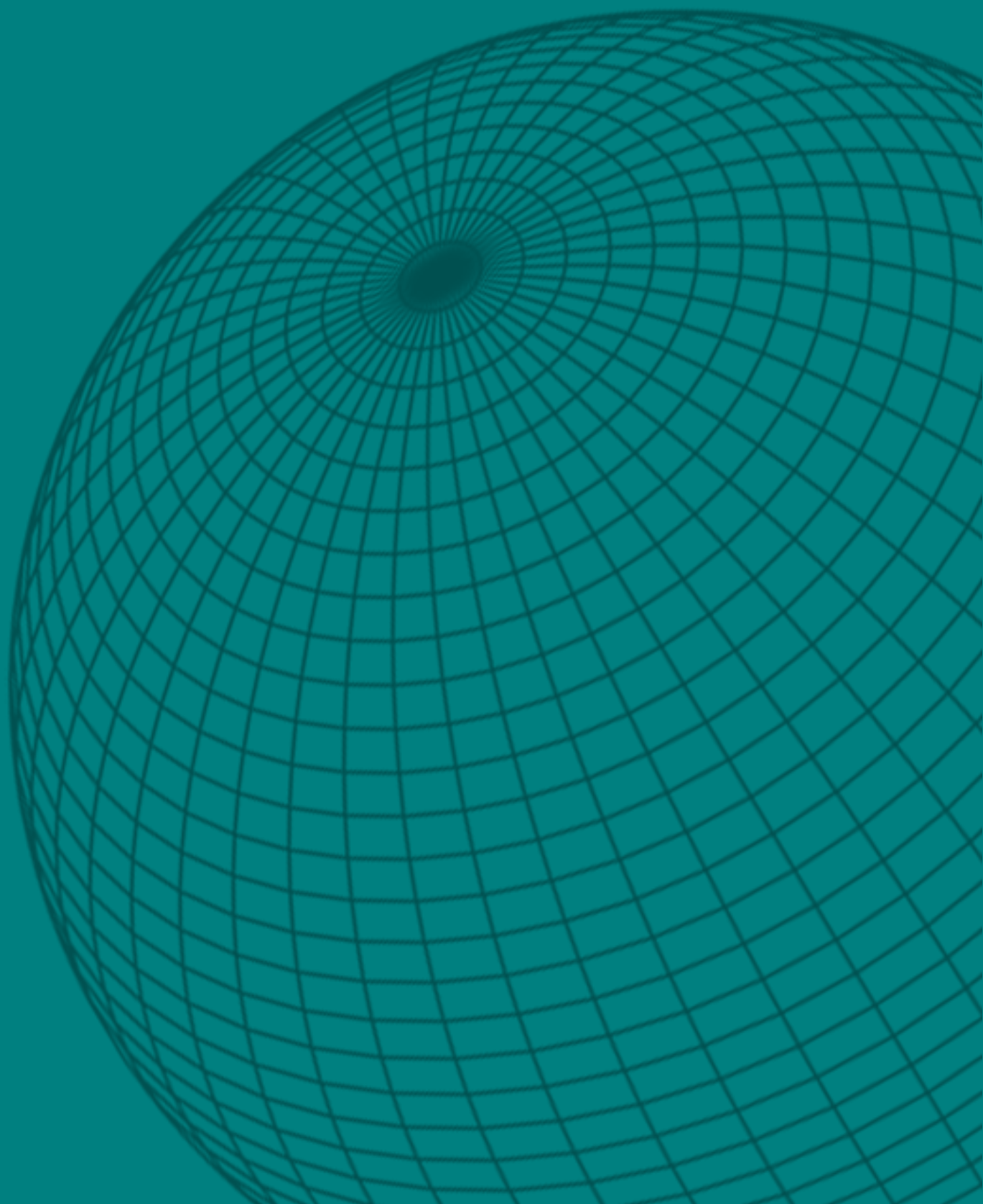




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Foreword

Welcome to the June 2015 issue of the Journal of English as an International Language!

This issue is yet another avowal of EILJ's unflagging commitment to nurturing a plurality of research issues and interests that underpin our pedagogies and practices in the teaching of EIL. The papers presented in this issue signpost our authors' bold attempts to propose and disseminate conceptualizations/routes of realization that are in keeping with EILJ's declared mission of promoting locally appropriate, culturally sensitive and socially aligned methodologies and materials in EIL. It is our fond belief that such on-going endeavours and exercises would add particular impetus to EILJ's democratization and dehegemonization of the use of English across the cultures of Asia and farther afield.

The joint paper entitled: "World Englishes from a citation index perspective" by Beril Arik and Engin Arik sets the tone and tenor for this issue as it chronicles the rise and relevance of publications using world Englishes (WE) cited in the Web of Science(WoS). Using a well-marked route of inquiry the authors articulate their epistemic resolve to examine the dynamics and outcomes of the increasing currency that WE have come to enjoy in international scholarly publications and outputs. The ensuing "unpacking of issues and insights" underlying WE citation index seen in the paper should help debunk "the oft -touted notions of native speaker English" as the standard form of the language as a non-negotiable in scholarly publications written in English. In light of this, the paper examines some crucial implications that can help us come to terms with the socio-cultural dimensions/sensibilities that assume a particular prominence in the ways by which non-native speakers of English make sense of their realities and experiences. In sum and spirit, the paper is an edifying affirmation of the primacy and immediacy of WE and the emergent heterogeneous global English speech communities that need to be reckoned with as a result.

Ugorji's paper, "Nigerian English in Schneider's Dynamic Model" speaks to the relationship between the formation and development of Nigerian English and the phases proposed in Schneider's Dynamic theory. The paper draws on the central tenets of Schneider's Dynamic theory to propose an investigative paradigm for examining postcolonial varieties of English from the perspective of contact linguistics. In light of this, the genesis and growth of Nigerian English are examined and assessed with reference to the influence of the contact theory in the evolution of postcolonial varieties of English. This draws attention to the properties associated with Nigerian English within the conceptualisation of the Model. By the same token, it focuses on the twin conditions of *sociolinguistic conditions* and *linguistic effects* proposed in the

Model for the phases iv and v, indicating areas which need to be updated. Picking up on the five linear developmental phases that constitute a benchmark for determining the scale and scope of the development of individual varieties, the author is of the view that Nigerian English is shown to have developed up to the 3rd phase- nativisation; and there are indications that certain properties of its 4th phase- endonormative stabilisation, may be discernible, but are not adequate enough to support any conclusive statements. Notwithstanding the characterisations of Nigerian English as seen in Schnider's Dynamic Model, the paper argues for a more robust understanding of the development of Nigerian English as a dynamic/fluid process and not as one subject to the myth of maturation.

Ramanujam Meganathan's paper, "English Language Education Situation in India: Pedagogical Perspectives", presents a critical assessment of the current state of English language education in schools in India with reference to the pedagogical policies and practices that permeate the very ecology of English language teaching(ELT) across India. The author uses a broad-brush approach to cover and analyse an impressive array of issues: different types of schools in the different school systems and typologies of teaching situations, the ever-complexifying nature of curriculum, syllabi, materials development, and the concomitant issues of quality audit. Armed with a sound understanding of the relevant critical perspectives and theoretical insights, the author examines and explores a host of pedagogical as well as procedural implications in the paper with the express intention of spelling out recommendations for stepping up the standards and quality of ELT in schools via effective English language teacher education(ELTE) programmes across the country. This, the author believes would help India come to terms with its ever-increasing socio-economic inequity and exclusion. Given that the prevalence and promotion of India's national cohesion is predicated largely on the prevalence and promotion of English alongside its different regional languages, the issues and insights voiced by the author should serve as a "wake-up call" to the current crop of politicians and policy makers, who need to optimise their understanding of how and why a well-formulated and implemented ELTE in India is vital to safeguarding its socio-political, socio-economic as well socio-educational well-being in its vibrant multilingual ecologies.

Saleh Majed Al Abwaini's paper, "Subtitling Cultural Expressions from English into Arabic" investigates into the problems that translators face when subtitling cultural expressions from English into Arabic. The study reported in the paper gives an engaging account of a translation test and a set of cultural expressions drawn from three American movies. The sampling techniques as well as the data analysis featured in the study have been handled with particular adeptness and agility. These, undoubtedly contribute to the narrative immediacy and primacy of the issues that the author deems are central to his study. Pointing to the structural, lexical and semantic difficulties

faced by the translators in the study due to interference from L1 into L2, the author argues that the bilingual dictionaries consulted by the translators yielded meanings in isolation rather than in context. Given this, the author believes that the translators' inability to use context-specific as well culture-specific equivalents in their translation techniques could only result in mistranslation and insufficient performance by the participants as evidenced by the study. Further to this, the author contends that the current paucity of research-based strategies for subtitling cultural expressions from English into Arabic would only favour isolated, literal meanings in Arabic which would be neither culture specific nor context-dependent. Such an outcome, the author feels would belittle the quintessence of Arabic expressions and its linguistic elegance and charm. In order to preempt such a situation, the author advocates that any translation-teaching institution in the Arab world should accord top-level priority to equipping their staff with an informed grasp of various translation theories and how based on these theories appropriate strategies can be deduced for building up a substantial repertoire of translatable expressions unique to the culture of Arabic language and the contexts in which it is used.

Shirin Khodadadi Shahivand's paper, "An Investigation into Translation of English Adverbs into Persian", directs attention and focus to the problems that arise when English adverbs are translated into Persian. Pointing out the dynamics and fall-outs of her investigation, the author leads her readership to believe that while the students were able to translate all the adverbs they learned in high school correctly, they did not know how to translate those adverbs that they were unfamiliar with, especially when these appeared in sentences. Further to this, the author feels that if the students are helped to become familiar with a number of adverbs through targeted dictionary practice along with a focus as to how the adverbs function in sentences, their ability to translate English adverbs into Persian will improve to a great extent. As students cross borders and boundaries when they translate meanings from one language into another, the paper recommends that all teachers teaching translations from English into Persian and vice versa should be trained in adverb recognition strategies/methods as well as efficient use of dictionary. In some respects, this paper comes across as a sequel to the previous one.

The joint paper entitled, "The Fallacy of an Epistemic Break: a Case for Epistemic Realism", by Farid Ghaemi and Amin M. Mostajeran proposes and presents a critical view of the notion of an "epistemic break" from reliance on West-centric approaches and attitudes to knowledge, especially of the English language. The authors argue that while some of the "breaks" are nothing more than "things of the past", some of "the breaks in the making" might run averse to the ELT profession as they appear to be lacking in realism. Needless to say that such a stance could espouse tendencies and trends that run counter to EIL's central tenets couched in the discourses of heterogeneous global English speech community, the issues discussed in the paper appear to correlate the

quintessence of EIL with the agendas of globalization. By the same token, the paper states in no uncertain terms the power and promise EIL has for synergizing and sustaining the interconnectedness and interdependence of peoples and countries via a globalized world. Referring to a number of quite often heard theoretical positions, the authors advocate a conciliatory approach which could help EIL draw on a vast array of knowledge sources as well as their attendant insights on competences, concepts and research acumen. Given this, EILJ expects its global readership to make a judgment call on the issues and insights presented in the paper.

In closing, I wish to applaud the courage and clarity with which the contributing authors of this issue have showcased their alternate discourses of current reckoning in EIL. Such endeavours are pivotal to EILJ's declared mission of creating —a heterogeneous global English speech community, with a heterogeneous English and different modes of competence (Canagarajah, 2006, p. 211). Given this, I fervently believe that the agendas and insights discussed in this issue would serve as a lamp to all of us, who could otherwise be stranded in a methodological wasteland of EIL. Read on!

Dr Sivakumar Sivasubramaniam
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World Englishes from a Citation Index Perspective

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Abstract

This study investigated the bibliometric characteristics of publications on World Englishes (WE) covered in the Social Sciences Citation Index and the Arts & Humanities Citation Index of the Web of Science (WoS) between 1975 and 2013. We found that there were 153 publications including 86 articles and 52 book reviews. WE was mentioned for the first time in 1989, but 96.07% of publications on WE in WoS were published between 2005 and 2013, suggesting a rapid increase in interest on the topic in recent years. The top three research areas of WE publications were *linguistics*, *education and educational research*, and *literature*. Out of 153, 129 of the publications (84.31%) had a single author. The top five journals covering WE publications were *World Englishes* (35.94%), *TESOL Quarterly* (7.84%), *English World Wide* (7.18%), *Anglia* (3.92%), and *Journal of Sociolinguistics* (3.26%). Publications came from a range of countries including the USA, England, China, Australia, Singapore, Germany, and Brunei. A WE publication cited 33.84 publications and received 3.71 citations on average, but 90 publications (58.82%) did not receive any citations. B. B. Kachru was the most frequently cited author (190 times) followed by Jenkins (99 times) and Seidlhofer (81 times). We predict the number of WE publications will continue to increase in WoS.

Keywords: Bibliometric analysis, World Englishes, Social Science Citation Index, Arts & Humanities Citation Index, Applied linguistics

Introduction

“Publish or perish” is perhaps one of the most prominent mottos of present day academia. An equally important motto can be “publish, get indexed, and get cited.” Citation indices therefore provide comprehensive coverage and storage of scientific publications from a single field to all fields of academic disciplines. Publications, especially in prominent citation indices, and number of citations received become a very important factor in job hunting for new graduates, for those seeking tenure, and in applications for (inter)national grants (see Lawrence, 2002, 2003, 2008 for a critique; Owens, 2013; Reich,

2013). Web of Science (WoS) is perhaps the most comprehensive and reliable index to provide bibliometric information about timely published journals. Those journals have referee systems with higher impact factors than those outside of WoS coverage (e.g., Russ-Eft, 2008). World Englishes (WE) is a relatively young field of inquiry and has been burgeoning since the 1990s. One of the purposes of the current study is to investigate some of the general trends in the field of WE based on bibliometric data—more specifically, the information WoS indices provide. Although WoS indices do not include all the publications related to WE, they include publications that have high quality and visibility.

Another advantage of indices such as the Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) and the Arts & Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI) of WoS, is the increased availability of bibliometric data that comes with them. This makes bibliometric analysis especially appealing for researchers who are interested in disciplinary trends and scholars who wish to publish in WoS journals alike. While bibliometric analysis allows researchers to see, reflect on and, if seen as necessary, change the trends in a field, it also provides a synthesis and/or summary of increased amounts of information for decision makers. Bibliometric analysis is especially informative for new members of the community who might be less experienced about the practices of their disciplines. Last but not least, this kind of meta-analysis makes comparison with other disciplines and between different time periods within the discipline possible.

The present study is the first to investigate bibliometric indicators of WE in WoS. Research has shown that bibliometric studies are very relevant to the social sciences and humanities, including language-related fields; one such piece of evidence was by Nederhof et al. (1989), who investigated scientific publications from the fields of social history, general linguistics, general literature, Dutch literature and Dutch language, experimental psychology, anthropology, and public administration, showing their importance as indices for the social sciences and humanities. Another study (Nederhof & Noyons, 1992) was conducted on publications and citations in general linguistics and general literature in A&HCI from a set of linguistics departments in the Netherlands, Italy, and the USA. Results of this study showed that bibliometric indicators are reliable to assess the research performance of linguistics departments.

Some previous studies focused only on (general) linguistics. Nederhof (2011) examined language and linguistics research outputs and found that there were two types: Language and Linguistics publications and Literature publications, the latter of which give more importance to publications targeting the general public. He also suggested that both journal articles and books should be considered when analyzing the bibliometric characteristics of these fields. Another study (Arik, 2015) investigated bibliometric characteristics of linguistics in SSCI between 1900 and 2013 and A&HCI between 1975 and 2013. The authors found that there was an increase in the

number of linguistic publications in parallel to the expansion of WoS coverage. They also found that linguistics is a prominent research area in both indices. As for the *Language Linguistics* category of WoS, linguistics was ranked about no. 63 in SSCI and no. 9 in A&HCI, whereas as the *Linguistics* research area of WoS, it was ranked about no. 22 in SSCI and no. 8 in A&HCI.

Some previous studies have focused on specific disciplines in language sciences. Radev, Joseph, Gibson and Muthukrishnan (2009) analyzed the bibliometric characteristics of the field of computational linguistics in publications by the Association for Computational Linguistics (ACL). Within their analysis, they provided citation patterns such as the networks of paper citations, author citations, and author collaborations. Another study (Arik, 2014) investigated scientific publications on sign languages in SSCI between 1900 and 2013 and A&HCI between 1975 and 2013, and showed that there were 2,460 scientific publications, with the earliest appearing in 1902. Nevertheless, 86.26% of the publications on sign languages appeared in WoS very recently, between 1990 and 2013.

Some other studies investigated the characteristics of publications in journals in language and linguistics. For example, Egbert (2007) discussed the relevance of common journal quality factors such as citation patterns, rejection rates, timely publication, and accessibility, focusing on the fields of *Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)* and *Applied Linguistics*. She then invited about 300 of the *TESOL* members to participate in a survey about journal quality measures in *TESOL* and *Applied Linguistics*. Only 31 people responded. Results showed that, surprisingly, when it came to their journal preference, participants considered “relevance to context” (21 mentions) followed by review process (8 mentions) and quality of articles (5 mentions), rather than bibliometrics (such as citation frequency; only 2 mentions) to be more important deciding factors.

Another study (Meara, 2014) investigated the bibliometric characteristics of 201 articles on vocabulary acquisition published in *the Modern Language Journal* between 1916 and 2010 (see also Meara, 2012). He focused on citation patterns in these articles to identify some historical tendencies in the field of vocabulary acquisition. On the basis of the findings from the citation maps, he argued that this research area could be divided into four periods: reliable word lists for modern language teaching (1916-1950), cognitive psychological and sociolinguistic approaches to vocabulary acquisition (1951-1980), start of modern research focusing mostly on reading research (1981-2000), and a new approach influenced by Paul Nation’s work (2001-2010).

Following these works in closely related fields, the main goal of the present study is to report some of the bibliometric measures regarding WE as represented in WoS. In order to find out some general trends we examined publications related to WE that were published in SSCI and A&HCI between 1975 and 2013 for two reasons: 1) A&HCI covers publications from 1975 to present; and 2) there are no publications on WE before 1975 in SSCI. More

specifically, we examined the *number of publications* over the years, *authors*, *journals*, and *universities* that publish WE publications, and *research areas* and *WoS categories* that include WE publications. In addition, we looked at the *languages* and *countries* of WE publications in SSCI and A&HCI. Finally we investigated some of the *citation patterns* in WE publications indexed in WoS.

Methods

In order to present a bibliometric analysis of WE as represented in WoS—more specifically in SSCI and A&HCI—we applied the following procedure. SSCI covers publications since 1900, whereas A&HCI covers publications since 1975. We accessed WoS at <http://apps.webofknowledge.com/> through an R1 university library in the US on April 30th, 2014, and searched for articles using the keyword “World Englishes”. In this way, we accessed scientific publications that had “World Englishes” not only in their titles, but also in their abstracts and keywords. There were no results for the time period before 1975; therefore, we set the time interval between 1975 and 2013. 2014 was excluded because the records were not complete at the time of our data collection. In order to further examine the change in the number of publications over the years, we repeated the same search over eight five-year periods: 1975-1979, 1980-1984, 1985-1989, 1990-1994, 1995-1999, 2000-2004, 2005-2009, and 2010-2013. After compiling a list of WoS publications about WE, we analyzed the data for *number of publications*, *WoS categories*, *research areas*, *authors*, *journals*, *conferences*, *universities*, *document types*, *languages*, and *countries/territories*. In addition, we investigated the *citation patterns* that emerged from the data. For these, we exported the data to Excel, including all information available in the WoS database, selected cited references, and finally received citations for each publication before analysis. We report our findings below.

Results

Number of Publications

We found that “World Englishes” was used as topic in 153 publications in SSCI and A&HCI within the time period we investigated (1975-2013). The distribution of these publications by five-year periods is given below. Table 1 shows that world Englishes was mentioned for the first time in a WoS indexed publication in 1989. This article, by Bader (1989), was a book review on *Discourse across cultures: Strategies in World Englishes* (1987), which was published in the *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching* (IRAL), followed by only a few publications published between the years 1995 and 2004. We observed an exponential increase in the number of publications that focused on WE between 2005-2009 and 2010-2013. In these

time periods, 55 and 92 publications respectively appeared in SSCI and A&HCI. This rapid increase in WE publications can be explained by the fact that flagship WE publications such as *World Englishes* joined WoS in the second half of the 2000s (See Table 6).

Table 1
Number of WE publications in WoS over the years

Year	Number of Publications	Percentage
1975-1979	0	0
1980-1984	0	0
1985-1989	1	.65
1990-1994	0	0
1995-1999	1	.65
2000-2004	4	2.61
2005-2009	55	35.94
2010-2013	92	60.13
SUM	153	100

WoS Categories

WoS categorizes scientific publications under a limited number of categories such as *linguistics*, *history*, *sociology*, *educational research*, etc. The distribution of the publications in the dataset according to WoS categories is given in Table 2.

Table 2
Distribution of WE publications according to WoS categories

WoS Categories	Number of Publications
Linguistics	128
Language Linguistics	108
Education Educational Research	30
Literature	14
Sociology	4
Communication	2
Cultural Studies	2
Humanities Multidisciplinary	2

Since the publications could be cross-listed under more than one category, the sum of the publications in the table below exceeded the number of

publications in our list. The distribution of publications according to WoS categories displayed an overwhelming preference for *linguistic* studies, with 236 publications in this category. Other frequent categorizations for WE publications in WoS were *literature* (14) and *educational research* (30). According to these findings, WE publications from communication, sociology, or cultural studies perspectives were almost negligible.

Research Areas

A bibliometric measure closely related to WoS categories is *research areas*. In our query, we looked at research areas that produced at least five WE-related publications. The results are given in Table 3. Note that the publications could be cross-listed under more than one research area. Parallel to the results regarding WoS categories above, the top three research areas were *linguistics* (138), *education and educational research* (30), and *literature* (14). In accordance with the results of WoS categories, analysis of the research areas showed that the WE framework has influenced and has been influenced by three primary disciplines: linguistics, education, and, to a lesser degree, literature.

Table 3
Research areas for WE publications in WoS

Research Areas	Number of Publications
Linguistics	138
Education Educational Research	30
Literature	14

Authors

Out of 153 publications in the data set, 129 (84.31%) had a single author. One publication (Horner, Lu, Royster, & Trimbur 2011) had the highest number of authors, (4 authors) (Table 4). The author/publication ratio was 1.18 on average: 1.25 for articles; 1 for book reviews; 1.4 for editorial material; and 1.6 for review articles. Note that one document was also considered as *Correction*; therefore, we omitted it here.

