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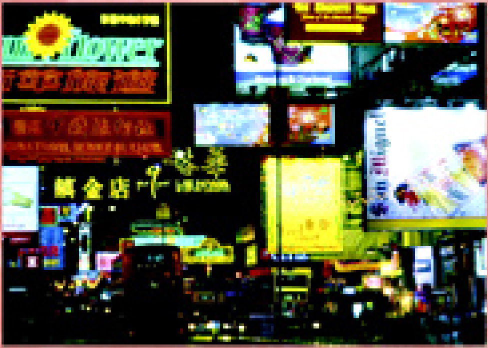
Postcolonial English

Varieties around the world

Edgar W. Schneider



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Postcolonial English

The global spread of English has resulted in the emergence of a diverse range of postcolonial varieties around the world. *Postcolonial English* provides a clear and original account of the evolution of these varieties, exploring the historical, social, and ecological factors that have shaped all levels of their structure. It argues that while these Englishes have developed new and unique properties which differ greatly from one location to another, their spread and diversification can in fact be explained by a single underlying process, which builds upon the constant relationships and communication needs of the colonizers, the colonized, and other parties. Outlining the stages and characteristics of this process, it applies them in detail to English in sixteen different countries across all continents as well as, in a separate chapter, to a history of American English. Of key interest to sociolinguists, dialectologists, historical linguists, and syntacticians alike, this book provides a fascinating new picture of the growth and evolution of English around the globe.

EDGAR W. SCHNEIDER is Professor and Chair of English Linguistics in the Department of English and American Studies, University of Regensburg. His most recent books include *Degrees of Restructuring in Creole Languages* (2000), and *A Handbook of Varieties of English* (2004).

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Postcolonial English

Varieties around the world

Edgar W. Schneider
University of Regensburg

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Series editor's foreword

The series *Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact* was set up to publish outstanding monographs on language contact, especially by authors who approach their specific subject matter from a diachronic or developmental perspective. Our goal is to integrate the ever-growing scholarship on language diversification (including the development of creoles, pidgins, and indigenized varieties of colonial European languages), bilingual language development, code-switching, and language endangerment. We hope to provide a select forum to scholars who contribute insightfully to understanding language evolution from an interdisciplinary perspective. We favor approaches that highlight the role of ecology and draw inspiration both from the authors' own fields of specialization and from related research areas in linguistics or other disciplines. Eclecticism is one of our mottoes, as we endeavor to comprehend the complexity of evolutionary processes associated with contact.

We are very proud to add to our list Edgar W. Schneider's *Postcolonial English: varieties around the world.* This is, to my knowledge, the most comprehensive uniformitarian account of how English has spread around the world and diversified into a multitude of varieties (including creoles) thanks both to England's important participation in the European colonization of the world since the seventeenth century and to the American and British leadership role in the recent wave of economic globalization. If the spread of English has before been compared to that of Latin, Schneider has easily produced the only book that makes this comparison obvious. He also highlights the ways in which its prevalence over numerous indigenous and other European vernaculars in former settlement colonies, as well as over alternative lingua francas in the rest of the world, has been only a pyrrhic victory. Having been appropriated by new speakers in diverse contact ecologies, English has been adapted to different communicative practices and indigenized to express local and novel cultures. Schneider proposes a Dynamic Model which articulates various ecological factors bearing on the same general language-restructuring equation in order to account for the setting-specific ways in which English has evolved.

This new approach also makes obvious who have been the actual agents of the spread of English, not always the former colonists and colonizers from the United Kingdom, or Americans and Australians since the independence of former exploitation colonies, but often the local intellectual elite and political leaders. Paying attention to the actual ethnographic functions of English in various places, Schneider also makes it obvious why the spread of this language as a vernacular in former settlement colonies, as an official language in former exploitation colonies, but only as an international lingua franca in the rest of the world has not been a uniform threat to the vitality of indigenous languages around the world. *Postcolonial English* thus provides useful information to rethink the recent common characterization of English as the agent of globalization and the "killer language" *par excellence*, while indirectly also raising an issue out of the use of a by-now established discourse of language competition that is too lopsidedly based on tropes of power, prestige, violence, and war.

This is a brilliant application of the ecological approach to language evolution, highlighting a host of factors that account for the speciation of English into a host of novel varieties. The distinction between the "settler," "adstrate," and the "indigenous strands" in the ways that English has been transmitted from one generation to another in (former) settlement and exploitation colonies goes a long way to account for the extent to which particular postcolonial Englishes have been influenced by adstrate and substrate influence. He provides an alternative way to speak about the significance of founder effects and the ongoing competition between, on the one hand, target structures and, on the other, adstrate and substrate alternatives in language evolution, identifying the particular cultural domains where adstrate and substrate contributions (especially lexical) are not only favored but also almost unavoidable. Schneider takes us a long way toward understanding the correlation not only between language spread and colonization (including the population genetics sense of "relocation to a new place," also identified as *colony*), but also between, on the one hand, language evolution and, on the other, language imposition or willful appropriation, patterns of interaction, nature of the target variety, means of appropriation, communicative function, and power and identity, all as ecological factors. Specialists and non-specialists alike will find this book informative and thought-provoking, as it questions the traditional view that has misguidedly made the emergence of especially creoles and indigenized Englishes somewhat exceptional.

SALIKOKO S. MUFWENE, *University of Chicago*

Preface and acknowledgments

The evolution of Postcolonial Englishes is a most fascinating subject. Having worked on English-language dialectology, sociolinguistics, creolistics, and historical linguistics before, I was fully attracted to this field when I took over the editorship of the journal *English World-Wide* and the book series *Varieties of English Around the World* in 1997. The role as an editor is demanding and time-consuming, but it is also a privilege in many ways. It not only forces me to keep up to date with current discussions and writings in the field but it also brings me in touch with colleagues all around the globe, with young scholars with fresh ideas, and with new concepts, perspectives, and data. Luckily, it also provides excellent excuses to travel to all kinds of places, to present my own research and to get first-hand exposure to different language ecologies. So, what I have ended up with is a bird's-eye view of this exciting process of the globalization and, at the same time, local diffusion of English in all of its forms and functions.

It was this perspective that suggested to me that there are more similarities between individual processes of the emergence of indigenized Englishes in various localities than has hitherto been recognized. From there, it is only a short step to the uniformitarian hypothesis that has informed the present book, the claim that there is a single, coherent process which underlies the evolution of Postcolonial Englishes. The thesis was presented for the first time about five years ago in Sydney, and since then it has met with a lot of interest and supportive response. The present book builds upon ideas and facts published in my article "The dynamics of New Englishes: from identity construction to dialect birth," in *Language* 79 (2003): 233–81, but it goes substantially beyond what was discussed there. It presents a wide range of new data and case studies, and a version of the core thesis which has been developed further, modified, and expanded in a few aspects, and spelt out in greater detail.

