed. <sup>(11)</sup>Just for help our  
 people in this country felt satisfied and confidence about from this bad thinking for budaya  
culture

lepak d'brunei                      tane      ah.  
*loaf ABBR 'di', in      1PI      DM*

(\* See 'Transcription conventions' at the end of this chapter for key to interlinear gloss abbreviations.)

(Free translation, by second author: That's why they should have somewhere to chill and hang out. Is that wrong? Don't accuse those who loaf around. Please look into your own minds and get over the negative thinking. We know that this country of ours has little in the way of entertainment, so let's provide a place to chill. Sure, let's do that. Many of our people get round this problem by going out of the country on vacation to release their tension. Please be concerned about this problem before others give a bad response. Don't make our town like a haunted place. We need to make the best possible decision about this problem. Indeed. We just want to help our people in this country to feel satisfied and confident and overcome this bad thinking about the loafing culture in our country Brunei.)

This extract, from a text posted on the Brudirect HYS (Have Your Say) public online discussion forum in August 2010, represents a genre previously analysed in greater detail by Chitavelu and Rosnah (2007), by McLellan (2005, 2009), and by McLellan and Noor Azam (2007). These in-depth studies, drawing on larger corpora, help to eliminate the risk of 'incidentalism' in relation to this single text. It is a mixture of informal Brunei English and informal Brunei Malay, representative of the spoken and text messaging communication patterns of many younger bilingual Bruneians.

In this extract there is a predominance of English over Malay, 97 words as against 26, although the whole text is more balanced with 182 English words (60.9 per cent) and 117 Malay (39.1 per cent). Analysis of the extract by phrase/clause shows a total of 35, with 24 in English only, 6 in Malay only, and 5 mixed. Surface features include deviant grammar and spelling, and the use of abbreviations caused in part by the prevalence of text messaging conventions and the need for brevity. However, this keyboarded text also shows additions to standard English forms: 'should to', 'alls', 'theirs' as adjective, 'confidence'. These perhaps reflect the way these words are spoken by Bruneians.

The code-switching in this text is both inter- and intra-sentential, with a single-word pronominal switch to Malay (*drg* – *diaorang* – 'they') in sentence 1, but also a sentence (no. 5) that shows Malay and English contributing to both the grammatical frame and to the propositional content. The sentence begins in Malay ('Tau sudah'), then has a mixed noun phrase, 'country ane' with English head and Malay modifier, following Malay constituent structure, and functioning as subject of a proposition with Malay zero-copula but English lexis, 'very low entertainment'. This is immediately followed, without punctuation, by the code-mixed stock phrase 'cuba try', heard very often in the speech of Bruneians as an exponent of the speech act of encouragement or suggestion, in which 'cuba' and 'try' are translation equivalents. The final clause of the sentence is in English only: 'to make a new place for chill'. Thus a sentence that begins

with a dominant Malay grammatical frame ends with English supplying both the grammatical frame and the lexical content.

From a broader, ‘big D Discourse’ perspective, we need to realize that such texts of Brunei English have maximal communicative efficiency, since they reflect the bilingual competence and strategic code choices of the producer and are addressed to similar proficient bilinguals. They can therefore be compared with the code-mixed CA texts from the Sarawak newspapers, as texts of world Englishes that are locally appropriate but are not fully accessible to those not familiar with Brunei or Malaysian English.

This section has demonstrated the application of DA to world Englishes’ texts from three separate contexts. In the inner-circle NZE sports text, the frequent use of figurative idiomatic expressions has been highlighted. The Sarawak CA and the Brunei discussion forum texts display varying degrees of deviation from inner-circle Englishes and the use of other languages within the repertoires of the text producers and their readers. The NZE sports text and the Brunei online forum posting both support the idea that WE texts can be analysed along an identity–communication continuum, since they reflect the discourse communities to which they all belong.

The Sarawak CA texts, however, because of the nature of advertising texts, reflect aspects of both communication and identity.

## Background to English as a lingua franca (ELF)

English as a lingua franca is a ‘contact language between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication’ (Firth, 1996: 240). A major development with regards to English in recent years has been its rapidly increasing role as a regional and international lingua franca. It is now commonly accepted that far more people use English as a lingua franca than as a first language. Indeed, Xu (2010) has suggested that there are now more learners and users of English in China alone than there are native speakers of it worldwide. When one considers that the BRIC political grouping, comprising the countries of Brazil, Russia, India and China, primarily uses English as a lingua franca as its medium of communication, the scale of this role of English becomes clear. English is also the sole official working language of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Kirkpatrick, 2010b). Thus, if we want to understand the use of English in today’s world, ‘ELF must be one of the central concerns in this line of research’ (Mauranen, 2006: 147).

