

**THE MINISTRY OF HIGHER AND SECONDARY SPECIAL  
EDUCATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF UZBEKISTAN**

**GULISTAN STATE UNIVERSITY**

**FACULTY OF PHILOLOGY**

**ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE DEPARTMENT**

# **QUALIFICATION WORK**

**on theme:**

**“BRITISH COLONIALISM AND THE SPREAD OF THE ENGLISH  
LANGUAGE”**

**Compiled by:** the student of the 4<sup>th</sup> course  
of the speciality 5111400 – Foreign  
language and literature (English),  
**MALIKA JURAEVA**

---

**SUPERVISER:**  
Akhmedov R.Sh.

---

Preliminary defense of the qualification work passed successfully  
Minute № \_\_\_\_\_ « \_\_\_\_\_ » \_\_\_\_\_ 2020

**GULISTAN – 2020**

## CONTENTS

<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>CHAPTER I. THEORY OF GLOBAL LANGUAGE.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>1.1. Defining Colonialism.....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>1.2. Identity and Language.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>1.3. The Concept of Indigenization.....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.4. Differential Evolution.....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>CHAPTER II. BRITISH COLONIALISM AND THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2.1. British Colonialism in the Americas.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>2.2. British Colonialism in Australia.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>2.3. British Colonialism in West and South Africa.....</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>2.4. British Colonialism in South Asia.....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>CHAPTER III. LINGUISTIC CONSEQUENCES OF BRITISH COLONIALISM.....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>3.1. Focusing a Language.....</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>3.2. Language Contact.....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>3.3. English varieties as a Result of Colonization.....</b>	<b>36</b>
<b>3.4. Covariation between Colonization and English Varieties.....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>LIST OF USED LITERATURE.....</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>67</b>

## INTRODUCTION

**Actuality of the research** is in the fact that the number of people who speak English has gradually increased all over the world since the mid-16th century. According to David Crystal, the number of English speakers during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I ranged between five and seven million while in 1952, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth II, the number reached 250 million<sup>1</sup>. This huge increase in the number of English speakers in the world is the result of the expansion of the English language from the British Isles to different areas and continents in the world. The expansion of English has been labelled by linguist Robert Phillipson as "linguistic imperialism"<sup>2</sup>. According to Phillipson, linguistic imperialism is the "dominance asserted and retained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages"<sup>3</sup>. As a result, English became the most dominant and most powerful language in the world that motivated many linguists and language researchers, as Braj Kachru to call it an "International Language"<sup>4</sup>. The term "International Language" has been used after English became the mother tongue and the second language spoken by non-native English speakers from different areas in the world. David Crystal argues that more than two-thirds of English speakers are non-natives<sup>5</sup>. The status of English as an International language is the result of the British colonial expansion during the last two centuries in North America, Oceania, West Africa, South Asia, and South America. The British colonial activity, in addition for spreading the English language all over the globe, has resulted in the creation of new varieties of English which were influenced by the aboriginal languages of the colonised countries.

The medium by which speakers of a language communicate their thoughts and feelings to others, the tool with which they conduct their business or the government

---

<sup>1</sup> Crystal D. The English Language Today. In D. Crystal, The English Language (pp. 1-7). – Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988. –P.4.

<sup>2</sup> Phillipson R. Linguistic Imperialism. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. –P.5.

<sup>3</sup> Phillipson R. Linguistic Imperialism. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. –P.16.

<sup>4</sup> Kachru B. The Other Tongue: English across Cultures. – Oxford: Pergamon, 1983. –P.43.

<sup>5</sup> Crystal D. English as a Global Language. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. –P.132.

of millions of people, the vehicle by which has been transmitted the science, the philosophy, the poetry of the culture is surely worthy of study<sup>1</sup>.

Over 1.5 billion people in the world can comprehensively communicate in English. The English speakers make up to twenty percent of the global population. The percentage is respectable since the inception of the language can be tracked down to the fifth century after the invasion of Britain by the Germanic tribes. The groups combined their languages into a form of English known as the old English. The modern English evolved from the old form over years.

**Novelty** of the research is that the research is focused on multidisciplinary approach and analyses historical factors and the phenomena of colonialism and its influence on the spread of the English language in the world.

**The main purpose** of this study is to reveal the role of British colonialism in the development of the English language, including the formation of regional varieties of the language and appearance of such phenomena as indigenization and differential evolution. Moreover, the research deals with the concept of language contact, that also appeared in many countries of the world because of the British colonization.

The following **research tasks** were addressed in the process of analysis in this qualification work:

- To analyze the notion of colonization;
- To analyze the notion of indigenization;
- To analyze the concept of differential evolution;
- To investigate the process of British colonization in Americas;
- To investigate the process of British colonization in West and South Africa;
- To investigate the process of British colonization in Australia and New Zealand;
- To investigate the process of British colonization in South Asia;
- To reveal the phenomenon called “focusing on language”;

---

<sup>1</sup> Measures for Further Improvement of the System of Learning Foreign Languages. Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, №1875. December 10, 2012. Tashkent // Halq Suzi, #240 (5660), 2012.

- To reveal the role of language contacts in the development of English;
- To reveal the influence of British colonization on the formation of English varieties;
- To summarize research data and reveal all possible ways how British colonialism influenced the development of the English language.

**The object** of the research is the English language itself, with all its characteristic features, historical background and present state.

**The subject** of the research is the role of British colonialism in the formation of Modern English.

**Methodology** of the research. The researcher used qualitative methods to reach the aim of investigation as these methods allow to interpret information from different sources, including e-books, sites, textbooks, articles and scientific and statistic reviews. The research is mostly analytical, thus, the analysis of secondary sources is in the center of every result.

**Significance of the study.** This research is for anyone of any nationality concerned with English: teachers, students, language professionals, economists, politicians, general readers and anyone with a love of the language.

This research **consists of:** introduction, three chapters, conclusion, list of sources and appendices.

Introduction reveals actuality and novelty of the research, sets aim and tasks, defines the problem and fields of the research (subject and object), mentions the methods used during the research, underlines the practical and theoretical value of the work, introduces the structure.

Chapter I deals with theoretical basics of the problem, defines main notions of the research, such as “colonialism”, “indigenization”, “differential evolution” etc., analyzes previous researches in the field.

Chapter II contains the results of the analysis of the British colonialism in different regions of the world, including North and South Americas, the Caribbean, West and South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, and South Asia.

Chapter III reveals the influence of British colonization on the formation of

English varieties based on regional factor. Moreover, the last chapter of the research deals with the problem of language contacts and the concept of “focusing a language”.

Conclusion summarizes the results of the research and gives short answers to the tasks of the research.

List of used literature consists of different sources used during the research, including research papers, scientific articles and official web sites.

Appendices are added in order to make the research easier to understand and results be clearer.

## CHAPTER I. THEORY OF GLOBAL LANGUAGE

### 1.1. Defining Colonialism

Historian Jürgen Osterhammel defines the term "colonialism" as a "relationship between an indigenous majority and a minority of foreign invaders"<sup>1</sup>. In applying this definition to the British colonial activity, it will be clear that Britain, being the foreign invader, has been able to colonise different nations, cultures, and countries. After the establishment of the United Kingdom between the years 1603 and 1707 that led to the expansion of the English language within the British Isles, the British Empire began to expand to other geographic regions that are far from the United Kingdom<sup>2</sup>. According to Professor Raja Sekhar, there are countries called "settler countries" where colonisers settle there, as Australia, United States, and Canada, and there are "non-settler countries" that were not fully settled, and were politically administered by Britain, as Sri Lanka, India, South Africa, Nigeria, Jamaica, and other landscapes<sup>3</sup>.

Colonization (and more recently globalization) certainly makes up about the radical changes in the linguistic landscapes of around the world the hundreds of years. Conceptualized as the directing control of politics, culture and people by foreign areas, colonization has enforced to the colonized several unsafe problems. The compulsory need of participating with a vocabulary ascribed to oppression, exploitation and slavery stands out, though.

Moreover, colonialism, in many territories recommended also an imposed mosaic of different cultural groups and human being types that prior to Western European penetration, got different political, social and social buildings which were arbitrarily appreciated to coexist in that space. Such impositions regarding language and life styles reflected and modified the ID of the colonized people and, regarding to

---

<sup>1</sup> Osterhammel J. Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview. – Berlin: Markus Weiner Publishers, 2005. –P.20.

<sup>2</sup> Baugh A., Cable T. A History of the English Language. 3rd edition. – Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 2008. –P.7.

<sup>3</sup> Sekhar R. G. Colonialism and Imperialism and its Impact on English Language. // Asian Journal of Multidimensional Research, I (4), 2012. –P.111-120.

McKendrick, enjoyed an important role essential to colonialism to be successful: "ID is one of the vital the different parts of colonialism, if we consider colonialism as a body; id constitutes its nature while the financial exploitation is its corporal body. The colonizer approaching to the virgin lands with the feeling of colonial desire and obsession to possess cheap earnings in his heart finds himself prepared to defame the inhabitants, regard them as "the other". And he starts off his insurance policy by deterritorializing and reterritorializing..."<sup>1</sup>.

In that sense, people were obligated to be what they are not. This is visible by the fact that the colonizers used to call the colonies "new lands", as if these were "virgin" lands, uninhabited before their appearance. McKendrick strains that the colonizers didn't perceive their actions in the colonies as reconstruction because they didn't consider the corporations and cultures proven in the colonies as valuable<sup>2</sup>. The colonizers also imposed their culture and terminology as a way to legitimize their ability: Inside the colony what is asymmetrical, rather than basically different proves to be pathological. To be able to legitimize their maltreatment, the colonizer will try to job the other not only different but also dangerous, primitive, ambitious, lazy, etc. The aim is making people feel that colonialism is no unfair perpetration, rather, it is a necessary drive, for, and these people do not need these lands by virtue of their notorious features. Also, the drive, after all, will promote their life standards. This is for his or her interest.

As shown, the colonized is pressured to internalize a new personal information through the reinforcement of stereotypes by the colonizer, which is easily understandable if one thinks that the colonized discovers him/herself in a circumstances they haven't experienced before, after having been appreciated to give up all what constitutes his/her "world". The colonized then has no option other than "emulate the colonizer as a lone model before him". However, his try out is rejected by the colonizer. Motivated by his need for exploitation, he makes sure to set hard boundaries to the difference, as "to them the difference is exactly what feeds the

---

<sup>1</sup> McKendrick B. Conquest by Word. – Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2018. –P.189.

<sup>2</sup> McKendrick B. Conquest by Word. – Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2018. –P.190.



colonial system, what legitimize and postulates it"<sup>1</sup>.

So the colonized manages to lose his former personal information but he is also not supported in creating a new one. As McKendrick puts, it, "he'll neither end up like the colonizer nor himself. Thus, he lives in a total oblivion. All at once, he's casted out from his background, memory space and citizenship"<sup>2</sup>. Nonetheless, through colonialism identity is not totally lost, but occur the unknown ground temporally placed between prior and after the colonizers came up.

Inspired by population genetics, as developed in our qualification work on language evolution in general, we use the term "colonization" here rather broadly, in the sense of relocating to a new territory, regardless of whether or not the latter is inhabited by a (more) indigenous population, regardless of whether the immigrants subjugate the latter or not, and regardless of whether or not the immigrants and the indigenous populations live segregated from each other or are socially integrated. Although there are alternative typologies of colonization, we have adopted in our qualification work the typology distinguishing between trade, settlement, and exploitation colonies. They can be refined, of course, allowing for subcategorization and mixed categories. For instance, whereas Nigeria and Zambia may be considered as straightforward exploitation colonies, Kenya and Zimbabwe were not, as they included a significant proportion of settlers who considered themselves African. This case is still different from that of the massive exogenous peopling of settlement colonies of, for instance, North America and Australia, which reduced drastically the size and proportion of the indigenous populations, which have typically also been marginalized socioeconomically. We must likewise note those settlement colonies in which exogenous non-European populations (descendants of former slaves and contract laborers) have become the demographic majority, such as in the Caribbean, and distinguish them from those in which the European populations have become the majority, such as in Anglophone North America and in Australia and New Zealand, although, in the case of the United States, the European majority is threatened by the

---

<sup>1</sup> McKendrick B. *Conquest by Word*. – Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2018. –P.191.

<sup>2</sup> McKendrick B. *Conquest by Word*. – Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2018. –P.192.

recent Hispanic immigrations.

Whichever typology of colonies one adopts, one must pay attention to whether or not it helps account for the differential evolution of the relevant language in any useful way. It is also noteworthy that colonization need not be associated exclusively with the Europeans' relocations to outside Europe since the fifteenth century.

For instance, England colonized Ireland, on the settlement model, at about the same time it was colonizing the New World, in the early seventeenth century. We owe the emergence of English itself, in the form of Old English, to the colonization of England by Germanic populations, just as the Romance languages owe their origins to the colonization of Southwestern Europe, among other parts of the continent, by the Romans. The spread of the Indo-European languages is itself the consequence of the colonization of the relevant territories by earlier Indo-European populations, which justifies characterizing the colonization of the world outside Europe by Europeans as an expansion of the Indo-European dispersal that started about 6,000 years ago. It is new economic pressures and improved transportation technologies that prompted and enabled Western Europeans to venture across the Atlantic and into the Indian and the Pacific Oceans.