Table 4

Author/publication ratio according to the document types

Document type	Number of publications	Author/publication
Article	85	1.25
Book review	52	1
Editorial material	10	1.4
Review article	5	1.6
	152 (TOTAL)	1.18 (AVERAGE)

When we looked at the top 10 authors that made WE publications in our dataset from WoS, we found that the most prolific WE authors in WoS were: Deterding with seven publications, Collins with five publications, Bolton and Seargeant with four publications each, followed by Gorlach, Jenkins, Braj Kachru, Yamuna Kachru, Aya Matsuda, Paul Matsuda, Phillipson, and Wee with three publications each (Table 5). Note that all of Deterding's publications were book reviews.

Table 5

The most prolific authors who publish WE publications

Rank	Author	Number of Publications
1	D. Deterding	7
2	P. Collins	5
3	K. Bolton	4
3	P. Seargeant	4
5	M. Gorlach	3
5	J. Jenkins	3
5	B. B. Kachru	3
5	Y. Kachru	3
5	A. Matsuda	3
5	P. K. Matsuda	3
5	R. Phillipson	3
5	L. Wee	3

Journals

We also examined the journals listed in SSCI and A&HCI that covered the WE publications in our dataset. We chose journals that had at least three publications about WE given in Table 6 below. Not surprisingly, around one third of the publications in our list were from the journal *World Englishes* (55). This journal was followed by *TESOL Quarterly* with 12 publications, *English World Wide* with 11, *Anglia Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie* with

six, and *Journal of Sociolinguistics* with five publications. *Applied Linguistics*, *Language and Education*, and *System* with 3 WE publications between 1975 and 2013. Table 6 provides a list of these journals and information about their publishers and impact factors according to the Journal Citation Reports 2012 via WoS <http://apps.webofknowledge.com/>, accessed through Purdue University Libraries.

Table 6
Journals that publish WE publications

Journals	In WoS since	Number of Publications	Percentage	Publisher	Issue/ Year (2013)	Impact factor (JCR 2012)
World Englishes	2008	55	35.94	Wiley	4	.333
TESOL Quarterly	1967	12	7.84	Wiley	4	.792
English World Wide	2009	11	7.18	John Benjamins	3	.682
Anglia Zeitschrift fur Englische Philologie	1975	6	3.92	de Gruyter	4	ns
Journal of Sociolinguistics	2003	5	3.26	Wiley	4	1.087
Applied Linguistics	1981	3	1.96	Oxford U. Press	5	1.50
Language and Education	2008	3	1.96	Routledge	6	.55
System	1982	3	1.96	Elsevier	4	.69

Conferences

Since conferences and conference publications are as important as journals for being potential venues for WE scholars, we examined the conferences that published WE publications in their proceedings listed in WoS. The conference titles listed on the WoS website were *the International Conference on World Englishes*, *the Annual Meeting of the International Association for World Englishes* and *the Symposium on Intelligibility and Cross Cultural Communication in World Englishes*.

Universities

We also examined the affiliations of scholars with WE publications. Our findings showed that the top universities were City University of Hong Kong,

University of Illinois, and Nanyang Technological University with nine, seven, and six publications, respectively.

Table 7

The affiliations of the scholars who published WE publications

Ranking	Universities	Country	# of Publications
1	City University of Hong Kong	PRC-Hong Kong	9
2	University Illinois	USA	7
3	Nanyang Technological University	Singapore	6
4	National University Singapore	Singapore	5
4	University Brunei Darussalam	Brunei	5
4	University New South Wales	Australia	5
7	Open University	UK	4
8	Arizona State University	USA	3
8	Copenhagen Business School	Denmark	3
8	North West University	USA	3

Document Types

Of the 153 publications in our dataset, we found that 85 were articles, 52 were book reviews, 10 were editorial materials, 10 were proceedings papers, five were reviews, and one was a correction (Table 8). The results showed that around half of the publications were articles and approximately one third of the publications were book reviews. In other words, the most common types of publications related to WE were articles and book reviews.

Table 8

Document types for WE publications

Document Type	Number of publications	Percentages
Article	85	55.56
Book review	52	33.99
Editorial material	10	6.54
Proceeding paper	10	6.54
Review	5	3.27

Languages and Countries

When we looked at the languages of the WoS publications in our list, we found that with the exception of one article, which was in Spanish, all of the WE publications were published in English (152). In addition to the languages

of the publications we also examined their countries of origin. Not surprisingly, the USA was the leading country with 38 publications. It was followed by England (17), China (14), Australia (12), Singapore (11), Germany (8), and Brunei (6) (Table 9). The results illustrated that almost half of the publications came from inner and outer circle countries according to Kachru's (1985) model, while the other half originated from expanding circle countries like China. Below are the countries that contributed more than 5 publications to the list.

Table 9
Countries publishing WE publications

Country	Number of Publications
USA	38
England	17
China	14
Australia	12
Singapore	11
Germany	8
Brunei	6

Citation patterns

We also analyzed the data to investigate to what extent the WE publications covered in WoS were cited by other publications by looking at the "total times cited in" section in the WoS databases. Of the 153 scientific publications, 90 (58.82%) did not receive any outside citation. The publications that received the two highest citation counts were a 106 times cited article by Pennycook (2003) and a 93 times cited review article by Jenkins (2006). The average number of citations each publication received was 3.71. If we omit those two highly cited publications, the average number of citations would be 2.44. Furthermore, we analyzed the data to investigate to what extent the WE publications in WoS cited other publications. We found that the average number of cited references was 33.84. The top 2 publications giving the most references were review articles - Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey (2011) and Bhatt (2001) - which both cited 170 publications.

Since these citation patterns fluctuated greatly depending on the document type, we analyzed the data accordingly (Table 10). We found that for articles, the average number of received citations (4.51) dropped to 3.30 when we excluded the highest cited article, Pennycook (2003). In addition, the average number of cited references (47.90) dropped to 47 when we excluded the outlier, Kachru and Smith (2009), which referenced 124 publications. We also found that book reviews did not receive any citations with the exception of Todd (2008), which was cited once; conversely, book reviews cited 4.65

publications on average, or 4.23 publications when we excluded the outlier Sandhu (2013), which cited 26 publications. An examination of the citation patterns in editorial materials showed that they received 3.7 citations on average. If we excluded Matsuda (2003), which was cited 14 times, editorial material would have received 2.55 citations on average. The data also showed that review articles received 29.2 citations on average. Yet, excluding Jenkins (2006), which received the highest number of citations (93), this number dropped to 13.25. The review articles referenced 118.8 publications on average. If we excluded the review article which cited the least number of references, Banerjee (2008) with 6, the number increases to 147 publications cited on average.

Table 10

Received citations according to document types (except one Correction)

Document types	Number of publications	Author/ publication	Average			
			Received citation	Received citation except outlier(s)	Cited references	Cited references except outlier(s)
Article	85	1.25	4.51	3.30	47.90	47
Book review	52	1	.01	0	4.65	4.23
Editorial material	10	1.4	3.7	2.55	26.9	17.22
Review article	5	1.6	29.2	13.25	118.8	147
TOTAL	152	1.18	3.71	2.44	33.84	32.03

When we examined the number of citations in the 153 WE publications, we found that B. B. Kachru was the most frequently cited author (190 times), followed by Jenkins (99 times) and Seidlhofer (81 times) (Table 11).

We then examined the scientific publications most frequently cited in the publications covered by WoS (Table 12). Closer examination of the data revealed that there were 22 publications cited 10 or more times. Among them, the most frequently cited were Kachru (1992) (26 times), Kachru (1985) (24 times), and Jenkins (2000) (20 times). Among the 22 publications were 14 books, seven articles, and one book chapter. Note that in this analysis we considered each publication with a single date and edition. For example, we considered Crystal (1997) and Crystal (2003) as two different publications, even though they were different editions of the same book. The same was true with Jenkins (2003, 2006, 2009) and Kachru (1982, 1985, 1992). Moreover, Seidlhofer (2001) appeared as Seidlhofer (2003) in WoS even though the publications cited it as Seidlhofer (2001). The reason for this could be that the issue in which Seidlhofer (2001) was published appeared in 2003 in WoS.

Table 11

The most frequently cited authors in the references

Rank	Author	Number of Citations
1	B. B. Kachru	190
2	Jenkins	99
3	Seidlhofer	81
4	Smith	58
5	Pennycook	52
6	Bolton	44
7	Kirkpatrick	42
8	Canagarajah	41
9	Y. Kachru	32
10	Graddol	28
10	Mestherie	28

Table 12

The publications cited 10 or more times in the scientific publications covered by WoS

Rank	Author	Year	Times Cited	Type
1	Kachru	1992	26	Book
2	Kachru	1985	24	Book chapter
3	Jenkins	2000	20	Book
4	Jenkins	2006	18	Article
5	Kachru	1986	16	Book
6	Seidlhofer	2004	15	Article
7	Mesthrie and Bhatt	2008	14	Book
7	Seidlhofer	2003*	14	Article
9	Graddol	2006	13	Book
9	Jenkins	2003	13	Book
9	Jenkins	2007	13	Book
9	Kirkpatrick	2007	13	Book
9	Phillipson	1992	13	Book
9	Schneider	2007	13	Book
15	Crystal	1997	12	Book
16	Kachru	2005	11	Book
17	Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl	2006	10	Article
17	Widdowson	1994	10	Article
17	Smith and Nelson	1985	10	Article
17	Platt, Weber and Lian	1984	10	Book
17	McKay	2002	10	Book
17	Bamgbose	1998	10	Article

We also expanded our examination to the number of publications that were cited 5 or more times in the publications covered by WoS, finding a total number of 59 publications. Of them, 32 were books, six were book chapters, and 21 were articles (Table 13).

Table 13

Document types of the WE publications cited 5 or more times

Document type	Number	Percentage
Book	32	54.24
Article	21	35.59
Book chapter	6	10.17
Total	59	100

In addition to the bibliometric data in SSCI and A&HCI indices, we also investigated the conference proceedings citation index for social sciences and humanities (CPCI-SSH), finding 20 proceedings related to WE. Four of the 20 proceedings received no citations by a WoS publication. The top 3 most frequently cited conference proceedings were Jenkins' (2009) *English as a lingua franca: interpretations and attitudes* (cited 16 times); B. B. Kachru's (1997) *World Englishes 2000: Resources for Research and teaching*, (cited 14 times), and Seidlhofer's (2009) *Common ground and different realities: World Englishes and English as lingua franca* (cited 12 times). The 20 proceeding papers were cited 103 times in total. For the conference proceedings, the average citation per item was 5.15.

When we examined the Book Citation Index for Social Sciences and Humanities in WoS, we found that there were 43 books about WE between 1975-2013. These 43 books were cited 208 times, but of the 43, 29 received no citations. Average citations per item in the case of books were 4.84. The top three books in terms of number of citations received were: *World Englishes: The Study of New Linguistic Varieties* by Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) (74 citations); Johnson's (2009) *Second Language Teacher Education: A sociocultural perspective* (60 citations); and Kachru and Smith's (2008) *Cultures, Contexts, and World Englishes* (21 citations).

Discussion and Conclusion

In this study, we investigated WE publications as indexed in SSCI and A&HCI. Considering the beginnings of WE in the 1980s, it is rather surprising that the number of WE publications in WoS did not increase until 2005 (with 96.07% of publications on WE in WoS being published between 2005 and

2013). This presumably suggests an increasing interest in WE in very recent years. Looking at the trend indicated by our data, it is reasonable to expect an increase in the number of WE publications in the near future.

Our findings showed that most WE publications can be categorized as linguistic, educational research, or literature publications, with an overwhelming influence of linguistics. A more evenly distributed contribution from disciplines other than linguistics might be more preferable since greater multidisciplinary may be more fruitful for WE. According to our findings, the WE publications from communication, sociology, or cultural studies perspectives were almost negligible. However, we predict that WE will have more of an influence in these fields in the future.

The very recent increase in the number of WE publications is not only related to the emergence of WE as a relatively new field, but also a result of the expansion of WoS coverage. (Masked reference a) showed that SSCI, but not A&HCI, have gradually increased over the years, especially from 2005 onwards. It is worth noting, however, that linguistics coverage in general has also expanded in both SSCI and A&HCI, including the journal *World Englishes*, which has published more than one third of all WE publications in SSCI since 2008.

The number of publications about WE is still limited (153) compared to other fields such as linguistics or sign languages. For example, (masked reference a) showed that in the Linguistics research area, SSCI covered a total of 109,469 publications while A&HCI covered a total of 193,619 publications between 1900 and 2013. Additionally, (masked reference b) found that SSCI and A&HCI covered 2,460 scientific publications on sign languages between 1900 and 2013; Comparatively, WE publications seem very scarce in number.

Our research also illustrated some of the most prolific WE scholars (such as Deterding and Collins) and universities (the City University of Hong Kong and the University of Illinois). In addition, we uncovered some of the most WE-friendly publication venues for WE scholars (journals such as *World Englishes* and *TESOL Quarterly*). The WE publications in WoS seem to be predominantly written in English and from inner and outer circle countries according to Kachru's (1985) model.

We found that the most common types of WE publications in WoS were research articles and book reviews, and were most of the time written by a single author. Compared to natural science publications, publications in the humanities tend to have fewer authors (Sula, 2012), and WE is not an exceptional case. Sula (2012) suggested that when analyzing authorship patterns in the humanities, acknowledgment sections of publications could also be considered, because many authors acknowledge colleagues that may have contributed to their work to some extent. Following this suggestion, future research may take acknowledgments into account when investigating scholar networks in WE.

We also found that publications which were cited 10 or more times included 14 books, seven articles, and one book chapter. These citation

patterns have been already observed in the social sciences and humanities (e.g., Hellqvist, 2010; Larivière, Archambault, Gingras & Vignola-Gagné, 2006; Linmans, 2010; Nederhof, 2006; Nederhof, van Leeuwen & van Raan, 2010), suggesting that an analysis of citation patterns in WE publications should cover books and book chapters in addition to journal articles.

We hope our bibliometric analysis can be useful for WE researchers, teachers, and students alike. However, it might be wise to not make hasty generalizations based on these findings alone, since our study only focused on WoS publications. This is a common limitation of bibliometric studies in the social sciences and humanities (e.g., Archambault & Larivière, 2010). For example, Georgas and Cullars (2005) analyzed citation patterns in linguistics publications indexed in Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts (LLBA) of ProQuest and found that they were similar to those in social sciences or humanities or natural sciences. Therefore, analyzing WE publications covered in LLBA might shed further light on the bibliometric characteristics of WE.

The past and present of the WE field can also be further examined by closely investigating the specific journals that frequently publish WE studies (such as *World Englishes*, *TESOL Quarterly*, and *English World Wide*) as well as the authors that most frequently publish WE studies and are frequently cited (such as B. B. Kachru, Jenkins, and Seidlhofer, among others). Another potential venue for investigation is to look at future trends in WE publications over time. For example, it would be interesting to examine if WE publications could move from one research area or WoS category to another, if countries other than the USA might take the lead in publication, if publications appear in languages other than English, or if more journals publish WE studies to overcome *the language barrier* (van Leeuwen, 2013).

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Nigerian English in Schneider's Dynamic Model

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Abstract

This study addresses the relationship between the formation and development of Nigerian English and the phases proposed in Schneider's (2007) Dynamic theory. In the present study, the propositions of the Model with respect to the formation and growth of Nigerian English are examined and evaluated in the perspective of the contact theory of the evolution of postcolonial varieties of English. It draws attention to properties associated with Nigerian English within the conceptualisation of the Model, focussing on the twin conditions of *sociolinguistic conditions* and *linguistic effects* proposed in the Model, indicating areas which need to be updated. The result critiques the theory and suggests new dimensions for future meta-theoretical development.

Keywords: Schneider's Dynamic Model; Nigerian English

Introduction

Research on Varieties of English continues to be stimulating, from the debates on ideologies, to tools and to case studies of individual varieties. At the centre stage is the concept of New Englishes, World Englishes or, in the model under study, Postcolonial Englishes. An interesting outcome of the intellectual debates associated with these concepts is that a new investigative paradigm of synchronic English linguistics is constituted; and it has grown rapidly. Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model belongs to this paradigm, and addresses contact-induced changes as the basis of the developmental history of Postcolonial Englishes (See also Schneider, 2003). Thus, culture contact begins the history of these varieties of English. It correlates factors specifiable in terms of contact intensity according to Thomason (2001). It is considered that the structural effects of language contact depend on social conditions, and history (external to language); and the fate of speaker communities may induce linguistic changes as well. But the generalisations represent tendencies and not rules, such that subjectivity may not be ruled out especially when faced with applications to individual cases. In language contact ecology, a "feature pool" is composed; and "competition of features" is inherent (Mufwene, 2001, 2008). Which features are selected depend on a complex imprecise equation of complex and contingent factors; but selected features need time to stabilise (notwithstanding the continuing competition); and there are stages intermediate between selection and stabilisation. The mechanisms

for the composition of the “feature pool” may be referred to as “accommodation”; while “identity” may be the logical entity underlying the mechanism (cf. Schneider 2007, pp. 26-27).

Further to the foregrounding we provide in this introduction, it may be perceivable that an ever-present force in contact ecology is diffusion; and language and culture boundaries are semi-permeable, permitting osmotic forces. Diffusion might have vertical dimensions (from parents to offspring), and horizontal dimensions (from speaker to speaker). Dynamism may be about the changes which take place over time in both dimensions and with respect to contact and associated factors. In such ecology, the following may be considered major contributors: languages and/or dialects (with different degrees of language contact intensity; communicative economics (needs and demands); power/pressure – institutions and institutional bias to language and/or language user, prestige and status, direction of social mobility, attitudes – societal and institutional, etc.; and topography, demography and social and cultural stratification. In general, there’s a priority of extra-linguistic determinants in contact situations. Contact situation or contact ecology, for linguistics, may therefore be made up of the totality of forms and variants brought by individuals; the aggregation of forms and variants brought by participating speaker communities; and, by implication, the totality and aggregation of individual and community worldviews and experiences, the cognitive minds. In such ecology, the number of participating language communities, in principle, ranges from 2 to n. it is concatenating the inter-determinisms, relationships, interplay and contributions of these complex of factors (noted above) that the framework undertakes, and highlights systematically the commonalities in the rooting and development of postcolonial Englishes.

The present task is to evaluate the stipulations of Schneider’s (2007) Dynamic Model, paying particular attention to the applications made of the theory to the case of Nigerian English as well as the capacity of the theory to offer universal explications to postcolonial Englishes and contact linguistics. In this study, a synthesis of the proposed five phases is provided and effort is made to examine the properties of each of the two conditions uppermost in the scale, namely, “sociolinguistic conditions” and “linguistic effects” focusing on phases 4 and 5. The study demonstrates how they are instantiated in the Nigerian experience, and re-evaluates the positioning of Nigerian English on the developmental scale suggested by the Model. The research is substantiated drawing from documented sources and earlier research findings; and the outcome, among others, updates Schneider’s submissions on Nigerian English and redefines Nigerian English within his framework.

Nigerian English: Historical Foundation

For the concern of this study, it appears pragmatic to provide notes on the historical foundation of Nigerian English. Such notes are important for two main reasons, among others; namely, to highlight the nature of the early contact situation that constitutes this New English and account for its heterogeneity. This makes it easier to perceive a relationship between this variety of English and the requirement for diversification enshrined in phase v of the Dynamic Model. It also corroborates the Model's standpoint on speech community – defined along ethnic lines – as against country or nation (cf. Schneider, 2003, pp. 242-243). More specifically, the Model does not target an entire country, as in the "Circles" model proposed in Kachru (1990), among others: also Kachru's model does not exhaust the list of countries critical to the theory and does not discuss the defining linguistic features. It is also noted that the model "does not overtly position social and ethnic varieties" (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, p. 30).

Following archaeological evidence (Ogundele, 1995), people were already living in the South-western region of Nigeria by 9000 B.C. and in the Eastern region at some earlier date. They lived as independent states or autonomous kingdoms. The early kingdoms include the Igbo kingdom, with Nri as its centre; the Efik kingdom, with Calabar as its centre; the Yoruba kingdom, with its centre at Oyo; the Benin kingdom, the Hausa-Fulani states, Nupe, and Kanem-Bornu states. Each of these autonomous political entities had its own culture and language, which form the early platform upon which early European interest groups mounted – first, the Portuguese and later, the English – marking the beginnings and foundations of new culture and language contacts in what was then the Niger Area. Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, Britain had effectively occupied this area; and during the Scramble for Africa, the Berlin Conference of about 1885 had awarded it to Britain; so, it became known as a British Protectorate. Thus, the independent nations and kingdoms of Nigeria fell under the government of Britain. In 1914, these autonomous ethnic nationalities in the north and the south of the Niger Area were fused into one polity – and called Nigeria – by the British colonial masters. It is, thus, the amalgamation of the northern and southern Niger Area that marks the assumption of the Nigerian polity. It attained independence in 1960, and became a republic in 1963.

The early linguistic contact crucial to the formation of Nigerian English is dated at about the sixteenth century, as may be noted from the above paragraph. By this date Nigerian English was being founded. It evolved through the contacts of Englishmen with Nigerians living along the coastal regions, in respect to commerce, between European traders and Nigerians (see also Jowitt, 2008); and later, evangelisation and education, etc. Spencer's (1971, p. 9, cf. Banjo, 1995) report on this early contact with Nigerian coastal dwellers indicates that "as early as 1554 Africans were taken back to England to learn English, in order to assist future trading expeditions as interpreters".

It is notable that this early contact situation involved varieties of English, not monolithic English: native and non-native varieties, as well as standard and non-standard varieties were involved. Specifically, speakers of different accents, such as London, Cockney, Yorkshire, Birmingham, Irish, etc. were involved. Also involved are non-native speakers of English, such as Germans, Dutch, French, Danish, Greeks, etc., who were missionaries, technicians, doctors, sailors, traders, etc. (cf. Gut, 2004, Jowitt, 1991). In addition, speakers of standard forms that might be the precursor to RP were involved. There is therefore no doubt that the contact ecology was a complex one right from its inception. The contact equation gets rather fiendishly complicated when one considers the variables of the indigenous languages and their numerous regional dialects. In general, more than 400 indigenous languages are involved and contributing severally and corporately to the contact ecology, which itself spans a land mass of close to 0.95 million km²; and the southern regions being very densely populated. In general, these Englishes, these ancestral languages, these factors, the participating variables in the formation of the new contact linguistic ecology – do, no doubt, conspire in the emergence, development and growth of what is now Nigerian English, the official language of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. This brief sociolinguistic history reveals a significant level of diversity in the Nigerian English experience. It must be taken as sociolinguistic realism that the period between the sixteenth and twentieth centuries in this experience is significant to achieve distinctive dialects formation. In other words, this period is obviously significant to give rise to sociolinguistically meaningful dialect differences. However, one totally agrees with Schneider (2007, p. 2) that

what is perhaps even more interesting is that our virtual traveller will encounter *native speakers of English* not only in Canada and New Zealand, where this would be expected, but also *in Nigeria* and Singapore and many more parts of the world in which English is not an ancestral language [added emphasis]

Notes on the Dynamic Model

This section provides a synopsis of Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model, highlighting the nature and structure of the framework, in two parts: first, an overview and secondly, the developmental phases.