Over the years I have benefited immensely from contacts and conversations with many friends and colleagues who have shared their views and, in some cases, their more intense familiarity with specific countries and situations with me. This book would not be conceivable without them, and I want to say a big thank you to all of them. At the same time, of course, they are not at all responsible for any errors or weaknesses in this text: while I have profited enormously from advice, sometimes I am stubborn and have resisted it. So for all errors and shortcomings I am solely responsible.

In the genesis of this book Salikoko Mufwene, the Series Editor, has been most influential and helpful. From the beginning, he has been the most astute and supportive editor one could hope for. He has read the entire manuscript extremely carefully and has suggested numerous improvements. I have also enjoyed the continuous support and interest of Andrew Winnard and Helen Barton at Cambridge University Press. I am most grateful to them.

Raj Mesthrie, Dani Schreier, and Udo Hebel also read select chapters and gave me valuable comments. Many others have influenced my thinking through their discussions with me and their reactions to other writings of mine on global Englishes, including earlier stages of the present work: Laurie Bauer, Maria Lourdes S. Bautista, Kingsley Bolton, Jack Chambers, Chng Huang Hoon, Peter Collins, Saran Kaur Gill, Manfred Görlach, Anthea Fraser Gupta, Braj and Yamuna Kachru, Thiru Kandiah, Joybrato Mukherjee, Peter Mühlhäusler, Aloysius Ngefac, Pam Peters, Jeff Siegel, Jan Tent, Peter Trudgill, and many more. Many friends in American sociolinguistics, most notably Guy Bailey, Ron Butters, Bill Kretzschmar, Michael Montgomery, and Walt Wolfram, have been very important for me and have influenced me more than they may have realized. I am grateful to all of them and look forward to further exchanges!

Portions of the ideas and the material discussed in this book have been presented at several conferences and universities: the Australian Style Council in Sydney in April 2001; the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia in Bangi in December 2003; the "Methods in Dialectology" conference in Moncton, New Brunswick, in August 2005; the "Studies in the History of the English Language" conference in Flagstaff, Arizona, in September/October 2005; the University of Stockholm, Sweden, in October 2005; and the "International Conference on Language, Literature and Education in Multicultural Societies" in Yaoundé, Cameroon, in May 2006. I thank the audiences for their interest and their valuable feedback. Thanks are also due to Noboyuki Honna and ALC Press for permission to use parts of an article published in *Asian Englishes* 2003 in section 5.5.6, and to Brian Joseph and the Linguistic Society of America for permission to reproduce select parts of the 2003 *Language* article quoted above.

What remains to be acknowledged is the foundation, the network of human relations without which I couldn't thrive and enjoy life and write a book. My team in Regensburg, including students, assistants, and colleagues, are a part of this. My friends, in Burgweinting and elsewhere, give me the down-to-earth human touches that make me feel comfortable and that I need as grounding in real life. And my family – well, they know they are my sunshine anyhow. Their smiles with which they tolerate my occasional absence or absent-mindedness are just wonderful to see. So I dedicate this book to Jutta, who has always stood by my side in so many ways without giving up her own path, and to Berit and Miriam, who are flying high but continue to have roots with us.

Abbreviations

AAVE	African-American Vernacular English
ADS	Adstrate speech community
ANZAC	Australia and New Zealand Army Corps
“BSAE”	Black South African English
CCR	consonant cluster reduction
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESL	English as a Second Language
ICE	International Corpus of English
IDG	Indigenous speech community
L1	first language
NCS	Northern Cities Shift
p.c.	personal communication
PCEs	Postcolonial Englishes
RP	Received Pronunciation (standard British pronunciation)
SAfE	South African English
SGEM	Speak Good English Movement (Singapore)
STL	Settlers speech community

1 Introduction

One of the most remarkable, and perhaps unexpected, sociocultural changes of the modern period, culminating in the late twentieth century, has been the global spread of the English language, a major component of a "language revolution" postulated by David Crystal (2004). For centuries scholars have dreamt of a single, universal language which would allow all of mankind to communicate with each other directly, but all attempts at constructing such a code artificially have failed in practice. Now, it seems, one has emerged quite naturally. The English language has spread into precisely this role without any strategic planning behind this process – it is the world's lingua franca and the language of international communication, politics, commerce, travel, the media, and so on. However, at the same time, and contrary to expectations, English has diversified, developing into homegrown forms and uses in many locations. It has also become an indigenized language, even a mother tongue, in several countries around the globe. In some countries, the descendants of former colonists or colonizers have retained the language to the present day; in others, interestingly enough, it was the local, indigenous population who have adopted and appropriated the English language for themselves, thus contributing to its diversification and the emergence of new varieties.

Certainly this state of affairs is the product of colonial and postcolonial history, most notably the spread of the British Empire. Crystal (1997) explains the role of English as the leading world language through a series of subsequent but rather coincidental processes: English happened to be the language of the British Empire and colonial expansion between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, of the industrial revolution thereafter, and in the twentieth century of the USA as the leading economic and military superpower and the main agent of today's economic and cultural globalization. That is certainly true, but it is only part of the story. In many countries English was a language imposed by foreign, colonial masters. Intuitively one could have expected it to be abandoned as fast as possible after independence. Indeed, some countries, like Tanzania or Malaysia, attempted to do so and proposed the removal of English as their political goal. After all, it was a foreign tongue, alien to a substantial proportion of the indigenous population, and an unwelcome reminder and heritage of colonialism, which meant, among other things, foreign dominance and loss of political and cultural sovereignty.

However, in most cases something strange, exactly the opposite, has happened, in bits and pieces, and in several countries independently of each other: English has managed to stay, not only in formal and official functions; it has indigenized and grown local roots. It has begun to thrive and to produce innovative, regionally distinctive forms and uses of its own, in contact with indigenous languages and cultures and in the mouths of both native populations and the descendants of former immigrants, making ever deeper inroads into local communities. Its pull and attractiveness are immense. From Barbados to Australia, from Kenya to Hong Kong a traveler will today get along with English, but he or she will also realize that the Englishes encountered are quite different from each other – pronounced with varying accents, employing local words opaque to an outsider, and even, on closer inspection, constructing sentences with certain words in slightly different ways. What is perhaps even more interesting is that our virtual traveler 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 in many more parts of the world in which English is not an ancestral language. English has become a local language of everyday communication in many countries and new environments; it is developing indigenous forms; it appears to be fragmenting, breaking up into regional varieties so that intelligibility may be compromised. And, interestingly enough, this process has intensified substantially during the latter part of the twentieth century and into the new millennium.