Below we show how the typology adopted here highlights both similarities and differences between both historical times and between colonies. As much as the recent spread of English around the world has justifiably been compared to that of Latin, there are still differences that have to do with the style in which the Romans colonized Europe. The Romans did not really settle their provinces and they abandoned those of the Western Empire when it was more important to protect Rome from the advancing Vandals. On the other hand, they did not apply anything close to the recent exploitation and trade styles, as they empowered the indigenous rulers militarily and even allowed them to run for higher offices in Rome and the Empire. Interestingly, Latin did not really spread as a vernacular until after the Romans had abandoned the Western Empire and it was subsequently restructured, gradually, into the Romance languages. And curiously, Latin evolved into little similar to the Romance languages in the Eastern Empire, though this lasted one millennium longer.

## 1.2. Identity and Language

Identity and the cognate conditions in other dialects have an extended history as technical terms in European school of thought from the old Greeks through contemporary analytical philosophy. They are used to address the perennial philosophical problems of permanence amidst express change, and of unity amidst variety. Endemic vernacular and social-analytical use of id and its cognates, however, is of a lot more recent vintage and much more localized provenance.

The benefits of identity into social examination and its primary diffusion into sociable sciences and public discourse occurred in America in the 1960s (with some anticipation in the next fifty percent of the 1950s). The main and best-know trajectory involved the appropriation and popularization of Erik Erikson (who was responsible, among other activities, for coining the word identity turmoil).

But there were other paths of diffusion as well. The notion of id was pried from its original, specifically psychoanalytic context (where in fact the term has been initially introduced by Freud) and linked to ethnicity on the one hand and sociological role theory and reference group theory.

"The word identity proven highly resonant in the 1960's diffusing quickly across disciplinary and countrywide boundaries, creating itself in the journalistic as well as the academic lexicon, and permeating the dialect of social and political analysis"<sup>1</sup>.

Stuart Hall, one of the well-known scholars customized on identity, factors that identification is dynamic, not stable and it is in continuous flux:

"Perhaps rather than thinking as individuality as an already achieved historical fact, which the new cinematic discourses signify, we ought to think, instead, of 'identification' as a production, which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside the house, representation"<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Mesthrie R. *English in Language Shift*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. –P.11.

<sup>2</sup> Mesthrie R. *English in Language Shift*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. –P.18.

Therefore, cultural personal information can be considered as a historically located group of experiences that need to be recovered in order to fulfill the desire to become one land or one people, hence, happens to the words.

As it expresses beyond what its words signify, dialect also unveils the way individuals situate themselves in romance to others, the way they group themselves, the capabilities they declare for themselves and the capabilities they stipulate to others. People use terms to indicate sociable allegiances, that is, which groups they are users of and which groupings they aren't. Furthermore, they use vocabulary to create and maintain role relationships between individuals and between categories in that manner that the linguistic varieties utilized by a community form a system that corresponds to the structure of the society.

Therefore, a speaker uses language not and then express but to make a representation of him/herself in relation to others with whom s/he is interacting. The issue of respect is an aspect of the broader romance between electricity and language. Vitality is the amount to which interlocutor can control the tendencies of the other. S/he then uses the language of intimacy and familiarity as they used it in greetings, interacting about family, and leave-takings. In talking about their jobs and other "external" acquaintances, they use the colonizer's terminology, which possibly evidence distance.

Ngugi also argues that within a contemporary society or a culture, speech habits become tools that audio system change to group themselves and categorize others with whom they may be interacting: "Because of the relationship between language use and group regular membership, language can motivate profound group loyalties. It could serve as a symbol of unification on several levels. Over the national level, terminology loyalty can serve an important politics function. Many people in america are threatened by the use of languages apart from British. To speak a terms other than English is regarded as "un-American. " It is because English is "promoted as the one and only possible language of the unified and healthy nation". On an area

level, vocabulary is symbolic of loyalty to a community"<sup>1</sup>.

For the city as a whole, socialization through words learning creates conformity to interpersonal norms and transmits the culture of the community. As s/he discovers language, a kid learns the communal composition of the culture, learning the appropriate linguistic form for every kind of person. This is part of communicative competence. Communicative competence isn't just focusing on how to speak the specific language(s) found in the talk community but also focusing on how to use dialect appropriately in virtually any given cultural situation in the community. And the capability to know that is tightly related to the id that one supports. Speech habits become tools that speakers manipulate to group themselves and categorize others with whom they are interacting which is only shared with those showing a certain identification, whether in a community or a culture.

### **1.3. The Concept of Indigenization**

The interpretation of indigenized Englishes boils down to the saying 'What's in a name?' as it has become conventional to use the phrase in reference to English varieties spoken primarily in former British exploitation colonies, the 'Outer Circle,' and it appears to have been extended to varieties of the Expanding Circle. Literally, the concept of indigenization applies to the process of becoming indigenous to a territory. In the case of language, the process entails that the variety is acknowledged to be part of the language repertoire governed by local/national ethnographic division of communicative labor and that it reflects structural and pragmatic features that are specific to the new population of speakers. It is irrelevant whether or not these particularizing features are shared by speakers of the putatively the same language in other territories. From this perspective, all colonial English varieties have indigenized, as they reflect adaptations to the specific contact ecologies in which English was appropriated by populations that did not have it as a heritage language and is likewise used to express concepts that were not part of the cultural heritage it had been shaped

---

<sup>1</sup> Ngugi T. *Decolonising the Mind*. – London: Heinemann Currey, 2006. –P.33.

to express before its exportation to the new settings.

Thus, the question remains: How can we account for differences between the different new varieties? This is a question that applies to any language that has spread outside its birth place, including the evolution of Latin into diverse Romance languages. It is the same as that regarding the speciation of proto-Indo-European into (the subfamilies of) various Indo-European languages, assuming (against my own position on the subject matter) that there was indeed one proto-Indo-European language about 6,000 years ago. The general picture is indeed that of fractals, though the question arises of what triggers such recursive speciation. My answer is: Contact with other languages and/or differences in the balance of power between variants once a population disperses to different colonies.

#### 1.4. Differential Evolution

Speaking of differential evolution is justified particularly by such constructs as language and English conceived of as organisms without internal variation. One is thus struck by the fact that it has not evolved in the same way in different colonies. An incomplete account of these differing outcomes has been variation in (the composition of the groups of languages the colonial language has come in contact with. The picture is different when one conceives of languages as species consisting of diverse dialects and/or sociolects, and of the latter as consisting of idiolects that vary from each other<sup>1</sup>. Even if the (groups of) languages the colonial language came in contact with were almost the same, the outcomes can be different depending on the particular variety of the colonial language that the new speakers have been exposed to, notwithstanding differences in the modes of transmission, that is, naturalistic vs. guided learning. This explains why creoles and pidgins appear to diverge so drastically from the standard varieties of European languages they have traditionally been compared with but from which they did ‘not evolve’<sup>2</sup>. Their lexifiers were

---

<sup>1</sup> Biber D., Conrad S. Register, Genre, and Style. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. –P.72.

<sup>2</sup> Bright W. International Encyclopedia of Linguistics. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. –P.498.

nonstandard vernaculars spoken by the poor European colonists and traders that the non-Europeans (slaves and contract laborers in the case of creoles) interacted with.

On the other hand, varieties of indigenized Englishes that bear the least phonological and morpho-syntactic substrate influence have often been characterized as bookish; they reflect written English (based on the books used as models of the language in the classroom) rather than vernacular varieties. Spoken more as *lingua francas* rather than as vernaculars, they are often used like a black-tie attire worn indiscriminately on all social occasions.

These kinds of considerations would have prevented linguists from embracing the social/political stipulation that creoles are separate languages and pidgins are broken reproductions of their languages that may at best be considered as fossils of the human protolanguage. From a lingvo-historical perspective, the narrative of the differential evolution of English may be articulated differently, as our research shows in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER II. BRITISH COLONIALISM AND THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH

### 2.1. British Colonialism in the Americas

The British colonial activity began in North America where the British, in 1607, "established the colony of Jamestown in Virginia"<sup>1</sup>. Later on, The British navy defeated France and its allies in the Seven-years' war (1756-1763) which was considered as a big jump in the British colonial enterprise. The significance of this war is that the British military forces were able to neglect any French effect in the North American region. In the year 1776, thirteen American colonies announced the Declaration of Independence from the British Empire. At the same time, the British were also able to take control over Jamaica, the Bahamas, and Barbados in South America that were previously reigned by the Spanish. Sekhar says that "[In]Caribbean Islands and South American colonies [. . .] English language was introduced in education, administration, etc."<sup>2</sup>.

Prior to the European colonial activity, North America and the Caribbean isles were inhabited by native aboriginal Indian tribes, such as The Caribs of the Lesser Antilles<sup>3</sup>.

Later on, European and migrants began to travel to America, they settled there, and continued to expand.

In that era, British colonies in the Americas witnessed an increasing movement in slave trade from West Africa. Leith says that Africa was the main source for slaves that were transported to the British colonies in America and the Caribbean<sup>4</sup>.

The first expedition from England to the New World was commissioned by Walter Raleigh in 1584, and proved to be a failure. A group of explorers landed near

---

<sup>1</sup> Leith D. English – Colonial to Postcolonial. In D. Graddol, D. Leith, & J. Swann (Eds.), English: History, Diversity, and Change (pp. 180-211). – Dublin: Routledge, 2002. –P.180.

<sup>2</sup> Sekhar R. G. Colonialism and Imperialism and its Impact on English Language. // Asian Journal of Multidimensional Research, I (4), 2012. –P.111-120.

<sup>3</sup> Carton M. The Black Caribs of St. Vincent: A Reevaluation. In R. L. Paquette, & S. L. Engerman (Eds.), The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion (pp. 71-85). – Florida: University Press of Florida, 1996. –P.41.

<sup>4</sup> Leith D. English – Colonial to Postcolonial. In D. Graddol, D. Leith, & J. Swann (Eds.), English: History, Diversity, and Change (pp. 180-211). – Dublin: Routledge, 2002. –P.183.



Roanoke Island, in what is now North Carolina, and established a small settlement. Conflict with the native people followed, and it proved necessary for a ship to return to England for help and supplies. By the time these arrived, in 1590, none of the original group of settlers could be found. The mystery of their disappearance has never been solved.

The first permanent English settlement dates from 1607, when an expedition arrived in Chesapeake Bay. The colonists called their settlement Jamestown (after James I) and the area Virginia (after the 'Virgin Queen', Elizabeth). Further settlements quickly followed along the coast, and also on the nearby islands, such as Bermuda. Then, in November 1620, the first group of Puritans, arrived on the Mayflower in the company of sixty-seven other settlers. Prevented by storms from reaching Virginia, they landed at Cape Cod Bay, and established a settlement at what is now Plymouth, Massachusetts.

The later population movements across America largely preserved the dialect distinctions which arose out of these early patterns of settlement. The New England people moved west into the region of the Great Lakes; the southerners moved along the Gulf Coast and into Texas; and the midlanders spread throughout the whole of the vast, mid-western area, across the Mississippi and ultimately into California<sup>1</sup>.

By the time of the first census, in 1790, the population of the country was around 4 million, most of whom lived along the Atlantic coast. A century later, after the opening up of the west, the population numbered over 50 million, spread throughout the continent. The accent which emerged can now be heard all over the so-called Sunbelt (from Virginia to southern California), and is the accent most commonly associated with present-day American speech.

The nineteenth century saw a massive increase in American immigration, as people fled the results of revolution, poverty, and famine in Europe<sup>2</sup>. Large numbers of Irish came following the potato famine in

---

<sup>1</sup> Miller D. *External Influences on English*. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Pennycook A. *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. – London: Longman, 2014. –P.4.

Ireland in the 1840s. Germans and Italians came, escaping the consequences of the failed 1848 revolutions. And, as the century wore on, there were increasing numbers of Central European Jews, especially fleeing from the pogroms of the 1880s. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, immigrants were entering the USA at an average of three-quarters of a million a year. In 1900, the population was just over 75 million. This total had doubled by 1950.

Within one or two generations of arrival, most of these immigrant families had come to speak English, through a natural process of assimilation. Grandparents and grandchildren found themselves living in very different linguistic worlds. The result was a massive growth in mother-tongue use of English. According to the 1990 census, the number of people (over five years of age) who spoke only English at home had grown to over 198 million – 86 per cent of the population. This figure increased to 215 million in the 2000 census (though representing a fall to 82 per cent of the population)<sup>1</sup>. This is almost four times as many mother-tongue speakers as any other nation.

Some commentators have suggested that the English language was a major factor in maintaining American unity throughout this period of remarkable cultural diversification – a ‘glue’ which brought people together and a medium which gave them common access to opportunity. At the same time, some minority groups began to be concerned about the preservation of their cultural and linguistic heritage, within a society which was becoming increasingly monolingual. The seeds of a conflict between the need for intelligibility and the need for identity were beginning to grow – a conflict which, by the later decades of the twentieth century, had fuelled the movement in support of English as the official language of the USA<sup>2</sup>.