An Overview

Schneider (2007) discusses the development of postcolonial varieties of English from the perspective of contact linguistics, and proposes a Dynamic Model as an investigative paradigm and for their explication (see also Schneider 2003). The theory is built around language contact induced change, within which the structural effects of language contact are largely dependent

upon social conditions, conventional history, and the fate of speaker communities, as earlier noted. The rationale for the Model is the belief that it captures the processes which underlie the development and growth of varieties of English, thus:

the model which I am proposing here is more ambitious in claiming that there is a shared underlying process which drives their formation, accounts for many similarities between them, and appears to operate whenever a language is transplanted ... as is the very nature of the model, it is not intended to account for all observable details, nor does it apply equally to all individual instances of the process it describes. (Schneider, 2007, p. 29)

Even though the model makes no claims to the details of the development of individual instances, it does provide a basis for more insightful investigation of individual cases, with little modifications. In general, Schneider tries to demystify the complexity of the eco-linguistic disturbances and the correspondingly evolving of new equilibria by identifying the essential parameters implicit in the new linguistic ecology which act as stimuli driving the operation, construction and reconstruction of change; and scientifically articulates the dynamics of the changes in accessible phases plotted in points-in-time. Thus, as noted, he identifies the systematic commonalities in the rooting and development of postcolonial Englishes, viewing the interaction and interrelationship of the eco-linguistic parameters in terms of Mufwene's (2001) notion of "feature pool", a population of linguistic patterns (cf. Van Rooy, 2010). The Model does not only show capacity for explicating Postcolonial Englishes, it is also predictive of the ecology of contact linguistics in general: it indicates capacity to predict possibilities not instantiated. For example, its predictive potential includes that each time a language is transplanted the same processes might be expected to occur. The processes, on their part, are unidirectional and non-reversible. How the predictions may achieve precision appears a daunting challenge, which itself is intrinsic to the nature of the phenomenon it investigates, especially because the participating variables are rather numerous and the details of how they interact in the ecology defy quantitative enunciations¹. That the model does not pretend this fact is obvious:

All generalisations in the area of language contact...are essentially probabilistic in nature ...they are not firm rules ... whether as linguistic predictions and/or structural effects, but would refer to or account for the majority of observable cases. (Schneider, 2007, p. 22)

As noted, the standpoint of the Model is the speech community, not the nation (cf. Schneider 2003, pp. 242-243), as in earlier models, such as the more traditional ENL-ESL or the Circles model proposed in Kachru 1990, among others. The concept of speech community is defined along ethnic lines.

This is important to the Nigerian case, not only because of its ethnic diversity but because the contact experience can be shown to have occurred approximately along such lines.

The Model promulgates five phases in the development and evolution of Postcolonial varieties of English. These developmental phases are: Foundation, Exonormative stabilisation, Nativisation, Endonormative stabilisation, and Differentiation. The phases are linear or quasi-linear, such that these varieties of English progress(ed) from one stage to the next, in order, and on to the last phase – that is, Differentiation. Each of these phases is associated with four components; namely, socio-political background, identity construction, sociolinguistic conditions, and linguistic effects. The components also suggest hierarchical ordering and are contingent; but within each component, there are parameters; which, taken together, are like ‘bundles of features’, unordered, at least explicitly. The Model views the achievement or otherwise of the five phases as yardsticks or some form of indices for estimating the developmental history of postcolonial Englishes as well as assigning certain level of accomplishments to them in respect to their growth. It is on account of this perspective that the framework emphasises that Nigerian English is strongly nativised:

Both English and Pidgin have acquired first-language *native speakers*. English is a family language, and thus becomes the *mother tongue* of children born to these families... (Schneider 2007, p. 207) [added emphasis]

In the section that follows, the highlights of the respective phases (and their components) formulated in the model are outlined.

The Developmental Phases

The five developmental phases in the growth of Postcolonial Englishes, according to the Model understudy, are presented in this section, outlining the main characteristics of each, beginning with the earliest phase, Foundation.

Phase i: foundation

The *Socio-political background* of this phase include that a significant group of settlers bring English to a new territory, which begins to be used in this non-English speaking territory/country. This owes to the founding of military forts and/or trading outposts or immigrant settlements, motivated by political and economic forces at home. The initial migrant population may be small but grow, especially as colonisation commences; and relationships between immigrant and indigenous groups may fall somewhere between friendly to hostile. Identity consciousness sets in, and both groups distinguish “us” and “others”: while the immigrants see themselves as members of a British society

who are representing their homeland in a new territory, and may soon return or would stay and replicate their homeland culturally; the indigenous group, on their part, regard themselves as the only rightful occupants and owners of the territory.

Then “a complex contact situation emerges” (Schneider, 2007, p. 34) as settlers settle in a new territory where indigenous languages are spoken: the first type is dialect contact involving the immigrant population who have come from British dialect backgrounds. The second type arises from the interaction of settlers within the indigenous community; slaves and labourers in plantation colonies are as affected as the indigenous group. Communication between the groups may remain exclusively utilitarian and restricted, while intra-group communication thrives, due to the inability to understand each other; and cross-cultural communication is only required in few contexts, such as trading, or some topics, but only a few individuals are involved. Most members of the settler group may not bother to learn the language of the territory. Missionaries are exceptions to this. Instead, the task of learning the invaders language is laid on the invaded indigenous group. Settlers may compel indigenous groups to learn the settlers’ language; and may train them as interpreters to use them for administration; and this may mark the emergence of marginal bilingualism among the indigenous population; especially as some items of the settler language begins to diffuse through daily contact and natural L₂ acquisition.

For the *Linguistic effects*, “...three processes are worth observing at this stage are Koineization, incipient pidginization and toponymic borrowing” (Schneider, 2007, p. 35). In the course of time speakers will mutually adjust their pronunciation and lexical usage to facilitate understanding – a process generally known as “koinization”, the emergence of a relatively homogenous ‘middle-of-the road’ variety” (Schneider, 2007, p. 35). Settlers’ language development at this initial stage may tend towards linguistic homogeneity. An interdialect may characterise this stage – and this shows in phonetic simplification, and grammatical focusing – a stage involving largely informal oral contexts. The process of koinization may be checked by the involvement of higher status settlers whose adjustment towards vernacular speakers may be minimal. A lingua franca is expected to emerge with the newly emerging contact between people who do not share a language. “Thus, in trade colonies, in particular, incipient pidginization is an option” (Schneider, 2007, p. 36). In general, indigenous languages may not influence the language of the settlers at the early stage of contact; however, the names they gave to places are borrowed, and such tend to stick even if the indigenous culture is annihilated.

Phase ii: Exonormative Stabilization

At the *Socio-political background* of this phase, settlers/or colonies stabilise politically, and their dominance begins to be asserted. English is formally established as the medium of education, administration, law, etc. and is regularly spoken in the new territory. In the course of time, geographical expansion follows to accommodate the expanding economic prosperity of the settlers and a growing number of natives seek to enhance their socio economic fortunes. Also the settlers retain a consciousness of belonging elsewhere (i.e. Britain) and not the new territory, with added consciousness of the difference which their experience of being abroad brings between then and their contemporaries in the homeland. "... it can be assumed that at this stage the identity of the local British community expands to encompass something like 'British plus'" (Schneider, 2007, p. 37) While they may retain Britain as "home", for example, an imagined "myth of return" has set in. Children of mixed ethnic parentage are born, who naturally "develop a hybrid cultural identity" (Schneider, 2007, p. 37) but children with only British parentage align themselves with the culture of their place of birth. Within the native group, things are no longer the same: their English-speaking/known locals are enriched with new worldview which their new contact provides, and gives them an edge over other locals, who may not be so "privileged". Some feeling of higher social status steps in, which may mark the beginning of "segregational elitism" (Schneider, 2007, p. 37) between the English speaking/known natives and other natives. Bilingualism begins to spread among the natives, through increased contact with the settlers and through education (especially in trade and exploitation colonies). The standard linguistic norms of Britain are maintained in education; and the learners group develop interchange characterised and enriched by indigenous vocabulary and interchange patterns.

Core *Linguistic effects* indicate that cross-cultural language contacts begin to add to vocabulary borrowing, syntax and morphological structures; and the settler group gradually modify their spoken English to accord with local realities. If the borrowing of names is taken to mean borrowing denotative entities, this time linguistically meaningful words are borrowed, which marks the "onset of linguistic transfer" (Schneider, 2007, p. 39). This begins with adopting names for objects which the settlers encounter for the first time in the new territory; a linguistic expression for their being "British plus". It is such borrowings that are characterised with 'isms', such as Americanism, Nigerianism, and so on. Among natives who know English, structural nativisation emerges slowly as they shift to a new language; and British settlers may classify the speech of locals as "more or less 'good' or 'broken' depending upon its communicative effectiveness" (Schneider, 2007, p. 40).

Phase iii: Nativisation

Schneider (2007, p. 40) surmises that this phase marks "... the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation."

For settlers, this marks a phase of striving towards increasing cultural and linguistic independence from Britain; that is, "when the 'mother country' is gradually not felt that much of a 'mother' any longer, that the offspring will start going their own ways, politically and linguistically ..." (Schneider, 2007, pp. 40-41). Characteristically, political debates emerge as the wind of independence – political and linguistic – gathers momentum. Parties that welcome the change are pitched against the conservatives who would campaign for a return to status quo ante.

In the former British Empire, this stage has found a conventional political expression, useful to both sides and conforming to the perception of their mutual relationship, in the form of the 'Common Wealth of Nations', especially in its early phase Schneider. (2007, p. 41)

"The movement toward psychological, political, and economic independence and its consequences significantly affects the identity constructions of parties involved, resulting in a kind of 'semi-autonomy'" (Schneider, 2007, p.41), and the gap between settlers and natives reduces; while "differences in cultural background, ethnicity, language, prosperity, and lifestyle ... are gradually reduced in importance" (Schneider, 2007, p. 41). Thus, contacts between both groups are common and regular, involving "significant portions of both groups in various situations, roles, and contexts" (Schneider, 2007, p. 42); and certain degree of accommodation is employed for effective or successful communication. The labour of accommodation may be heavy on the indigenous group – this occurs as acculturation for learner groups, essentially those indigenous groups; and the degree of acculturation varies from person to person, group to group and territory to territory. The pressure on natives to accommodate increases, leading to widespread second language acquisition of English; and, subsequently, to language shift. One consequence of this is the attrition or even death of local languages. Among the settler group, those who may be less conservative accommodate towards the English variety of the native group – an innovative variety, which borrows indigenous language vocabulary and other features. The conservative settler group may insist on metropolitan norms, rejecting the innovations, but the metropolitan norm at this stage is already clearly "an external one" (Schneider, 2007, p. 43). Complaints about deviations from the 'norms' take the centre stage and conflict of opinions arise over them - what was called "'complaints tradition' by Milroy (1985) – "the stereotypical statement by conservative language observers that linguistic usage keeps deteriorating, that in the new country 'corrupt' usage can be heard which should be avoided ... in any case, in the

course of time, the readiness to accept localised forms gradually also in formal contexts increases inexorably” (p. 43).

...This stage results in the heaviest effects on the restructuring of the English language itself” as “the acts of identity’... are not only a matter of perception, but they have formal realization in lexicalization, in syntax, and in discourse, styles and genres ... it is at the heart of the birth of a new, formally distinct PCE [Postcolonial English]. (Schneider, 2007, p. 44)

Changes are most conspicuous at the level of vocabulary “predominantly, loans from indigenous languages” (Schneider, 2007, p. 44). “The speech of indigenous groups show marked local accent, often identified as transfer phenomena from the phonology of indigenous languages ... with proximity to native speaker’s pronunciation forms increasing in correlation with status, education, and frequency of interaction with them... In the course of time...some local pronunciation forms are adopted more widely and begin to develop into a local form (not necessarily accepted as formal norm) of pronunciation” (Schneider, 2007, p. 44). Changes in morphology and syntax show constructions peculiar to a given territory (e.g., “instead of him to travel home” used in Nigeria; “two’s bread” used in Fiji). “It is noteworthy that in this process speakers are not merely passive recipients of linguistic forms drawn from input varieties, exposed to processes of contact-induced change such as interference; in contrast, they function as “language builders” actively involved in the creation of something new. At this stage the gap between 1st language and 2nd language forms diminish gradually. The early stage of indigenisation may target modification of lexico-grammatical constraints; lexical chunks or bundles are built with characteristic collocations which include the emergence of phrasal nouns and phrasal verbs in the speech of indigenous groups, especially. The innovation may include changes in the pragmatics of language use, modifying cultural conventions of communication, usually by borrowing from indigenous languages in such contact situation. They may include “distinctive conventions for greetings, the expression of politeness and status differences...” (Schneider, 2007, p. 47) Mixing of codes occur not only as a marker of bilingualism as in codeswitching, but as an identity carrier. “Mixed codes apparently originate when native language of IDG strand [the indigenous group] is strongly rooted in the community (and possibly receives official support) and English also enjoys high prestige (but access to it is limited)” (Schneider, 2007, p. 48).

Phase iv: Endonormative Stabilisation

Typically this phase is marked with cultural self-reliance and associated new identity construction sequel to political separation and political independence. It presupposes political independence for a local linguistics norm to be accepted also in formal contexts, as it is necessary that a community is entitled

to decide language matters as affairs of its own. At this stage also the settler group perceives themselves as members of a newly born nation, which includes the identity shared by the indigenous group. This new identity thus emphasises the new territory and not historical background or settler history. Ethnic boundaries in the new identity/territory are also de-emphasised. “In a collective psychological sense, this is the birth of a new nation – [where nation is a mental construct] – emphasising shared traits and ignoring internal differences” (Schneider, 2007, p. 49). In multicultural young nations, this marks a phase of “nation building”, often as an explicit political goal, which the society shares in general but it might be optional for individuals. The newly achieved psychological independence and acceptance of indigenous identity correlates “locally rooted linguistic self-confidence” (Schneider, 2007, p. 49) and gradual adoption and acceptance of local forms of English, as a means of expression of that identity; and local norms, once stigmatised by British norms, begin to gain acceptance even in formal usage, especially, with vocabulary items, and hesitantly with syntactic elements. However, traces of previous norms may remain, especially among more conservative groups; but such reservations, including the “complaint tradition” take a minority position. In terms of terminology, “English in x” is substituted with “x English”, x a linguistic community. Following a high degree of cultural and linguistic independence, there’s the emergence of “‘literary creativity’ in English, rooted in the new culture and adopting elements of the new language variety” (Schneider, 2007, p. 50). This is expressed in the emergence of new literatures in English as a major development, for more than five decades. Many of such writers have been extremely successful; and include Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, and a host of others, who have distinguished themselves in Nigerian English literature and won various international prizes for their works. Also, “It is characteristic of this phase that the new indigenous language variety is perceived as remarkably homogenous, and that this homogeneity is in fact emphasised” (Schneider, 2007, p. 57). The acceptance of new linguistic norms implies codification “...it is a characteristic trait of this phase that dictionaries of the respective PCEs are produced... once such a dictionary is out, it strengthens the distinct national and linguistic identity, and also the forms used to signal it” (Schneider, 2007, p. 52).

Phase v: Differentiation

At the background of this phase society evolves its own social categories in respect to status, social groupings, etc. and these assume prominence. Such internal stratification is perceived as a consequence of external stability, “the absence of an external challenge” (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). There is a feeling of secure self-existence of a young nation, which relies on its own strength – having no need to be compared with any other(s). Also within this phase “The citizens of a young nation no longer define themselves primarily as a single social entity in relation to the former colonial power but rather as a composite

The rationale for this focus is simply that they are the phases within which there are issues which are not clearly decided with respect to Nigerian English. The goal of this study includes examining them with a view to resolving them. Within these, the distinguishing characteristics of the proposed stages crucial to a better definition of Nigerian English may be most clearly evinced. From this investigation, evidence for the Endonormative stabilisation of Nigerian English and a systematic history of its development emerge, as well as evidence for Differentiation. Such evidence indicates the nature of updates required and provides materials essential to the purpose. It also invariably questions the notion of linearity enshrined in the Model. These are discussed, among other issues, in the sections that follow.

Discussion

The model and the Nigerian experience

Among others, the Model indicates phase by phase certain properties of Nigerian English, based on its contact experience. It argues convincingly about the developments that constitute the foundation of Nigerian English, its exonormative stabilisation and nativisation. The arguments are expressed in very clear terms and are strong, especially for the latter, and would deserve no further comments here. In general, Nigerian English is shown to have clearly achieved the first three phases noted above. The following remarks by Schneider (2007) may therefore be noteworthy:

All the ...evidence indicates that English in Nigeria has progressed deeply into phase 3, has nativized strongly, and is still gaining ground at rapid pace. The obvious follow up question is therefore whether there are signs that the country is moving onto phase 4. I believe that a number of such indicators can be identified, though somewhat shakily; i.e. endonormative stability has not yet been reached but it may be just around the corner. (p. 210) [but adds], one component of phase 4 is already reality in Nigeria: Nigerian Pidgin and English have gained respectively by having been employed in literary creativity, reflecting the African experience. (p. 212)

It thus follows from the above that, in addition to reaching phase 3, Nigerian English shows indications of reaching phase 4 as well, only that the relevant indicators are yet to be considered strong. The next section addresses this and similar issues and extends the research to provide an update.

The nature of the Model suggests certain essential properties. These include that the Model is linear or quasi-linear; its parameters are indexical and they parallel features perceived to be implicitly binary; they are unidirectional and developmental or incremental and may not be otherwise, as conceived.

We do assume for this section that the Model's account of the development of Postcolonial Englishes, including Nigerian English, is quite revealing. Comments are therefore provided only where necessary: specifically, our remarks address questions regarding psychological independence, which is coextensive with the achievement of local linguistic identity; issues on codification; literary creativity; homogenisation, and diversification - issues raised by the Model about Nigerian English, which appear yet undecided in the framework or require updating. For this purpose, our study examines the sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects postulated for the respective phases, within which these parameters occur. There is evidence for Endonormative stabilisation of Nigerian English, arising from the survey, a systematic history of its development, as well as evidence for differentiation. These, in general, appear to raise questions on the validity of the notion of linearity enshrined in the Model. To proceed, we examine each of the points which aim to characterise the two subcategories or components listed under Endonormative stabilisation and Differentiation respectively.

Endonormative stabilisation

Under this phase, we are concerned with the following aforementioned which we reproduce here for emphasis (sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects):

Sociolinguistic conditions. One main stipulation in this component of the development is ideological. It is associated with the achievement of psychological independence which expresses itself as acceptance of "locally rooted linguistic self-confidence"; that is, indigenous identity; and correlates gradual adoption and acceptance of local forms of English, as a means of expression of that identity. There are indications that this stipulation should be taken as accomplished in the development of Nigerian English. Evidence for this might be enormous; but the following may suffice to substantiate the point: the first president of the federal republic of Nigeria, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, expressed the Nigerian ownership of Nigerian English in terms of "our own" – the inclusive "our" that stresses communal commonalities and discriminates 'others' with a near brutal blade. Kachru (1995, pp. vi –vii) captures and underscores this as a mark of the Nigerian socio-cultural ideology, as follows:

The story of English in Nigeria is not new in a chronological sense. There is a long history of trade between Europe and Nigeria, essentially for precious metal and ivory, and for slaves. It is claimed that there were varieties of English used in Nigeria in the 16th century ... the newness may be characterised in terms of recognition of the African canon in linguistic and literary creativity by the 'Inner Circle'. This has been slow in coming, but it has finally come ... And more important [sic], there is newness *in*

terms of confidence in creativity and innovations. It is in this sense that *English writing in Nigeria has become 'our national literature'* as claimed by Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first president of Nigeria ... [added emphasis]

Furthermore, Professor Wole Soyinka underscores the cultural achievement in respect to Nigerian English as a canon of African Englishes, and points to the cultural aptitude underlying the development of Nigerian English as some form of cultural reprocessing, thus:

black people twisted the linguistic blade in the hands of the traditional cultural castrator and carved new concepts into the flesh of white supremacy; the result is...the conversion of the enslaving medium into an insurgent weapon. (Kachru, 1995, p. viii)

Similarly, the ideology of “one Nigeria” is vigorously pursued since the 70s; and the ideology of ‘unity in diversity’ predates it, being enshrined in the old National Anthem, since the 60s. A relevant part of its first verse reads, “...though tribe and tongue may differ in brotherhood we stand...”. Thus, “one Nigeria” and “unity in diversity” corporately make an essential psychological demand on the soul of the nation and its individual citizens to preserve the shared brotherhood – understood to host the shared single bio-cultural route expressed as a ‘family’ in the Nigerian cultures and worldview (cf. Wolff, 2007, Ugorji, 2009). Therefore, if national unity or stability fundamentally refers to national ideology, there seems to be no ground to deny this as realism for Nigeria. However, national conscience and consciousness must be divorced from prejudice at the level of individuals here and there, which nonetheless is attested in human societies in general. There is no doubt that, in Nigeria, ethnic loyalties are strong but national loyalty is understood to derive therefrom as an aggregation of such sub-loyalties; and much of the remaining political tensions in contemporary Nigeria are about questions of justice and governance, the global Islamic radicalisation apart.

We may turn next to the stipulation for the emergence of “literary creativity” built on “a high degree of cultural and linguistic independence”. Here, among numerous others, the works of Professor Chinua Achebe are celebrated as being monumental. His foremost novel, *Things Fall Apart*, for which he won prizes, was published in 1958. Also, Professor Wole Soyinka is a Nobel Prize laureate. His works are celebrated; and they are Nigerian English literature. He received his honour in 1986. These dates are remarkable: whereas the stipulation requires five decades, these dates make it obvious that Nigerian English exceeds this standard.

The complex cline of varieties and linguistic diversities which characterise Nigerian English are no doubt evidence for internal heterogeneity; but there’s a flourishing collective identity, which hosts a cognitive construct of Nigerianness of the English, commonly expressed as ‘our own’; not to ignore the individual conservative nostalgia for the status quo ante remaining here

and there; but this minority conservatism diminishes by day. Research indicates the existence of several varieties of Nigerian English (see further details elsewhere: Jowitt, 1991, Banjo, 1995, Ugorji, 2010). For social Nigerian English varieties, for example, four or more typologies are identified. (Regional varieties are a lot more). Four varieties are suggested in Brosnahan 1958 (see Angogo & Hancock, 1980); Banjo, 1995; Jibril, 1986, Jowitt, 1991), to mention but a few. Banjo's classification which is most popular among scholars may specially be noted (cf. Ugorji, 2010):

1. mother-tongue based (associated with heavy mother tongue transfers characteristic of the semi- educated, generally below post primary education)
2. influenced by mother-tongue (shows mother tongue transfers and lack of vital phonological distinctions, associated with speakers who may have at least primary education)
3. close to RP (characteristic of some speakers with university education)
4. indistinguishable from RP (associated with speakers who may be more highly educated and some who have some training in the Humanities and phonetics)

Nigerian English is shown as a natural cline, ranging from the English of the semi-literate (variety 1) to the variety 4 which is equivalent to RP according to the analysis. As shown, variety 4 hardly differs from standard British English. Variety 3 may refer to near-native or near-RP forms and 2 and 1 show various degrees of mother- tongue influence. Banjo (1995) and Eka (1985), among others, further inform that varieties 2 to 4 are internationally intelligible, but that intelligibility increases towards variety 4. Variety 1, however, may not be intelligible abroad, and decreases in intelligibility the farther one moves from its regional base. The standard variety by scholarly consensus is estimated in Jibril's account as "a union of Sophisticated Hausa and Sophisticated Southern varieties" noting that there is pressure towards a southern- influenced model, estimated closer to Banjo's varieties 3 and 4. In other words, while homogenisation very clearly exists, there are mother-tongue influenced usage and L₂ usage co-existing with it. The latter two host ethnic and regional marks. Schneider (2003, p. 254) argues that this is also characteristic of Englishes elsewhere: in New Zealand, Canada, Australia, South Africa and Singapore.