No doubt this global spread and concurrent indigenization of English is a phenomenon with many different facets and components, of concern to various people and disciplines. It raises issues of language policy and pedagogy, of cultural evaluation and sociopsychological integration, and, of course, for a linguist also of structural and pragmatic evolution. A new sub-discipline within (English) linguistics, somewhat fuzzily known as the study of “World Englishes” or English as a world language, has emerged since the early 1980s, with journals, textbooks, collective volumes, and conference series of its own, and the topic is becoming ever more popular (see Bolton and Kachru 2006). This is not surprising given that it is highly vibrant, with the changes happening to English going on at an undiminished pace and being relevant to all kinds of theoretical and practical questions.

As in many young fields, terminology is still somewhat unsettled, and there are alternative labels for the phenomenon under consideration emphasizing slightly different aspects. When in 1980 Manfred Görlach founded the first scholarly journal exclusively devoted to these processes, he considered choosing *Englishes* as its title but refrained from doing so because the plural form was still felt to be unacceptable, and he opted for *English World-Wide* instead. The books by Pride (1982) and Platt, Weber and Ho (1984) introduced the label *New Englishes*, which gained quite some currency but was also opposed by some scholars who argued that the label *new* reflected primarily a shift of attention in western, Anglocentric scholarship. Braj Kachru and his followers have employed the term *World Englishes*, introduced by a journal of that name founded in 1982 and disseminated also by an active scholarly organization, known as *IAWE*, the *International Association of World Englishes*. This label is useful, customary, and widespread today, though associated with a specific school in the discipline and its programmatic agenda of "decolonising English . . . outside the 'Western World' " (Hickey 2004b:504). In this book I use the term *Postcolonial Englishes*, not only because it is more neutral but also because it focuses precisely on the aspect which I intend to emphasize: the varieties under discussion are products of a specific evolutionary process tied directly to their colonial and postcolonial history. I am concerned with developmental phenomena characteristic of colonial and the early phases of postcolonial histories until the maturation and separation of these dialects as newly recognized and self-contained varieties; hence, the term is taken to encompass all forms of English resulting and emerging from such backgrounds.

By and large, the relevant linguistic developments are products of the colonial expansion of the British Empire from the late sixteenth to the twentieth century. During the Elizabethan Age, Britain began to develop global ambitions and to challenge the dominance of the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and French as colonial powers. In the seventeenth century North America was settled, and, importantly, economically prosperous possessions were colonized throughout the Caribbean. At the same time firm trading connections were built with coastal locations in Africa and with the Far East. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, British ships explored the Pacific, substantial numbers of British settlers moved to Australasia and South Africa, and the Empire became the leading colonial power in South and South-East Asia. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, finally, brought with them colonial authority in further parts of Africa and also the emergence of the United States of America as a colonial power, mainly in the Philippines.[1]

Note, however, that what counts here is not the colonial history or the former colonial status of a given country per se, and also not the specifically British connection, but rather the type of contact situation caused by these historical circumstances, the expansion and relocation of the use of a single language to new territories where a characteristic type of language-contact situation evolves.

This book proposes a unified systematic approach of the emergence of Postcolonial Englishes (henceforth PCEs): it describes their general characteristics in the light of a uniform theory and looks at many of their individual manifestations, with all their bewildering variability. PCEs have emerged in a wide variety of sociohistorical circumstances, throughout the history of colonialism and on all continents. Hence, it is necessary to look closely into the sociohistorical contexts of their emergence, their "ecologies" (Mufwene 2001b). Different scenarios emerged, and they account for persistent differences from one variety to another. But one thing that all these varieties have in common is that they have originated in contact settings, involving intercultural encounters: contact between immigrants of various social and regional backgrounds (including speakers of different English dialects), and contact between English-speaking immigrants and indigenous populations.

It is natural to expect that differences in extralinguistic backgrounds have resulted in the far-reaching differences between the individual varieties that we find today in their respective forms and functions. Indeed, this is the position that scholarship has typically taken: it has been customary to view individual PCEs in isolation, independently of each other, as unique cases shaped by idiosyncratic historical conditions and contact situations. So far, theory formation in this emerging field has not proceeded beyond categorizations of the countries concerned into types according to the roles English plays in them (to be discussed briefly in chapter 2). In contrast, the present book points out that a uniform underlying process has been effective in all these situations and explains a wide range of parallel phenomena from one variety to another.[2] Thus, it presents the first unified, coherent theory to account specifically for the evolution of PCEs around the globe.

A closer look at what is going on in many English-speaking countries reveals strange, perhaps surprising similarities despite all obvious differences in their regional and sociocultural settings, illustrating the fact that a transnational perspective is required in understanding global English(es) today. Why is it that "nation building" was a major political issue typically associated with linguistic matters in many countries on different continents? Why is it that Singaporeans just like US Southerners or Nigerian Pidgin speakers keep resisting their politicians' and educational gatekeepers' pronouncements to speak "proper" English and to avoid "bastardized" dialects of the language (whatever the fashionable discourse convention at any given location might be)? Why do South African, Indian, and Caribbean writers employ local idioms to entertain their audiences, although this may restrict international accessibility to (and commercial success of) their literary products? Why are so many nations in Africa, Asia, and in the Caribbean struggling with the issue of which norm of English to prescribe in education, officially promoting a British speech type that obviously is not a realistic (and perhaps not even a desirable) target? Why are conservative language critics lamenting "falling standards" of English in so many different countries, from New Zealand to Tanzania? Why were observers and visitors surprised about the putative "homogeneity" of English as spoken in nineteenth-century North America or twentieth-century New Zealand, while currently we get reports of regional speech differences emerging in locations as far apart as Canada or Australia? Why are words borrowed from indigenous languages into local forms of English typically from specific semantic domains? Aren't the similarities between the kinds of structural innovations to be observed in a great many different varieties of English around the globe (like local "accents," specific borrowings, the coinage of new compounds, or slight variations in the uses of prepositions or the constructions which verbs allow) linguistically remarkable, even stunning? Obviously, PCEs have more in common than one might think at first sight.

It is the core thesis of this book that, despite all obvious dissimilarities, a fundamentally uniform developmental process, shaped by consistent sociolinguistic and language-contact conditions, has operated in the individual instances of relocating and re-rooting the English language in another territory, and therefore it is possible to present the individual histories of PCEs as instantiations of the same underlying process. More specifically, it is posited that evolving new varieties of English go through a cyclic series of characteristic phases,[3] determined by extralinguistic conditions. Individual countries in which PCEs are spoken are regarded as positioned at different phases along this cycle, an explanation which accounts for some of the differences observed in the shapes and roles of PCEs.