Meanwhile, the English language was making progress further north. The first English-language contact with Canada was as early as 1497, when John Cabot is thought to have reached Newfoundland; but English migration along

---

<sup>1</sup> Quirk R. *English in the World*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. –P.65.

<sup>2</sup> Williamson J. *A Various Language*. – New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 2011. –P.73.

the Atlantic coast did not develop until a century later, when the farming, fishing, and fur trading industries attracted English-speaking settlers. There was ongoing conflict with the French, whose presence dated from the explorations of Jacques Cartier in the 1520s; but this came to an end when the French claims were gradually surrendered during the eighteenth century, following their defeat in Queen Anne's War (1702–1713) and the French and Indian War (1754–63). During the 1750s thousands of French settlers were deported from Acadia (modern Nova Scotia), and were replaced by settlers from New England. The numbers were then further increased by many coming directly from England, Ireland, and Scotland (whose earlier interest in the country is reflected in the name Nova Scotia 'New Scotland')<sup>1</sup>.

The next major development followed the US Declaration of Independence in 1776. Loyalist supporters of Britain (the 'United Empire Loyalists') found themselves unable to stay in the new United States, and most left for Canada, settling first in what is now Nova Scotia, then moving to New Brunswick and further inland. They were soon followed by many thousands (the so-called 'late Loyalists') who were attracted by the cheapness of land, especially in the area known as Upper Canada (above Montreal and north of the Great Lakes). Within fifty years, the population of this province had reached 100,000. Over 31 million were estimated in 2001, with two-thirds claiming English as a native or home language<sup>2</sup>.

Because of its origins, Canadian English has a great deal in common with the rest of the English spoken in North America, and those who live outside Canada often find it difficult to hear the difference. Many British people identify a Canadian accent as American; many Americans identify it as British. Canadians themselves insist on not being identified with either group, and certainly the variety does display a number of unique features. In addition, the presence of French as a co-official language, chiefly spoken in Quebec, produces a sociolinguistic situation not found in other English-speaking countries.

---

<sup>1</sup> Brinton L. *Pragmatic Markers in English*. – Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2016. –P.166.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*. XXVI edition. – Chicago: Macropaedia, 2019.

During the early years of American settlement, the English language was also spreading in the south. A highly distinctive kind of speech was emerging in the islands of the West Indies and the southern part of the mainland, spoken by the incoming black population. This was a consequence of the importation of African slaves to work on the sugar plantations, a practice started by the Spanish as early as 1517.

From the early seventeenth century, ships from Europe travelled to the West African coast, where they exchanged cheap goods for black slaves. The slaves were shipped in barbarous conditions to the Caribbean islands and the American coast, where they were in turn exchanged for such commodities as sugar, rum, and molasses. The ships then returned to England, completing an 'Atlantic triangle' of journeys, and the process began again. The first twenty African slaves arrived in Virginia on a Dutch ship in 1619. By the time of the American Revolution (1776) their numbers had grown to half a million, and there were over 4 million by the time slavery was abolished, at the end of the US Civil War (1865).

The policy of the slave-traders was to bring people of different language backgrounds together in the ships, to make it difficult for groups to plot rebellion. The result was the growth of several pidgin forms of communication, and in particular a pidgin between the slaves and the sailors, many of whom spoke English. Once arrived in the Caribbean, this pidgin English continued to act as a means of communication between the black population and the new landowners, and among the blacks themselves. Then, when their children were born, the pidgin gradually began to be used as a mother tongue, producing the first black creole speech in the region.

It is this creole English which rapidly came to be used throughout the southern plantations, and in many of the coastal towns and islands. At the same time, standard British English was becoming a prestige variety throughout the area, because of the emerging political influence of Britain. Creole forms of French, Spanish and Portuguese were also developing in and around the Caribbean, and some of these interacted with both the creole and the standard varieties of English. The Caribbean

islands, and parts of the adjacent Central and South American mainland, thus came to develop a remarkably diverse range of varieties of English, reflecting their individual political and cultural histories. Moreover, West Indian speech did not stay within the Caribbean islands, but moved well outside, with large communities eventually found in Canada, the USA and Britain.

## **2.2. British Colonialism in Australia**

Two hundred years later, and after the loss of the American colonies in the America Revolution, the British settlement started to take place in Australia that was also inhabited by aboriginal tribes. Australia was considered as the shelter for British convicts who spoke Cockney dialect of English. Similar to the slave trade in North America, British convicts were sent to Australia to work as labourers.

The colonies in Australia and America are the examples of what was earlier mentioned as settler countries where colonisers replaced the aboriginals, and neglected their existence<sup>1</sup>.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the continuing process of British world exploration established the English language in the southern hemisphere. The numbers of speakers have never been very large, by comparison with those in the northern hemisphere, but the varieties of English which have emerged are just as distinctive.

Australia was visited by James Cook in 1770, and within twenty years Britain had established its first penal colony at Sydney, thus relieving the pressure on the overcrowded prisons in England. About 130,000 prisoners were transported during the fifty years after the arrival of the 'first fleet' in 1788<sup>2</sup>. 'Free' settlers, as they were called, also began to enter the country from the very beginning, but they did not achieve substantial numbers until the mid-nineteenth century. From then on, immigration rapidly increased. By 1850, the population of

---

<sup>1</sup> Foley J. English in New Cultural Context. – New York: Oxford University Press, 2009. –P.83.

<sup>2</sup> Crystal D. English as a Global Language. Third Edition. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. –P.32.

Australia was about 400,000, and by 1900 nearly 4 million. In 2002, it was nearly 19 million.

The British Isles provided the main source of settlers, and thus the main influence on the language. Many of the convicts came from London and Ireland (especially following the 1798 Irish rebellion), and features of the Cockney accent of London and the brogue of Irish English can be traced in the speech patterns heard in Australia today. On the other hand, the variety contains many expressions which have originated in Australia (including a number from Aboriginal languages), and in recent years the influence of American English and of a growing number of immigrant groups has been noticeable, so that the country now has a very mixed linguistic character.

In New Zealand (whose Maori name is Aotearoa), the story of English started later and moved more slowly. Captain Cook charted the islands in 1769–70, and European whalers and traders began to settle there in the 1790s, expanding the developments already taking place in Australia. Christian missionary work began among the Maori from about 1814<sup>1</sup>. However, the official colony was not established until 1840, following the Treaty of Waitangi between Maori chiefs and the British Crown. There was then a rapid increase in European immigration – from around 2,000 in 1840 to 25,000 by 1850, and to three-quarters of a million by 1900. As early as the turn of the century visitors to the country were making comments on the emergence of a New Zealand accent. The total population in 2002 was over 3.8 million.

Three strands of New Zealand's social history in the present century have had especial linguistic consequences. Firstly, in comparison with Australia, there has been a stronger sense of the historical relationship with Britain, and a greater sympathy for British values and institutions. Many people speak with an accent which displays clear British influence. Secondly, there has been a growing sense of national identity, and in particular an emphasis on the differences between New Zealand and Australia. This has drawn attention to

differences in the accents of the two countries, and motivated the use of distinctive New Zealand vocabulary. Thirdly, there has been a fresh concern to take account of the rights and needs of the Maori people, who now form over 10 per cent of the population. This has resulted in an increased use of Maori words in New Zealand English.

### 2.3. British Colonialism in West and South Africa

Dick Leith says that "[. . .] British colonies were established in Africa after 1880"<sup>2</sup>. Unlike Australia and America, British colonies in West Africa were ruled by a small number of British official employees rather than being a migration point for British settlers. The inhabitants of Western African countries, like Nigeria and Sierra-Leone, were given English education by missionaries, as Leith argues.

In South Africa, the British colonies were smaller than those in West Africa. British colonisation occurred mainly in Cape Colony, which is known today as the city of Cape Town which witnessed the "arrival of the first [British] settlers in 1820"<sup>3</sup>. Raja Sekhar argues that the colonisation in Africa led to violence, segregation, and oppression<sup>4</sup>.

Although Dutch colonists arrived in the Cape as early as 1652, British involvement in the region dates only from 1795, during the Napoleonic Wars, when an expeditionary force invaded. British control was established in 1806, and a policy of settlement began in earnest in 1820, when some 5,000 British were given land in the eastern Cape. English was made the official language of the region in 1822, and there was an attempt to anglicize the large Afrikaans-speaking population<sup>5</sup>. English became the language of

---

<sup>1</sup> Bauer L. *English in New Zealand*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. –P.4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Leith D. *English – Colonial to Postcolonial*. In D. Graddol, D. Leith, & J. Swann (Eds.), *English: History, Diversity, and Change* (pp. 180-211). – Dublin: Routledge, 2002. –P.206.

<sup>3</sup> Esteves V. R., & Hurst, N. *Varieties of English: South African English*. *The APPI Journal*, II (Autumn), 2009. –P.20-29.

<sup>4</sup> Sekhar R. G. *Colonialism and Imperialism and its Impact on English Language*. // *Asian Journal of Multidimensional Research*, I (4), 2012. –P.111-120.

<sup>5</sup> Mesthrie R. *Lexicon in South Africa*. – Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 2012. –P.72.

law, education, and most other aspects of public life. Further British settlements followed in the 1840s and 1850s, especially in Natal, and there was a massive influx of Europeans following the development of the gold and diamond areas in the Witwatersrand in the 1870s. Nearly half a million immigrants, many of them English-speaking, arrived in the country during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The English language history of the region thus has many strands. There was initially a certain amount of regional dialect variation among the different groups of British settlers, with the speech of the London area prominent in the Cape, and Midlands and northern British speech strongly represented in Natal; but in due course a more homogeneous accent emerged – an accent that shares many similarities with the accents of Australia, which was also being settled during this period.

At the same time, English was being used as a second language by the Afrikaans speakers, and many of the Dutch colonists took this variety with them on the Great Trek of 1836, as they moved north to escape British rule. An African variety of English also developed, spoken by the black population, who had learned the language mainly in mission schools, and which was influenced in different ways by the various language backgrounds of the speakers. In addition, English came to be used, along with Afrikaans and often other languages, by those with an ethnically mixed background ('coloureds'); and it was also adopted by the many immigrants from India, who were brought to the country from around 1860.

English has always been a minority language in South Africa, and is currently spoken as a first language only by about 3.7 million in a 2002 population of over 43.5 million. Afrikaans, which was given official status in 1925, was the first language of the majority of whites, including most of those in power, and acted as an important symbol of identity for those of Afrikaner background. It was also the first language of most of the coloured population.

English was used by the remaining whites (of British background) and by



increasing numbers of the (70 per cent majority) black population<sup>1</sup>. There is thus a linguistic side to the political divisions which marked South African apartheid society: Afrikaans came to be perceived by the black majority as the language of authority and repression; English was perceived by the Afrikaner government as the language of protest and self-determination. Many blacks saw English as a means of achieving an international voice, and uniting themselves with other black communities.

On the other hand, the contemporary situation regarding the use of English is more complex than any simple opposition suggests. For the white authorities, too, English is important as a means of international communication, and ‘upwardly mobile’ Afrikaners have become increasingly bilingual, with fluent command of an English that often resembles the British-based variety.

The public statements by Afrikaner politicians in recent years, seen on world television, illustrate this ability. As a result, a continuum of accents exists, ranging from those which are strongly influenced by Afrikaans to those which are very close to British Received Pronunciation. Such complexity is inevitable in a country where the overriding issue is social and political status, and where people have striven to maintain their deeply held feelings of national and ethnic identity in the face of opposition.

The 1993 Constitution names eleven languages as official, including English and Afrikaans, in an effort to enhance the status of the country’s indigenous languages<sup>2</sup>. The consequences of such an ambitious multilingual policy remain to be seen, but the difficulties of administering an eleven-language formula<sup>3</sup> are immense, and it is likely that English will continue to be an important lingua franca. Enthusiasm for the language continues to grow among the black population: in 1993, for example, a series of government surveys among black parents demonstrated an overwhelming choice of English as the preferred

---

<sup>1</sup> Mufwene S. *Colonization, Globalization, and the Future of Languages in the Twenty-First Century*. – Paris: UNESCO Press, 2001. –P.53.

<sup>2</sup> Phillipson R. *Linguistic Imperialism*. – Oxford: Oxford university Press, 2012. –P.80.

<sup>3</sup> Quirk R. *The Survey of English Usage*. – London: Longman, 2008. –P.121.

language in which children should receive their education. And in the South African Parliament in 1994 the language continued to dominate the proceedings, with 87 per cent of all speeches being made in English.

#### **2.4. British Colonialism in South Asia**

Between the years 1858 and 1947, Britain ruled the Indian subcontinent. The colonisation of India split the country into two: British India, which was directly ruled by the British and the Native State, that was ruled by the Indian Emperor<sup>1</sup>. The British had a control on the economy, politics, trade, and education in India. The English language was taught in Indian schools and institutes and was an official language in the country.