In terms of terminology, "English in x" is substituted with "x English". Obviously, this stipulation is to be taken as part of the ideological achievements with respect to the growth and subsequent recognition of the independence of Postcolonial Englishes, in general. Kachru's (1995, p. vi) estimate suggests more than six decades for Nigerian English:

During the past 50 years – and much more before that – the achievements of Nigerian English education have been impressive and multifaceted. The

West Africans have over time given English a Nigerian identity. ... The authenticity and ultimate recognition of this canon were never in doubt, particularly after the 1950s.

However, the terminology, “x English” as against “English in x” more clearly belongs to the English linguistics of the 90s, and follows from the gains of the ideological debates apparently championed by Braj Kachru and his associates (cf. Kachru, 1985, 1990, etc). The award of the Nobel Prize in literature to Wole Soyinka must be taken to imply world recognition for the authenticity of Nigerian English. He became the first to win this prize from the Outer Circle Englishes. “x English” formula has for decades been attributed to Nigerian English apparently as part of the recognition. It also has accordingly been reflected in (the titles of) a host of research works, especially beginning from the 1980s: Atoye, 1991; Awonusi, 1986; Bamiro, 1991; Banjo, 1995; Blench 2008; Eka, 1985; Gut, 2004; Jibril, 1986; Jowitt, 1991; Simo Bobda, 1995; Udofot, 1997; Ugorji, 2010; Ugorji & Osiruemu, 2007. .

Linguistic effects

Here, the Model’s main stipulation is stated as “It is characteristic of this phase that the new indigenous language variety is perceived as remarkably homogenous, and that this homogeneity is in fact emphasised” (Schneider, 2007 p. 57).

This stipulation appears to follow from the recognition of the Nigerian variety as an independent canon of world Englishes; and the appreciable research efforts represented by journal articles and books which bear Nigerian English as (part of) their titles indirectly evince homogeneity – a phenomenon expressed in Nigerian English linguistics research as “convergence” or more specifically ‘convergence of educated usage’ (cf. Bamgbose, 1995, Banjo, 1995). Educational goals target the convergence patterns as norms, in lieu of explicit policy, conservatism preferences apart. One must also appreciate the fact that the body of research that address this concern is rapidly growing. Thus, it is not only the ideological convictions that attest to the existence of Nigerian English; there are consistent patterns of structural and non-structural properties of the language which are taken to be typical. Jowitt (1991), for instance provides a glossary of Nigerian English lexical items; Igboanusi (2002) shows a larger body of lexical elements in a mini dictionary. Morphosyntactic materials appear in Bamgbose (1995), Jowitt (1991), Igboanusi (2006); phonological materials appear in Gut (2004), Simo Bobda (1995), Udofot (1997), Criper-Friedman (1990), Atoye (1991), and Ugorji (2010). Studies that address non-structural patterns include Jowitt (1991), Ugorji and Osiruemu (2007), Wolff (2007), Awonusi (1986), and Schneider (2007). As earlier noted, homogenisation exists alongside lectal differentiation in the Nigerian experience.

The requirement for codification appears fundamental and Schneider (2007, p. 212) complains that not appearing to have achieved this leaves a gap in the development of Nigerian English, “what is missing, however, is the stabilization of a more homogenous concept of a standard Nigerian English, i.e. an explicit codification.”

The requirement for codification is hinged on the development of dictionaries. It is taken as a fundamental feature of this stage; and such dictionaries play the all important role of strengthening a distinct national and linguistic identity. He, however, notes Jowitt (1991), in particular, as one such evidence of codification; but that more is required, central to which are dictionaries. This requirement may, in the view of this study, be taken as accomplished, if one considers not only Jowitt (1991) in general terms but also in its inclusion of a glossary of lexical elements; and Igboanusi’s (2002) dictionary of Nigerian English, in addition. But, more importantly, this Nigerian English dictionary has been around for about eight years, even though it might be regarded as a mini-dictionary. Others are under construction, and include Blench (2008). Ugorji (2010, 2013) also belong to the category of works critical to codification; especially as it characterises, among others, phonological properties of the clines and a model for pedagogical engagements. It is still possible to regard these achievements as an early stage of or rudimentary to “explicit codification” relatively, and glossed over, if the Dynamic Model conceptualises the stipulation in terms of degrees, which may not be the case. Rather, the stipulated properties might be binary valued, involving either presence or absence of a given feature or property. This conviction is implied in the Model: in qualifying Canadian English for “Differentiation”, for instance, what might be taken as incipient lectal diversification is concluded as diversification indeed: it points out on page 250 that, for Canadian English, “new regional dialect distinctions are emerging” and cites Chambers’ (1991, p. 99) hypothesis which states that “In the course of time, one might expect that regionalisms will accumulate, ultimately diversifying Canadian urban accents;” it adds that “some of these emerging regional markers are worked out by Boberg (2004, p. 360) and Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006, pp. 220-224). The point then is that, since the above account of emerging lectal diversification qualifies as diversification, then, the conception might be regarded as simply binary valued – that is, a given feature is either present or not present. This, therefore, leads one to safely conclude that (since a marginal presence of lectal differentiation qualifies Canadian English to participate in phase 5 category), Nigerian English which does attest to codification, including dictionary development, should be taken as codified² and participate in Endonormative stabilisation without further reservations. Considering these properties, it must be taken that the crucial indices for Endonormative stabilisation – phase 4 – stipulated in the Model are satisfied in Nigerian English. We may now examine Differentiation also, the final stage proposed by the Model.

Differentiation

As in the preceding section, our main concern under this phase is with the sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects:

Sociolinguistic conditions

“...At this stage an individual’s contacts are strongly determined by the individual’s social networks, within which the density of communicative interactions is highest...” (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). The possible indicators of this condition are the closer social ties and interaction of the educated and elite class across the country; they occupy higher positions in jobs and professions and are associated with higher social status. At the sociolinguistic level, they identify fundamentally with acrolectal patterns.

Linguistic effects

The core of the linguistic effects stipulated for this phase is that it “marks the onset of a vigorous phase of new or increased internal sociolinguistic diversification”, expressed in two dimensions – regional and social lects – and observable in accents, lexical expression, and “structural patterns which carry a diagnostic function only within the new country” (Schneider, 2007, p. 53). In other words, the emergence and growth of lectal variants, at this stage, might simply refer to a more conscious interpretation of the observed lects (social and regional) and the assignment of sociolinguistic meanings to them – such that they are cognised as items of acceptable norms and of appropriateness, but bear meanings which call up social information, including speaker identity – social and ethnic and regional backgrounds; and appropriateness is judged with respect to cultural and sociological contexts. However, Schneider (2007, p. 54) remarks that “....in practically all cases we simply do not have evidence to tell when regional diversification may have started...” In view of this remark, there is indication that the Nigerian case may not have been taken into consideration, probably due to poor access to data. On the contrary, the commencement of lectal differentiation in the Nigerian experience can be specified. It is in fact demonstrable in the view of the present research. In general, it may be shown to have commenced with earliest contact inceptions. In particular, the Nigerian situation commenced on multiple culture contacts (evidence for this is already discussed in earlier sections), involving variant historical points in time as well; such that it appears rather more appropriate to talk about diversity and not necessarily “diversification” from Nigerian English foundations. The nature of the diverse cultures in the contact formation may be recalled for the present purpose: The Nigerian contact situation is such that while the northern contacts commenced with formal education and standard or RP-like norms, the west started with trade contacts, as well as the east. But while the eastern contacts involved speakers of Scots and Irish Englishes, logically without a reference pattern and a reference population to drive accommodation and acculturation (cf. Van Rooy, 2010),

the west had more of southern British speakers and professionals. Furthermore, while the local group in the west contributed from Yoruba ethnic background, the settler group provided more formal English predominantly. The eastern local groups contributed from the ethnolinguistic strand dominated by Igbo, and the settler group provided the ethnolinguistic stock of Scottish English and Irish English. The local strand in the northern region contributed ethnolinguistic entities dominated by Hausa and the settler group contributed formal and standard British English. These multi-varied foundations might therefore correlate the formation and emergence of regional varieties of English in Nigeria³. Furthermore, contacts in the south (including the west and the east) are dated from the sixteen century, and the north is dated around early twentieth century. Gorlach (1998, pp. 126-127), for example, specifies that by the 1840s English schools were already established in the south but the first European school in the north came by 1909 in Kano; and that English was adopted as a lingua franca in the south at a very early stage. Within the periods under review, distinct varieties were born within the distinct independent nation groups, prior to their amalgamation in 1914. Considering also the vast land over which the Nigerian English is spoken, it appears realistic to add that not only time but distance contributes to the diversification as well – combining two factors – the near sporadic non-contiguous founding and the geographical spread. Thus, if input materials contribute to the formation and development of linguistic varieties, the linguistic ecology described above must be taken to mark the formation of lectal differentiation of patterns. The origin of regional lectal differentiation therefore appears in general specifiable in Nigerian English; but the origin of social lectal differentiation appears largely obscure even though the inceptions of the contacts do imply social differentiation as well, especially when higher education commenced with associated elitism or a more subtle social stratification.

In view of these facts, the main characteristics of phase 5, diversification, has been around much earlier than homogeneity which characterises phase 4, and occurs at acrolectal levels, where it is often difficult to tell the regional background of its speakers from their speech. If the stipulations of Schneider's Model should be taken strictly, then, both phases 4 and 5 may be assumed to merge in Nigerian English; otherwise, it raises a question on the validity of the claims on linearity. While we observe homogeneity of acrolectal norms, differentiation remains, especially at regional levels in mesolectal norms and lower levels. Differentiation, as noted, is taken as part of the early features of Nigerian English; but homogeneity might be part of its 80s and 90s developmental history. In addition to wider educational engagements, the latter appears largely facilitated by the much larger number of university graduates who take up teaching jobs in the north and across regions as well as public service jobs and businesses. This is further facilitated by the National Youth Service Corps scheme (among others) which, following the Civil War, targeted national integration. The main linguistic evidence for this is

putatively the homogenisation of the English, achieved through a strong pressure to accommodate towards a southern (acrolectal) model. Using pronunciation as a guide, Jowitt's (1991, p. 71) survey sums the situation thus:

There are three types of pronunciation used by Nigerians. One of them is RP; the others are two different types of PNE [Popular Nigerian English] ... Pronunciation everywhere in the country is influenced by the RP model, which – as in Britain – has no geographical base. The development of general proficiency in English tends to approximate to the RP standard...

Remarks on the tenets of the model

This section discusses some of the properties of the Dynamic Model which border on its robustness as a theory of language change and its objective operability. There are also ontological issues and meta-linguistic considerations.

So far, we have assumed that the parameters proposed in the Model for assessing the progress of postcolonial Englishes might be binary, permitting presence or absence of a parameter. This is however not explicit in the model. Instead, one gleans the binary possibility from comparing the applications of such parameters from one case study to another. A case in point (already noted above), for example, is with respect to diversification in Canadian English – where certain emerging diversification still marks presence of diversification. However true this is to the conceptualisation, it is not entirely consistent in application; since we find that the parameter of codification might selectively require scalar values, not binary values, when applied to Nigerian English, for example. Similarly, the use of expressions such as “nativized strongly” and “a high degree of cultural and linguistic independence”, among others, suggest scalar values. The following questions therefore remain to be resolved: are the defining features or components merely relative and therefore provide for imprecision or subjectivity? Are they graduated, in degrees, and what degrees qualify the presence of a particular parameter for inclusion or exclusion? Could the features be quantifiable, in which case a certain percentage is to be considered reasonable; and what percentage could that be? Or are the features binary, suggesting only presence or absence of a feature, and therefore comparable to “distinctive features” in Generative linguistics?

Also, the Model conceptualises that the essential properties of growth or progression of postcolonial Englishes are linear or quasi-linear; that is, they are directional, but only unidirectional – progressing from phase i to phase v. They are also developmental or incremental and may not be otherwise, as conceived. However, from the evidence so far considered with respect to Nigerian English, it seems clear that phases iv and v might be indistinguishable or may have merged. The ontological basis of the phases therefore becomes questionable, especially when the parameters of homogenisation and diversification cannot readily apply in any perceivable

linearity; instead, the order appears clearly reversed, but might be simultaneous when the development of acrolectal norms and societal elitism are considered. It is apparently in view of observations such as this that Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008, p. 35) opine that Schneider's Model remains to be tested. Specifically, they remark that

it seems possible ... that a territory could move from phase 3 to 5, bypassing phase 4; [specifying that] this could be a territory in which English became nativized and substantially differentiated into sub-dialects, without there being a commonly accepted endonormative standard; [and that] varieties of English in West Africa appear to follow this route.

The issue may be addressed possibly by relaxing the linearity condition, essentially by permitting parametric preferences; such that certain varieties of English (or indeed of any language) may prefer certain routes in their developmental processes. The other is for the Model to conflate the parameters enunciated in phase 5 with 4, thereby eliminating 5, especially as it appears rather redundant as shown in the Nigerian experience; and since the parameters proposed in the Model are not hierarchical, no ordering may be required in their operationalisation. Figure 2 shows a revised sketch of phase 4, as the new final phase, may be shown thus (all components being constant, and only unordered parameters indicated):

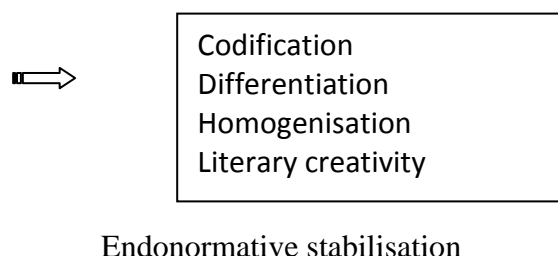


Figure 2

Revised model with phase 4 as the new final phase

Further to ontological issues is the conceptualisation of dynamism within the Model. If the concept of dynamism is about changes which occur in a given body, and brought about by forces in interaction, there is a clear sense in which it applies to language change as the Model has shown. Dynamism appears most practically observable in physical mechanics and related systems; and may be describable in terms of both directionality and dimensionality of change, which are usually measurable. Social phenomena such as language present a difficult challenge; but the Model has tackled this very elegantly: it indicates the changes which occur over-time to be unidirectional, and not otherwise. This latter property appears too strong,

however, given the fact that the framework acknowledges the possibility of radical changes, which may be occasioned by radical policies, citing the case of Australia after the World War II. Schneider (2007) gives further instances such as examples of wars, the outcome of social hostilities, a military coup by some radical group, a major cultural re-orientation, etc. and emphasises, “certainly such events would affect the attitude toward and hence the fate of English in a given community, and might change, redirect or lift the drift implied in the Dynamic Model” (cf. p. 57). If therefore the Model represents a model of dynamism in a general sense, not providing for this must be considered a gap in the theory, especially if its account of language developmental histories and contact linguistics anticipates the future as well. By considering more literally or broadly the ontological basis of dynamism this might be fixed. It may mean making provision for a fuller assessment of dynamism based on its potential to bring about change, any change, or to make new things happen. Thus, it includes, as parts of its potential paths, linearity and non-linearity, and bi-directionality; thereby providing not only for progression but also for stagnation, retardation or regression: whereas progression targets ‘incremental development’ or growth, regression targets the opposite direction, which may be occasioned by forces of retardation or inertia (illustrated in the model in terms of radical socio-political interventions adverse to growth). Stagnation represents a half-way between the two. For practical situations in general, progression may correlate language vitality – expansion of use domains and user demography – occasioned by favourable policies, favourable principles of sociolinguistic species selection and diversification, favourable use economics, and so on; while regression may correlate language attrition in use domains and user demography, and at its extreme, *linguicide*.

Eco-linguistic dynamism might impact human languages, their birth, growth, development, stability, vitality, decline, death and resuscitation. It is thus mutation in the ecology that marks the starting point for changes which introduce new properties into individuals, groups and any aggregations formed by them. It may therefore be summed in general that a dynamic model would provide for inertia, depression, growth, stability, etc and may identify short and long term changes in the ecology. Since contact ecology is inextricably tied to socio-cultural and linguistic variables, it would naturally involve a multi-dimensional or multi-directional dynamism – linear, non-linear, and haphazard. Variables may be complementary and interdependent. They interact in quest for balance, and may seek new equilibria when changes occur, introduced by contact with new variables and/or socio-cultural energy, definable in terms of both individual and institutional or corporate cognition; and spelt out as ideas, thoughts, emotions, values, technology, etc with different intensities.

Eco-linguistic dynamism might then be shown to be an essential investigative paradigm in the science of contact linguistics. Its concern is the mutations occurring in contact ecology, the participating variables – cultural

and linguistic – institutions, power structures, social energy and intensity. Others are factors which check, foster, destroy (or introduce catastrophes in) the ecology; and factors which host resilience and stability, as well as the mutual interactions of variables, the tensions and the competitions. If these properties are taken into account, the Model may be given greater capacity. Otherwise, it might be termed something like a “developmental transition model”, if the entailments of the notion of ‘dynamism’ are not intended.

Notwithstanding the issues so far raised, the Model is insightful as an investigative paradigm for contact-induced language change and for postcolonial Englishes. The fact therefore remains that the purpose of the Model, which is “to provide a uniform description of a set of processes that have occurred independently of each other in reality – a generalization which abstracts from many complexities and details” (Schneider, 2007, p. 55) is not diminished (indeed, as Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, p. 31) state, “none of the models are able to do justice to the intricacies of specific countries”). Instead, the Model would be further enriched and made more robust, taking these remarks into consideration.

Summary

Our study so far has examined the tenets of Schneider’s Dynamic Model and re-evaluated its characterisation of Nigerian English to provide an update. The Model is an investigative paradigm and a research tool for Postcolonial Englishes from the perspective of contact-induced change. It proposes that the growth of these varieties of Englishes (have) progress(ed) along five developmental phases. The phases are linear, and constitute a yardstick for estimating the extent of growth or development of individual varieties. Nigerian English is shown to have achieved up to the 3rd phase, nativisation; and there are indications that certain properties of its 4th phase, endonormative stabilisation, may be noticeable, but are thought inadequate to merit any conclusive statements. Such inconclusive statements and gaps motivate the current research, which adduces research evidence to update the modelling of Nigerian English in Schneider’s framework.

Following the survey of the foundations of Nigerian English and evidence from its much later development, evidence for both its 4th and 5th (Differentiation) phases do clearly emerge; however, not in the linear order posited in the Model. Instead, the linguistic differences between phases 4 and 5 may be blurred with respect to the Nigerian experience. More specifically, it is demonstrated that until 1914, there was no entity called Nigeria. There were rather numerous ethnic nationalities living in the then Niger Area who spoke different languages. These nationalities had contact with English at relatively different points, times, and intensities. But when in 1914 they were merged and called Nigeria, the varieties of English founded here and there and the different culture ecologies were, as it were, merged; thus laying the foundation for diverse Englishes. Since there were diverse Englishes already, what could

be expected is homogenisation and not diversification. Thus, following the amalgamation of the northern and southern British Protectorates in the Niger Area, the linguistic ecology with respect to English may be readily perceived as lectal varieties. The national pedagogical enterprise, through its target at the Received Pronunciation, undertook the task of homogenisation. The outcome is the existence of a variety identified in Nigerian English linguistics research as a convergence of educated English (usage/speech) – a development that indicates homogenisation, if not equate it. In general, there is want of specifiable evidence for a post-homogenisation diversification; but both diversification and homogenisation are well attested.

As part of endonormative stabilisation, the requirement for indigenous identity is evidently satisfied: English is ‘our English’, and literary creativity and innovation express it in literary scholarship. Similarly, the requirements for codification including dictionary development appeared evidently satisfied. In general, if the parameters proposed in the Model are binary valued, Nigerian English appears to make it on every count. If otherwise, there needs to be clearly defined scalar values or so. If left as they are, then, their inconsistency remains, and licence subjectivism; and they might be doubtful altogether or simply remain in want of objective operationalisation.

While still sympathetic to Schneider’s (2003, p. 241) own emphasis; namely, that

... even if in specific circumstances some details may have developed somewhat differently and there may be apparent counterexamples to some of the trends worked out ..., on the whole the process is real, and is robust.

It is convincing to conclude that certain characterisations of Nigerian English in Schneider’s Dynamic Model need to be updated: following the evidence so far examined and the discussions, it is on the part of realism to show systematically that Nigerian English participates not only in Nativisation (phase 3) but also in Endonormative Stabilisation (phase 4) and Differentiation (diversification), if the two are not conflated as simply phase 4. It may also need to be made more robust to account more adequately for contact-induced language change and probably for language change in general, by considering a broadened perspective of dynamism. Whatever growth or development Nigerian English (or indeed any other variety) has achieved, whatever the gains shown in research efforts and the updates provided, the fact remains that we are dealing with a continuing process, without buying the myth of ‘maturation’ (cf. Anchimbe, 2009).

Notes

¹Blythe and Croft's 2009 recent proposal may be interesting for this purpose, but its focus is not contact-induced change. Its account of language change addresses mechanisms of language use and frequency of language tokens, coordinated by variant selection mechanisms and fitness values.

²Codification remains a process, nonetheless.

³In fact, in view of Schneider's 2003 emphasis on ethnolinguistic groups or language communities (not nations) as the domain for the developmental history of postcolonial varieties, it might be more revealing to investigate the contact experiences of individual ethnolinguistic communities in the Nigerian case.

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English Language Education Situation in India: Pedagogical Perspectives

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Abstract

This paper attempts to present a critical review of the current state of English language education in schools in India in view of the prevalent pedagogical policies and practices. Different types of schools in the different school systems and typologies of teaching situations, the diverse nature of curriculum, syllabi, materials development, and the related quality issues are critically analyzed. Based on the critical perspectives and insights certain pedagogically important implications have been explored and recommendations made to improve upon the standards and quality of English language education in schools in India.