At the heart of this process there are characteristic stages of identity reconstructions on the side of the parties involved, which are to some extent determined by similar parameters of the respective contact situations. Comparable constellations of communities in migration contact settings (between indigenous population and immigrant groups, respectively) have resulted in analogous processes of mutual accommodation and, consequently, in similar sociolinguistic and structural outcomes. In essence, the process consists of a gradual and mutual cultural and linguistic approximation of the two parties in a colonization process: in the early phases of colonial expansion settlers consider themselves outpost representatives of a distant homeland, and the burden of linguistic adaptation and, sometimes, language shift rests largely upon the indigenous population. In the long run, this process entails structural nativization, understood as the emergence of locally characteristic linguistic patterns and thus the genesis of a new variety of English. In the course of this process both groups tend to rewrite their identities, based upon permanently shared territory, and in the end they emerge as a new nation with hybrid roots and new linguistic norms.

Chapter 2 situates the approach pursued here in its scholarly context. I will briefly survey the disciplines that have influenced the study of PCEs methodologically and conceptually, the various approaches that have dominated the field over the last few decades, and a few general issues that need to be considered.

In chapter 3 the theoretical framework behind this book, which I call the "Dynamic Model" of the evolution of PCEs, is outlined. Before going into the model itself, some foundations will be addressed, notably a taxonomy of language contact settings and colonization types, and the theories of social identity and linguistic accommodation. This is followed by a thorough presentation of the components of the model itself. I suggest that in a typical developmental scenario, the history of PCEs can be described as a sequence of five distinct phases, labeled "Foundation," "Exonormative stabilization," "Nativization," "Endonormative stabilization," and "Differentiation." Each of these is characterized by specific ecological and linguistic characteristics, so at each stage a mutually dependent set of factors needs to be considered, relating to the respective sociopolitical background, the identity constructions of the parties involved in a contact setting, the resulting sociolinguistic conditions, and the linguistic effects of these factors. Finally, I discuss a few important parameters of variation within the model, and I consider its wider applicability, e.g. to the global diffusion of Romance languages.

Chapter 4 elaborates on the strictly linguistic side of the central thesis. It asks which structural phenomena on the levels of phonology, lexis, and grammar are widespread in PCEs; it looks into the methodological and conceptual basis behind our familiarity with, and perception of, differences between varieties of English; and it investigates the linguistic processes which have produced the similarities between them. Given that, quite naturally, much attention in the literature is devoted to extralinguistic conditions and sociolinguistic parameters, it is the intention of this chapter to redress the balance and to develop a strictly linguistic, structurally descriptive perspective on PCEs that goes beyond a conventional, somewhat anecdotal listing of individual examples.

Subsequently, in chapter 5, the concepts developed up to then are applied to a wide range of case studies. The histories and present-day situations and characteristics of English in as many as sixteen countries from all continents, ranging from Fiji to Canada, from New Zealand via Malaysia to Kenya and Barbados, are discussed in the light of the Dynamic Model. This chapter can be read as the first-ever global history of PCEs, paying attention to both the underlying uniformity and the remarkable diversity of this process. It strikes a balance between emphasizing common, underlying traits shared by substantially different locations and historical settings on the one hand and respecting differences between such varieties on the other. These differences can be either of an idiosyncratic nature or determined by colonization types (e.g. between communities where European settlers predominated, as in Australia; where English was deliberately selected by the indigenous community, as in Nigeria; and where creoles developed, as in Jamaica). Overall, a rich texture of the evolution of English and Englishes around the world, paying attention to their political and cultural contexts, sociolinguistic settings, and structural characteristics, emerges.

Chapter 6 approaches the topic from a complementary perspective, namely by describing in some detail the emergence of a variety that has passed all the way through the evolutionary cycle (and thus allows us to evaluate it in hindsight) but is not typically discussed as one of the PCEs, American English. Apart from the fact that the Dynamic Model is found to apply quite convincingly in this case as well, this chapter presents a history of American English as such, one which in its coherence, explanatory power, and also attention to detail goes considerably beyond earlier historical surveys of this variety.

Finally, the conclusion considers a few general aspects of, and insights derived from, the previous chapters. Based upon the earlier discussions and the input of the case studies, it evaluates the applicability of the Dynamic Model and its theoretical and practical consequences.

2 Charting the territory: Postcolonial Englishes as a field of linguistic investigation

2.1 Ancestry

First and foremost, PCEs are varieties of English, shaped and determined by the sociohistorical conditions of their origins and by the social nature of man. Human beings usually associate closely with other humans nearby and have considerably less contact with people who live far away or in different social circumstances, whom they are less likely to encounter. Hence, they accommodate and adjust their speech forms to those of their friends and neighbors to express solidarity, which is the reason why there are dialects and varieties of languages. The study of PCEs builds upon some precursor disciplines which have investigated such variation and developed methodologies to probe into regional, social, and other types of language variation. Obviously, the popular idea that there is only one "standard" variant, a "correct," monolithic form of English, with all other realizations being somehow "deviant," "dialectal," or "broken," is misguided. Rather, with Mufwene (2001b) we need to accept that every language consists of an enormously large "pool" of features, linguistic options to choose from if one wishes to express one and the same idea. Choices are possible in vocabulary, pronunciation, word forms, and also the syntactic arrangement of sentence constituents. Which of these choices are made, and how precisely we speak, depends upon and at the same time signals an individual's background. In most instances, as soon as a person starts to speak, listeners will be able to roughly assess where the speaker grew up, in which social circumstances, and how formal or casual is the speech situation being framed.

By implication, the same applies to speakers of PCEs. These parameters of variation have been studied by linguistic disciplines which can be regarded as precursors of the field of studying PCEs: dialect geography, sociolinguistics, and pidgin and creole studies (or contact linguistics, more generally). These disciplines have provided methodological tools, are driven by similar research goals, and are interested in comparable applications of their results.

The first parameter of language variability linguists turned their attention to, originally because of its implicit significance for the understanding of outcomes of language history, was *regional variation*, investigated by dialect geography (Francis 1983; Davis 1983; Chambers and Trudgill 1998). It is a trivial fact that speakers from different countries, regions, or, at times, even villages speak differently and can be recognized by their "accents," by regionally marked words, and (although this is less well known popularly) by regional features of grammar. Beginning in the late 1920s in the USA and in the 1940s in England, dialect geographers have systematically collected evidence of such differences to establish "linguistic atlases," both in Britain and in North America (as well as in non-English-speaking countries, of course).