In terms of numbers of English speakers, the Indian subcontinent has a very special position, probably outranking the combined totals of speakers in the USA and UK. This is largely due to the special position which the language has come to hold in India itself, where estimates have been undergoing radical revision in recent years. The traditional view was that somewhere between 3 and 5 per cent of the people made regular use of English, which would have yielded a total of some 30–50 million around the year 1999, when the population of India passed a billion. Since then, the estimates have crept up – nearly 20 per cent, for example, in one encyclopedia summary<sup>1</sup>. But some surveys have suggested much larger totals, if a flexible notion of fluency is permitted, with one influential review estimating that perhaps a third of the people of India are now capable of holding a conversation in English. In real terms these estimates represent a range of 30 million to over 330 million (for comprehension, with a somewhat lower figure, 200 million, for speech production. And we must not forget that there are also considerable numbers of English speakers elsewhere in the region, which comprises five other countries (Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal,

---

<sup>1</sup> Moore R. J. *Imperial India*. In A. Porter (Ed.), *Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century* (pp. 422-446). – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. –P.422.

Bhutan). South Asia holds about a fifth of the world's population. Several varieties of English have emerged throughout the subcontinent, and they are sometimes collectively referred to as South Asian English. These varieties are less than 200 years old, but they are already among the most distinctive varieties in the English-speaking world<sup>2</sup>.

The origins of South Asian English lie in Britain. The first regular British contact with the subcontinent came in 1600 with the formation of the British East India Company – a group of London merchants who were granted a trading monopoly in the area by Queen Elizabeth I. The Company established its first trading station at Surat in 1612, and by the end of the century others were in existence at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. During the eighteenth century, it overcame competition from other European nations, especially France. As the power of the Mughal emperors declined, the Company's influence grew, and in 1765 it took over the revenue management of Bengal. Following a period of financial indiscipline among Company servants, the 1784 India Act established a Board of Control responsible to the British Parliament, and in 1858, after the Indian Mutiny, the Company was abolished and its powers handed over to the Crown.

During the period of British sovereignty (the Raj), from 1765 until independence in 1947, English gradually became the medium of administration and education throughout the subcontinent<sup>3</sup>. The language question attracted special attention during the early nineteenth century, when colonial administrators debated the kind of educational policy which should be introduced.

A recognized turning-point was Lord William Bentinck's acceptance of a Minute written by Thomas Macaulay in 1835, which proposed the introduction of an English educational system in India. When the universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were established in 1857, English became the primary medium of instruction, thereby guaranteeing its status and steady growth during the

---

<sup>1</sup> Bautista M. *English is an Asian Language*. – Sydney: Macquarie Library, 2007. –P.71.

<sup>2</sup> Fishman J. *Post-Imperial English*. – Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2016. –P.55.

<sup>3</sup> Mehrotra R. Reduplication in Indian Pidgin English. // *English Today*, #50, 2015. –P.131.

next century<sup>1</sup>.

In India, the bitter conflict between the supporters of English, Hindi, and regional languages led in the 1960s to a 'three language formula', in which English was introduced as the chief alternative to the local state language (typically Hindi in the north and a regional language in the south). It now has the status of an 'associate' official language, with Hindi the official language. It is also recognized as the official language of four states (Manipur, Meghalaya, Nagaland, Tripura) and eight Union territories.

English has, as a consequence, retained its standing within Indian society, continuing to be used within the legal system, government administration, secondary and higher education, the armed forces, the media, business, and tourism. It is a strong unifying force<sup>2</sup>. In the Dravidian-speaking areas of the south, it is widely preferred to Hindi as a lingua franca. In the north, its fortunes vary from state to state, in relation to Hindi, depending on the policies of those in power. In Pakistan, it is an associated official language. It has no official status in the other countries of South Asia, but throughout the region it is universally used as the medium of international communication. Increasingly it is being perceived by young South Asians as the language of cultural modernity.

---

<sup>1</sup> Lerer S. *Inventing English*. – New York: Columbia University Press, 2007. –P.89.

<sup>2</sup> Kachru B. *The Alchemy of English*. – Oxford: Pergamon, 2006. –P.97.

## CHAPTER III. LINGUISTIC CONSEQUENCES OF BRITISH COLONIALISM

### 3.1. Focusing a Language

In their book, “Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity”, world-wide famous and established linguists Robert Brock Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller talk about the phenomenon of focusing a language<sup>1</sup>.

The British were able to focus the English languages in non-settler countries through daily interaction, education, power, and prestige. The English language has been perceived by the natives of the British colonies as the language of elite and power. For example, after their independence from the British Empire, countries as Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Papua Guinea, and Solomon Islands adopted English in schools.

The language continues to make news daily in many countries. And the headline isn't stating the obvious. For what does it mean, exactly? Is it saying that everyone in the world speaks English?<sup>1</sup> This is certainly not true, as we shall see. Is it saying, then, that every country in the world recognizes English as an official language? This is not true either. So what does it mean to say that a language is a global language? Why is English the language which is usually cited in this connection? How did the situation arise? And could it change? Or is it the case that, once a language becomes a global language, it is there for ever?

These are fascinating questions to explore, whether your first language is English or not. If English is your mother tongue, you may have mixed feelings about the way English is spreading around the world. You may feel pride, that your language is the one which has been so successful; but your pride may be tinged with concern, when you realize that people in other countries may not want to

---

<sup>1</sup> Le Page R. B., & Tabouret-Keller A. Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

use the language in the same way that you do, and are changing it to suit themselves. We are all sensitive to the way other people use (it is often said, abuse) ‘our’ language<sup>2</sup>. Deeply held feelings of ownership begin to be questioned. Indeed, if there is one predictable consequence of a language becoming a global language, it is that nobody owns it any more. Or rather, everyone who has learned it now owns it – ‘has a share in it’ might be more accurate – and has the right to use it in the way they want. This fact alone makes many people feel uncomfortable, even vaguely resentful. ‘Look what the Americans have done to English’ is a not uncommon comment found in the letter-columns of the British press. But similar comments can be heard in the USA when people encounter the sometimes striking variations in English which are emerging all over the world.

And if English is not your mother tongue, you may still have mixed feelings about it. You may be strongly motivated to learn it, because you know it will put you in touch with more people than any other language; but at the same time you know it will take a great deal of effort to master it, and you may begrudge that effort. Having made progress, you will feel pride in your achievement, and savour the communicative power you have at your disposal, but may none the less feel that mother-tongue speakers of English have an unfair advantage over you. And if you live in a country where the survival of your own language is threatened by the success of English, you may feel envious, resentful, or angry. You may strongly object to the naivety of the populist account, with its simplistic and often suggestively triumphalist tone.

These feelings are natural, and would arise whichever language emerged as a global language. They are feelings which give rise to fears, whether real or imaginary, and fears lead to conflict. Language marches, language hunger-strikes, language rioting and language deaths are a fact, in several countries. Political differences over language economics, education, laws and rights are a daily encounter for millions. Language is always in the news, and the nearer a language

---

<sup>1</sup> Morris R. *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*. – London: Macmillan, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Crystal D. *English as a Global Language*. Third Edition. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. –P.63.

moves to becoming a global language, the more newsworthy it is. So how does a language come to achieve global status?

A language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country. This might seem like stating the obvious, but it is not, for the notion of ‘special role’ has many facets. Such a role will be most evident in countries where large numbers of the people speak the language as a mother tongue – in the case of English, this would mean the USA<sup>1</sup>, Canada, Britain, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand<sup>2</sup>, South Africa<sup>3</sup>, several Caribbean countries and a sprinkling of other territories. However, no language has ever been spoken by a mother-tongue majority in more than a few countries (Spanish leads, in this respect, in some twenty countries, chiefly in Latin America), so mother-tongue use by itself cannot give a language global status. To achieve such a status, a language has to be taken up by other countries around the world. They must decide to give it a special place within their communities, even though they may have few (or no) mother-tongue speakers.

There are two main ways in which this can be done. Firstly, a language can be made the official language of a country, to be used as a medium of communication in such domains as government, the law courts, the media, and the educational system. To get on in these societies, it is essential to master the official language as early in life as possible. Such a language is often described as a ‘second language’, because it is seen as a complement to a person’s mother tongue, or ‘first language’<sup>4</sup>.

The role of an official language is today best illustrated by English, which now has some kind of special status in over seventy countries, such as Ghana, Nigeria<sup>5</sup>, India<sup>6</sup>, Singapore, Malaysia<sup>7</sup>, and Vanuatu<sup>8</sup>. This is far more than the status achieved by any other language – though French, German, Spanish,

---

<sup>1</sup> Mencken H. *The American Language*. Fourth Edition. – New York: Knopf, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Bauer L. *English in New Zealand*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Mesthrie R. *English in South Africa*. // *English Today*, #33, 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Bailey R. *Images of English: a cultural history of the language*. – Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011. –P.63.

<sup>5</sup> Brenzinger M. *Engaged Languages in Africa*. – Cologne: Rudiger Koper, 2008.

<sup>6</sup> Bansal R. *The Pronunciation of English in India*. – London: Routledge, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Bascaran L. *The Malaysian English Mosaic*. // *English Today*, #37, 2013.

<sup>8</sup> Aulu S. *Hybridized English*. // *English Today*, #63, 2016.

Russian, and Arabic are among those which have also developed a considerable official use. New political decisions on the matter continue to be made: for example, Rwanda gave English official status in 1996.

Secondly, a language can be made a priority in a country's foreign-language teaching, even though this language has no official status. It becomes the language which children are most likely to be taught when they arrive in school, and the one most available to adults who – for whatever reason – never learned it, or learned it badly, in their early educational years. Russian, for example, held privileged status for many years among the countries of the former Soviet Union. Mandarin Chinese continues to play an important role in South-east Asia<sup>1</sup>. English is now the language most widely taught as a foreign language – in over 100 countries, such as China, Russia, Germany, Spain, Egypt and Brazil – and in most of these countries it is emerging as the chief foreign language to be encountered in schools, often displacing another language in the process. In 1996, for example, English replaced French as the chief foreign language in schools in Algeria (a former French colony).

In reflecting on these observations, it is important to note that there are several ways in which a language can be official. It may be the sole official language of a country, or it may share this status with other languages. And it may have a 'semi-official' status, being used only in certain domains, or taking second place to other languages while still performing certain official roles. Many countries formally acknowledge a language's status in their constitution (e.g. India); some make no special mention of it (e.g. Britain). In certain countries, the question of whether the special status should be legally recognized is a source of considerable controversy – notably, in the USA.

Similarly, there is great variation in the reasons for choosing a particular language as a favoured foreign language: they include historical tradition, political expediency, and the desire for commercial, cultural or technological contact. Also, even when chosen, the 'presence' of the language



can vary greatly, depending on the extent to which a government or foreign-aid agency is prepared to give adequate financial support to a language-teaching policy. In a well-supported environment, resources will be devoted to helping people have access to the language and learn it, through the media, libraries, schools, and institutes of higher education. There will be an increase in the number and quality of teachers able to teach the language. Books, tapes, computers, telecommunication systems and all kinds of teaching materials will be increasingly available. In many countries, however, lack of government support, or a shortage of foreign aid, has hindered the achievement of language-teaching goals. Distinctions such as those between ‘first’, ‘second’ and ‘foreign’ language status are useful, but we must be careful not to give them a simplistic interpretation<sup>2</sup>. In particular, it is important to avoid interpreting the distinction between ‘second’ and ‘foreign’ language use as a difference in fluency or ability. Although we might expect people from a country where English has some sort of official status to be more competent in the language than those where it has none, simply on grounds of greater exposure, it turns out that this is not always so. We should note, for example, the very high levels of fluency demonstrated by a wide range of speakers from the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands. But we must also beware introducing too sharp a distinction between first-language speakers and the others, especially in a world where children are being born to parents who communicate with each other through a lingua franca learned as a foreign language. “In the Emirates a few years ago, for example, I met a couple – a German oil industrialist and a Malaysian – who had courted through their only common language, English, and decided to bring up their child with English as the primary language of the home. So here is a baby learning English as a foreign language as its mother tongue”<sup>3</sup>. There are now many such cases around the world, and they raise a question over the contribution that these babies will one day make to

---

<sup>1</sup> Kachru B. *English in South Asia*. – Singapore: Oxford University Press, 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Baker C., Jones S. *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. – Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008. –P.120.

<sup>3</sup> Crystal D. *Language Play*. – Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2018. –P.205.

the language, once they grow up to be important people, for their intuitions about English will inevitably be different from those of traditional native speakers<sup>1</sup>.

These points add to the complexity of the present-day world English situation, but they do not alter the fundamental point. Because of the three-pronged development – of first-language, second-language, and foreign-language speakers – it is inevitable that a global language will eventually come to be used by more people than any other language. English has already reached this stage. The statistics collected suggests that about a quarter of the world's population is already fluent or competent in English, and this figure is steadily growing – in the early 2000s that means around 1.5 billion people<sup>2</sup>. No other language can match this growth. Even Chinese, found in eight different spoken languages, but unified by a common writing system, is known to 'only' some 1.1 billion<sup>3</sup>.