Keywords: English language education, diversity and disparity, schools in India, prevalent pedagogical policies and practices

English Language Education Today

English language teaching in India is a complex and diverse phenomenon in terms of resources for teaching and learning of the language, the teacher, pedagogical practices and the demand for the language. It is an ever-expanding part of almost every system and stage of education in India (Tickoo, 2004). Out of 35 states and Union Territories, 26 have introduced English as a language from class 1, of which 12.98% are primary schools, 18.25% are upper primary schools and 25.84% are schools at the secondary level (National Council of Educational Research (NCERT), 2007). A network of secondary schools numbering more than 110,000, some 11,000 colleges, universities (numbering 221 apart from 40 odd deemed universities) and other institutions of higher learning and research whose numbers and reach keep growing, offer instruction in and through this language at various levels and under different arrangements. Table 1 shows the increase in the use of English as a medium of instruction at the school level.

Table 1

English as a medium of instruction in Indian schools

	Primary		Upper Primary		Secondary	
	1 993	2 002	1 993	2 002	1 993	2 002
English as medium in %	4 .99	1 2.98	1 5.91	1 8.25	1 8.37	2 5.84

Source: Seventh All India School Education Survey- 2002 (NCERT, 2007)

The near-total achievement of universalization of elementary education has intensified pressure on secondary and higher secondary education in the country today. This is the stage when the English language attains greater importance as it serves as an additional instrument for undertaking higher education because 90% of higher education is through the medium of English.

English language education is marked by diversity and disparity in terms of provision and resources for teaching of English as a second language as well as a medium of instruction in school education. There are varieties of school systems that exist in the country today: the state-run schools where the medium of instruction is the state language or the vernacular; the English-medium schools known as the “public schools”, which are actually private schools where the medium of instruction is often English; the Kendriya Vidyalayas, also known as Central Schools, where the children of central government employees study; and a special category of schools known as the Navodaya Vidyalayas set up as a follow-up to the National Policy of Education-1986 for nurturing rural talents. The last two categories of schools follow a mixed medium of instruction. Children learn Science and Mathematics in English, and Social Sciences in Indian languages. There are schools where one section in each class is English-medium. Mohanty (2010) describes how this “mixed medium within a school and within a classroom” works in these categories of schools.

English is used to teach ‘prestigious subjects’ like Mathematics and Science, whereas, Hindi or other languages are used to teach the ‘less prestigious’ subjects like History and Social Sciences. Hindi used to be the second language subject in most of the non-Hindi states in India. Now, it has been replaced by English and it is relegated to the position of a third language subject in most states. (p.168)

English is a second language in all these categories of schools and the systems of school education. It is also a standard medium of education for the sciences and professional subjects at the university-level across the country

today (Ramanathan, 1999, p. 34). This presents a “huge linguistic gap” for students who have attended vernacular-medium schools (Anderson, 2012). Their learning English language often becomes a burden for students as they are forced to learn English on their own (Sheorey, 2006, p. 70).

We can also find that the English language teaching situations within and across the school systems present a mixed picture in terms of teacher proficiency (TP) and the exposure of the pupils to the language in and outside the school, i.e. the availability of English in the environment of language acquisition (EE) (Nag-Arulmani, 2000 cf. NCERT 2005b). Kurrien (1997) identifies four types of schools as follows:

- a. $\uparrow\uparrow\text{TP}$, $\uparrow\uparrow\text{EE}$ (e.g., English-medium private/government-aided elite schools): Proficient teachers; varying degrees of English in the environment, including as a home or first language.
- b. $\uparrow\text{TP}$, $\uparrow\text{EE}$ (e.g., New English-medium private schools, many of which use both English and other Indian languages): Teachers with limited proficiency; children with little or no background in English; parents aspire upward mobility for their children through English.
- c. $\downarrow\text{TP}$, $\downarrow\text{EE}$ (e.g., Government-aided regional-medium schools): Schools with a tradition of English education along with regional languages, established by educational societies, with children from a variety of backgrounds.
- d. $\downarrow\downarrow\text{TP}$, $\downarrow\downarrow\text{EE}$ (e.g., Government regional-medium schools run by district and municipal education authorities): They enrol the largest number of elementary school children in rural India. They are also the only choice for the urban poor (who, however, have some options of access to English in the environment). Their teachers may be the least proficient in English among these four types of schools. (Position Paper, Teaching of English-NCF - 2005- NCERT, 2005b, p. 2)

The difference in the teaching-learning situations, learners’ exposure to the language outside the school and parental support further divides each category of students. As Prabhu (1987) observes “typologies of teaching situations... should thus be seen as an aid to investigating the extent of relevance of a pedagogic proposal, rather than as absolute categories” (p. 3). The teaching situation decides where a school stands. Most rural schools in India today fall under the fourth category where we have children with almost no exposure to the English language, where the teachers’ proficiency in English is in question, and where the parents cannot support their wards in learning the language.

Selvam and Geetha (2010) bring out the disparity in English language education in the context of one of the south Indian states, Tamil Nadu from a “class perspective” (p. 56). They describe the schools as type A, B and C in terms of locations and resources. Type ‘A’ schools are located in big cities and are attended by upper middle class children. English language proficiency of both teachers and learners here are higher than all other categories of schools.

Type 'B' schools are also found in big cities and additionally in smaller towns, and cater to the middle class which cannot afford to pay the high fees that type 'A' schools demand. Here the learners are not as confident and comfortable with the English language as their peers in type 'A' schools. Type 'C' schools are the ones located generally in small and mofussil towns, catering to rural households that want their young to know English. "Neither the teachers nor the students in these schools move in an English-speaking world in the way that their counterparts in the cities do ... But there is a greater anxiety about learning English in these institutions" (Selvam & Geetha, 2010, p. 56)

The two categorizations above inform us that the prevalent diversity of English language teaching situations even within a small town poses a serious challenge for an effective planning and implementation of language education. Also, there is a general dissatisfaction about the way in which the language is taught in most of the schools, particularly the government schools run by the states. The general view that India's ELT methodology has been built all along on borrowed methods taken directly from the native English-speaking world or grafted arbitrarily on to whatever existed before is true to a large extent. There are few indigenous (Indian) experiments like the Bangalore-Madras Communicational language teaching project (Prabhu, 1987) which made an equal impact in the Western and the Asian ELT scenario. However, such new experiments have not impacted the existing English language curriculum and the practice of English language teaching. Heavy reliance on the grammar-translation and structural approaches, and teacher-centric teaching continues to dominate in most of the school systems. Moreover, English as a school subject is a major cause of students dropping out of schools at the end of class X. Disinterested classroom transactions, lack of any meaningful teaching and language proficiency of the teacher, and uninspiring methods and materials are attributed as major reasons for the sad state of English language education in schools (Govt. of India, 1993; Meganathan, 2014). "Incomprehensibility" of the content as well as treating the language as "content" subject in terms of materials and classroom transactions increase the burden on the learner. This was recorded with concern by the Yashpal Committee Report, *Learning without burden* (1993). The National Curriculum Framework 2005 (NCERT, 2005a) aims at reducing the burden on learners by suggesting methodologies which would connect the classroom with the lives of learners. It believes that the burden on children is a major hindrance in the learning of subjects as well as the languages. Incomprehensibility of the language of the content subjects (say Science, Mathematics or Social Sciences) and studying through a medium that is not their mother tongue proves to be a double disadvantage for the children. This is compounded when children either drop out of the school or are declared as "the ones who can't learn" (Jhingaran, 2005, p 48). Introduction of English language without adequate resources, particularly English language teachers, throws a much greater challenge when it comes to the quality of education. The position paper on teaching of Indian languages (NCERT, 2005c) rightly asserts:

Where qualified teachers and adequate infrastructural facilities are available, English may be introduced from the primary level, but for the first couple of years it should focus largely on oral-aural skills, simple lexical items, or some day-to-day conversation. Use of the languages of children should not be forbidden in the English class, and the teaching should as far as possible be located in a text that would make sense to the child. If trained teachers are not available, English should be introduced at the post-primary stage and its quantum increased in such a way that learners should soon reach the levels of their classmates who started learning English early. (p. 38)

The lack of research inputs for evolving a methodology that would suit the Indian situation is a major concern for researchers, teachers and those involved in the design and development, implementation and evaluation of curricula. In the 1970s, Tickoo (1971) argued that what is needed in India is a method, which should grow from research and experiment within the country and in the circumstances of an average schoolroom. To use Swan's (1985) remark here, "Defective language learning is often attributed to defective syllabus design, the student does not learn the language properly because we do not teach the right things or because we recognize what we teach is the wrong way" (p. 77).

Planning and implementation of English language education in the diverse Indian contexts calls for a flexible approach which suits the diverse needs of the learners. Language education in India is not conceived holistically for it is characterised by the many-fold fragmentations. Fragmentations in terms of regional languages versus English, and within the space of Indian languages the question of majority versus minority languages and tribal languages, has greatly disadvantaged the learners. It is recorded in the Fourth Survey of Research in Education (1983 -1988) conducted by the National Council of Educational Research (NCERT) as,

Language teaching standards are divergent in different regions of the country. One thing common to all is the consistently low standard of achievement in languages as well as subjects. Instead of learning subjects through languages subjects are used to learn languages. Therefore students are poor both in subjects as well as languages. Minimum competencies in language must be a pre-condition to the study of subjects, which in turn enlarge the scale of language learning. (p 127)

The situation has not changed much even after two and a half decades. (Meganathan, 2014). Efforts to implement mother-tongue-based multilingualism where the child begins her education in the mother tongue and moves on to add at least two more languages by the end of ten-year schooling has not been successful. Multilingual characteristic of the Indian classroom should be treated as a resource rather than a problem. The supplementary and

complementary roles of languages in learning have to be seen as an instrument for facilitating learning. (NCERT, 2005; Meganathan 2014; Mohanty, 2010)

Denial of learning through one's mother tongue and unwillingness to use the languages of children as a resource for teaching-learning of languages as well as content subjects is seen as one major reason for children not learning in schools (Position Paper, "Teaching of English" and Position Paper, "Teaching of Indian Languages"). The National Curriculum Framework – 2005 calls for multilingualism as a language policy in school education and for using the languages of the children as a resource for learning.

Language Policy in Education and the English Language

In view of the National Language-in-Education-Policy for school education, the three-language formula recommended by the National Commission on Education 1964-1966, (GOI, 1968) was incorporated into the national education policies of 1968 and 1986. Accommodating at least three languages in the school education has been seen as a convenient strategy, but concerns have also been expressed from various quarters about its unsatisfactory implementation. India's language policy in education emerged as a political consensus in the Chief Ministers' conferences held during the 1950s and 1960s. The Central Advisory Board on Education (CABE), which consisted of Education Ministers of all the states, devised the three-language formula in its 23rd meeting held in 1956 with a view of removing inequalities among the languages of India, particularly between Hindi and other Indian languages. It recommended that three languages should be taught in Hindi as well as non-Hindi-speaking areas of the country at the middle and high school stages, and suggested two possible formulae as given below.

1. (a) (i) Mother tongue or
(ii) Regional language or
(iii) A composite course of mother-tongue and a regional language
or
(iv) A composite course of mother tongue and a classical language
or
(v) A composite course of regional language and a classical language.
- (b) Hindi or English
- (c) A modern Indian language or a modern European language provided it has not already taken under (a) and (b) above.
2. (a) As above
- (b) English or a modern European language
- (c) Hindi (for non-Hindi speaking areas) or another modern Indian language (for Hindi speaking areas) (CABE 1956, Item 2)

The other major objective of the formula was to promote mother-tongue based multilingualism, where the learner starts school education in the mother tongue and at least two more languages are added (aiming at additive bilingualism) by the time s/he completes ten years of schooling. The three-language formula was simplified and approved by the Conference of Chief Ministers, held in 1961, to accommodate the mother tongue or regional language, Hindi, the official language (any other Indian language in Hindi-speaking regions) and English. (GOI, 1962, p. 67) The CAGE also deliberated in details on the study of English as a compulsory subject as recommended by the Education Ministers' conference held in 1957:

1. English should be taught as a compulsory language both at the secondary and the university stages so that students acquire adequate knowledge of English so as to be able to receive education through this language at the university-level.
2. English should not be introduced earlier than class V. The precise point at which English should be started was left to each individual state to decide (MOE 1957, quoted in Kumar and Agrawal, 1993, p. 98).

A comprehensive view of the study of languages at school was undertaken and concrete recommendations were made by the Education Commission between 1964 and 1966 (NCERT, 1968). The Commission, having taken account of the diversity of India, recommended a modified or graduated three-language formula:

1. The mother tongue or the regional language
2. The official language of the Union or the associate official language of the Union so long as it exists; and
3. A modern Indian or foreign language not covered under (1) and (2) and other than that used as the medium of instruction (MOE 1966, p. 192)

The Education Commission went on to comment on the status and role of English in education.

English will continue to enjoy a high status so long as it remains the principal medium of education at the university stage, and the language of administration at the Central Government and in many of the states. Even after the regional languages become media of higher education in the universities, a working knowledge of English will be a valuable asset for all students and a reasonable proficiency in the language will be necessary for those who proceed to the university. (MOE 1966, p. 192)

The English language's colonial legacy has now been lost and the language is seen as a neutral language, much in demand by cross sections of the society. As Crystal (1997) remarks, "the English language has already grown to be independent of any form of social control' and 'in 500 years' time everyone is multilingual and will automatically be introduced to English as soon as they are born". (p. 139) The first part of the statement has to be viewed with much apprehension since the language in the Indian context has already perpetuated inequalities. The language has been out of reach of millions of people who belong to the lower socio-economic strata of the society. This has been recorded in the report of the National Knowledge Commission (NKC). (GOI, 2007, p. 47) There is an irony in the situation. English has been part of our education system for more than a century. Yet English is beyond the reach of most of our young people, which makes for highly unequal access. Indeed, even now, more than one percent of our people use it as a second language, let alone a first language. But NKC believes that the time has come for us to teach our people, ordinary people, English as a language in schools. Early action in this sphere would help us build an inclusive society and transform India into a knowledge society.

India's once deprived sections of the society (like the Dalits) now perceive the language as an instrument for progress. The news of a temple for English language in a village in the Hindi heartland (Pandey, 2011) tells its own story and there is a demand for the English language and English medium education for reducing exclusion. (Illaiah, 2013) Illaiah (2013) emphasises that it is the right of the Dalits to be exposed to English,

Within 200 years of its introduction in India it (English) has easily become the language of about 100 million people. Its expansion in future will be several folds faster than earlier. It has become a language of day-to-day use for several million upper middle class and rich people. The poor and the productive masses have a right to learn the language of administration and global communication. (p 5)

However, this notion of the empowering role of English language is contested from the points of view of language endangerment and harmonious development of learners. (Mohanty, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) Uncritical promotion of English as a language and as the medium of learning in school education has resulted in migration of learners to English medium from the Indian language medium without even minimum requirements for English language teaching. (Meganathan, 2010; NCERT, 2005) Pattanayak (1981) argues how the education system in India has consistently weakened the advantages of grass-root multilingualism that characterises the society. As Illich (1981) suggests, we need to make every possible effort to empower the languages of the underprivileged, and tribal and endangered languages.

Affirmative action is called for in this domain (NCERT 2005a). To quote Pattanayak (1981, p. 38), “if participatory democracy has to survive, we need to give a voice to the language of every child.” Macro level policy planning calls for mother-tongue-based multilingualism where the use of two or more languages as medium of instruction is seen as beneficial for all languages (UNESCO, 2003). But the developments in the last three decades reveal that the number of languages used as media of instruction in schools in 1973 was 67 (Third All India Educational Survey, NCERT, 1975); the number came down to 47 in 1993 (Sixth All India Educational Survey, NCERT 1995; cf Rao, 2008). While the promise of education in the mother tongue of the child is made time and again, we notice that within a period of 20 years at least 20 languages were thrown out of the school system. Though linguistic diversity is recognised at the policy level, its implementation is faulty. There appears to be a language hierarchy, where English and the state languages get privileged and the tribal/minority languages get neglected, often leading to a sense of exclusion amongst its speakers. The language hierarchy could be depicted as shown in Figure 1.

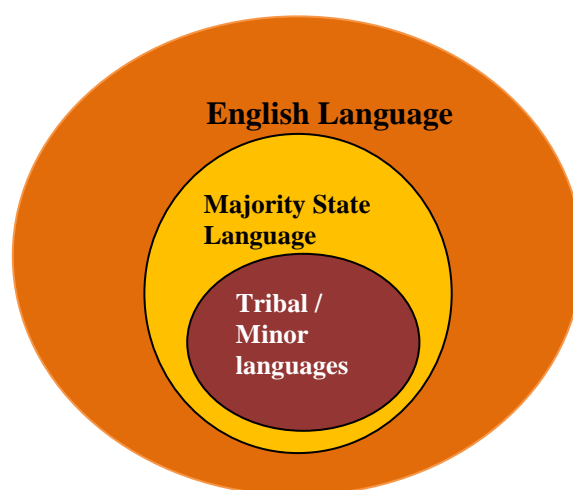


Figure1. Language hierarchy in the Indian context

The many of the tribal and minor languages have not found a place in school even as a language, leave alone as a medium of instruction. The promotion of English language as an instrument for upward mobility and notions relating to development has to be seen from diverse perspectives. Even within the English language education in practice shows the hierarchy as discussed elsewhere above. (Meganathan, 2010)

This brief historical account of the evolution of the language policy in India tells us how the apprehension about the dominance of English as a colonial language has been naturally alleviated by the role which the language has attained. This is in spite of the efforts (political and systemic) to contain its

spread. Today, every child and parent understands the need of the language. It is a compulsory second language in most of the states. The liberalisation of Indian economy in the 1990s and the impact of globalisation have intensified the spread of the language as an instrument for upward mobility and as a language of opportunity.

The Demand for English language

While the diverse nature and quality of English language education in India poses a serious challenge both in terms of access, resources and quality, the demand for English language has been on the increase since independence. The language, which was defined as “a library language” by the National Commission on Education 1964-66, has broken the walls of the library and the demand is so huge that every parent in India today wants to send his/her child to an English medium school, whatever be its quality and resources for learning. The national curriculum revision carried out in 2005 recognises the growing demand for the language and the position paper of the National Focus Group on Teaching of English for NCF – 2005 (NCERT, 2005b) makes this clear when it addresses the English language question.

English in India today is a symbol of people’s aspirations for quality in education and a fuller participation in national and international life. Its colonial origins now forgotten or irrelevant, its initial role in independent India, tailored to higher education (as a “library language”, a “window on the world”), now felt to be insufficiently inclusive socially and linguistically, the current status of English stems from its overwhelming presence on the world stage and the reflection of this in the national arena (p. 1).

The position paper also makes an attempt to find a space for English in today’s context in India. Stating that “English does not stand alone”, the paper argues that

it (English) needs to find its place (i) along with other Indian Languages (a) in regional medium schools: how can children’s other languages strengthen English learning? (b) in English medium schools: how can other Indian languages be valorised, reducing the perceived hegemony of English? (ii) In relation to other subjects: A language across the curriculum perspective is perhaps of particular relevance to primary education. Language is best acquired through different meaning-making contexts and hence all teaching in a sense is language teaching. This perspective also captures the centrality of language in abstract thought in secondary education. (p. 4)

English today is a compulsory second language in the native/vernacular medium schools and in English-medium schools and it is making a case to gain the status of a first language, thus contradicting the spirit of the three language formula.

Recognising the diversity and enormity of the demand, Graddol (2010) in his *English Next India* brings out the divide in the demand-supply business of the English language and the responsibility on the teachers. He says,

Throughout India, there is an extraordinary belief, among almost all castes and classes, in both rural and urban areas, in the transformative power of English. English is seen not just as a useful skill, but as a symbol of a better life, a pathway out of poverty and oppression. Aspiration of such magnitude is a heavy burden for any language, and for those who have responsibility for teaching it, to bear. The challenges of providing universal access to English are significant, and many are bound to feel frustrated at the speed of progress. But we cannot ignore the way that the English language has emerged as a powerful agent for change in India. (Graddol, 2010, p.120)

The demand for English language education (both as a language and as a medium of learning) is leading to the marginalisation of Indian languages. It is believed that the English language acts as an instrument for exclusion of Indian languages, particularly the minor and tribal languages, some of which are yet to find a place in school education or have been thrown out of the system. The English language acts as “a killer language” in these situations (Mohanty, 2010, p. 77). Phillipson (2008) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000, p. 66) believe that there is an “uncritical promotion of English language in education”. While the demand for English language and English medium education from every quarter makes the English language a “neutral language” in terms of ethnicity, religion, linguistic groups, region and ‘the language that unifies India, but it has become a medium used to maintain inequalities in society” (Baik & Shim, 1995, pp. 123-124).

As Anderson (2012, p. 44) asserts, “the language remains inaccessible to those who are disadvantaged because of their economic situation, their caste, or both.” There are also arguments that it is the state/regional languages, which push the minor and tribal languages to the corner, not the English language. The languages of many tribal communities in the states of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh can be cited as illustrations where the state languages dominate as medium of learning. This demands a relook at the language-in-education policy both at the macro and the micro levels. Stating the policy in terms of number of languages and provisions at the macro level policy planning for mother-tongue-based multilingualism does not necessarily achieve the objectives of promoting multilingualism. There is a need to understand the learner needs and to foster a cognitively and pedagogically sound language education for the harmonious growth of school children.

Though the governments at the central and state levels through their schemes like the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) and *Rashtirya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan* (RMSA) have made serious efforts to provide access to education for all children, achieving quality becomes an illusion on many counts. This starts with curriculum planning at the national and state levels to ensuring quality teaching by the teacher who has to face many constraints. Curriculum planning demands well-planned processes wherein people from different areas of expertise come together to design a pedagogically sound plan of action through curricular statements, defining objectives, suggesting methodologies appropriate to the context and understanding the profile and needs of the learner, chalking out assessment strategies that would support teaching-learning.

ELT Curriculum, Syllabi and Materials

Curriculum and Syllabi

English language curriculum and syllabi which guide materials developers in producing materials to support learners in English language learning and teachers for providing opportunities for language use through interaction and reflection has been a major concern of educational planners and implementers. The development of a “considered” curriculum and syllabi by stating the aims and objectives in comprehensible and meaningful terms for users, suggesting methodologies and assessment procedures throws a big challenge. Ineffective curriculum and materials add to the misery of the ill-equipped teacher resulting in disinterested classrooms and examination-driven teaching (Meganathan, 2010). Many Indian states develop syllabi and materials without even making any curricular statements or vision meeting the national and regional norms. It is assumed that the guidelines from the National Curriculum Framework developed at the national level would be adopted as guidelines. Meganathan (2014) finds in the context of Tamil Nadu that English language teachers have not undergone any professional development activity for two decades since their beginning as teachers. The process of curriculum development and implementation (from design to evaluation) is highly inadequate in the Indian context. The teacher is central to the process of teaching-learning and has to do his/her job without clearly stated curricular objectives.