### *Examples from ELF*

The examples of ELF analysed below are primarily taken from the Asian Corpus of English, a corpus of spoken English currently being collected by a number of teams throughout Asia (Kirkpatrick, 2010c). Examples from the Vienna Oxford Corpus of International English (VOICE) will also be used. VOICE is a corpus of more than 1 million words of naturally occurring spoken ELF usage, which has been collected by Seidlhofer and her team at the University of Vienna (Seidlhofer, 2009; see <http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/>).

In order to test the hypotheses presented above, we shall first analyse the corpus for use of idioms. We predict that there will be relatively few of these in ELF communication, as their use is thought to be culturally specific and thus likely to hinder communication. However, that is not to say that they don’t occur and, as we shall see from the first example, the same idiom can occur in different languages. The first example is from the VOICE corpus (and adapted from Pitzl, 2009: 308). The participants are in business and, in this short excerpt, comprise two Koreans (S1 and S2) and an Austrian (S4). (There is a total of five participants at the meeting.)

[4]

S4: you have in the stores since when since a couple of months

S1: only er one and a half month

S2: months

S4: yeah then I think in that case *we should not wake up any dogs any dogs* by going now

The interesting point to note is that, while the idiom used here varies significantly from the native English ‘let sleeping dogs lie’, its meaning in its new formulation or ‘re-metaphorization’ (Pitzl, 2009: 306) is perfectly clear. What is also interesting is that this idiom also exists in German and Korean, which would suggest that the participants here would have no problem interpreting the meaning of the metaphor, and this would, in turn, suggest that there may be more room than originally anticipated for the use of idiom and metaphor, especially those which undergo this process of re-metaphorization. However, this turns out not to be the case in the ACE data, where idioms and metaphors are used sparingly. In one way, this is disappointing, as the use of ‘new’ metaphors from a speaker’s first language would add spice and freshness to the language. For example, the Chinese expression that describes people who are very close but up to no good as ‘breathing through the same nostril’ and the Japanese expression that describes adult children who still live off their parents as ‘chewing on their parents’ shins’ are both evocative and, while they may take initial explanation, would, we argue, be easily memorized after one hearing. But these don’t occur in the ACE data.

The following two excerpts represent the only two occasions in a two-hour meeting when idioms or metaphors are used and, on both occasions, the speaker was the same person, a Chinese male. The meeting was held in Hong Kong. The ten participants, comprising three Chinese males, two Chinese females, a Nepalese male, a Filipina female, a Pakistani female, an Indian female and a Pakistani male, discussed ways of providing assistance to ethnic minorities in Hong Kong.

[5]

S1: er yes *I buy your second point* and I think that we can create a regular system....’S1: yes, okay then I think there’s no harm in try but of course they just want to meet just meet to know about some perspectives of some Muslim’s communities they think er *this is not their cup of tea* or this is not allowed but of course....

In answer to any possible charge of incidentalism here, we point out that in some 14 hours of ACE data which has already been collected and analysed, there are only 4 uses of idiom and metaphor, two of which are described above.

We now turn to incidences of code-switching in the ACE data. In a 20-minute discussion involving a Singaporean female – whose first language is Malay (SM) – an Indonesian male (I) and a Cambodian male (C), there was this single instance of the use of the Malay/Indonesian word *rojak*. *Rojak* is a Malay/Indonesian word that literally refers to a special type of mixed salad. Here the participants are using the term metaphorically, to describe the colloquial variety of Singapore English, Singlish.

[6]

SM: ... all the English and Singlish are all mixed together like *rojak*I: oh like *rojak* like thatSM: yes you know *rojak* right

I: yes, it’s fruits mixed

SM: all up together.

(Kirkpatrick, 2007: 168)

Not speaking Malay, the Cambodian will not have been able to understand the meaning of this term on its own. This may explain why the Singaporean and Indonesian participants discuss the meaning of the term explicitly: they do it in order not to exclude the Cambodian. In any event, code-mixing is extremely rare in the data, and this contrasts markedly with the world Englishes' CA and discussion forum texts, as we have illustrated above.

In the Hong Kong excerpt, use of code-mixing is extremely rare, as it is throughout the data. One occasion when Cantonese (the first language of the Chinese participants) is used occurs when the name of a particular educational scheme, *yijin*, is used. *Yijin* is an educational programme that gives a second chance to children from lower socio-economic backgrounds who have not done well in the standard school system. In this excerpt, S1 and S7 are both Chinese males, S2 is a Nepalese male and S3 an Indian female. When it becomes clear to S1 that some of the participants do not understand the meaning of *yijin*, he explains it to them.