### 3.2. Language Contact

The British colonial activity resulted in what is linguistically labelled as "Language contact". In sociolinguistics, "language contact" is "the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time"<sup>4</sup>. In British colonies, whether in Africa, Asia, Australia, or America, native languages came in contact with the English language. Salikoko S. Mufwene says that the variety in the populations of colonies, in addition to the regular interaction between the people, leads to the formation of new languages, that can be either labelled as either Pidgins or Creoles, new dialects of the English Language, such as Australian English, in addition to the formation of new "Englishes" with their own standards and codes, as South African English<sup>5</sup>.

#### 1. Pidgins and Creoles

---

<sup>1</sup> Dilon N. Web should prepare for a non-English majority. // Computerworld, #14, 2019. –P.94.

<sup>2</sup> McKendrick B. Conquest by Word. – Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Crystal D. The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

<sup>4</sup> Thomason S. G. Language Contact. – Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001. –P.3.

<sup>5</sup> Mufwene S. S. Colonisation, Globalisation, and the Future of Language in the Twentyfirst Century. MOST Journal on Multicultural Societies, IV (2), 2002. –P.162-193.

Thomason identifies pidgins as the language that results from the language contact of two linguistic groups that have no language in common<sup>1</sup>. Janet Holmes defines a creole language as a "pidgin which has acquired native speakers. [. . .] They are learned by children as their first language and used in a wide range of domains"<sup>2</sup>.

Based on the two definition above, it can be concluded that an English creole is a pidgin English that is used and treated as a first language.

There are several English-based creole languages, such as Jamaican Creole, Trinbagonian in Trinidad and Tobago, Bislama in Vanuatu, Miskito Coast Creole in Nicaragua, and many others in Oceania, the Caribbean, North America, Asia, and Africa. Suzanne Romaine says that European-based creoles use Subject-Verb-Object word order. Another feature that Romaine discusses is the tendency of Creole languages is that "adjectives may function as a verb"<sup>3</sup>. In addition, there is no syntactic distinction in the statements and the questions of a creole language.

According to Dick Leith, another linguistic effect of contact between English and other languages is when pidgin and creole languages use English lexis with a totally different grammatical system<sup>4</sup>. It can be said that slave trade is one of the main reasons for the formation of new pidgins and creoles in English.

## 2. New Varieties of English: South African English and Nigerian English

As it was mentioned, colonialism resulted in the creation of new varieties of English. One of those varieties are the South African English and Nigerian English. Tom McArthur says that the South African English is now becoming more and more independent from British English and American English which is leading to the development of South African English dictionary<sup>5</sup>. South African English, however, is highly affected by the native languages spoken in South Africa. Elmes discusses that more than half the lexis are Afrikaans, such as "kloof" that means valley, and

<sup>1</sup> Thomason S. G. *Language Contact*. – Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001. –P.159.

<sup>2</sup> Holmes J. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (2nd ed.). – Wellington: Longman, 2000. –P.83.

<sup>3</sup> Romaine S. *Creole English*. In T. McArthur (Ed.), *Oxford Companion to the English Language* (pp. 270-1). – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. –P.270.

<sup>4</sup> Leith D. *English – Colonial to Postcolonial*. In D. Graddol, D. Leith, & J. Swann (Eds.), *English: History, Diversity, and Change* (pp. 180-211). – Dublin: Routledge, 2002. –P.209.

<sup>5</sup> McArthur T. *World English and World Englishes: Trends, tensions, varieties, and standards*. // *Language Teaching*, 9 (VIII), 2001. –P.1-20.

"vled" which means open country<sup>1</sup>. Afrikaans words which are associated with the South African culture and heritage found their way into the South African English variety. The South African English also differs from the British English in the pronunciation of the /r/ in the last position in a sentence, in addition to vowels, plosives, fricative, and affricative consonants<sup>2</sup>.

Similar to the South African English, Nigerian English also has its own pronunciation features.

According to Ayo Bamgbose, "most speakers of English from the eastern part of Nigeria pronounce the possessive 'you' as [jua] or [ja]". Also, in Lexis, Bamgbose talks about words either coined or borrowed from different Nigerian languages or by translating the words, such as "go-slow" for traffic jam<sup>3</sup>.

### 3. Aboriginal Indian Lexis in American English

Another result of language contact was the adoption and the borrowing of new aboriginal vocabulary in the English language itself. A good example here is the Indian lexis that are used in American English. Most of the Indian words used in the American English are words that had no equivalence in the British English, and were connected with the aboriginal Indians lifestyle and culture. Carver provides an example of the word "Raccoon" that is an animal that exclusively North America. The word was originally spelled *ārā'kun* in the aboriginal Indian language<sup>4</sup>.

### 4. English in British India

Because English was "imposed" by the British authorities in India, the British colonialism left an impact on the Indian culture. English Literature witnessed the beginning of Indian novelists and poets, such as Narayan. It can be discussed that India was the most affected British colony by the expansion of the English language.

<sup>1</sup> Elmes S. *The Routes of English*. – London: BBC Adult Learning, 2001. –P.44.

<sup>2</sup> Esteves V. R., & Hurst, N. *Varieties of English: South African English*. *The APPI Journal*, II (Autumn), 2009. –P.20-29.

<sup>3</sup> Bamgbose A. *Standard Nigerian English: Issues of Identification*. In B. B. Kachru (Ed.), *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures* (pp. 102-107). – Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982. –P.104.

<sup>4</sup> Carver E. *The Mayflower to the Model-T: the development of American English*. In T. W. Machan, & C. T. Scott (Eds.), *English in its Social Contexts: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics* (pp. 134-135). – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992. –P.134.

### 3.3. English Varieties as a Result of Colonization

English is the most widely-spoken language in the world, having the distinct status of being the official language of multiple countries. While the English language is uniform with major variations in spelling present between American English and British English, the dialect or accent is usually the factor that enables one to distinguish the various types of English out there.

From the thick Ugandan English to the French-themed Canadian English, the varieties of accents present are both diverse and beautiful. Apart from accents, there is a tendency for people to mix English with their local lingo to form a hybrid variety of English language that is as colorful as the culture in that country.

Wide spreading of the English language in the world communication has been stimulated by rapid development of international, economic, scientific, and cultural relations which is called by the necessity to study the language intermediary. For a long time English has been studied in its well-known form – BBC / RP which received the status of national standard in the UK. Under the modern circumstances when contacts have become more personal it appears to be not enough to know the refined version of the standardized English language. People become more interested in local, regional, and social variations of language which they hear every day in different parts of the world. The varieties of English attract attentions not only for practical purposes but scientific cognitive too.

In different English speaking countries there always been people who advocated the specifics of local talk or at least tried to differentiate regional variant from that which is spoken in metropoly.

Traditionally, British dialectologists divide all variants of English into: English-based group that comprises English-English, Welsh English, Scottish English, Northern Ireland English, Australian English, New Zealand English, and American-based group that comprises American English and Canadian English.

Standard English is the official language of Great Britain used in its literary form. Regional varieties possessing a literary form are called national variants. Local

dialects are varieties of English peculiar to some districts and having no normalized literary form. In Great Britain there are two variants, Scottish English and Irish English, and five main groups of dialects: Northern, Midland, Eastern, Western and Southern. Every group contains several (up to ten) dialects. The local dialects are used mainly by the rural population and only for the purposes of oral communication. Local distinctions are more marked in pronunciation, less conspicuous in vocabulary and insignificant in grammar. The British local dialects are traced back to Old English dialects. Numerous and distinct, they are characterized by phonemic and structural peculiarities.

One of the best known Southern dialects is Cockney, the regional dialect of London. This dialect exists on two levels: as spoken by the educated lower middle classes and as spoken by the uneducated. In the first case Cockney is a regional dialect marked by some deviations in pronunciation but few in vocabulary and syntax. In the second case it differs from Standard English not only in pronunciation but also in vocabulary, morphology and syntax.

The Scottish Tongue and the Irish English have a special linguistic status as compared with dialects because of the literature composed in them. The name of Robert Burns, the great national poet of Scotland, is known all over the world. The poetic features of Anglo-Irish may be seen in the plays by J. M. Synge and Sean O'Casey.

English is the national language of England proper, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Hence, there exist five national variants: British English (BE), American English (AE), Canadian English (CnE), Australian English (AuE), New Zealand English (NZE).

These five varieties of English are national variants of the same language, because their structural peculiarities, especially their word-formation system, syntax and morphology, as well as their word-stock and phonetic system are essentially the same. The main lexical differences of these variants from Standard English (General English) are connected with the lack of equivalent lexical units in one of them, divergences in the semantic structure of polysemantic words and peculiarities of

usage of some words on the British Isles and in the named countries. The historic causes of the deviations in lexis are based on the fact of exporting the language of the mother country on a certain date of colonization.

The existing cases of difference between regional lexis and General English are classified into several groups:

1. cases when different words are used for the same denotatum,
2. cases when the semantic structure of a partially equivalent word is different,
3. cases when otherwise equivalent words are different in distribution,
4. it sometimes happens that the same word is used with some difference in emotional and stylistic colouring,
5. there may be a marked difference in frequency characteristics<sup>1</sup>.

Special words used in these variants are called: briticism, americanism, canadism, australianism, newzealandism<sup>2</sup>. They have no equivalents in General English, and they mostly belong to the following semantic groups: flora and fauna, trades and agriculture, names of the inhabitants of the country and the geographical names, everyday life, customs and traditions, historical events. Every national variant includes words from the language(s) of the native population.

Dialects are linguistic varieties which may differ in pronunciation, vocabulary, spelling and grammar. For the classification of varieties of English in terms of pronunciation only, see Regional accents of English.

Dialects can be defined as sub-forms of languages which are, in general, mutually comprehensible. English speakers from different countries and regions use a variety of different accents (systems of pronunciation), as well as various localized words and grammatical constructions; many different dialects can be identified based on these factors. Dialects can be classified at broader or narrower levels: within a broad national or regional dialect, various more localized sub-dialects can be identified, and so on. The combination of differences in pronunciation and use of local words may make some English dialects almost unintelligible to speakers from

---

<sup>1</sup> Eco U. *The Research for the Perfect Language*. – Oxford: Blackwell, 1995. –P.76.

<sup>2</sup> *Ethnologue: The Languages of the World*. – Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 2012. –P.80.

other regions.

The major native dialects of English are often divided by linguists into three general categories: the British Isles dialects, those of North America, and those of Australasia. Dialects can be associated not only with place, but also with particular social groups. Within a given English-speaking country, there will often be a form of the language considered to be Standard English – the Standard Englishes of different countries differ, and each can itself be considered a dialect. Standard English is often associated with the more educated layers of society, as well as more formal registers.

British and American English are the reference norms for English as spoken, written, and taught in the rest of the world, excluding countries where English is spoken natively such as Australia, Canada, Ireland and New Zealand. In many former British Empire countries where English is not spoken natively, British English forms are closely followed, alongside numerous AmE usages which have become widespread throughout the English-speaking world. Conversely, in many countries historically influenced by the United States where English is not spoken natively, American English forms are closely followed. Many of these countries, while retaining strong BrE or AmE influences, have developed their own unique dialects, which include Indian English and Philippine English.

Chief among other native English dialects are Canadian English and Australian English, which rank third and fourth in the number of native speakers. For the most part, Canadian English, while featuring numerous British forms alongside indigenous Canadianisms, shares vocabulary, phonology and syntax with American English, leading many to recognize North American English as an organic grouping of dialects<sup>1</sup>. Australian English likewise shares many American and British English usages alongside plentiful features unique to Australia, and retains a significantly higher degree of distinctiveness from both the larger varieties than does Canadian English. South African English, New Zealand English and the Hiberno-English of Ireland are also distinctive and rank fifth, sixth and seventh in the number of native speakers.



### **British English**

British English is the English language as spoken and written in the United Kingdom or, more broadly, throughout the British Isles. Slight regional variations exist in formal, written English in the United Kingdom.

English is a West Germanic language that originated from the Anglo-Frisian dialects brought to Britain by Germanic settlers from various parts of what is now northwest Germany and the northern Netherlands. The resident population at this time was generally speaking Common Brittonic—the insular variety of continental Celtic, which was influenced by the Roman occupation. This group of languages (Welsh, Cornish, Cumbric) cohabited alongside English into the modern period, but due to their remoteness from the Germanic languages, influence on English was notably limited.

### **American English**

American English sometimes called United States English or U.S. English, is the set of varieties of the English language native to the United States and widely adopted in Canada. English is the most widely spoken language in the United States and is the common language used by the federal government, considered the de facto language of the country because of its widespread use. English has been given official status by 32 of the 50 state governments.

### **Australian English**

Australian English is a major variety of the English language, used throughout Australia. Although English has no official status in the constitution, Australian English is the country's national and de facto official language as it is the first language of the majority of the population.

Australian English began to diverge from British English after the founding of the Colony of New South Wales in 1788 and was recognized as being different from British English by 1820. It arose from the intermingling of early settlers from a great variety of mutually intelligible dialectal regions of the British Isles and quickly developed into a distinct variety of English.

---

<sup>1</sup> Aulu S. Hybridized English. // English Today, #63, 2016. –P.386.

### **Canadian English**

Canadian English is the set of varieties of the English language native to Canada. According to the 2011 census, English was the first language of approximately 19 million Canadians (57% of the population) the remainder of the population were native speakers of Canadian French (22%) or other languages (allophones, 21%).