India has in a way three models of curriculum (and materials) development for English language education in schools. The first model is adaptation of the national level curriculum developed by the NCERT and by the national level boards like the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). The second model is the complete adaptation of the national curriculum by (some) state boards like the Delhi Board. The third model is the states or other boards developing their own curriculum taking into consideration the ideas of the National Curriculum Framework (NCF) developed by NCERT (Meganathan,

2010). However, the approach to syllabus design could be stated mostly as “Forward Design” (Richards, 2013, p. 31), starting from stated objectives and moving on to stating the expected outcomes. Richards’ (2013) recent paper describes the existing models of syllabus design. The national level model syllabus based on the National Curriculum Framework-2005 developed by NCERT could be stated as more of a “Central Design”.

Table 2

Comparison of the features of the three approaches to syllabus design

	Forward design	Central design	Backward design
Syllabus	Language-centred; Content divided into its key elements; Sequenced from simple to complex. Pre-determined; prior to a course; Linear progression.	Activity-based; Content negotiated with learners; Evolves during the course; Reflects the process of learning; Sequence may be determined by the learners.	Needs based; Ends-means approach; Objectives or competency-based; Sequenced from part-skills to whole; Pre-determined prior to course; Linear progression
Methodology	Transmissive and teacher-directed; Practice and control of elements; Imitation of models; Explicit presentation of rules	Learner-centred; Experiential learning; Active engagement in interaction and communication; Meaning prioritised over accuracy; Activities that involve negotiation of meaning.	Practice of part-skills; Practice of real-life situations; Accuracy emphasised; Learning and practice of expressions and formulaic language.

Role of teacher	Teacher as instructor, model, and explainer; Transmitter of knowledge; Reinforcer of correct language use.	Teacher as facilitator; Negotiator of content and process; Encourager of learner self-expression and autonomy	Organiser of learning experiences; Model of target language performance; Planner of learning experiences.
Role of learner	Accurate mastery of language forms; Application of learned material to new contexts; Understanding of language rules.	Negotiator of learning content and modes of learning; Development of learning strategies; Accept responsibility for learning and learner autonomy.	Learning through practice and habit formation; Mastery of situationally appropriate language; Awareness of correct usage; Development of fluency.
Assessment	Norm-referenced, summative end-of-semester or end-of-course test; Assessment of learning; Cumulative mastery of taught forms.	Negotiated assessment; Assessment for learning; Formative assessment; Self-assessment; Develop capacity for self-reflection and self-evaluation.	Criterion-referenced, Performance-based summative assessment; Improvement oriented; Assessment of learning; Cumulative mastery of taught patterns and uses.

(Source: Richards, 2013, p. 31)

Materials Development

The three models which exist at the curriculum and syllabus development levels are reflected at the materials development level too. However, there is much to regret when it comes to materials development at the state level. Lack of pedagogical understanding of “What should materials do?” (Tomlinson, 1995) and authenticity of materials and tasks remain in question (Meganathan, 2010). The reason for this is that materials development is not taken as a professional activity though one can notice commercialisation of materials

development in India where private publishing houses also publish text books and other materials in English for mostly English-medium schools run by private agencies or individuals. An analysis of the textbooks at the primary level reveals how textbook development at the primary level does not fully recognise the recent development in pedagogy and our understanding of language and language acquisition and learning (NCERT, 2010).

Conclusions, Implications, and Recommendations

English language education has come a long way in India and has, in a way, lost its colonial legacy. It is being seen as a language for upward mobility and has been accepted without much contestation. So it has become a neutral language moving beyond boundaries across the states and regions, cross sections of the society as a whole. But the major concern and worry is the way the language is perpetuating inequalities among languages in the country and inequalities within its own realm where the rich and elite get “good quality” English language education and the poor and rural mass get the “not so good quality English language education” (Mohanty 2010 p. 36). This “good quality” (by whatever means we define it) is reflected firstly in the teacher as a resource for learning English and then in materials and methods (strategies and techniques which are adopted). As Graddol (2010) points out, the huge responsibility of addressing the demand lies in the hands of people, teachers who are in a way not so well-equipped. Adding to the problems is the initiatives of the state governments to introduce English as a medium of teaching in one section of each class. Teachers who are not well-equipped to teach through English medium are now to teach in English the subjects such as Mathematics and Social Sciences. These are the same teachers who teach the subjects in the medium of Indian languages like Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Bengali, Punjabi, and so on. They are not oriented to teach the subjects in English. The argument is the teachers have studied their subjects at the university level in English medium and this makes them naturally suitable for teaching in English medium. This needs to be understood in a pedagogical perspective of language across the curriculum (LAC) and the role of language in learning any subject. The subject teachers need to develop better awareness to understand how ideas are covered and qualified when said in a language.

Research in ELT or language pedagogy is another area which needs strengthening. While research is happening in English literature and Linguistics as courses of study at the university level, ELT is the field which is still shaping itself in India. One major reason is that there are very few universities which run courses in ELT or English language education as applied linguistics. So, classroom-based researches and research on curriculum development and implementation are very limited. (Meganathan, 2014) The following could be seen as areas which need attention and initiates both the governments at the national and state levels, as also by NGOs and private

agencies and schools involved in the business of language education in general and English language education in particular.

- *Professionalization of curriculum, syllabi and materials development:* There is an urgent need to develop teams of professionals in the vital areas of curriculum, syllabi and materials development in India. The practice in the states now is that curriculum development is a once-in-a-while activity where a group of teachers, teacher educators, and other professionals come together and do the activity of curriculum development and then it is forgotten. There is no regular exercise of curriculum research and professional training on curriculum development and evaluation at the state levels. It is necessary to have curriculum and materials development as part of both pre-service and in-service professional development courses (Meganathan, 2008). This will have both short and long-term implications.
- *Courses on English language teaching / education or language education:* A country which needs quite a huge number of English language teachers does not have courses on English language education or language education at the under- graduate or postgraduate level, except in few higher education institutions. Specialised courses on language teaching will equip the young graduates with an understanding of language pedagogy and pre-service teacher education courses could shape them to be able to deliver their lessons effectively when they join schools.
- *Teacher Development:* Teacher's continuous professional development has not been recognised as a major component for quality improvement of teaching in the classroom. Though many agencies like the NCERT, SCERT, EFLU (English and Foreign Languages University, which was CIEFL, i.e. Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages formerly), RIEs (Regional Institutes of English), University Departments of Education, NGOs conduct training and orientation programmes for teachers and key resource persons, the content and methodology of such courses remain a question in many institutions as to whether they really address day-to-day problems and issues that arise in the classrooms. A typical classroom teacher expects a training to equip him/her to enhance classroom interactions and learner motivations and participation in learning.
- *Research in ELT:* ELT stakeholders in India should recognize the need for classroom-based and teacher-initiated research to understand the classroom problems and to address them at the levels of curriculum revision, materials production, assessment and teacher training.

To sum up, the questions of quality will continue to persist in English language education at all levels and regions in India, which pose serious challenges and call for attention on research-based curriculum planning and its implementation at the classroom level.

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Note on Contributor

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Subtitling Cultural Expressions from English into Arabic

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Abstract

This study aimed at investigating the problems that translators faced when subtitling cultural expressions from English into Arabic. To achieve this goal, the researchers selected a convenient sample comprising 40 graduate and 40 undergraduate students who were enrolled in the English language programs during the academic year 2012/2013 in Jordanian universities. A translation test, which consisted of 10 cultural expressions selected from three American movies namely, “*Scent of a Woman*”, “*Erin Brockovich*” and “*Casino*”, served as the main instrument. Results revealed that translators encountered structural, lexical and semantic difficulties which are triggered by interference from L1 into L2. Also, results showed that translators lacked the ability to identify these cultural expressions due; perhaps, to the bilingual dictionaries they consulted which rendered meanings in isolation rather than in context.

Keywords: Translation, subtitling, cultural expressions, English/Arabic

Introduction

Nothing could be compared to watching a movie with your family or your friends, but does it really matter or do we always understand what’s really going on the screen? Do we sometimes try to make less effort to link these actions with the subtitling shown on the television? These types of questions are more than obligatory to the subtitlers because this type of translation is of great challenge to these experts who work very hard in order to satisfy the viewer around the Arab world that has become in the new millennium crowded with all sorts of communication and technology.

Translation is rendering the meaning of a text into another language in the same way the writer intended in the text. The aim is to communicate the ideas of the text in the Source Language (SL) to readers of the Target Language (TL) through a target text that has the same message and effect. Usually cultural terms are thought to pose the most difficult problem in translation; the problem has been overstated by many. One of the most challenging tasks for all translators is how to render culturally-bound elements in subtitles into a foreign language.

Subtitles are the most widely read after newspaper articles. It is calculated that one hour of subtitled television adds up to about 30 pages of text, and reckons that an adult watches one hour of subtitled television a week for ten months a year. This adds up to about 1200 pages (40 hours of television times

30 pages). The numbers used are very modest, but it still adds up to three or four novels a year, which is a lot more than the average person reads. (Lomheim, 1998) The first subtitles in the late 1920s, which used what was called (inter-titles or title cards), were seen in 1903 in "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*". These inter-titlers were written or painted on cards that were filmed, and then placed between sequences of the film. At that time, translating was not a problem. The inter-titlers would simply translate the cards and re-insert them with the film. In 1927 came the invention of sound films, or "talkies" and with it came the necessity to use other alternatives as subtitle or dubbing. The first country to experiment subtitling was France. The subtitling process underwent different stages; from the manual projection subtitles through the stage of stamping titles until Denis Aboyer in Paris developed the laser subtitling.

The subtitling process nowadays involves several operations. Spotting or cueing involves marking the transcript or the dialogue list according to when subtitles should start and stop and then they calculate the length of the subtitles according to the cueing times of each frame. After that, the translator will take over and carry out the actual translation with the aid of the dialogue list annotated for cueing. With cultural expressions, the meaning which lies behind this kind of expression is always strongly linked to the specific cultural context it aims to re-create. Sometimes, cultural expressions can be easily rendered into the target language (TL) but in other kinds of terms it is often impossible.

One of the most challenging tasks for all translators is how to render subtitled language elements into culturally accepted expressions in the (TL). Indeed the meaning which lies behind this kind of expression is always linked to a specific cultural context where the text is originated or within the cultural context it aims to re-create.

The purpose of this research is to investigate the problems that translators face when they subtitle cultural expressions from English into Arabic.

There has been already an extensive research and investigations concerning the subtitling process. However, not enough research has been conducted regarding translating language expressions in subtitles within a cultural context in the Arab world and the current study aims to fill this gap. However, the findings of this study cannot be generalized to the whole population due to the type and size of the selected sample and the instruments used. The study was conducted in Amman, Jordan during the academic year 2012/2013.

Review of Literature Related to Subtitling and Cultural Expressions

The processes of subtitling or as referred to as "captions" are transcriptions of film or TV dialogue presented simultaneously on the screen. Gottlib (1998) assumes that "cinema subtitlers normally work from paper to paper, translating dialogue from a post-production script, the end product being a list of subtitles; these subtitles are then transferred onto the film by others" (p. 36).

Newmark (1988) comments on the cultural expressions where there is culture focus; there is a translation problem due to the culture gap or distance between the (SL) and (TL). He does not regard language as a component or feature of culture. Language contains all kinds of cultural deposits, in the grammar, forms of address, as well as the lexis which are not taken account of in universals or translation. The more specific the language for natural phenomena, the more it becomes embedded in cultural features, and therefore creates translation problems. He adds that most cultural expressions are easy to detect, since they are associated with a particular language and cannot be literally translated, but many cultural customs are described in ordinary language, where literal translation would distort the meaning and a translation may include an appropriate descriptive-functional equivalent.

Newmark (1988, p103) categorizes the cultural expressions as follows:

- a- Ecology: animals, plants, local winds, mountains, plains, ice, etc.
- b- Material culture (artifacts), food, clothes, housing, transport and communication.
- c- Social culture – work and leisure.
- d- Organizations, customs, ideas, political, social, legal, religious, artistic.
- e- Gestures and habits (often described in 'non-cultural' language).

Ayoub (1994) shed light on Idiomatic Expressions (IEs) as a problematic area when translating from Arabic into English and vice versa. The researcher classified the linguistic and cultural problems that IEs present to the process of translation and he also discussed and analyzed the problems and what caused them, and finally he proposed some effective methods and strategies to be used in solving such cultural problems of translating IEs from Arabic into English and vice versa. The study results showed that:

- The IEs in Arabic and English are problematic to translators.
- The context where IEs occur is very important for determining their intended meanings and translating them adequately and properly.
- Arabic and English IEs are more or less translatable into each other.
- It is very crucial and essential for the translator to be acquainted with the language or culture he is translating from and/or into.
- Semantic and pragmatic aspect of IEs is of great importance in the process of translation.
- There is a lack of bilingual dictionaries which deal with Arabic/ English IEs.
- We use IEs as an outlet for our attitudes while we speak.
- It is almost impossible to have translational equivalence in the full formal and functional sense of IEs.

- Arabic and English have conventionalized a diverse network of IEs to express a variety of language functions.

Williams and Thorne (1999) describe how language learners benefit from inter lingual subtitling training. It also shows that student's communication competence in both L1 and L2 improved while they simultaneously mastered transferable skills. These language skills that were practiced during inter lingual subtitling required these specific linguistic processes:

- Listen attentively: recognize and fully absorb the content of program/film.
- Read/view the screen for visual clues which place the language into meaningful context.
- Translate: or interpret all of the above in an effective and natural manner into TL.
- Edit the content in such a way that the original meaning will remain intact.
- Consider the written language of the subtitles; subtitling involves transferring spoken language into written language and this aspect needs particular consideration.
- Create easy-to-read subtitles which enable the viewer to absorb the program's meaning as effortlessly as possible.
- Display the target language version in an aesthetically pleasing, accessible and consistent way on the screen, whilst keeping the syntactical units intact and respecting punctuation conventions.
- Review subtitles with tutor and discuss the choices made.

While teaching subtitles to second language students of Welsh through a two-day intensive induction course followed by a group session and also tutorial sessions were also included on one-to-one basis, given after that an independent study period of 3-4 hour per week, these problems occurred:

- Difficulties in understanding the spoken language in dramas, soap operas and comedy programs.
- Gaps in vocabulary: as the students were required to generate subtitles for up to 10 television programs across a wide range of genres, the range of vocabulary required is exceptionally wide.
- Difficulties in summarizing content of TL into the L1: in order to reach acceptable words per minimum reading rate, rather than simply omitting individual words.

Dweik (2000) investigated bilingualism and the problem of linguistic and cultural interference. The study aimed at identifying the phonological and socio-cultural factors that impede or enhance the degree of bilingualism among speakers of Arabic and English. The linguistic factors stemmed from two sources, first, inter-lingual interference which occurs when linguistic and

cultural features of the native language are transferred into the system of the target language; second, intra-lingual factors when the bilingual makes overgeneralization of the target language rules. In his answer to the question, what is necessary in order for us to compare two cultures?

Dweik states that (2000, p. 233):

- a- We must have accurate understanding of each culture.
- b- We must be able to eliminate the things we claim to do but actually don't do.
- c- We must make sure that we are able to describe practices accurately, not ideally.
- d- We must be able to describe the situations in which we do what we do.

Olk (2003) aimed to find out whether German readers would comprehend transferred English terms based on bilingual dictionaries. For the purpose of this study nineteen students of a British university (English native speakers) who were either in their final B.A. year in German or had recently finished their degree were asked to translate, in writing, an English article featuring a high frequency of British Cultural References (CRs) for the aim of publication in the well-known German newsmagazine *Der Spiegel*. The students were also asked to think aloud while translating, and all participants were additionally questioned about their approach in translating individual culture references in the task. And at last additional data were collected to explore the use of translation in the students' educational context.

The findings of the study were as follows:

- Lack of source-cultural knowledge: it is most surprisingly that students lack familiarity with their native cultural concepts and consequently, had difficulty rendering them for German readers.
- Insufficient knowledge of German source-culture terminology: a possible factor that may have contributed to this is the student's unfamiliarity with German common source-culture terminology due to the types of teaching materials which had been used in their translation classes.
- Consideration of readership's source- cultural knowledge: the problem about the students approach is the total reliance on the bilingual dictionary to determine what German readers would probably know.

Samaker (2010) investigated and analyzed the strategies used in the translation of culturally-bound elements presented in the English subtitle of the Iranian film "The Lizard", and he tried to point out the frequency that the strategies of translation that were used. For the purpose of his study, data were gathered from the film that was subtitled into English by viewing the film and referring to the original transcripts. Then the researcher detected the culturally-bound elements and compared them with those subtitled into English. Finally the subtitle translation strategies were identified and the most

frequent was studied to find if it had conveyed the intended meaning. The findings showed that the most frequent translation strategies used were the paraphrasing strategy and the substitution strategy; other strategies were used but not so frequent.

Suleiman (2010) investigated the obstacles that Jordanian graduate students majoring in English language face when translating cultural expressions. The researcher designed a 40 question translation test and it was submitted to respondents of which 40 were collected. The second instrument was informal open ended interviews; she interviewed four experienced teachers of translation and five M.A. students whose major is English language and literature. The results of the study showed that graduate students face different kinds of difficulties when translating culturally bound expressions. These difficulties are mostly related to:

1. Unfamiliarity with cultural expressions.
2. Achieving the equivalence in the second language.
3. Ambiguity of some cultural expressions.

The study also revealed that lack of cultural interaction with native speakers, lack of courses that are revealed to culture, poor researching skills and lack of knowledge of the proper use of translation techniques might stand behind these difficulties.

Dweik and Abu Shakra (2011) investigated the problems in translating collocation in religious texts from Arabic into English. The study aimed to explore the problems students faced in translating specific lexical and semantic collocations in three religious texts, namely, the Holy Quran, the Hadith and the Bible. The sample of the study consisted of 35 M.A. translation students enrolled in three different public and private Jordanian universities. The method used in the research consisted of a translation test that comprised 45 relatively short sentences of contextual collocations selected from the above-mentioned three religious texts and divided as 15 collocations per text. Students were required to translate these collocations from Arabic into English. The findings showed that students did not realize the disparities between Arabic concepts and beliefs and Western ones, and should always avoid literal translation by taking the context into consideration. The results also revealed that translators encountered difficulties in lexical and semantic collocations.

Method

Population and Sample of the Study

The population of this study consisted of graduate and undergraduate students who were enrolled in the English language programs during the academic year 2012/2013 in Jordanian universities. A sample of 40 graduate students and 40 under graduate students was selected from Jordanian universities based on availability.

The students' general background included social data such as gender, age, nationality, number of years they have worked in translation, and the number of years spent in English speaking countries is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1
Distribution of the participants' demographic and social data

Variables		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Age	20-24	12	26	38
	25-29	10	18	28
	30-34	0	6	6
	35 and above	8	0	8
Educational Level	B.A.	14	26	40
	M.A.	16	24	40
Translation Experience	None	20	38	58
	1-5	4	8	12
	More than 5	6	4	10
Period of Living in an English Speaking Country	None	20	42	62
	1-5	10	4	14
	More than 5	0	4	4
Nationality	Jordanian	30	40	70
	Non-Jordanian	2	8	10

Instruments of the Study

The researchers used one instrument, a translation test which comprised 10 cultural expressions taken from the original transcripts of different scenes of three American movies namely, “*Scent of a Woman*”, “*Erin Brockovich*” and “*Casino*”. The participants were asked to fill out the demographic data, and to subtitle the highlighted cultural expressions in the translation test from English into Arabic. The criteria for test making were:

- a) Linguistic correctness
- b) Cultural correctness
- c) And finally the Juries' acceptance of the rendered translation.

Data Analysis

One instrument was used to collect data for this study, a translation test. In the translation test, participants were asked to translate 10 cultural expressions. The total score for the translation test was 60 marks:

1. Correct answer was given two points. The correct answer was considered so if the subtitle of the given highlighted cultural expression was rendered correctly.
2. The accepted subtitle that had some linguistic error that did not change the meaning was given one point each.
3. If the participant failed in giving the suitable subtitle or committed unaccepted linguistic errors the answer was given zero point.

The results of the translation test were tabulated using frequencies and percentages followed by describing the cultural expression with their model answer subtitles and the analyses of the original subtitles and the participant's translation test results.

Results

Results of the participant's performance in the translation test are presented in Table 2. In order to answer the question of the study, each item is discussed separately to show the kind of difficulties and the results of participants and examples of the correct, acceptable, and the wrong subtitles provided by them. These answers were compared with the model subtitles that were confirmed by the panel of experts and jury (See Appendix B). As shown in Table 2, items 2, 3 and 10 have the highest No Answer occurrence with the percentages 27.5%, 12.5% and 12.5% respectively.

Table 2

Students' subtitling performance in the translation test

Item No.	Correct Answer 2 points		Acceptable Answer 1 point		Wrong Answer Zero		No Answer	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
1	26	32.5%	2	2.5%	50	62.5%	2	2.5%
7	20	25%	10	12.5%	46	57.5%	4	5%
8	14	17.5%	18	22.5%	44	55%	4	5%
2	14	17.5%	10	12.5%	34	42.5%	22	27.5%
9	34	42.5%	8	10%	34	42.5%	4	5%
5	14	17.5%	32	40%	28	35%	6	7.5%
3	24	30%	20	25%	26	32.5%	10	12.5%
6	22	27.5%	26	32.5%	26	32.5%	6	7.5%
4	44	55%	10	12.5%	24	30%	2	2.5%
10	32	40%	14	17.5%	24	30%	10	12.5%

Scenes from the 2002 American Movie 'Scent of a Woman'

Item One

HARRY: "How short are you?"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "كم يلزمك من النقود".

Results reported in Table 2 show that 26 participants, 32.5%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly and in rendering the exact cultural meaning as

"كم ينقصك من المال" and "كم ينقصك" and 2 of them, 2.5%, provided acceptable subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle such as "كم يبلغ عجزك المادي". Nonetheless, 50 participants, 62.5%, provided wrong subtitling because of using the literal translation (word by word translation) strategy as in these examples "انت قصير جدا" and "كيف حالك" and 2, 2.5%, did not provide any answer at all. Such a failure in rendering this item could be a result of the unfamiliarity of translation strategies and the appropriate manipulation of these strategies.

Item Two

ACE: "Who could resist? Anywhere else in the country, I was a bookie, a gambler, *always lookin' over my shoulder*"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "ولكنني كنت دائما خائفا على نفسي من الخيانة و الغدر".

Table 2 shows that 20 participants, 25%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly and in rendering the exact cultural meaning as in, "أحرص جدا على نفسي". Also, 10 participants, 12.5%, provided acceptable

subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle such as "دائما خائف" and "دائما منتبه على كل شيء". Yet, 46 participants, 57.5%, provided wrong subtitling such as "دائما تنتظر على كتفي" and "لمحة سريعة" and 4, 5%, did not render this item. Such a result could be due to the participants' unawareness of the metaphorical and cultural nature of the item. As a result, they rendered it literally.