Differences between New Englishes can be regarded as a continuation of such regional differences: comparing English as spoken in, say, Australia, Nigeria, or India essentially entails looking at regional language differences. Provided that the listener has an ear for such differences and has had exposure to the respective varieties before, the regional origin of a speaker can usually be identified on the basis of his or her accent and other features of language use. In the case of PCEs, the assignment of a speaker to a certain location on the basis of such differences has usually operated on an inter-regional or even international basis, i.e. by broadly comparing the Englishes of one country to another, and not intranationally, with an eye to internal regional differences. This is a consequence of the time depth of the respective varieties: it takes a very long time – generations or even centuries – for regional speech differences to emerge, stabilize, and become recognizable in the public mind. In most PCE-speaking countries, therefore, a dialectology with a "traditional" orientation and methodology has not yet been initiated, also because internal regional differences tend not to be as pronounced and conspicuous as in "older" English-speaking countries. However, in the case of some communities where conditions for the emergence of regional differences (internal group coherence being more important than outside contacts for an extended period of time) have prevailed, we do find regional differences and scholarly documentations of such variation, e.g. with respect to dialects of American English, inter-island differences in the Caribbean, or emerging regional speech differences in Australia and New Zealand. I will return to some of these topics in the case studies below. A most interesting case in point, for instance, is Bryant's (1989, 1997) work on the regional lexis of Australian English, which has produced dialect maps along the lines of earlier word geographies to describe regional variation in a new variety of English.

In the 1960s linguists began to emphasize the fact that speech differences are motivated not only by regional differences but also by an individual's social background, i.e. parameters such as social class, education, sex, ethnicity, and that in general it is necessary to understand the way competing languages and language varieties are used in increasingly complex societies. Accordingly, as is well known, the discipline of *sociolinguistics* can be subdivided into two major branches. "Macro-sociolinguistics" (e.g. Fishman 1972) is broadly concerned with the functions of languages and language varieties in a society, i.e. questions of language policy, multilingualism, diglossia, language uses, educational policies. "Micro-sociolinguistics," as developed by William Labov (1972; Chambers 2003), employs quantitative methods to work out detailed correlations between individual language variants (features of pronunciation, morphology, and syntax) on the one hand and language-internal constraints and extralinguistic (social) users' groupings on the other, frequently motivated by a fundamental interest in principles of language variation and language change (Chambers, Trudgill and Schilling-Estes 2002). Clearly, both approaches are of immediate concern to and have greatly influenced investigations of PCEs. Macro-sociolinguistic problems show and have been documented most clearly in multilingual societies, many of which frequently, precisely because the language situation is so complex, have resulted in the emergence of new varieties of English. Micro-correlational sociolinguistics has been applied to Australia (Horvath 1985), to New Zealand (most vigorously and successfully in the 1990s and after in work by Laurie Bauer, Allan Bell, Elizabeth Gordon, Janet Holmes, Peter Trudgill, and many others; see Bell and Kuiper 2000, which includes a survey of earlier research, and Gordon et al. 2004), the Caribbean (in work by Peter Patrick, John Rickford, Don Winford, and others) and to Singapore (by John Platt and his associates).

At about the same time, during the late 1950s and the 1960s, *pidgin* and *creole* linguistics evolved as a field of study, with various linguists working on creole languages having recognized unexpected structural similarities across creoles based on different lexifiers (see Holm 1988/89; Arends, Muysken, and Smith 1995). Consequently, in its early phase creole linguistics was strongly concerned with fairly general, theoretical questions, like theories of creole genesis and the roles of universals, substrates, and superstrates, respectively (see Muysken and Smith 1986). More recent research tendencies have included a broader documentation of early creole texts (e.g. Rickford 1987 for Guyanese, Winer 1993 for Trinidadian, D'Costa and Lalla 1989 for Jamaican, or Huber 1999 for West African Pidgin English), the recognitions that some creoles have emerged gradually rather than abruptly (Arends 1993) and that creoles come in different degrees of "depth" (Schneider 1990; Neumann-Holzschuh and Schneider 2000), and, in fact, that it seems impossible to delimitate them precisely as a class of languages. While early creolist theory (and also some recent contenders, e.g. McWhorter 2000) argued for the fundamental distinctness of creoles from English (and other lexifiers), recent scholarship has recognized that the distinction is in fact a gradual one (see Neumann-Holzschuh and Schneider 2000), and some scholars, like Mufwene (2000a, 2001b, 2005a), claim that creoles are actually dialects of their lexifiers. Obviously, this debate has consequences for the relationship between creoles and PCEs. The close relatedness between both types of language varieties is immediately apparent: both derive from contact situations; many pidgins and creoles are spoken in regions and countries where English is an official language (like throughout the Caribbean and West Africa, in the southwest Pacific, and also in Australia), so both contribute to the sociolinguistic complexity in such nations; and, in fact, the relationship between local varieties of English and creoles is not always clear.

Whatever the outcome of this debate, or one's individual position in it, may be, it is undisputed that both creoles and so-called "New Englishes" are largely products of *language contact*, albeit to varying degrees, which provides a common framework for them to be investigated (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988; Thomason 1997; Kachru et al. in Prendergast 1998; Mufwene 2001b). Historical linguists have for a long time tended to overemphasize the purity of languages in their historical transmission from one generation to another and to underestimate the impact of contact between languages, but more recent scholarship has recognized contact to be almost ubiquitous and of primary importance in the development of languages and language varieties (see Goebl et al. 1996/97; Mufwene 2001b; Thomason 2001; Winford 2003).

2.2 Approaches

As was stated in the introductory chapter, an awareness of the study of PCEs constituting a coherent field of scholarly investigation goes back to the early 1980s. Obviously, individual scholars have brought their own experiences and perspectives, both personal and scientific, into this endeavor, and by now a few research traditions, perhaps to be called paradigms, have evolved. Bolton (2003:7–36) provides a competent survey and a critical evaluation of a variety of approaches to the new discipline of "World Englishes." He lists the following, in each case together with their best-known practitioners and further references: English studies; English corpus linguistics; sociology of language; "features-based" sociolinguistic studies; Kachruvian studies; pidgin and creole studies; applied linguistics; lexicography; popularizers; critical linguistics; and linguistic futurology. This overview is useful and commendable for its comprehensiveness, even if it compiles sub-disciplines which are not really on a par. All of these approaches have contributed to our understanding of PCEs, but some of them are central to this line of thinking and have emerged together with it, while other categories represent sub-disciplines of linguistics in general which have employed data drawn from PCEs in addition to other languages, and others, again, are quite narrowly circumscribed.

Two comprehensive models of PCEs have been suggested to categorize the varieties of worldwide English into broader types, with both looking at the functional and political role of English in a given country, and both assuming three classes.