The term “Canadian English” is first attested in a speech by the Reverend A. Constable Geikie in an address to the Canadian Institute in 1857. Canadian English is the product of five waves of immigration and settlement over a period of more than two centuries. The first large wave of permanent English-speaking settlement in Canada, and linguistically the most important, was the influx of loyalists fleeing the American Revolution, chiefly from the Mid-Atlantic States – as such, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Washington, D.C., Virginia, and West Virginia. Canadian English is believed by some scholars to have derived from northern American English.

### **Indian English**

English language public instruction began in India in the 1830s during the rule of the East India Company (India was then, and is today, one of the most linguistically diverse regions of the world). In 1835, English replaced Persian as the official language of the Company. Lord Macaulay played a major role in introducing English and western concepts to education in India. He supported the replacement of Persian by English as the official language, the use of English as the medium of instruction in all schools, and the training of English-speaking Indians as teachers.

The view of the English language among many Indians has gone from associating it with colonialism to associating it with economic progress, and English continues to be an official language of India, albeit with an Indian twist, popularly known as Indian English.

### **Philippine English**

Philippine English is any variety of English (similar and related to American English) native to the Philippines, including those used by the media and the vast

majority of educated Filipinos. English is taught in schools as one of the two official languages of the country, the other being Filipino (Tagalog).

Philippine English has evolved tremendously from where it began decades ago. Some decades before English was officially introduced, if not arguably forced, to the Philippines, the archipelagic nation has been subject to Spanish rule and thus Spanish was the language of power and influence. However, in 1898, when the Spanish gave the United States control of the nation, the English language, although initially not favored, became widely used in a matter of years, which was catalyzed by the coming of American teachers.

### **Ugandan English**

Ugandan English, or Uglish (pronounced you-glish), is the dialect of English spoken in Uganda. As with similar dialects spoken elsewhere, Ugandan English has developed a strong local flavor. The speech patterns of Ugandan languages strongly influence spoken English. Uganda has a large variety of indigenous languages, and someone familiar with Uganda can readily identify the native language of a person speaking English. Ugandan speakers will alter foreign words to make them sound more euphonic.

## **3.4. Covariation between Colonization and English Varieties**

Braj Kachru's concentric distinction between the Inner, Outer, and 'Expanding Circles is highly correlated with the ethnographic status and functions of English in the relevant territories<sup>1</sup>. In the Inner Circle, English is spoken as the dominant vernacular of the national population, regardless of whether it can also be considered the heritage language of the majority<sup>2</sup>, as in Britain and the Falkland Islands, or whether it achieved its dominant vernacular usage because other immigrants shifted to it, as in Anglophone North America, Australia, and New Zealand. It also functions, in any of its varieties (standard and nonstandard), as the primary language of the

---

<sup>1</sup> Kachru B. *The English Language Today*. – Oxford: Pergamon, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Giles H. *Language and Social Psychology*. – Oxford: Blackwell, 2009. –P.9.

government, the industry, and the education system, despite the limited accommodations made to Spanish in some parts of the United States and Maori in Australia.

In the Outer Circle, English is not a heritage language for the indigenous population, though it has evolved to become part of the natural linguascape since the colonization of the territories by the United Kingdom and is hardly treated as a foreign language, except perhaps by political nationalists. It functions as an official language, practically the dominant one if the country has more than one official language, and as the primary or most prestigious medium of schooling in post-elementary education. There are also elite schools that dispense education in English (only) from the first grade of the primary school. It is spoken as an inter-ethnic lingua franca, with various levels of competence, by a minority of the population, typically the socioeconomic elite.

The proportion of people who speak it as a vernacular or acquired it as a mother tongue is even smaller, being restricted to affluent families of highly educated parents, especially when these are not from the same ethnic groups<sup>1</sup>. There are indeed places like Singapore, that promote the evolution of English as the dominant vernacular, but they are the exception. The small size of the nation-state, the multi-ethnic composition of its population, and the orientation of its industry as service economy for foreign markets may very well explain this language policy. In other former exploitation colonies, the vast majority of the population, especially in rural areas, continue to speak various heritage languages as their vernaculars and may even speak another one of them as their primary lingua franca. Speakers of English as a vernacular or lingua franca are typically also bi- or multilingual, as they still need a heritage language to communicate with the less educated members of their society or as an emblem of their continued allegiance to their cultural heritage. These social ecological peculiarities of the Outer Circle contribute indeed to the ‘cultural context’ invoked by Kachru to account for the differential indigenization of English<sup>2</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Giles H. *Language and Social Psychology*. – Oxford: Blackwell, 2009. –P.10.

<sup>2</sup> Kachru B. *The English Language Today*. – Oxford: Pergamon, 2005.

The situation is quite different in the Expanding Circle, where English does not function as an official language, except in places like Rwanda, where the promotion of English to the status of official language is also a political/diplomatic subversion of the country's colonial heritage and of the Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie. According to Pace Jenkins, "English is typically considered a foreign language in the relevant territories, such as Japan and South Korea, despite huge investments by an elite class of the latter country in the English education of their children"<sup>1</sup>.

Its function as a lingua franca is primarily for communication with people of other nationalities, regardless of whether it is used inside or outside the country. Nationals of the same country hardly use it to communicate with each other, except in settings that include nationals of other countries. Even if the country is societally multilingual, such as Indonesia, Switzerland, or the Democratic Republic of Congo, speakers will most naturally resort to one of their heritage lingua francas or their official language, pace reports of managerial staff of transnational companies concerned with foreign markets that function in English.

There must be some implicature from using English in an interaction between two nationals of the same country, such as one speaker hating the language that would prevail in that specific interaction, like in Belgium, where both a Fleming and a Francophone may hate each other's language. Otherwise, the general expectation is that in such multilingual countries one would have learned the (other) official language before learning English and is more likely to command it better.

### **Colonization styles and their impacts on the evolution of English**

The above ethnographic evolution of English is largely the legacy of the cultural and economic success of England in its colonial ventures, despite losing its thirteen American colonies in the late eighteenth century. It reflects variation in how England, and later the United Kingdom, colonized parts of the world, the emergence of the British Commonwealth as an important trade network that other countries have wanted to access, the prominent status of British universities (in particular Oxford,

---

<sup>1</sup> Jenkins J. English as a lingua franca: Attitude and identity. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Cambridge, and London) as world-class leading intellectual institutions that non-Britons wanted to attend, and the position of the United States since it emerged as an imposing economic, military, and academic superpower that no nation could afford to ignore.

### **Settlement colonies and the significance of population structure**

All started with the differing ways in which England, and subsequently the United Kingdom, engaged in their colonial ventures. It is not by accident that English evolved as a vernacular in settlement colonies, including places where it actually evolved into the nonstandard vernaculars disfranchised as ‘creoles.’<sup>1</sup> A key difference between the nonstandard vernaculars recognized as English (such as Ozark and Amish Englishes) and English creoles (which can also be considered as the nonstandard varieties of the acrolectal Englishes spoken in the same territories) is the following: the former, considered as colonial English dialects, evolved in settlement colonies where Europeans have become the demographic majorities and most speakers of the nonstandard vernaculars are of European descent.

Creoles, on the other hand, evolved in settlement colonies where exogenous populations of non-European descent whose ancestors were either slaves or contract laborers have become the majority populations. Gullah has been stipulated as a creole because it evolved in a setting similar to that of settlement colonies of the Caribbean, where the population of European descent was a very small minority. Graddol estimated that the ratio was nine Africans to one European in the eighteenth century. Being a by-product of tobacco and cotton plantations, where the proportion of African slaves in the colonial population hardly exceeded 40 per cent, African American Vernacular English (AAVE), did not meet the condition<sup>2</sup>. It also happens to be a late divergence from American Southern English, which it continues to resemble in many structural respects, including its prosody.

An important historical characteristic of settlement colonies is that they all started as small non-segregated homestead communities in which individuals in

---

<sup>1</sup> Giles H. *Language and Social Psychology*. – Oxford: Blackwell, 2009. –P.11.

<sup>2</sup> Graddol D. *The Future of English*. Second Edition. – London: The British Council, 2018.

subordinate positions (slaves or indentured servants, then in the minority) shifted to the language of the free colonists, that is, English in England's colonies. As explained in Mufwene's research, there were also many non-English settlements which continued to use the languages of the settlers' countries of origin, such as German or Dutch<sup>1</sup>. An important economic activity was then trade with the indigenous populations, when these were not yet driven out of their ancestral lands, and the transactions proceeded typically through interpreters. When plantations became the primary industry of some colonies and segregation was instituted in those that produced sugar and rice (where typically the non-European populations became demographic majorities), there were already sizeable proportions of Creole, locally-born slaves who spoke the nonstandard varieties of the European languages as natively as the White Creoles. The Black Creoles then represented the model of acculturation to the colonies and the Bozal slaves, who were just arriving from Africa, emulated them linguistically and in other cultural ways. By the founder principle, the White Creoles also stood as models of acculturation to the later European immigrants.

An important difference is that segregation favored substrate influence among the numerous non-Europeans but more input from metropolitan English dialects among the Europeans who lived in English settlements. Racial segregation, which was instituted early on sugarcane and rice plantation colonies fostered the divergence of English into English creole vernaculars among non-Europeans, a consequence of both indigenization and substrate influence. Indigenization and competition of features of different English dialects among themselves and with features of other European languages, especially later in history, produced the divergence from metropolitan varieties and thus the birth of White American, Australian, and New Zealand Englishes in particular.

The reason why continental European languages, whose speakers are now the majority of the White populations in the United States, have exerted less substrate or

---

<sup>1</sup> Mufwene S. *Colonization, Globalization, and the Future of Languages in the Twenty-First Century*. – Paris: UNESCO Press, 2001.

adstrate influence on colonial Englishes than they could have and less than substrate languages on English creoles, is largely the above pattern of national settlements. The non-English European settlements remained separate from the English settlements, even after the birth of cities, sometimes all the way into the mid-twentieth century. Their gradual shift to English as a vernacular, owing to the increasing dominance of the Anglo economic system and the gradual collapse of national-culture barriers within the White population (which also facilitate more cross-national marriages), started too late, after the American Revolution in the case of the United States, for the continental European languages to exert significant non-lexical influence on the colonial varieties. Those who were shifting were comparable to recent and present-day immigrants, whose demographic strengths are too small to offset the extant norms, with the children generally selecting the native features of the colonies over the xenolectal alternatives of their parents.

AAVE has remained structurally close to American Southern English (spoken also by American Southern Whites) because racial segregation in the American southeastern states, except for coastal South Carolina, was institutionalized only in the late nineteenth century, too late, after over two hundred years of the coexistence of African slaves with White indentured servants (50%–75% of the White population, according to Bailey<sup>1</sup>). If anything, it remained perhaps more conservative, as there were no more inputs from African languages after the abolition of the slave trade in the early nineteenth century, nor were there significant numbers of African immigrants who could join their ranks after the abolition of slavery at the conclusion of the American Civil War. The Great Migration, which brought African Americans running away from Jim Crow to the American North, landed them in urban ghettos, where typically they have not socialized with White Americans.

I would even go so far as to submit that Jim Crow produced AAVE, in that American northerners mistook what was really rural American Southern English for a variety that was particularly African American. This is not to say that African

---

<sup>1</sup> Bailey R. *Images of English: a cultural history of the language*. – Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011. –P.78.



substrate languages have contributed nothing to AAVE. My position simply means that the relevant substrate influence may have to be sought at the level of the emergence of American White Southern English on the cotton and tobacco plantations and also in aspects of AAVE other than its morphosyntax, such as in its semantics, which indeed is consistent with Spears' hypothesis of 'camouflage constructions'.<sup>1</sup>

The reason why there is negligible influence of Native American and Aboriginal languages of Australia and New Zealand on the Englishes of the relevant territories lies in the marginalization of their speakers from the new socioeconomic world orders instated by the European colonists. Until the late nineteenth century, the European settlers either exterminated or drove the Natives away from the most attractive and most productive parts of their ancestral lands; they hardly integrated the latter in the building of the new socioeconomic world orders. Linguistically, the Natives' situation is somewhat also comparable to that of continental European colonists and immigrants, with the important difference that the latter have typically been incorporated in the Anglo socioeconomic world orders, not only earlier but also more competitively, in less symbolic ways. It is only late, also in the nineteenth century, that a Native American pidgin English emerged among Native Americans, reflecting the late engagement of Native Americans in the kinds of occasional interactions with the European invaders that could produce a pidgin.

On the other hand, no particular Native American English variety comparable to AAVE or Hispanic English has emerged in American cities, owing to the lack of Native American neighborhoods (comparable to African American and Hispanic neighborhoods) and to the gradual absorption of those who have migrated to the city in the relatively more integrated neighborhoods.

This is different from the experience of European Americans from continental Europe, who at some point, when they lived in nationally segregated neighborhoods, produced national English varieties (e.g., Italian, German, and Yiddish Englishes), which were not necessarily non-native. These now 'obsolescent' varieties reflected

---

<sup>1</sup> Spears A. K. The Black English semi-auxiliary come. // *Language*, #58(4), 2002. –P.850–72.

substrate or adstrate influences, which have now been selected out by the more socially integrated generations.