[6]

S1: yeah anyway okay so yes anyways just for your information yes (.) er::m (3) er yes m- I'd like to share about my my er last week I had the training erm (.) at er (.) *yijin*

S7: *yijin yijin*

S2: *yijin*

S1: *yijin* I don't know if you know about *yijin yijin* programme

S3: *yijin* it's English?

S1: er: er last week I h- I gave I gave two talks together with er [first name] er our former staff she's a volunteer on that day *yijin* er *yijin* college is for those who want to study form five again after some time so er because of their poor schooling beforehand (.) and they like to go back to school and er er if they got pass they it's equivalent to form five level ...

On another occasion S1 also uses Cantonese, but this is because he can't think of the appropriate English word. His Cantonese-speaking colleagues help him out and they agree on 'consistent', but the word S1 was really looking for is probably 'unanimous', if his use of 'anonymous' is a clue.

[7]

S1: but er on that day I was very surprised that er the the opinions was (.) how how should I say *ho yat zee* anonymous not anonymous er very

S7: consistent

S5: consistent

S1: consistent yes

S6: mhm

On another occasion Cantonese is used by the Cantonese speakers after the Nepalese male asks what the next item on the agenda is. The Cantonese speakers are surprised at this, as the agenda items are clearly marked, and they talk briefly to each other in Cantonese, saying the equivalent of 'It's the next item on the list isn't it?'. The misunderstanding is swiftly repaired.

Part of hypothesis (ii) above was that ELF, in contrast to world Englishes, would see few uses of specific cultural and pragmatic norms. This hypothesis is also borne out, but in the Hong Kong excerpt there is evidence that the participants know and respect the cultural norms of their fellow participants. In the following excerpt the Nepalese male thanks a fellow participant, the Pakistani Muslim male, and addresses him by using the formula Mister + First Name.

[8]

S1: he did pay the fee

S2: yeah he paid eighty one people they paid fifty eight (.) er fifty five enjoyed including

children

S1: okay

S2: and thank you mister [first name] thank you for thank you for having us

S6: it's a pleasure also one of my duties

Through the rest of the discussion, people are routinely referred to by their first names. Only the Muslim male is addressed in this more formal way, despite being around the same age as many of the other participants. As he is also addressed in this way by other participants, this would suggest that the speakers are aware of Muslim naming patterns and adopt them accordingly.

To turn now to the discourse analysis of ELF in search of so-called non-standard forms, any analysis of ELF discourse shows a range of these forms. There is some debate as to the cause of these distinctive forms. On the one hand, it seems obvious that the first language of the speakers influences the English they speak (see Mesthrie and Bhatt, 2008). However, the results of discourse analysis have shown a remarkable number of linguistic features that, while being distinctive in that they differ from standard British or American English, are shared across many varieties of world English (Kortmann, 2010). These also occur in ELF. This has led people to argue for the existence of vernacular universals, made up of non-standard forms that occur in all colloquial varieties of English (Chambers, 2004; and see Filppula *et al.*, 2009). We don't have the space to enter this debate in any depth here, but Thomason's advice in cautioning against drawing a line between contact-induced change and vernacular universals seems wise, as 'many linguistic changes involve both kinds of processes – that is various processes of contact-induced change and also universal tendencies of various kinds' (2009: 349). What the analysis of ELF data clearly shows (Mauranen and Ranta, 2009, Kirkpatrick, 2010b) is that so-called non-standard forms are common, that many of them are shared and that they seldom interfere with cross-cultural communication. Here we offer two examples. The first comes from the Hong Kong meeting, and the non-standardness has more to do with overall sentence structure than with grammatical marking, which is exemplified in the second extract. Non-standard forms or structures are indicated in bold. Both speakers are Chinese males whose first language is Cantonese.

[9]

S1: okay thank you I I er know they they must they must have a good time er er all over there yes and er I think of course we play our role to recruit people *just wondering er we can learn from experience how can secure the better commitment* from the communities especially we'll be given (.) nine- ninety free ticket *against hope* the tickets will not be abused er by some members (.) anyway thank you yes so (.) anymore

S7: er somehow for the community

S1: participation

S7: participation and we will er we just talked about we will have er other than flag day hh we will arrange some maybe erm still discussing *two possible* one is cleaning the street or bridges

Ellipsis, the apparent deletion of items, characterizes this excerpt. We have added the apparently elided items in italics in the version below. A native speaker of English might say something like,

[10]

*I was just wondering er whether we can learn from experience about how we can secure (the) better commitment from the communities especially as we'll be given nine- ninety free tickets ....*

Ellipsis of this type is, to a certain extent, predictable, as the speaker's first language is Cantonese – which allows, for example, subjectless sentences. The incidence of elision does not appear to affect the intelligibility of what is being said, however, as S7 immediately offers the suggestion, 'community participation'.