The first of these models builds upon a distinction of "*ENL*" (English as a Native Language) countries from "*ESL*" (English as a Second Language) countries and "*EFL*" (English as a Foreign Language) countries. McArthur (1998:42) traces the model back to a suggestion made by the late Barbara Strang in her *History of English* of 1970 which was imbued with authority and spread by its adoption in Quirk et al.'s *Grammar of Contemporary English* of 1972, the forerunner of the most authoritative grammar of English, the *Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al. 1985). It was also promoted by Görlach (1991b:12–13). In ENL countries, even if multilingualism may play an important role in the society at large, English is the vernacular language of almost all or at least a significant majority of the population (like Britain, the USA, or Australia). In ESL countries, English exists side by side with strong indigenous languages, is widely spoken, and assumes prominent intranational, sometimes official functions, as the language of politics, the media, jurisdiction, higher education, and other such domains (as in Ghana, Nigeria, India, Singapore, Papua New Guinea, etc.). In EFL countries, English, acquired almost exclusively by formal education, performs no official internal function but is still strongly rooted and widely used in some domains (like the press or tertiary education) because of its special international usefulness in business, the sciences, technology, etc. (as in Israel, Egypt, or Taiwan). Of course, the status of English in any given country may change in the course of time. For instance, certain ESL countries have deliberately reduced the role of English to an EFL status.

This model has been found useful and has been adopted widely, but like all models it ignores certain facets of complex realities. For example, it fails to acknowledge the presence of non-native-speaking groups, whether indigenous or immigrant, in ENL countries: there is no room reserved in this framework for, say, French Canadians, Native Americans, Australian Aboriginals, or Pakistani communities in Britain. Conversely, native speakers of English, whether expatriates or, more importantly, indigenous people, in ESL countries are equally sidestepped: Hong Kong people of

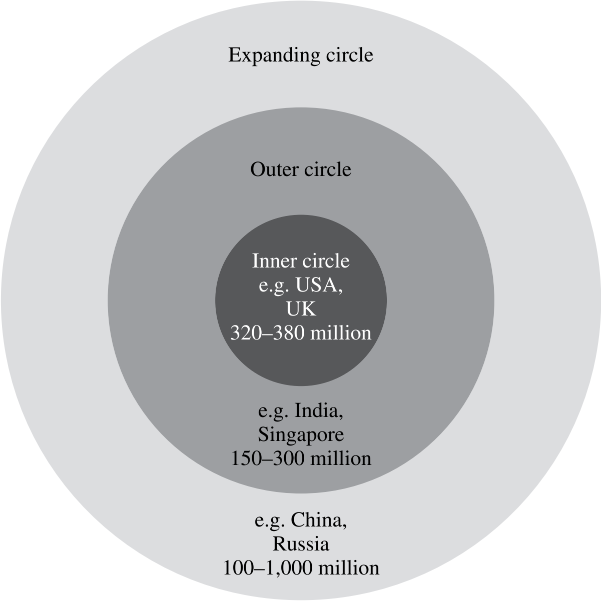

Figure 2.1: Kachru's "Three Circles" model (from Crystal 1997:54)

English origin or native speakers of English in, say, Sri Lanka, Singapore, or Nigeria appear as an anomaly. An officially multilingual country like South Africa cannot be categorized clearly as either ENL or ESL. In general, the framework fails to account for the fact that recent realities seem to be rendering the ENL – ESL distinction increasingly obsolete: in many so-called ESL countries, in a "grassroots" movement English is being adopted as a first language by some families and groups. The model also fails to offer a clear delimitation between ESL and EFL, and it deals with complex language situations like that in the Caribbean only inadvertently if at all (as "ESD" or "English as a Second Dialect," for instance; see Görlach 1991b:12).

The second widespread categorization is Kachru's "*Three Circles*" model, presented for the first time in Kachru (1985). Kachru's classification (see Figure 2.1 or McArthur 1998:100) distinguishes countries of an "Inner Circle," an "Outer Circle," and an "Expanding Circle." While the exact criteria for inclusion in any of these categories are not always clear, and individual countries are assigned essentially to function as examples, it is obvious that in terms of their membership countries the three circles largely correspond to the ENL – ESL – EFL distinction. The difference between the two models is primarily one of their broader goals and political implications. Kachru rejects the idea that any special prominence or a superior status should be assigned to ENL countries and "native language" status, and, accordingly, he is less concerned with the Inner Circle countries but places greatest emphasis on the Outer Circle (see Kachru 1992), and also the Expanding Circle. The implication is that norms and standards should no longer be determined by Inner Circle/ ENL contexts; instead, Kachru emphasizes that the English language belongs to all of those who use it, and that the most vigorous expansions and developments of the language can be observed in Outer and Expanding Circle countries. Kachru is less interested in microlinguistic and descriptive approaches (in fact, he rather doubts the possibility of "objective" scholarship; p.c. 2002) but rather pursues a quasi-political mission, that of fighting existing inequalities in scholarly and public perceptions of and attitudes toward varieties of English. In that respect, he has been extremely influential, mostly in Applied Linguistics, influencing perspectives on language policies and language teaching.

Both of these models have remained rather superficial and fuzzy in their capacity for establishing categories of linguistic description and classification. Both have listed criteria for the inclusion of nations into one category or another, but in neither case has a listing of features been provided that convincingly serves to fit problematic cases (like South Africa or Malaysia), and neither one has attempted to list all countries in a given category exhaustively.

Melchers and Shaw (2003:29–40) propose a scheme of classification which is more complex than earlier ones but also more flexible, because it explicitly pays attention to relevant dimensions and criteria to categorize distinct aspects of the field. They classify varieties by standardization (discussing the standard vs. nonstandard dimension) and degree of codification (including prescriptive attitudes); varieties by type of prestige (overt vs. covert; acrolect – mesolect – basilect); texts by degree of standardization (i.e. editorial interference in production); countries by domains of English use and proportion of efficient speakers of some variety); and speakers by type and scope of proficiency. Perhaps most interestingly, they also distinguish ideological frameworks of scholarship, by political stance, namely conservatives (who regard the assimilation of less powerful groups to the language practices of more powerful groups as a necessary step in gaining respect and credibility), liberals (who emphasize the equality of all language varieties in their respective contexts) and radicals (who view English as a tool in the creation of global inequalities and wish to fervently fight this development by political action).

In a broader perspective, the above classifications and attempts at finding delimitations obviously do not exhaust the range of possible

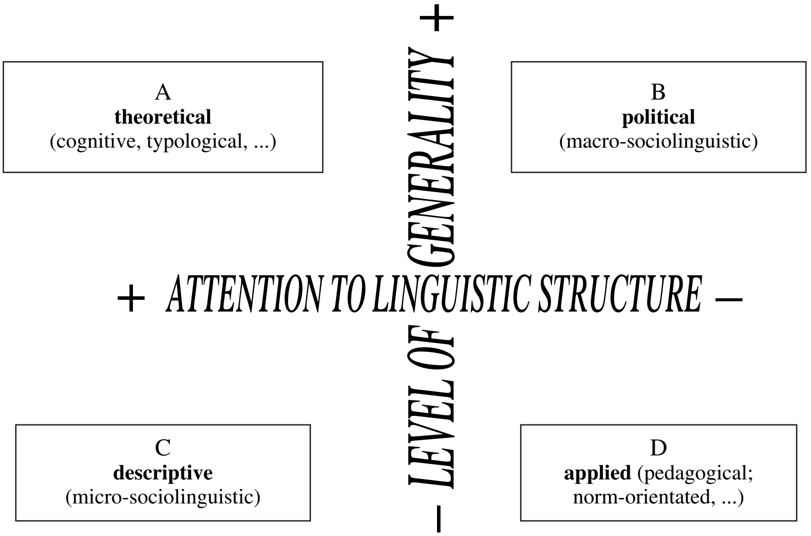
+
LEVEL OF GENERALITY
–
+ ATTENTION TO LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE –
A
theoretical
(cognitive, typological, ...)
B
political
(macro-sociolinguistic)
C
descriptive
(micro-sociolinguistic)
D
applied (pedagogical; norm-orientated, ...)