### **Trade colonies**

Trade colonies produced pidgin Englishes, owing apparently to the occasional interactions associated with trade between the indigenous people particularly of Africa and the Pacific during the nineteenth century, or since the late eighteenth century at the earliest. My chronology is indeed at odds with the traditional assumption in linguistics that pidgins lexified by European languages (most of which are English) emerged from the earliest trade encounters between Europeans, especially the Portuguese, and non-Europeans since the fifteenth century. A careful reading of European colonial history suggests that the trade contacts proceeded otherwise.

The trade ships that sailed across or along the Atlantic and beyond were properties of particular maritime companies, such as the East India Company and the Virginia Company.

Trade was then organized like, and was the precursor of, the globalized economic networks of today connecting European companies and non-European institutions without bringing the owners, ultimately the actual traders, face to face. Instead, their agents did the job for them, though those who represented European businesses did meet the local kings, chiefs, or members of their entourage. Communication was through interpreters. Trade itself and the subsequent exploitation and colonization of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific islands relied on interpreters all the way to the late nineteenth century, and in some places up to the early twentieth century. European traders seldom went farther than the coast; their agents called ‘factors,’ ‘grumetes,’ and ‘pombeiros’ did the job for them. Having often started their lives outside Europe as ‘lancados’ (escaping prosecution in Europe) or deserters from expeditions, these people spoke some African languages.

As trade did not start on the first encounters, African rulers and their counterparts elsewhere sent members of their families or their entourage to Europe to learn the relevant European language and serve as interpreters. These are

professionals that carved very important, lucrative positions for themselves in the trade colonies, especially in Canton, where the Chinese explicitly declined to trade with any European merchants who had not hired the services of Chinese interpreters, regardless of their professional competence. The interpreters were thus like agents and/or brokers in modern globalized economic ventures, the only ones whose control of the buyer's and seller's languages was critical to the trade.

It is rather late in the history of colonization in Africa and the Pacific, when trade had increased significantly and there were no longer enough trained interpreters around, that other individuals less familiar with the European languages started helping with the little knowledge they had acquired from observing previous transactions. No wonder the earliest citations of any pidgins on the coast of Africa and in the Pacific are hard to cite from the eighteenth century, suggesting also that these varieties were not at all anterior to creoles, which appear to have emerged already in the eighteenth century. Examples such as the following cited by Dillard (1992) to make his case for a putative West African Pidgin English in the eighteenth century do not appear to be particularly pidgin, though they are not in perfect English:

a. ...and we nebber see our mudders any more<sup>1</sup>

b. By-and-by you die, and go to the bad place, and after a while Cuff die and go and knock at the good gate<sup>2</sup>.

My conclusion that creoles did not evolve from erstwhile pidgins is also based on the complementary distribution between, on the one hand, the places where pidgins emerged and have evolved into expanded pidgins and, on the other, those where creoles have emerged. Incidentally, it is striking that most of the pidgins lexified by European languages are English. Part of the explanation lies in the fact that all the way to the late eighteenth century, the lingua franca of trade from Africa to Japan was Portuguese<sup>1</sup>, for which there is no evidence of a pidgin on this route. The Portuguese themselves had relied on interpreters, even if their Portuguese may

---

<sup>1</sup> Dillard J. L. A history of American English. – New York: Longman, 2012. –P.62.

<sup>2</sup> Dillard J. L. A history of American English. – New York: Longman, 2012. –P.62.

have been approximative. For more discussion on the subject matter.

### **Exploitation colonies**

Trade colonies provided the infrastructure for the development of European exploitation colonies, in response to the greater need for raw materials outside Europe created by the Industrial Revolution in the late eighteenth century. Every European industrializing nation wanted some territories to colonize, in order to control the supply of raw materials, in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific, especially as several New World settlement colonies were becoming independent, in the footsteps of the United States and Haiti. The competition would lead to the Berlin Conference (1884–1885), which concluded with a treaty that would divide the relevant territories (with the exception of China, Japan, and Ethiopia) between the contenders. The United Kingdom would then consolidate its British Empire, the precursor of the British Commonwealth.

It is only at this stage that European colonizers would start penetrating the hinterlands of these territories, facing then a problem of how to communicate widely with the indigenous populations. This is a need that was not felt during the trade colonization period, which involved trade arrangements between non-European rulers and European entrepreneurs and depended for a very long time on interpreters. Now, the colonizers realized quickly that they could not possibly learn the multitude of languages spoken in the colonies, which they also considered too ‘poor and rude’ as well as ‘unsuitable’ to serve their colonization mission. The compromise in the case of India, as recommended in Thomas B. Macaulay’s minute of 2nd February 1838, was to educate children in English, which he considered far superior to Sanskrit and Arabic, and prepare them to function as colonial auxiliaries, that is, intermediaries between the colonizers and the colonized<sup>2</sup>. Macaulay had a practical economic reason, which one can associate with the British Empire’s vision in general: In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class [undoubtedly the interpreters formed by the

---

<sup>1</sup> Ostler N. *Empires of the word: A language history of the world*. – New York: Harper Collins, 2005. –P.10.

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay T. B. *Minute on Indian Education*. In William Ferguson Beatson Laurie (ed.), *Sketches of some distinguished Anglo-Indians: (second series) including Lord Macaulay’s great minute on education in India; with Anglo-Indian anecdotes and incidents*. – London: W.H. Allen, 1888. –P.169-186.

East India Company]. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seats of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East.

It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australia—communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian empire. Whether we look at the intrinsic value of our literature, or at the particular situation of this country, we shall see the strongest reason to think that, of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects<sup>1</sup>.

With regard to colonization, Macaulay recommends: “In one point I fully agree with the gentlemen to whose general views I am opposed. I feel with them that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population”<sup>2</sup>.

Thus were planted the seeds of ‘indigenized Englishes,’ as the learners would be exposed more to scholastic than to vernacular English, as at some point in time they would practice the colonial language more in interactions among themselves (owing to the diversity of their heritage languages) than with the colonizers who spoke it natively, and as they assume the dual status of intermediaries and buffers between the indigenous populations from which they were selected and their colonial rulers. Their writing style, often derided as flowery, and their sophisticated speaking

---

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay T. B. Minute on Indian Education. In William Ferguson Beatson Laurie (ed.), *Sketches of some distinguished Anglo-Indians: (second series) including Lord Macaulay’s great minute on education in India; with Anglo-Indian anecdotes and incidents.* – London: W.H. Allen, 1888. –P.175.

<sup>2</sup> Macaulay T. B. Minute on Indian Education. In William Ferguson Beatson Laurie (ed.), *Sketches of some distinguished Anglo-Indians: (second series) including Lord Macaulay’s great minute on education in India; with Anglo-Indian anecdotes and incidents.* – London: W.H. Allen, 1888. –P.182-183.

style, characterized as bookish, are the natural consequences of the literary works, central to Macaulay's recommendations, on which their practice is patterned. Interactions among themselves favored extensive adaptations of the colonial language to their indigenous cultures and structural modifications under the influence of their heritage languages, from phonology to syntax and semantics. This is indeed the 'cultural context' that influences the local differential evolution of English in the colonies, leading to the emergence of Indian English, Nigerian English, Singapore English, and the like. These new national varieties actually exist on a continuum model, with basilectal subvarieties corresponding to the lower level of education and/or language learning aptitude, and with acrolectal varieties associated more easily with advanced schooling and certainly with greater aptitude to reduce the extent of substrate influence.

It's worth noting that there are both similarities and differences between English pidgins and indigenized Englishes from an evolutionary perspective. They serve primarily as lingua francas and are acquired as umpteenth languages by most of their speakers. They represent ethnographic accommodations to the colonizers and naturally reflect influences from the heritage languages of the learners. They are not in competition with heritage languages, especially those that are spoken as vernaculars, because of the division of labor that obtains between them as colonial phenomena and the heritage languages as ethnic identity markers, which are found more suitable for communication about indigenous cultural practices. Competition obtains only when either the pidgin or indigenized Englishes start functioning as vernaculars (thus when pidgins evolve into expanded pidgins) or when the indigenous languages are used to serve some of the communicative functions associated with English, such as in the school system and in the government.

Otherwise, English pidgins and indigenized Englishes differ in that the former have evolved from nonstandard varieties learned naturalistically, whereas the latter have evolved from scholastic varieties taught to the learners. Ethnographically, English pidgins serve communicative functions considered low in a diglossic setting, whereas indigenized Englishes were originally intended to serve high functions and

are now associated with educated people. As explained above, the extent of divergence from metropolitan varieties is correlated with both the speaker's level of education and their nonnative-language learning skills.

### **The post-colonial expansion of English**

Varieties of the Expanding Circle are naturally those that have nothing to do with British colonization of any style, though it is legitimate to associate them with world-wide globalization, especially regarding world-wide commerce, diplomacy, and exchange of knowledge. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Anglophone world, including the British Commonwealth and the United States, represented a powerful block of trading partners.

In a global market where the buyer's language prevails, the rest of the business world was feeling pressure to speak some English. The rise of the United States and the long-standing status of England as leaders in science and technology also made their language more attractive to ministries of education elsewhere. The rise of the United States as a military superpower and the affluence of middle-class Americans, which made it easier for them to travel around the world as tourists, thus supporting the economies of nations with prospering tourism industries, made it more attractive for citizens of other countries to learn English.

Ministries of education everywhere started including English in their curricula, in order to keep up with these world-wide globalization trends in the circulation of knowledge, science and technology, and people. This historical account makes Englishes of the Expanding Circle similar to indigenized Englishes of the Outer Circle in that they are based on scholastic varieties, bear substrate influence, and function typically as *lingua francas*.

However, they are different especially because they are not official languages and are considered as nonnative renditions of a foreign language. Despite similarities among the xenolectal idiolects of speakers from the same region, country, or ethnic group, they do not really have communal norms, because members of the same community do not typically interact in this foreign language adopted normally for interactions with the outside world. English complements the languages used as

media in the education systems of the different Expanding-Circle countries in enabling students and researchers to keep up with knowledge production outside the worlds covered by these languages, for example, Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Russian, or Spanish. Where these languages are not native to learners of English (such as in Francophone and Lusophone Africa), they exert their share of influence, owing to the fact that they have been learned earlier and may provide structural features that can be confused with those of English. Thus Francophone speakers of English may produce similar deviations from English, though they do not have a norm shared by all of them that can be compared to that observable, at least at the acrolectal level, among speakers of indigenized Englishes in the same country, say, India, Nigeria, or Zimbabwe. As much as speakers of English in the Expanding Circle can be compared to those in the Outer Circle, chiefly because native speakers in the Inner Circle focus on their ‘nonnative accent,’ the absence of national norm, is an important difference.

Fluent English speakers from the Outer Circle are more likely to be shocked to be told by those of Inner Circle that their English is not correct than those from the Expanding Circle, who naturally expect to be corrected (by those kind enough to do so) for their nonnative deviations.



## CONCLUSION

The British colonisation proves that number is not a condition to impose a language on a certain population. The Roman Empire was able to expand Latin to every culture it conquered even though they were less in population than others. The case is similar to the British Empire. From the Kingdom of England, passing through the British Isles, reaching North America, South Asia, West and South Africa, and Oceania, the British succeeded in ruling almost a quarter of the globe, and to leave their effect on language that is still taking place up to day.

British colonialism activity, and the contact that English had with other European and precolonial languages have remarkably influenced the linguistic structure of many nations. As a result of slave trade from West Africa, to the Caribbean and North America, Creole languages emerged. In other cases, New Varieties of English are now present as the American English, Australian English, and South African English.

The cultural contact and the literary effect of English resulted in lexical exchange from English and to English, as in the cases of India and the case of North America's aboriginal lexis.

The remarks that the English language left in non-native societies explains the current status of English as an "International Language" as discussed in the introduction. Sekhar states that English is "now the dominant or official language in over 60 countries"<sup>1</sup>. Although not all the "Englishes" in those 60 countries or more are the same as the Standard English spoken in Britain today, yet they are clearly the linguistic result of centuries of British colonial activities.

The differential evolution of English can obviously be explained from the lingvo-historical point of view. Though this account does not necessarily invalidate the tripartite distinction between 'circles' of usage of English, it makes it possible to approach the evolution of English in a more comprehensive way, especially in also

---

<sup>1</sup> Sekhar R. G. Colonialism and Imperialism and its Impact on English Language. // Asian Journal of Multidimensional Research, I (4), 2012. –P.112.

adducing English creoles and pidgins to bear on the phylogeny of English since the colonization of various parts of the world by England and, later, the United Kingdom. The approach explains how the sociohistorical idea of different territories in which English has been appropriated as a vernacular or as a lingua franca influences the emergence of the different new varieties. Although English creoles and pidgins have been stipulated as separate languages or ‘broken’ language varieties (like their counterparts lexified by different European languages), they underscore, from the point of view of genetic linguistics, the relevance of the sociohistorical idea to language speciation.