Item Three

DETECTIVE JOHNSON: "You know, he's gotta realize everything **can't be a home run that he does**"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "عليك ان تدرك ان الامور ليست بهذه السهولة".

Table 2 shows that 14 participants, 17.5%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly, rendering the exact cultural meaning as in, "لا يمكن ان تحقق اهدافك بسهولة كالمعتاد". In addition, 18, 22.5%, provided acceptable subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle such as

"لا يستطيع الهروب من المسؤولية كلما اراد ذلك" and "لا يستطيع التخلي عن مسؤولياته بسهولة". On the other hand, 44 participants, 55%, provided wrong subtitling such as "ليس جميع الامور يمكن ان تديرها وكأنك في البيت" and "لا يمكن ان يكون سريع". 4 of them, 5%, did not answer this item. This result could be due to the participants' lack of researching skills which is a reason of not being able to translate the item properly. Also, it could be due to the participants' use of paraphrasing technique in translation.

Item Four

FRANK SLADE: "even with students Aid plus **the folks back home hustling the corn nuts**?"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "حتى بوجود البعثة لا زال والداك مضطرا الى العمل ليلا ونهارا لتأمين مصاريفك".

Table 2 shows that 14 participants, 17.5%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly and in rendering the exact cultural meaning as in "الاهل وعائلتك تبحث لك" and 10 of them, 12.5%, provided acceptable subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle like "عن لقمة العيش". On the other hand, 34 participants, 42.5%, provided wrong subtitling and failed to use reliable resources to extract the correct cultural equivalent, such as

"ان الاصدقاء عادو الى البيت يقرمشون الذرة" and "عاد الجميع الى منزله وهم يأكلون رقائق الذرة". 22 of them, 27.5%, did not provide any translation to this item. This result can be explained due to the fact that they were not able to identify the metaphorical nature of the item due to the disparity between the two languages. Thus, they either rendered the item literally or left it without translating it.

Item Five

GINGER: "I'm going to go powder my nose"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "سأذهب لأصلح مكياجتي"

Table 2 shows that 34 participants, 42.5%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly and in rendering the exact cultural meaning as in, "سأذهب" and 8, 10%, provided acceptable subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle but it seems that there was some shift in formality, such as in, "سأدخل الى دورة المياه" and "سوف اضع بعض البودرة على وجهي". Nonetheless, 34 participants, 42.5%, provided wrong subtitling such as "سوف اعدل مكياجتي" and "انا سأجاوز الامر" and 4, 5%, left the item unanswered. This result could be explained due to the participants' manipulation of guessing the meaning of the item due to the lack of cultural awareness.

Item Six

ERIN: "They took some bone from my hip and put it in my neck. I didn't have insurance, so I'm about seventeen thousand in debt right now"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "استغلوني ولم يدفعوا لي شيئاً".

Table 2 shows that 14 participants, 17.5%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly and in rendering the exact cultural meaning as in "اخذوا مني". Similarly, 32 participants, 40%, provided acceptable subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle such as

"لم يكن لدي اي مال فلقد سرقوا كل شيء مني" and "استغلال الفرد دون مقابل".

However, 28 participants, 35%, provided wrong subtitling which showed a lot of cultural influence and using machine translation, such a result was expected "لقد قاموا بنزع عظمة من فخذي وزرعوها في رقبتي" and "عملوا لي عملية" and 6 of them, 7.5%, left the item unanswered.

Item Seven

GEORGE: "He's good-cop, bad copping us. He knows I'm Old guard. You're fringe. He's going to bear down on me, soft soap you. Did he try to soft soap you?"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "سيحاول ان ينال مني ولكنه".

As Table 2 shows, 24 participants, 30%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly and in rendering the exact cultural meaning as in "سيقسو علي ويعطف". In addition, Only 20 participants, 25%, provided acceptable subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle such as

"سيستغلني للوصول اليك" and "سيعاملني بشدة وييسرها مع الآخر". However, 26 participants, 32.5%, provided wrong subtitling such as "يلين معي يتكلم معي بهدوء", "سوف يتساهل معنا" and "يستطيع الامساك بنا" and 10 of them, 12.5%, did not render the item. Such a result could be due to lexical and semantic incompetency.

Item Eight

ERIN: "First of all, **don't talk baby talk to your wife in front of me.**"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "لا تلاطف زوجتك امامي".

Table 2 shows that 22 participants, 27.5%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly and in rendering the exact cultural meaning as in "لا تعمل على" and 26, 32.5%, provided acceptable subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle such as

"لا تكلم زوجتك بحنان امامي" and "لا تضحك على زوجتك امامي". In contrast, 26 participants, 32.5%, provided wrong subtitling such as "لا تحدث زوجتك مثل الاطفال" and 6, 7.5%, left the item unanswered. Such a result can be explained in light of the use of literal translation due to their unawareness of the basic translation techniques.

Item Nine

CHARLIE: "Hello. I don't know, Mrs. Rossi – I got the feeling **I screwed up.**"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "اشعر بانني لم احسن التصرف".

Table 2 shows that 44 participants, 55%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly and in rendering the exact cultural meaning as "لقد اخفقت بشدة" and 10 participants, 12.5%, provided acceptable subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle such as "ينتابني شعور" and "بالفشل". Yet, 24 participants, 30 %, provided wrong subtitling by trying to guess the meaning such as "انا محبط جدا" and "فزعت منها". Also, 2 of them, 2.5%, did not answer this item.

Item Ten

ACE: "I mean, without us, these guys, **they'd still be shovellin' mule shit**"

The model subtitle suggested by the jury panel was "لولا جهودنا لكانوا ما زالوا في الحضيض".

Table 2 shows that 32 participants, 40%, were successful in subtitling this item correctly and in rendering the exact cultural meaning as in, "لن يكون لديهم", "لولا وجودنا لما زالوا بالحضيض" and 14, 17.5%, provided acceptable subtitling that would somehow provide the viewer with basic subtitle such as

"سوف يمشون بالدرك الاسفل" and "لكانوا غارقين بالوحل". Meanwhile, 24 of them, 30%, provided wrong subtitling such as "نحن باقين لجرف الاوساخ" and "هو غير مؤدب" and 10, 12.5%, left the item unanswered.

Discussion

Results related to the problems that the translators encountered in their subtitling of cultural expressions indicated that most of the participants found it difficult to render the cultural Arabic equivalent of the cultural expressions used in the translation test many of them were not able to identify these expressions since they are associated with the particular language and

therefore they translated them literally. The results agree with Newmark (1988) who implies that where there is a cultural focus there is a translation problem, he also adds that most cultural expressions are not easy to detect, since they are associated with a particular language and cannot be literally translated. The results agree with Ayoub (1994) who implies that idiomatic expressions are problematic to translators because the context where they occur is very important for determining their intended meanings. Also, it is in line with Dweik & Abu Shakra (2011) who found that students did not realize the disparities between Arabic concepts and beliefs and Western ones, and should always avoid literal translation by taking the context into consideration. The results also revealed that translators encountered difficulties in lexical and semantic collocations.

Furthermore Arabic English dictionaries such as Al-Mawrid, Atlas, etc... do not render the meaning contextually, instead such dictionaries give a list of meanings in isolation. This result is in line with Olk (2003) who maintains that the problem about the students' approach is the total reliance on the bilingual dictionary to determine what German readers would probably know.

The results also indicated inter-lingual interference among the participants who were sometimes using the system of the TL in their subtitling to the cultural expressions in the translation test. The results agree with Dweik (2000) who identified inter-lingual interference which occurs when linguistic and cultural features of the native language are transferred into the system of the target language.

The results also indicated that lack of researching skills is a reason behind not being able to get the needed information about an expression. This result agrees with Williams and Throne (1999) and Suleiman (2010). Williams and Throne (1999) discovered that the students lack knowledge in using research tools. Thus, the researchers gave the students a two-day intensive induction course. As a result students developed their research skills. Additionally, Suleiman (2010) found that poor researching skills, lack of cultural interaction with native speakers, lack of courses that focus on culture and lack of knowledge in the proper use of translation techniques might stand behind the difficulties that translators encounter.

Conclusions

The data obtained by means of the translation test indicated that translators encountered many problems while translating cultural expressions such as the translators' inability to use the appropriate translation techniques in subtitling, literal translation and linguistic and cultural interference which resulted in mistranslation and poor performance. In addition, results showed that:

- Most of the participants found it difficult to render the cultural Arabic equivalent of the cultural expressions. Many of them were not able to

identify these expressions since they are associated with the particular language and therefore they translated them literally.

- Arabic English dictionaries such as Al-Mawrid and Atlas do not render the meaning contextually. Instead, such dictionaries give a list of meanings in isolation.
- Lack of researching skills is a reason behind not being able to get the needed information about an expression.
- The implementation of different translation theories and education theories in the various translation teaching institutes' class rooms for translators is preferred, in order that translators be aware of different styles and abide by the most suitable to the written or spoken language.

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Appendix A

Translation Test

Dear participants,

I am Saleh Al Abwaini an M.A. student in the department of English Language and Literature at the Middle East University (MEU) Amman / Jordan. I am doing my M.A. thesis on "**Problems that Translators Face When They Subtitle Cultural expressions from English into Arabic**".

You are kindly requested to take part in translating the highlighted English cultural expressions in the attached test. I would like to thank you in advance for participating in the test.

The test includes 10 cultural-bound expressions, taken from three original transcripts of three American movies namely, "*Scent of a Woman*", "*Erin Brockovich*" and "*Casino*".

Best Regards,

Saleh Majed Al Abwaini

Email: salehabwaini_salti@yahoo.com

Translation Test

Dear participant,

This test consists of two sections. The first section elicits demographic data such as age, gender, and nationality. The second section is a translation test which consists of 10 cultural expressions selected from three American movies namely, "*Scent of a Woman*", "*Erin Brockovich*" and "*Casino*". You're kindly requested to fill in the first section by putting an (X) next to your chosen answer, And to translate in the second section the highlighted cultural expressions from English into Arabic.

Thank you so much for your cooperation,

The researchers.

Section 1			
<i>Demographic Data</i>			
<u>Education level:</u>			
B.A. ()	M.A. ()	Other () specify	
<u>University affiliation:</u>			
MEU ()	Other () specify		
<u>Number of years you have worked in translation:</u>			
None ()	1-5 ()	More than 5 ()	
<u>Number of years you have spent in a country where English is the first language:</u>			
None ()	1-5 ()	More than 5 ()	
<u>Age:</u>			
20-24 ()	25-29 ()	30-34 ()	35 and above ()
<u>Nationality:</u>			
Jordanian ()	Non-Jordanian ()		
<u>Gender :</u>			
Male ()	Female ()		

Section 2

Scenes from the 2002 American Movie *'Scent of a Woman'*

1- HARRY: "How short are you?"

2- FRANK SLADE: "even with students Aid plus the folks back home hustling the corn nuts?"

3- "GEORGE: "He's good-cop, bad copping us. He knows I'm Old guard. You're fringe. He's going to bear down on me, soft soap you. Did he try to soft soap you?"

4- CHARLIE: "Hello. I don't know, Mrs. Rossi – I got the feeling I screwed up

Scenes from the 2000 American Movie *'Erin Brockovich'*

1- ERIN: "They took some bone from my hip and put it in my neck. I didn't have insurance, so I'm about seventeen thousand in debt right now"

2- ERIN: "First of all, don't talk baby talk to your wife in front of me."

Scenes from the 1995 American Movie *'Casino'*

1- ACE: "Who could resist? Anywhere else in the country, I was a bookie, a gambler, always lookin' over my shoulder"

2- DETECTIVE JOHNSON: "You know, he's gotta realize everything can't be a home run that he does"

3- GINGER: "I'm going to go powder my nose"

4- ACE: " I mean, without us, these guys, they'd still be shovellin' mule shit"

Appendix B: The model subtitle confirmed by the panel of experts and jury

'Scent of a Women' الترجمة المحكمة والمعتمدة للفيلم الاول

1. كم يلزمك من النقود
2. حتى بوجود البعثة لا زال والداك مضطرا الى العمل ليلا ونهارا لتأمين مصاريفك
3. سيحاول ان ينال مني ولكنه سيتملكك
4. اشعر بانني لم احسن التصرف

'Erin Brockovich' الترجمة المحكمة والمعتمدة للفيلم الثاني

1. استغلوني ولم يدفعوا لي شيئا
2. لا تتكلم بلطف مع زوجتك امامي

'Casino' الترجمة المحكمة والمعتمدة للفيلم الثالث

1. ولكنني كنت دائما خائفا على نفسي من الخيانة او الغدر
2. عليك ان تدرك ان الامور ليست بهذه السهولة
3. سأذهب لأصلح مكياجك
4. لولا جهودنا لكانوا ما زالوا في الحضيض

Note on Contributor

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An Investigation into Translation of English Adverbs into Persian

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Abstract

This paper tries to analyze the problems arising in translation of English adverbs to Persian. For this purpose, the researcher introduces all kinds of English and Persian adverbs for familiarity with them and then asks some translation students to translate some sentences (they are free to use a dictionary). Two English translation teachers were the raters and sentences were studied based on their translation. Correct, false translation and omission of the sentence were calculated for each adverb. The results of this research showed that the main problem in translating of the English adverbs is unfamiliarity with them.

Keywords: Translation, Source language, Target Language, Parts of speech, English adverbs, Persian adverbs

Introduction

Nowadays, our world is known as a global village, communication is more important than before. The life of every person is related to people in other countries and communication is not possible without knowing their language. Translation is the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent textual material in another language (TL) (Catford 1965, p.1).

Millions of people around the world try to learn a foreign language. They may not grow up in a bilingual community and suffer serious shortcomings of current curricula of language teaching, and experience radically different teaching methods, especially those who learn a foreign language only when they go to high school. If both languages are similar, language learners may have fewer problems but the situation becomes confusing, and even embarrassing, when the two languages are completely different in alphabet, sound system, and structure, like English and Persian. So, translation is needed for communication to take place. Translation requires knowledge of the source and target language and culture. This includes all aspects of language, such as word and grammar (Mirhasani, 2000).

Adverbs are part of speech that can be added to a verb to modify its meaning. Usually, an adverb tells you when, where, how, in what manner or to what extent an action is performed. Very many adverbs end in "...ly" - particularly those that are used to express how an action is performed.

Adverbs are such important parts in the sentence or clause that knowing them is important to understand the concept of the text.

One of the most frequent mistakes in translations, experienced mostly by young and inexperienced translators, is wrongly translating or omitting adverbs as a result of unfamiliarity with English adverbs. Often a mistake in the translation of one word can change the meaning of the whole sentence and the mistranslation of a sentence can change the meaning of a part of the text.

A major challenge of English adverbs translation to Persian is unfamiliarity. In the Iranian school, English is taught more in the field of grammar and teachers do not teach translation. There are some difficulties in the translation of English adverbs which are important parts of a sentence and wrong translation can lead to the mistranslation of sentences. The adverbs which are the subject of this study are so limited in the books taught in the school; therefore, children are unfamiliar with most kinds of adverbs. When they grow up and enter the university in the field of translation studies, they cannot recognize kinds of adverb or they cannot translate them correctly.

Purpose of the Study

This article reports a study of the translation of English adverbs to Persian. Some recommendations for the correct translation of English adverbs to Persian are made. This study is directed based on the following research questions:

1. What types of errors in the use of adverbs are more likely to be made by English translation students?
2. Does learning affect the translation of English adverbs?

Theoretical framework of Study

Kinds of Adverb

The usual form pertaining to adjectives or adverbs is called the positive. Formally, adverbs in English are inflected in terms of comparison, just like adjectives. The comparative and superlative forms of some (especially single-syllable) adverbs that do not end in *-ly* are generated by adding *-er* and *-est* (*he went faster; He jumps highest*). Others, especially those ending *-ly*, are periphrastically compared by the use of *more* or *most* (*She ran more quickly*) - while some accept both forms, e.g. *oftener* and *more often* are both correct. Adverbs also take comparisons with *as ... as*, *less*, and *least*. Not all adverbs are comparable; for example in the sentence *He wore red yesterday*, it does not make sense to speak of “more yesterday” or “most yesterday”.

According to Mirhasani (2000), adverbs in English include words, phrases, and clauses that modify a verb, an adjective, another adverb, a determiner, a preposition, and noun phrases. Frank (1993, p.141) believes:

It has been customary to include the most disparate elements among the adverbs, frequently those that cannot be put into any part of speech classification. Adverbs range in meaning from words having a strong lexical content To those that are used merely for emphasis. They range in function from close to loose modifiers of the verb, single words, prepositional phrases or clauses, to loose modifiers of the entire sentence.

Therefore, it is difficult to draw a clear-cut line between adverbs and other part of speech. There are a large number of problems connected with the use of adverbs; their similarities, and the position of adverbs because they are the most mobile elements, and they should be discussed or studied in a manner that covers their form, function, and position. Frank also believes that adverbs are a complicated group of words, phrases and clauses which vary in form and distribution (Mirhasani, 2000).

English adverb

There are eleven kinds of adverbs in English that are listed below:

1. Adverbs of certainty express how certain or sure we feel about an action or event. Adverbs of certainty go before the main verb but after the verb “to be”, with other auxiliary verb, these adverbs go between the auxiliary and the main verb, sometimes these adverbs can be placed at the beginning of the sentence. Certainly, definitely, probably, undoubtedly and surely are adverbs of certainty.
2. Relative adverbs can be used to join sentences or clauses. They replace the more formal structure of preposition + which in a relative clause. There are three relative adverbs: where, when, why. “That's the restaurant where we met for the first time” and “I remember the day when we first met” are examples of this adverb.
3. Interrogative adverbs are usually placed at the beginning of a question. They are why, where, how and when.
4. Viewpoint and Commenting adverbs tell us about the speaker's viewpoint or opinion about an action, or make some comment on the action. These adverbs are placed at the beginning of the sentence and are separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma. Commenting is very similar to viewpoint adverbs, and often the same words, but they go in a different position -- after the verb to be and before the main verb. These adverbs are shown as follows: Frankly, theoretically, honestly, seriously, confidentially, personally, surprisingly, ideally, economically, officially, obviously, clearly, surely, undoubtedly.

5. Conjunctive (connecting) adverbs are often used to show the relationship between the ideas expressed in a clause and the ideas expressed in a preceding clause, sentence or paragraph. The following are examples of connecting adverbs: Accordingly, additionally, also, besides, comparatively, consequently, conversely, finally, further, furthermore, elsewhere, equally, hence, henceforth, however, in addition, in comparison, in contrast, indeed, instead, likewise, meanwhile, moreover, namely, nevertheless, next, nonetheless, now, otherwise, rather, similarly, still, subsequently, then, thereafter, therefore, thus, yet. For instance: "Alice is a clever girl indeed", "The chicken was baking in the oven. Meanwhile, I peeled the potatoes."
6. Comparative adverbs in general, comparative and superlative forms of adverbs are the same as for adjectives: add -er or -est to short adverbs. For example: "Lance runs fast but Matt runs faster" or "I feel worse than ever now".
7. Adverbs of degree tell us about the intensity or degree of an action, an adjective or another adverb. These are usually placed before the adjective or adverb they are modifying or before the main verb. Common adverbs of degree are: Almost, nearly, quite, just, too, enough, hardly, scarcely, completely, very, extremely.
8. Adverbs of time tell us when an action happened. They usually are placed at the end of the sentence but some of them can be put in other positions to give a different emphasis. Today, yesterday, later, now, last year, all day, not long, for a while, since last year, sometimes, frequently, never, often, yearly are adverbs of time.
9. Adverbs of place tell us where something happens. They are usually placed after the main verb or after the object. Everywhere, away, up, down, around, out, back, in, nearby, outside are some adverbs of place.
10. Adverbs of manner tell us how something happens. They are usually placed after the main verb or after the object. You can see them as follows: well, rapidly, slowly, quickly, softly, loudly, aggressively, loudly to attract her attention, beautifully, greedily.
11. Adverbs of frequency show how often an action is performed. Adverbs of frequency are often used with the present simple because they indicate repeated or routine activities. They are placed before the main verb, after a form of to be and some of them can go at the beginning of a sentence: Always, constantly, nearly always, almost always, usually, generally, normally, regularly, often, frequently, sometimes, periodically, occasionally, now and then, once in a while, rarely, seldom, infrequently, hardly ever, scarcely ever, almost never, never.

Persian adverbs

Adverbs are not formally distinct in Persian, but certain words function as adverbs and correspond in use to English adverbs. Some nouns or words

which are used as nouns, nouns combined with prepositions, and adjectives can be used as adverbs. All of the adverbs, no matter which part of speech they are, modify verbs, prepositions and so on. Persian adverbs are classified in the same manner as the English ones to make the comparison easier, and therefore, the difference can be observed better and more clearly. Adverbs usually precede the words, phrases, or clauses they modify but are used in other positions if they do not sound unnatural or strange (Mirhasani, 2000).

There are two Persian adverb structures:

1. Simple: these are not more than one word and cannot separate to meaningful parts. They appear before what they modify and some of them in initial position.
2. Compound: these include some meaningful parts. They are placed at the beginning or end of the sentence. They are used in the same position as the simple adverbs.

Methodology

Participants

The researcher asked two teachers of English translation at Feizoleslam non-governmental institute of higher education to translate the samples.. Jahani graduated with an M.A in translation studies from Islamic Azad University, Khorasgan branch and Mr. Jahansepas graduated with an M.A in translation studies from Isfahan University.

The researcher prepared a pre- and post-test including 33 sentences which comprise three sentences for every kind of English adverb. These sentences had been chosen from some English grammar books.

The participants were 33 students studying in semester four of translation studies at Feizoleslam non-governmental institute of higher education. They were between the ages of 19 and 26 and all of them were female.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

The researcher asked participants to translate 33 samples (including all kinds of adverbs). After the treatment, they were again asked to translate the sentences. Two English teachers were selected as raters and the researcher used their translations a source for investigation. The translations of students were collected before and after treatment.

The researcher studied all the translations of the 33 students based on the translations of the two raters to identify correct, omitted or false translations. Then the eleven kinds of adverbs were taught to the students and they were asked to use dictionary during the translation of new test.

Results

Pre-testing

Table 1 shows the results of the pre-test for eleven kinds of adverb before the treatment. The results showed that 5.35% of the adverbs in the texts were omitted, and 11.9% of the adverbs were mistranslated, meaning that the translation of the adverb lacked the correct function that it had in the source language.

Table 1

Pre-test results for eleven kinds of adverbs

Kind of adverb	Correct	False	Omitted
Adverb of certainty	83.33	13.33	3.34
Comparative adverb	89.99	3.35	6.66
Adverbs of conjunction	64.44	21.12	14.44
Adverbs of degree	67.77	12.24	19.99
Adverbs of frequency	88.88	11.1	0.02
Interrogative adverbs	98.88	1.11	0.01
Adverbs of manner	75.55	21.1	3.35
Adverbs of place	79.99	17.77	2.24
Relative adverbs	97.77	1.12	1.11
Viewpoint adverbs	65.55	6.68	27.77
Adverbs of time	97.77	1.12	1.11

Post-testing

Table 2 shows the results of the post-test for eleven kinds of adverb after the treatment. The results of post-testing show that the percentage of correct translations of adverbs has increased. This shows that learning was effective and they could translate correctly after they were taught adverbs and advised to use a dictionary.

Table 2

Post-test results for eleven kinds of adverbs

Kind of adverb	Correct	False	Omitted
Adverb of certainty	90.72	4.85	4.43
Comparative adverb	83.5	11.3	5.2
Adverbs of conjunction	95.47	1.2	3.33
Adverbs of degree	84.86	5.47	9.67
Adverbs of frequency	95.3	0	4.7
Interrogative adverbs	98.8	0	1.2

Adverbs of manner	87	1	12
Adverbs of place	87	10	3
Relative adverbs	98	0	2
Viewpoint adverbs	77	17	6
Adverbs of time	100	0	0

Conclusion

The study on adverbs revealed that the main problem of the students was related to unfamiliarity with the English adverbs. It means that those kinds of adverbs which were not taught to students in previous years are translated wrongly or the students omit them more than other adverbs. The study also showed that it is effective for students to learn adverbs with the help of a dictionary because the amount of false or omitted translations decreased. The students could translate better than before learning.

The interesting point is, nearly all the adverbs learned by the translators in high school were translated correctly and were not omitted; however they did not learn the kind of adverb that they encountered in the sentences. But in other cases that required more attention and research, adverbs were translated into unknown words or they were wrongly omitted. Some adverbs like frankly are unfamiliar to the students and students did not try to use dictionary, so they translated this adverb wrongly. Most of the students in this study translated frankly to the name of a person (Franky). To avoid mistake, translators need to understand what word is adverb and then recognize the kind of adverb. Sometimes, incorrect translation is due to carelessness. Our advice for beginner translators is introducing all kinds of adverbs to students and using a dictionary during translation.

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The Fallacy of an Epistemic Break: a Case for Epistemic Realism

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Abstract

The profession of teaching and learning English has taken on new connotations in the past century. One such connotation has been read into it by those professionals and scholars who suspect an imperialistic hidden agenda. In this article we are going to take a critical view of the notion of “an epistemic break” from dependency on Western-oriented or center-based knowledge systems, which, it is claimed, “the teaching of EIL requires if it is to successfully meet the challenges of globalism.” It is indicated, through a concise review of the relevant literature, that some of the breaks have already taken place and that other breaks are undesirable and would prove counterproductive and detrimental to the profession of ELT because they are based on unrealistic views of EIL and SLA. Finally, we argue that, in order to meet the challenges of globalization and to realize emancipatory educational dreams, what is required is a more conciliatory and unifying approach, which appears to be more realistic.

Keywords: epistemic break, knowledge system, EIL, ELT, SLA

What does epistemic break mean?

Paraphrasing Foucault, Kumaravadivelu (2012, p. 14) defines episteme as “a set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to formalized knowledge systems”. Arguing that these knowledge systems impose constraints on disciplinary discourse, he strives to build a case for an epistemic break, which, in his words, “represents a thorough reconceptualization and a thorough reorganization of knowledge systems.” He admits that this epistemic break may not enjoy universal applicability, and makes no mention of the long-or short-term benefits of this reconceptualization. However, he proposes five epistemic breaks: that with the native speaker episteme, that from terminologies, that from Western knowledge production, that from centre-based cultural competence, and that from centre-based methods.

A break with the native speaker episteme

The first episteme that he advocates a break from is “the native speaker” and the corollaries, because it has taken “an all-encompassing hold on almost all aspects of English language learning and teaching” (Kumaravadivelu, 2012, p. 15). Nevertheless, it appears that the concept of native speaker has long since lost its dominance in English as an International Language (from now on EIL) and Second Language Acquisition (SLA) practice.

It is not difficult to see that many scholars now prefer term “expert user”, which refers to “a proficient speaker of the language, regardless of whether it is their first language or not (Thornbury, 2006, p. 140). Others have gone so far as to disclaim native speaker ownership of English as it is used in the 21st century. Widdowson (2003, p. 43), for instance, builds a convincing case for the fact that ... how English develops in the world is no business whatever of its native speakers in England, the United States, or anywhere else. They have no say in the matter, no right to intervene or pass judgement. They are irrelevant.

Even in the area of teaching, native speakers no longer enjoy the monopoly they once used to hold. “It appears the glory once attached to the NEST has faded and an increasing number of ELT experts assert that the ideal teacher is no longer a category reserved for NESTs” (Medgyes, 2001, p. 440). One reason is that the native speaking teacher hasn’t learnt the language in a classroom context, which is where many learners learn English and therefore “are not as well- positioned to teach it” (Thornbury, 2006, p. 141).

So, contrary to what Kumaravadivelu (2012) states, the concept of native speaker hasn’t been “an enduring episteme in EIL”, since the concept of EIL cannot capture the idea of a group of speakers having custody over it because “to grant such custody of language is necessarily to arrest its development and so undermine its international status” (Widdowson, 2003, p. 43). However, this position has opened up a new pedagogical debate in the field, namely, what English should be taught in the classroom, which is an issue that renders the notion of “break” entirely impracticable because no alternative is proposed for the norm from which a break is encouraged.

One of the major uses of EIL is for interdisciplinary and interdisciplinary communication i.e. among academics and professionals involved in various academic and professional disciplines. This automatically raises the question of what is the norm that enhances intelligibility in such a wide world. Widdowson (2003, p. 55) addresses the problem of norm and convincingly argues that:

... English has spread to become international by the exploitation of the resources of the virtual language and that this has resulted in two kinds of development. One of them is primary and local and takes the form of varieties which are dialect-like in that they serve the immediate everyday social needs of a particular community. The other is secondary and global

and takes the form of registers associated with particular domains of institutional and professional use.

The crux of the matter is that registers develop within global communities of professionals and do not rely on communities of those who use it to meet every day needs. This is the type of English that has given English its current status. The key point here is that although Widdowson (2003, p. 55) asserts that these registers have their own norm and “no need of native speaker custodians,” he does not appear to be clarifying where the norms come from.

Anderson (1994) also explores the concept of norm and its potential usefulness in deciding on the variety of English to be taught in EIL. She argues that it is necessary to distinguish the situation in the Outer Circle, i.e. countries such as Ghana and Bangladesh where English is used as a second language, from that in the Expanding Circle, i.e. countries such as China and Japan where English is taught as a foreign language (Kachru, 1997). The studies that she cites into the question of intelligibility bear witness to the fact that “our understanding of the acceptable norm must be expanded”, since it implies specifying new norms for new situations. She also argues that “keeping the native standard in the Expanding Circle does not seem to present problems” and goes on to say that in this circle the paradigm includes “not just one but several native varieties” (Anderson, 1994, p. 402), which makes perfect pedagogical sense because there is no way to predict what variety the EIL learners will have to deal with outside the class.

The ambivalence that is probably felt at this point can be resolved by considering the fact that, although the concept of native speaker has lost dominance in EIL and ELT, it cannot necessarily lead to the conclusion that English, or any other language for that matter, can survive and evolve without the native speakers. The reasons are many and varied. To begin with, it is not difficult to think of failed attempts at spreading Esperanto, which had no native speakers and no culture since “a language with no native speakers is something of a conundrum” (Rajagopalan, 2012, p. 383). To see the reason, it is crucial to consider the concept of virtual language, the term Widdowson (2003) uses. He believes that language does not spread as a fixed code, but as a pool of resources for making meaning, which allow new combinations that will serve specific purposes and which will be different from the conventional code; new words are coined, new grammar rules are invented and so on. When these new forms are adopted as conventions, language diversifies into varieties. It appears to us that, while it is true that a community of native speakers cannot dictate what new meanings will be created, they would still be the community where all the resources for making new meanings exist. The reason is self-evident: the communities of native speakers use the language for a much wider variety of purposes: it is the main communication tool in everyday life, where feelings are expressed, relationships are formed, deals are made and so on. Outside these communities, English is normally (although it does not have to be) used in a far more limited number of contexts, most of

which reduce communication to a mere exchange of information usually only for survival. Furthermore, if any of these communities create new resources, they will not become one of the resources of that language unless they are adopted by all the communities involved, including the native speaker community. This means that it is simply impossible to break with the native speaker communities, create new resources that originated from other languages, and call them the resources of the English (virtual) language. This kind of change will create what is commonly known as Creole English, which is of no international use.

Besides, as the word “international” implies, all nations, including English speaking communities, are considered users of this virtual language or registers, which are “patterns of the instantiation of the overall system associated with a given type of context” (Halliday & Matthiessen, 2004, p. 27). As can be seen from this definition, different contexts utilize the resources that the system puts at their disposal. What follows is that these resources cannot be *created* by contexts; they can only be used to meet situational demands. Moreover, “it is in these uses of the language as lingua franca that the dynamism of international spread is to be found and as users of these varieties, *“all speakers of English, whether as a first, second or foreign language are in the same Expanding Circle”* (Widdowson, 2003, p. 55, emphasis added).

Another fact that makes the notion of a break hard to justify is that the EFL context is not taken into account. English is still a popular foreign language, which is taken up for a much wider variety of purposes: as well as extrinsic motivations such as emigration to English-speaking countries, business correspondence and many others, intrinsic motivations such as the love of the culture, literature, or even the sound of the language can still be found among learners of EFL. Right or wrong, it seems that choice must come first.

To conclude this part, EIL implies interdependence of communities and by its very complicated nature it calls for more insightful and accommodating and all-inclusive perspectives than a mere break. As Jenkins (2006, p. 173) argues: “teachers and their learners, it is widely agreed, need to learn not (a variety of) English, but about Englishes, their similarities and differences, issues involved in intelligibility, the strong link between language and identity and so on.”

An Epistemic Break from Terminologies

One aspect of the epistemic break is independence from terminologies, which Kumaravadivelu (2012) believes “have mainly contributed to the preservation of the native speaker episteme” (p. 16). Among the neatly abbreviated labels he disparages are WE (World English), ELF (English as Lingua Franca) and EIL (English as an International Language). These raise a number of questions.

As he rightly points out: “there is no consensus in the field about any of these labels”, which means they are open to interpretations and take on different connotations. The question is how ambiguous and interpretable terms can “dictate”, and how “we can become prisoners of labels” whose boundaries are fluid. The fact that there is little consensus on the definition of these terms means that they can easily be exploited to meet situational needs.

What is even more confusing is the solution Kumaravadivelu (2012) offers: “Getting outside it (the picture that held us captive), in the context of EIL, means not just changing the terms of the conversation but changing the terms of the conduct of knowledge production” (p. 16). He does not specify how the new terms will not add to “the terminological knots.” How can it be guaranteed that these new terms will carry only one meaning, and will not contribute to the preservation of another particular episteme?

Another objection Kumaravadivelu (2012) makes to “our fascination with the name game” is that it made little or no contribution to “the central mission of improving English language learning and teaching” (p.16). The very word “improvement” brings up the question of norm which was discussed above. If a skill is to improve, it must be moving towards an ideal or a model that is supposed to possess the qualities that one is striving to achieve. Furthermore, terms are not meant to make improvements: they are merely supposed to facilitate communication among the scholars and practitioners, who coin and exploit terms that will suit their own purposes.

It appears, therefore, that the so-called dependency on terminologies cannot be a serious concern. Furthermore, as Rajagopalan (2012, p. 374) argues, names do matter because “the appellation we choose often carries with it associations and implications that have major consequences for the way we approach the very phenomenon.” So, it can easily be seen that these names and labels are not meant to impose a strait jacket on the way thinking develops; rather they capture and encourage the variety that the field enjoys, which appears to be more emancipating than imprisoning. If some are imprisoned by these terms, it is their choice rather than an imposition from the outside.

Breaking Dependency from Western Knowledge Production

Kumaravadivelu (2012, p. 17) also calls for “a reconceptualization of research itself” since “the world view that characterizes most part of the studies in second language acquisition has for long been premised upon notions such as interlanguage, fossilization, acculturation, communicative competence, intercultural competence, all of which are heavily tilted towards the episteme of the native speaker.” Just a look at the definition of these terms in “An A-Z of ELT” by Thornbury (2006) will make the statement sound somewhat exaggerated. Take interlanguage for instance. . According to Thornbury (2006, p. 109, emphasis added):

Interlanguage is the term used to describe the grammatical system that a learner creates in the course of learning another language. This interlanguage is seen as *an independent system in its own right and not simply a degenerate form of the target language*. It reflects the learner's evolving system of rules.

In a similar vein, White (2003) calls interlanguage "the proposal that L2 learners have internalized a mental grammar, a natural language system that can be described in terms of linguistic rules and principles" (p. 19).

As is clear from these two definitions, interlanguage is not heavily tilted towards the native speaker episteme; rather it is the learner's developing system that is under scrutiny and is treated independently from the target language system.

As for fossilization, it is true that initially it carried negative connotations, suggesting the learner's interlanguage stops developing; however, as Thornbury (2006, p. 86) points out "the concept of fossilization is viewed less negatively because it is accepted that few if any second language learners achieve native-like proficiency." In fact, nowadays one never reads an article or study in which native-like proficiency is set as the ultimate goal of language learning.

Furthermore, a cursory glance at the SLA research in the past fifteen years or so will show that researchers do not consider the native speaker as the only criterion for L2 users. For instance, Cook (1999, 2005) proposes that a bilingual is not the equivalent of two monolinguals in one brain and that an L2 user's multi competence is more flexible than a monolingual native speaker, and therefore, the norms of successful L2 users should be used. However, it is essential to note that he does not propose a break from the native speaker and believes that the native speaker is criterion against which the L2 user's language potential can be measured.

A quick look at the studies conducted in the past ten years will also indicate that researchers in the field have been taking interest in a much wider population and contexts of SLA. Ortega (2013) cites a number of studies including those that cover a broad range of populations from heritage language learners (Montrul, 2008; Valdes, 2005) to international adoptees (Fogel, 2012; Hyltenstam, Bylund, Abrahamsson, & Park, 2009), and school-age minority language learners (Ardasheva, Tretter, & Kinny, 2012).

Ortega (2013, p. 5) also discusses "the recent wave of empirical usage based studies" that have given rise to a new methodology in SLA research. She refers to innovation in developmental corpus analysis, dynamical systems techniques for formally gauging variation-centered changes and computational simulations.

Another sweeping wave that has reshaped SLA research is the sociocultural/social constructivist approach to understanding second language learning, which is characterized by the focus on the development of language in a social setting and through social interaction. As Firth and Wagner (2007,

p. 804) point out: “SLA research of the 1980s and 1990s was itself influenced by this sociocultural turn – as witnessed by the steady increase in studies that acknowledged, thematized and explored context and interaction.” Then, they go on to discuss what has been happening in SLA research from 1997 to 2007:

Much SLA research that has been produced over the last decade bears witness to a marked increase in the number of sociocultural and contextual-interactional themes and concepts impacting upon SLA’s research agenda....”An increasing number of researchers are thus displaying a willingness to adopt emic perspective and explore and attempt to develop cognitive social approaches to language learning.

These approaches, as they remind us throughout the article, are characterized by the focus on use rather than on acquisition. Firth and Wagner (2007) also talk about two major groups of researchers in the social-interactional domain:

The first group focuses on the classroom setting and other formal learning environments and is centrally concerned with the theme of L2 learning-though from an interactional perspective. ... A second group to have emerged over the last decade also deploys CA methodology and theory. In this case the focuses are not so much on L2 learning, but more on trying to understand and explicate the character of L2 and lingua franca interactions or L2 use. (p. 805)

All this goes to show that SLA world view has not just been premised on notions that “are heavily tilted towards the episteme of the native speaker” (Kumaravadivelu, 2012, p. 17). But this is not his only objection; he calls for two other major shifts, one of which will prove counterproductive and the other will be of little use.

First, he believes that an epistemic break “requires a fundamental reconceptualization of research itself” (Kumaravadivelu, 2012, p. 17). The reason he presents is that “research is not innocent and... it occurs in a set of political and social conditions” and that “most of the traditional disciplines are grounded in cultural world views that are either antagonistic towards other belief systems or have no methodology for dealing with other knowledge systems” (p.17). What he does not clarify, though, is whether and how the new re-conceptualized research will be innocent and politically impartial and how this new system will benefit EIL.

The second requirement he calls for is “proactive research” that “involves paying attention to the particularities of learning/teaching in periphery countries” (Kumaravadivelu, 2012, p. 17). We agree that this proactive research will be of particular local relevance and interest. However, it is highly doubtful if this localized research will be of any global use. When dealing with such a global phenomenon as EIL a more global approach is naturally more appropriate.

What is required therefore is not a break from current methods and practices. Nor will re-conceptualization be of any use since it will end up serving new political interests this time perhaps on a more local basis. Rather, SLA needs to embrace a different world view which is now in existence: an advocacy and participatory worldview, which is a position which rose in the 80s and 90s against post positivist assumptions. This view holds that “research enquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda” (Creswell, 2009, p. 9). This view concerns itself with issues such as empowerment, inequality, oppression, dominion and so on, which are issues that have direct links to the sociopolitical aspects of EIL and SLA. Again, it is our firm belief that this worldview will be of use if it is embraced globally, which makes the idea of break decidedly self-defeating.

Another controversial issue in ELT, which also raises questions of power, and dominion, is that of culture. One question that still fuels heated debates is whether the culture of the target language should be taught in the language classroom or the language can be taught independently from the culture of the people who speak it. It appears that Kumaravadivelu (2012) advocates the latter viewpoint, which is the rationale behind the next break he proposes.

Breaking Dependency on Center-based Cultural Competence

The first aberration i.e. denying the inextricable link between language and culture, results in the second erroneous assumption that “the non-English speaking world learns and uses English for communicational purposes and not for cultural identity formation” (Kumaravadivelu, 2012, p. 19). He gives examples of India where English is learnt “to meet educational and institutional needs” and where it is kept “separate from their cultural beliefs and practices.”

Having proposed a cultural break, he goes on to advocate cultural realism, which ... seeks the development of global cultural consciousness that results not just in cultural literacy but also in cultural liberty. It requires willingness and ability to learn *from* other cultures not just *about* them. Learning about other cultures may lead to cultural literacy; it is learning from other cultures that will lead to cultural liberty. (Emphasis in the original)

The reader cannot help noticing a contradiction here. What it boils down to at this point is that one cannot learn from another culture if the language is only used as a communicational tool, which is what Kumaravadivelu advocates earlier on when he talks about Indians, Pakistanis and Turks: first, he supports a culture-devoid English that is used to embody local values and in the same breath he advocates learning from other cultures which will lead to cultural liberty.

In our view, cultural liberty is what is badly needed in today’s world. However, it cannot be achieved if a break happens and if EIL learners and teachers insist on in Kumaravadivelu’s (2012) words “preserving and protecting their own linguistic and cultural identities” (p. 20), for the simple

reason that learning from other cultures should and will result in change in the original identity. Therefore, enacting cultural liberty will involve in dependency on all cultural resources and in creating more sources for learning about other cultures on of which in an EIL context is textbooks.

Breaking the Dependency on Center-based Textbook industry

Having criticized the Western publishing industry for imposing particular cultural knowledge on teachers and learners, Kumaravadivelu (2012) goes on to state that “textbooks should reflect the lived experiences teachers and students bring to the classroom because, after all, their experiences are shaped by a broader social, cultural, economic and political environment in which they grow up” (p. 21).

Again this raises the question of why? What is the point in repeating the same experiences in the English classroom? This would mean depriving students of learning *from* or at least *about* another culture, making cultural liberty even more difficulty to accomplish. As Kramsch (1993) point out knowing about a culture i.e. gaining cultural competence does not mean that one has an obligation to behave in accordance with the conventions of that culture. One of the advantages of learning another language, especially an international one is broadening the learner’s horizons. Putting textbooks in the control of local practitioners would not only mean a huge deprivation to the learner, it would also provide local practitioners with yet another tool to impose their own ideologies on the learners, although it appears that in ELT this is too drastic a change and is doomed to failure. For instance, an analysis by Kirkgöz and Ağçam (2011) of the cultural elements in 18 locally published English textbooks used for Turkish primary schools following two major curriculum innovations in ELT indicates that references to the source and target cultures in textbooks published between 1997 and 2005 outnumber international target cultural components. However, an analysis of textbooks after 2005 shows a more balanced treatment of the target and local cultures. This, in itself, demonstrates a failed attempt at breaking from other cultures, probably because language learning, by its very nature, implies and involves broadening cultural horizons as well.

Breaking the Dependency on center-based methods

Attractive as it sounds, the idea of post-method is not what it promises to be. The aim here is not to write a critique of post-method, since there is an abundance of criticism already out there. Suffice it to bear in mind that when methods were devised, they were aimed to enable learners what they were aspiring for: native-speaker competence. Now that goals have changed, for better or for worse, and for whatever reason, they might appear to have lost their usefulness. However, compelling teachers to forget methods would seem as constraining as imposing a particular method and that is what post-method

seems to be doing. After all, “methods are not dead, nor will they ever be” (Bell, 2003, p. 334). What is needed is not a break, which would mean the disposing of a substantial pool of our teacher resources but “understanding the limitations of the notion of method and a desire to transcend those limitations” (Bell, 2003, p. 334). If post-method is to move towards the realization of its ambitions i.e. teacher and learner autonomy, it cannot afford to put such constraints as a “break” on their freedom of choice; rather, it has to encourage expanding the pool of resources that teachers and learners can draw on. If this pool includes the native speaker, or western-based knowledge or whatever that might be relevant in a particular context so be it. Those who find them irrelevant in another context can re-think them and exploit them in the interests of EIL learners and teachers.

Conclusions

In this article we tried to build a case against the notion of epistemic break, proposed by Kuamaravadivelu (2012). The idea of epistemic break is certainly not an appropriate response to the challenges of globalization. A look at the definition on the website of the WHO (<http://www.who.int/trade/glossary/story043/en/>) will show why:

Globalization, or the increased interconnectedness and interdependence of peoples and countries, is generally understood to include two interrelated elements: the opening of borders to increasingly fast flows of goods, services, finance, people and ideas across international borders; and the changes in institutional and policy regimes at the international and national levels that facilitate or promote such flows. It is recognized that globalization has both positive and negative impacts on development.

Although the advantages and drawbacks of globalization have been hotly debated for decades, there appears to be widespread consensus on two key elements: interconnectedness and interdependence. The very concept of EIL bears witness to the need for a tool that unites and is the hallmark of this interdependence. Obviously, what is required in the current global climate is to conciliate different sources of knowledge, competences and ideas so that researchers, teachers and learners will have a wider choice, which will hopefully lead to more freedom and development in the ELT profession.

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