Figure 2.2: Charting the territory: approaches to PCEs

approaches to PCEs in scholarship, although as in any discipline there is a tendency for scholars and investigations to cluster around established notions and paradigms. Figure 2.2 provides an attempt to chart the territory, to relate relevant directions of scholarship to more general approaches to linguistic inquiry. These approaches have been arranged along two dimensions. The first one, “attention to linguistic structure,” distinguishes investigations which focus primarily upon the structural properties of given languages and language varieties on the levels of phonology, lexis, and grammar from those which are interested in non-structural correlates and conditions of language use in a society. The second dimension, “level of generality,” accounts for the observation that in some cases individual details and case studies are the goals of an investigation while in others scholars aim at broader generalizations of some kind. Consequently, I suggest that, on account of the possible combinations of these parameters, the existing approaches to PCEs can be broadly assigned to four major types which at the same time illustrate the relationship between PCEs as objects of inquiry and the discipline of linguistics in general.

Category A, “theoretical” approaches, applies when PCEs are analyzed to yield insights of a more fundamental nature, concerning linguistic theory and the nature of human language in general. It is clear that the sociolinguistic and linguistic scenarios in which PCEs have evolved should lend themselves to investigations of general questions of language variation and change, second-language acquisition, language shift, language change under specific types of contact conditions, the impact of language attitudes, and the like – although it has to be admitted that such inquiries have been the exception rather than the rule so far. "Political" questions (category B), on the other hand, with little interest in linguistic structure but a tendency to posit sweeping generalizations, have been a frequent concern in discussions of PCEs, given that in these countries macro-sociolinguistic issues concerning the uses of language(s) in society (like which language policy to adopt, whether or not to develop and support a new "national language," whether to tolerate certain linguistic variants in public and official domains, and the like) can be immediately pressing. Such questions may be employed to create a sense of nationhood, but they may also be instrumentalized in intranational power struggles, with linguistic issues masking group tensions. Studies in category C are driven by an interest in language description in detail, including micro-sociolinguistic correlational investigations – a type of approach that, in my view, should constitute a prerequisite for generalizations and applications of all kinds. Finally, in an applied perspective (category D), questions of language pedagogy and other practical needs, like which forms to strive for and accept as correct, figure prominently. Understandably enough, given their practical relevance in many societies, questions of "How to teach English in X" are frequently discussed in the literature, though not always with sufficient empirical grounding.

Of course, the choice of topics considered worthy of investigation in this field is also determined by the sociology of its practitioners: certain schools and individuals promote certain approaches and find less interest in others, and there are tides of fashion in addition to the gradual advancement of knowledge achieved by a growing consensus among the members of the scientific community. There are also assumptions and positions, linguistic and political, which are at odds with each other and on which there is heated debate at times. It is interesting to observe that scholars who originate from or live in developing countries, and who are thus more directly exposed to the immediate practical needs of a society, tend to be more interested in questions of an applied or political nature, whereas scholars from other countries tend to be more interested in general, comparative and theoretical questions and objective description: an outside perspective in this case may be an undeserved privilege of those who are not exposed to a society's daily and urgent needs. Still, it should be clear that both positions are perfectly legitimate and need to complement each other for each to be effective.

2.3 Alternative perspectives and issues

In this section I raise a few more questions that have been brought up in the context of PCEs and that need to be addressed, if only briefly, to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the complexity of the issues involved.

The first of these concerns the notion of *nativeness*. Central as it may seem (to the ENL – ESL distinction, for instance), the importance of being a native speaker of English has been questioned in recent years (Kachru 1986; Singh 1998). The traditional view holds that only native speakers fully command a language and have proper intuitions on its structural properties. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that in many parts of the world, especially in ESL/Outer Circle contexts, reality has turned out to be much more complicated than this simplistic assumption implies. Competence in a language is tied to its constant use, and in such countries we find both indigenous native speakers of English in the narrow sense (like minorities of Indians or Sri Lankans who grew up speaking English), whose intuitions may differ significantly from those of British or American people, and speakers who, after having acquired an indigenous mother tongue, have sooner or later shifted to using English only or predominantly in all or many domains of everyday life. Such speakers can be classified as "first-language (or vernacular) English" speakers, although they do not qualify as native speakers in the strict sense.[1] It is undisputed, however, that their importance in their respective cultures, as linguistic models and as users and owners of PCEs, is paramount. Accordingly, Kachru (1997:4–5) has convincingly made a point in arguing that what he calls "functional nativeness" is just as important as "genetic nativeness."

Secondly, there is the issue of establishing *norms of correctness*. Typically, PCEs emerge and are spoken in sociolinguistically complex circumstances, and they are therefore characterized by a high degree of linguistic variability, including linguistic forms which are hybrid (English modified by contact with indigenous languages) or nonstandard (English not accepted as socially adequate in formal circumstances). In many contexts, especially spoken and informal ones, such variation is functional: it signals characteristics of the speaker (such as his or her social status) or the context of situation (such as a relaxed atmosphere). There are other contexts, however, which, by common understanding, require the use of a formal linguistic norm, a standard variety. The notion of "Standard English" is commonly taken to refer to such a norm, usually understood to designate a non-regional vocabulary core and the grammar of the written language. For pronunciation, there is no international norm, but in the majority of communities under discussion the historical origins of the immigrants have meant that the spoken norm is the standard British type of pronunciation, known as RP (see Upton 2004) – irrespective of whether that is what the majority of a population really speak.

Hence, not infrequently there is a clash between the reality of everyday speech performance and the expectations resulting from linguistic norm orientations. Formal contexts, including teaching, require norm orientations as to which linguistic forms count as acceptable or as targets in education and speech production, but the question is which and whose norms are accepted; not surprisingly, in this context emotional opinions and strong attitudes frequently prevail. Descriptive and theoretical linguists fundamentally believe that all language varieties are functionally adequate in their respective contexts and internally well structured, but frequently this is difficult to bring home to conservative observers and decision-makers in the educational and political arena. From a strictly linguistic perspective, it would make sense to establish the careful usage of the educated members of a society as the target and as an indigenous language norm; obviously, a micro-sociolinguistic description of usage correlated with sociostylistic parameters needs to be a starting point. But in practice, this cleavage frequently results in emotional debates between conservative and more liberally minded language observers. In the long run, every society needs to make its own decisions with respect to required and desirable political and pedagogical actions, and observed usage needs to be interpreted in the light of the tension between these norms and the range of local performance realities.