There are really no particular language-restructuring processes that apply only in contact settings but not in other cases of language appropriation by new speakers. If there are at all any cases of language change or speciation that are independent of contacts between people with different interactional histories. The contact idea only determines which specific set of processes, from a wide range of potential ones, applies and how it shapes an emergent variety.

An interesting consequence of the spread of English around the world and its speciation is reduced mutual intelligibility across national varieties, a situation often aggravated by the fact that some speakers from the Inner Circle make little effort to even guess the ‘nonnative accent.’ This comment applies more often to the less educated members of the Inner Circle, regardless of the level of education of their interlocutors. Recently, linguists such as Jenkins<sup>1</sup> and Seidlhofer<sup>2</sup> have promoted the alternative of an ‘English as a lingua franca’ (ELF) that even speakers of ‘native Englishes’ would have to learn in order to solve the mutual intelligibility problem.

Because speakers of English in the Outer and Expanded Circles are now in the dominant majority, Jenkins and Seidlhofer, among others, assume that basing ELF on what nonnative speakers produce would make it easy for speakers of the Inner Circle to learn.

I will not repeat here the reservations I express about the idea in Mufwene. It

---

<sup>1</sup> Jenkins J. *English as a lingua franca: Attitude and identity*. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

<sup>2</sup> Seidlhofer B. *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

is debatable whether the speakers of the Outer Circle, let alone those of the Expanding Circle, think that they should set the norm for English around the world, when, to begin with, there is no common norm shared by all speakers of the two Circles. As noted above, there is not even a national norm that applies to individual countries of the Expanding Circle. Or is ELF supposed to be a deliberate artifact like Esperanto? Who will provide the army and navy to support this variety? How can we be sure that speakers of 'native Englishes' will be so charitable as to learn it? How can we be sure that everybody will learn it without an accent? From the point of view of speciation, hasn't English followed the same evolutionary trajectory as other major languages, such as Latin and Arabic? That is, has it not likewise diversified according to the particular native variety that was exported to the colonies, the mode of transmission, the particular languages it came in contact with, the particular ethnographic settings and the particular communicative functions it became associated with?

I hope the reader can infer from this essay the legacy of colonialism in the names assigned to the different English varieties, reflecting attempts to disown those varieties that have been restructured under the dominant influence of non-European languages, especially English creoles, English pidgins, and indigenized Englishes. Inequities in the status of the different varieties appear to be correlated with inequalities in political power and with the sense of ownership of the language, as speakers of the Inner Circle consider nonnative speakers as adulterators of their heritage language.

There is already some progress, some may say, considering that about a century ago only British English was considered to be the correct form of English. We have to fight for the time when all English varieties will someday be considered legitimate, if not socially equal, considering that, even in the Inner Circle, the different dialects are not all considered equal. Linguists may set up an example in this direction in ceasing to disenfranchise creoles and pidgins by treating them as the outcomes of abnormal language evolution.

Some argue that the historical and current bloodshed of Western imperialism

has transformed the English language into a universal tool of communication. Through centuries of colonialism, neocolonialism, Cold War expansionism, and, most recently, globalization, the West has spread its preferred systems of capitalism, democracy, and moral values. The British, until the beginning of the 20th century, and more recently the Americans, have emerged as the major sources of foreign influence throughout the globe. As a result of this, contemporary English is detached from any specific cultural identity; it is a tool which links different societies in an increasingly smaller world.

The first population to speak English was the British. About five hundred years ago, between five and seven million people spoke the language; today, about 1.8 billion people do. Processes of violent imperialism have paved the way for the cultural pandemic originating in the West. Until the 19th century, the British were the major superpower, and their method of colonization included establishing schools which taught English language and Western culture to locals who needed to be “modernized.” Most former British colonies now use English as their official language (e.g. Ghana and South Africa). Ever since the US colonized Puerto Rico after winning the Spanish-American war (note the absence of Puerto Rico, or Cuba, in the name of the war), the official languages on the island became Spanish and, of course, English.

Today, English is the third most spoken language in the world and tops the list of second languages. English is a necessity for studying at the most prestigious institutions of higher learning, a ticket to working almost anywhere in the world, and an instrument enabling a livelihood in the wealthiest nations. It has become the norm for non-native English speakers to communicate with other non-native English speakers in English if they do not share a native language. For example, Amsterdam is now populated by a large foreign community; most Italian, Spanish, and Chinese nationals who work there use English in the office to communicate amongst themselves and Dutch locals.

This phenomenon feeds into the growth of social inequality linked to globalization. The majority of the time, English learned as a second language in

public schools does not create a proficiency level adequate for working, studying, or relying on the language in daily life. Private language courses, summer exchange programs abroad and access to international schools are expensive and limited to a privileged minority. As is common, this kind of globalization seems to only benefit the rich.

As English becomes the new global norm for large-scale business, innovation, and science, indigenous languages rich in cultural heritage and history often get put to the side. For example, in Puerto Rico, international trade and a Western econo-political system undermine small businesses and local traditions. As Rafael Trelles, a member of the Puerto Rican Independentista Party claims, “Colonialism has destroyed the working culture of the most poor sectors of our population and created a culture of dependence.” People dedicate their time and resources to learning and perfecting their understanding and knowledge of English, rather than preserving their own customs and culture.

The process of globalization leads people to visualize an array of opportunities and an exponentially better future linked to the English language. A language is not only an instrument of communication, however. It is also the tool of a society, made up of its culture, traditions, and sets of religious and ideological beliefs. Each language has nuances which represent its origin. Replacing indigenous Kenyan Kikuyu with English is comparable with marginalization of that particular culture. Okoth Okombo, a professor of linguistics at the University of Nairobi, summarises this: “The death of a language is like the burning of a library.” According to UNESCO, about 231 languages have gone extinct in the world, 37 of which originated in Sub-Saharan Africa. These indigenous languages were replaced by Western ones imposed by colonizers.

English has also become the main language used in science. Doctors around the world use English to communicate their findings. Most research papers are written in English as a way to facilitate international scientific cooperation. Although this may seem like a necessity to promote scientific discovery, the resulting gap is problematic. The researchers who have not had the chance to learn English are at a

disadvantage. The triumph of English in science is just one example; the language has infiltrated the most influential aspects of society around the world. The consequence is a more divided world: Those who can speak English and have access to innovation versus those who do not have the means to learn the language and, therefore, lag behind.

If the preservation of other cultures is given the same importance and value as spreading English is currently receiving, the language can be an addition, not a replacement, to a naturally evolving culture's array of nuances.

These processes suggest a disconcerting implication – globalization is simply a more “socially acceptable” means of imperialism, without violence. While the Western language, and therefore culture, penetrates Third World communities especially, the West has increasingly more economic and political influence over these countries.

Should this development only be seen as negative? Globalization and the expansion of the English language have resulted in oppression and inequality. But the creation of this widespread, unintentional, tool can also be put to positive use. If accessible to everyone, it can be used to avoid cultural misunderstandings, conflict, and promote coexisting diversity. If the preservation of other cultures is given the same importance and value as spreading English is currently receiving, the language can be an addition, not a replacement, to a naturally evolving culture's array of nuances.

## LIST OF USED LITERATURE

1. Measures for Further Improvement of the System of Learning Foreign Languages. Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan, №1875. December 10, 2012. Tashkent // Halq Suzi, #240 (5660), 2012.
2. Aulu S. Hybridized English. // English Today, #63, 2016.
3. Bailey R. Images of English: a cultural history of the language. – Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
4. Baker C., Jones S. Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education. – Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008.
5. Bamgbose A. Standard Nigerian English: Issues of Identification. In B. B. Kachru (Ed.), *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures* (pp. 102-107). – Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1982.
6. Bansal R. *The Pronunciation of English in India*. – London: Routledge, 2010.
7. Bascaran L. The Malaysian English Mosaic. // English Today, #37, 2013.
8. Bauer L. *English in New Zealand*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
9. Baugh A., Cable T. *A History of the English Language*. 3rd edition. – Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 2008.
10. Bautista M. *English is an Asian Language*. – Sydney: Macquarie Library, 2007.
11. Biber D., Conrad S. *Register, Genre, and Style*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
12. Brenzinger M. *Engaged Languages in Africa*. – Cologne: Rudiger Koper, 2008.
13. Bright W. *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
14. Brinton L. *Pragmatic Markers in English*. – Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2016.
15. Carton M. The Black Caribs of St. Vincent: A Reevaluation. In R. L. Paquette, & S. L. Engerman (Eds.), *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European*

- Expansion (pp. 71-85). – Florida: University Press of Florida, 1996.
16. Carver E. The Mayflower to the Model-T: the development of American English. In T. W. Machan, & C. T. Scott (Eds.), *English in its Social Contexts: Essays in Historical Sociolinguistics* (pp. 134-135). – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
  17. Crystal D. *English as a Global Language*. Third Edition. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
  18. Crystal D. *Language Play*. – Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2018.
  19. Crystal D. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
  20. Crystal D. The English Language Today. In D. Crystal, *The English Language* (pp. 1-7). – Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988.
  21. Crystal D. *English as a Global Language*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
  22. Dillard J. L. *A history of American English*. – New York: Longman, 2012.
  23. Dillon N. Web should prepare for a non-English majority. // *Computerworld*, #14, 2019.
  24. Eco U. *The Research for the Perfect Language*. – Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
  25. Elmes S. *The Routes of English*. – London: BBC Adult Learning, 2001.
  26. *Encyclopedia Britannica*. XXVI edition. – Chicago: Macropaedia, 2019.
  27. Esteves V. R., & Hurst, N. Varieties of English: South African English. *The APPI Journal*, II (Autumn), 2009. –P.20-29.
  28. *Ethnologue: The Languages of the World*. – Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 2012.
  29. Fishman J. *Post-Imperial English*. – Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2016.
  30. Foley J. *English in New Cultural Context*. – New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.
  31. Giles H. *Language and Social Psychology*. – Oxford: Blackwell, 2009.
  32. Graddol D. *The Future of English*. Second Edition. – London: The British



- Council, 2018.
33. Holmes J. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (2nd ed.). – Wellington: Longman, 2000.
  34. Jenkins J. *English as a lingua franca: Attitude and identity*. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
  35. Kachru B. *The English Language Today*. – Oxford: Pergamon, 2005.
  36. Kachru B. *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*. – Oxford: Pergamon, 1983.
  37. Le Page R. B., & Tabouret-Keller A. *Acts of Identity: Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
  38. Leith D. *English – Colonial to Postcolonial*. In D. Graddol, D. Leith, & J. Swann (Eds.), *English: History, Diversity, and Change* (pp. 180-211). – Dublin: Routledge, 2002.
  39. Lerer S. *Inventing English*. – New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
  40. Macaulay T. B. *Minute on Indian Education*. In William Ferguson Beatson Laurie (ed.), *Sketches of some distinguished Anglo-Indians: (second series) including Lord Macaulay's great minute on education in India; with Anglo-Indian anecdotes and incidents*. – London: W.H. Allen, 1888. –P.169-186.
  41. McArthur T. *World English and World Englishes: Trends, tensions, varieties, and standards*. // *Language Teaching*, 9 (VIII), 2001. –P.1-20.
  42. McKendrick B. *Conquest by Word*. – Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2018.
  43. Mehrotra R. *Reduplication in Indian Pidgin English*. // *English Today*, #50, 2015.
  44. Mencken H. *The American Language*. Fourth Edition. – New York: Knopf, 2015.
  45. Mesthrie R. *English in Language Shift*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
  46. Mesthrie R. *English in South Africa*. // *English Today*, #33, 2013.

47. Mesthrie R. *Lexicon in South Africa*. – Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 2012.
48. Miller D. *External Influences on English*. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
49. Moore R. J. *Imperial India*. In A. Porter (Ed.), *Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century* (pp. 422-446). – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
50. Morris R. *Historical Outlines of English Accidence*. – London: Macmillan, 2015.
51. Mufwene S. *Colonization, Globalization, and the Future of Languages in the Twenty-First Century*. – Paris: UNESCO Press, 2001.
52. Mufwene S. S. *Colonisation, Globalisation, and the Future of Language in the Twentyfirst Century*. *MOST Journal on Multicultural Societies*, IV (2), 2002. –P.162-193.
53. Ngugi T. *Decolonising the Mind*. – London: Heinemann Currey, 2006.
54. Osterhammel J. *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. – Berlin: Markus Weiner Publishers, 2005.
55. Ostler N. *Empires of the word: A language history of the world*. – New York: Harper Collins, 2005.
56. Pennycook A. *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. – London: Longman, 2014.
57. Phillipson R. *Linguistic Imperialism*. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
58. Quirk R. *English in the World*. – Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
59. Romaine S. *Creole English*. In T. McArthur (Ed.), *Oxford Companion to the English Language* (pp. 270-1). – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
60. Seidlhofer B. *Understanding English as a lingua franca*. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
61. Sekhar R. G. *Colonialism and Imperialism and its Impact on English Language*. // *Asian Journal of Multidimensional Research*, I (4), 2012. –P.111-120.
62. Spears A. K. *The Black English semi-auxiliary come*. // *Language*, #58(4),

2002. –P.850–72.

63.Thomason S. G. Language Contact. – Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001.

64.Williamson J. A Various Language. – New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 2011.