The other non-standard form here is 'agains'. It is hard to be sure about the cause of this form, but the insertion of a sibilant sound after nasals such as /n/ and dentals such as /t/ is common in the speech of many participants in the ACE.

Despite the use of these non-standard forms, S1's anticipation of the word 'participation' is evidence that the conversation is flowing freely. S7 also appears to 'delete' a word like 'ideas' after 'two possible', but this may also be simply explained by a change of mind, a common phenomenon in unplanned spontaneous discourse of this type.

The second example is of an Indonesian female recounting to a Burmese colleague what had happened to her when she arrived at Singapore airport and was waiting to be collected. Here we focus on the non-marking of the past tense; the unmarked verbs are bolded and the marked ones are in italics.

[11]

I2: I waited for the official who **pick** me up OK and then I *tried* to look for the official but because ere r the plane you know *landed* early so early so the official *hadn't come* yet

B2: what a pity

I2: I *had* to stay in the airport and then *did* nothing just **sit** and I **check** the placard of RELOC and I *couldn't* see that's why I just **sit** and **take** a rest ... what about you what time.

(Kirkpatrick, 2007:160)

This is of particular interest, because it illustrates that the non-marking of a form does not necessarily mean that the speaker does not know the rule. With regard to past tense marking in the extract above, there are 11 verbs that could be marked for past tense. Of these, the speaker fails to mark only five. However, as the non-marking of 'pick' in line 1 is almost certainly due to the phonological environment (no one would actually say *picked* /pikt/ in this context), only the verbs 'sit', 'check' and 'take' are unmarked. It may also be that the non-marking of 'check' has a phonological cause, as 'checked' is not easy to pronounce. But the non-marking of 'sit' and 'take' cannot be explained in this way. This apparently random marking of forms is common in ELF (see Breiteneder, 2009) and illustrates that the non-use of a particular form does not necessarily mean that the form is not available to the speaker. What this also shows is that the non-use of tense markers in these contexts does not interfere with communication.

## Conclusion

We posited three hypotheses at the beginning of this chapter, which we then tested by conducting forms of discourse analysis on excerpts of world Englishes and ELF. On the basis of the results of our findings from the discourse analysis, we now conclude that:

- (i) The world Englishes data from Malaysia and Brunei support the hypothesis that world Englishes are by definition code-mixed varieties, on account of the availability of languages other than English, as resources on which speakers and writers can draw, knowing that their readership or audience share similar multilingual capabilities. The East Malaysian classified advertisements, by virtue of the generic properties of advertising texts, signal aspects of both communication and shared identity of sellers and potential buyers. The Brunei online forum

posting, by contrast, very much reflects Bruneian identity being negotiated through language choices, including micro-level intra-sentential code-switching. The inner-circle New Zealand sports text illustrates shared cultural and pragmatic norms in terms of the stylistic feature of rich and frequent figurative idiomatic language.

- (ii) The ELF examples analysed above show a strong orientation towards communication rather than expression or negotiation of identities. The relative absence of both idiomatic expressions and of recourse to other languages (i.e. code-switching) supports this contention. However, there is evidence, especially in the Hong Kong ELF examples, of interactive negotiation that is aimed at maintaining clear communication and at showing respect for interlocutors from other linguacultural backgrounds.
- (iii) The third hypothesis, relating to 'native-speaker' or 'inner-circle' norms, is supported by both the WE and the ELF examples. Evidence of inner-circle varieties showing non-standard or idiosyncratic features is found in both the New Zealand sports media text discussed above and in Britain (2010). In all the examples analysed, except the Brunei discussion forum text, the deviations from standard norms are minor and certainly do not impede communication.

### Transcription conventions

Interlinear glossing conventions used in codemixed text extract [3]

1PI 1<sup>st</sup> person plural inclusive pronoun  
 2P 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural pronoun  
 3P 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural pronoun  
 ABBR Abbreviation  
 DEM Demonstrative adjective  
 DM Discourse marker  
 IMP Imperative  
 NEG Negative

### Further Reading

Honna, Nobuyuki (2008) *English as a Multicultural Language in Asian Contexts: Issues and Ideas*, Tokyo: Kurosio Publishers.

This gives a very useful account of recent developments concerning the roles and status of English in Asia.

Jenkins, Jennifer (2007) *English as a Lingua Franca: Attitude and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

The author provides a review of the development of ELF as a field of study and presents the results of empirical research into attitudes towards ELF.

Kirkpatrick, Andy (2010) *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*. London: Routledge.

A companion volume in the Routledge Handbook series, this gives a comprehensive overview of the field of world Englishes, along with an up-to-date account of recent developments and debates.

Mauranen, Anna and Ranta, Elina (2009) (eds.) *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

This edited volume contains a collection of articles detailing the latest ELF research findings.

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