In a broader perspective, the topic of norm-setting needs to be discussed in the light of a more versatile understanding of the notion of "linguistic norm," not only in the sense of "conforming to a standard of correctness accepted in a society" but also as "pragmatically appropriate for a given social setting as judged by the participants in a given speech event." In other words, the notion of a linguistic norm touches upon the distinction (and tension, for that matter) between public norms and written language on the one hand and private and spoken performance on the other, epitomized by the notions of overt and covert prestige in sociolinguistics (Labov 1972:249; Chambers 2003:241–4). Correspondingly, all observations of language developments in PCEs need to be judged also as situated on the cline between formal and informal, written and spoken, educated and vernacular usage. Some of the phenomena I will point out in chapter 3 have an effect predominantly or exclusively on one end of this dichotomy, leaving the other largely untouched. For example, koinéization or structural nativization, as discussed below, affect some people's speech behavior but not others' attitudes; conversely, the tradition of complaining about a perceived decrease in the "quality" of linguistic usage or the codification of a variety characterize the top end of the sociostylistic continuum, with limited, delayed, or no effects on the other end. Clearly, this parameter of variation is closely related to that of social class and associated speech differences (like, for example, the continuum between "Broad," "General," and "Cultivated" varieties posited by Mitchell and Delbridge 1965 for Australian English).

Thirdly, the global spread of English has triggered political debates on how to evaluate this process and on how it is being represented in the scholarly literature. Inspired by postcolonial theory (see Loomba 1998) and in the wake of "Critical Discourse Analysis" (e.g. Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1998; for some thoughtful and healthy reactions see Conrad 1996, Lucko 2003 and Mufwene 2004b), it has recently been pointed out that many seemingly descriptive statements (including the ENL – ESL – EFL categorization mentioned above) entail culturally biased value judgments, and some scholars doubt whether any language description can be devoid of ideological baggage (Kachru, p.c. 2002). In many statements on global Englishes there is an inherent hidden tendency to regard and portray Britain and other ENL countries as the "centers," thus entitled to establishing norms of correctness, and, conversely, PCEs as peripheral, thus in some sense deviating from these norms and, consequently, evaluated negatively. Obviously, there are political questions and orientations behind this, and, as in political matters in general, opinions are likely to be divided. On the one hand, English is accused of "linguistic imperialism" or "linguicism," of being a "killer language" which oppresses and sometimes eradicates indigenous languages, dialects, and cultures (see Crystal 2004:ch. 2). On the other hand, many speakers hail it as the road to economic prosperity, an unavoidable prerequisite in the struggle for improved life conditions for themselves and their children. Consequently, in many countries there is an unbroken tendency to acquire English, and for many parents such considerations cause them to pass on English to their children.

These are difficult and sensitive issues, mostly because for so many individuals they touch upon potentially painful personal decisions that need to be made. In many PCE-speaking countries parents need to decide whether to give priority to a preservation of a cherished cultural and linguistic legacy or to what is perceived as the "pursuit of happiness" on an economic basis. Personally, I strongly believe that we should try to keep scholarly investigation separate, as far as reasonably possible, from taking a political stand: the evolution of language follows principles of its own, and a preconceived mind, set upon pursuing some sociopolitical agenda, is likely to be barred from recognizing such principles, directing one's attention elsewhere. But that does not imply that alternative positions, with different goals, do not deserve respect and are not worthy of discussion – they are just different in their goals and orientations, and interpretations of facts (Melchers and Shaw 2003:30).[2] Certainly I agree that disguised value judgments must be avoided. Most importantly, it is mandatory that the concerns and the dignity of the communities involved be respected.

It seems difficult to steer clear of moral and political judgments in discussing the history and emergence of PCEs. After all, in many instances this process has indeed been accompanied by military invasion, occupation, and oppression, by cruelties like slavery and genocide. I do not wish to ignore or play down these parts of colonial history. All I need to state is they are not my primary concern in focusing upon linguistic developments. Even while I describe macro-sociolinguistic processes this book is not meant to address the issue of the politics of language usage at all. I argue that the process which I am interested in, and which I describe in chapter 3, is largely independent of questions of right and wrong, and of the moral or political evaluation of the fact that typically settlers occupy a territory that indigenous groups used to regard as their own (and that this has frequently happened by force). Of course the type and quality of the relationship between indigenous and immigrant groups, whether or not military actions took place or legal titles were obtained peacefully, made a difference and determined the speed and many aspects and details of the process of linguistic evolution. However, my claim is that the dynamic process which has resulted in the emergence of PCEs kept running nevertheless, modified but not determined in its core by the details of its implementation. In essence, as I will be pointing out below, this process is triggered by an immigrant group's decision to stay in the new land for good, and by the social consequences of this decision itself for all parties involved, whether voluntarily or not. It is a process caused solely by sociocultural and psycholinguistic realities.

3 The evolution of Postcolonial Englishes: the Dynamic Model

3.1 Transforming selves in migration: theoretical background

In section 3.2 of this chapter I introduce the Dynamic Model of the evolution of PCEs, which claims that despite all surface differences there is an underlying uniform process which has driven the individual historical instantiations of PCEs growing in different localities. In the present section I outline some theoretical prerequisites which have informed this model. It operates within the confines of language contact theories in general, for instance as surveyed by Thomason (2001), and, more specifically, it adopts an evolutionary perspective emphasizing the importance of linguistic ecologies and the idea of new language varieties emerging in a competition-and-selection process between features available to speakers in a "feature pool" of possible linguistic choices (Mufwene 2001b, 2005a). In particular, it rests upon the assumption that, in selecting from this pool, speakers keep redefining and expressing their linguistic and social identities, constantly aligning themselves with other individuals and thereby accommodating their speech behavior to those they wish to associate and be associated with.[1]

3.1.1 Language contact: processes, perspectives, scenarios

PCEs have emerged in language contact situations, so a theory of language contact provides a necessary frame of reference. While some branches of linguistics, in particular historical linguistics in models like the family tree, have emphasized the purity and homogeneity of languages, the ubiquity of language contact in almost all cultures around the globe has recently been recognized and established, and language contact theory has come to be a growing sub-discipline of linguistics. Thomason (2001) outlined a coherent and convincing perspective on language contact, so I am adopting that here. Thomason surveys processes, scenarios, and characteristic outcomes of language contact, including a typology of mixed languages (see also Winford 2003). The following aspects of her theory are most directly relevant for my line of thinking: