

These extracts show the complexity of English. It is highly variable and continually changing. The examples were written, yet when spoken would sound different. This shows how English can vary according to origin, social group and context. It is necessary to form boundaries between 'language' and 'spoken language.' It is also worth mentioning that dialect and accent are not clear cut. How many non pronunciation features does it take to become a dialect? Next boundaries cannot be drawn to delimit English. What counts as distinct English is decided on social/political grounds rather than purely linguistic criteria.

Current beliefs state there are 750 million people who speak English – barely half speak it as a mother tongue. By the end of the 20th century, English was more widely scattered, spoken and written than any other, earning it the title of the '1st global language.' Quirk classes it as 'a language on which the sun does not set, whose users never sleep...' Does this frequent focus on its large number imply it is more powerful or better than other languages?

David Crystal states in the time of Queen Elizabeth I there were between 5-7 million English speakers. When Queen Elizabeth II came to power, there were 250 million, mother tongue alone. Now there are far more second language speakers of English than mother tongue.

Indeed, the reason for such a huge quantity of mother tongue speakers is the USA with 240 million mother tongue speakers of English. Add together all other native English countries and you get 115 million.

The reason it is so hard to accurately predict how many people speak English is the lack of any official figures.

Crystal splits language learning into two situations. The first is English as a second language. Some countries give English a special status as an official language i.e. Ghana and Nigeria. Governments choose English for education, commerce, media and law. Therefore, residents have no choice but to learn English from an early age. English is something to 'fall back on' when the mother tongue is inadequate to communicate. These countries have many indigenous languages representing many ethnic backgrounds so to risk inter-tribal tension and the feeling of disadvantage; the government chose English to put everyone on the same footing.

Some say this makes the countries more advantaged as they have easier access to science and technology. However, this was motivated by the British Colonial era in the same way French is the official language of Chad and Portuguese of Angola, and thus negative connotations are associated too.

Now, English is the official language of 70 countries yet you cannot simply add up the populations to get the actual number of speakers, because many underdeveloped countries have limited educational opportunities. This is shown in India where with a population of 1000 million, half are competent in English.

The second classification is English as a foreign language.

This term is used for countries with no official status of English, yet it is taught in schools from a young age. Once again, figures are hard to predict as how somebody's fluency can be determined. It really is impossible to keep up with its growth.

China is the latest country to focus on learning English. 100 million people watched the BBC programme Follow Me, in a bid to learn English. It is hardly surprising when English is the main language of books, airports, air traffic, maritime, business and sport. Not to mention the fact that two thirds of scientist write in English, two thirds of mail is in English and 80% of the internet is in English.

It shows that it is not the number of mother tongue speakers which make a language important but rather, the extent to which it is found outside its original setting. Unless there is a dramatic change in the economic fortune and world power of USA, English will continue to dominate.

One scholar, Kachru, believe English is associated with universalism and aids access to media. Whereas, Tripathi feels it is an 'ideological production' with status based on impressions. How the language is used is not considered. He says that 'before English, there was communication and without it, there still will be.'

If a psychologist were to say, 'If he speaks English, he must be...' the answers would be a mixture of British, an enemy, an oppressor, well educated....This shows the view that English is not always embraced.

The historical speed of English can be detrimental to other languages and indeed, in Canada, its usage is regulated today to protect local language and culture.

CASE STUDY 1 – KENYA

In Kenya, Swahili and English are joint official language, despite over 40 indigenous languages existing. Kenya was a British colony until 1963 when it was finally given its independence. To Kenyans, English is a language of high status used in law, media and civil service. However, others view it as unwelcome and only needed due to Kenya's dependence on foreign investment. He wants to see several languages promoted to national status as the number of indigenous far exceeds the English in Kenya. He also feels it takes no more effort to learn an indigenous language than it does to learn English. Opposers say English is neutral and opens Africa to the outer world yet Kanyoro maintains it is a sorry reminder of colonialism. English is taught in the education system from the very beginning, first in Swahili and then with all lessons conducted in English. Both languages are compulsory. This can cause problems as the teacher must be proficient in both languages. This has been blamed for poor school results and has led teachers to codes which between the two languages. A creative response has been Sheng – a linguistic variety spoken by urban youth

Creativity of language has changed words into nouns with additional meaning to its original, i.e. nation becomes the adjective national and then the noun nationality. Its Latin root is 'natus' being to be born. Similarly, disorganisation stems from the noun organ to the verb organise to the noun organisation and the opposite disorganisation.

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2002 genetic evidence showed a difference in Y chromosomes in men from 7 towns across the country from East Anglia to North Wales, suggesting a mass migration of Celts from England where half the male indigenous Celts were displaced. There were also genetic similarities between English and Frisian men with a Welsh border genetic barrier similar to the 'ethnic cleansing of today. Linguistic evidence does not support the idea as previously mentioned, not many place names are Celtic but the ones that are, are incredibly interesting. Caedwalla, Caedwallon and Caedmon are all named after Anglo Saxon royalty. The fact they adopted Welsh names many imply respect for Celtic society as chieftains lived in accord with Celts and even intermarried having children named after senior members of the family.

An old English written text, translated from Latin to old English in the 9th century shows a poem of Caedmon who was the first person to adopt Anglo Saxon poetic form from Christianity. The gift of verse is given to him overnight.

Vocabulary/Spelling

The similarities between old and modern English are obscured by spelling changes. 'p' and 'd' are rewritten as 'th' and 'ae' as 'a', words are instantly recognisable or close to their modern form. Adding 'hw'='w' and 'ht'='gh', we can see how 'what' and 'night' develop.

English vocabulary has greatly enlarged since this time, due to influence from other languages. Many words are no longer used or used in different senses. Tide now means 'sea' but used to mean 'time' or 'occasion', think of 'tidings of comfort and joy: Neata and scippon now seem obsolete but in regional dialects they are retained as neat – house and shippon respectively.

Sounds

Although we cannot prove Anglo Saxon pronunciation, an informed guess suggests old English is a closer representation of pronunciation than Modern English. There are no silent letters and the change of sound is reflected in the spelling. Their own system of spelling may show unfamiliar spellings or even familiar but unfamiliar sounds.

For example, 'h' occurs initially in 'he' sounding like /h/ in 'hot'. But elsewhere in Modern English, it is used in combination with other letters; -th, ph, gh. This makes its sound change. Old English had different combinations – the 'h' came before consonants: 'he/hr' or on the end of words: 'push'. This is slightly oversimplified as Anglo Saxon had more than one system of spelling - Caedmon's poem in Northumbrian dialect had 'bearnum' for barium and 'weard' for vard, just as in Modern English, 'water' is pronounced 'watoa' in the South and 'wat-er' in the North.

The most significant difference is the vowels. If we look at 'holy, so, arose', they share an 'o' sound just as 'out, thou, house' share an 'ou' sound. If we look at the old English examples,

The first point was sacrificed and technical vocab along with dialect was left out and made into a separate project when in 1898 a dialectical dictionary was published. The reason was 'as soon as a standard language is set up, the lexicographer is bound to deal with that alone.'

Point two was appealing to the shared past as a growing gulf between groups could be bridged. It classed native literatures as the 'true ground and foundation of patriotisms: Records were scattered and not fully understood so societies were set up to find these texts and explicate the language.

The dictionary ended to go no further back than 'the English type of language' i.e. 1250 And Anglo Saxon 'unintelligable' words were to be ignored. Yet there was no chronological limit for origin even as far back as Old Teutonic.

The dictionary was primarily historical and showed change in meaning. However, there was a risk of people assuming the word's oldest meaning with its true essence.

Implementation

Obviously, the 16th century introduction of printing enabled documents to be widely distributed and read as well as simultaneously. Newspapers became introduced in the 18th century achieving the first focusing goal of 'daily interaction.'

The merchant class could now afford books but couldn't read Latin so printing also gave way to a huge increase in translation into South Eastern English. The 1526 printing of the Bible was incredibly influential. Politically Catholic Church laws in Latin were authorised by Henry VIII to be translated, symbolising a challenge to the church's power.

There was now a stronger sense of loyalty for language alongside the Monarch's growth in power. Therefore, when Henry VIII closed all monasteries in 1530, it gave access to a huge range of previously inaccessible manuscripts.

The 19th century growth in terms of colonies under Queen Victoria, technological and enterprisal advances and the establishment of the philological society made English firmly rooted in people's lives, eliminated alternative language varieties and encouraged national identity.

In Puttenham's 'The Arte of English Poets', he refers to the type of English appropriate for a poet. It is more eloquence and is referred to as the type of English hand written k- 60 mile radius of London. He states that dialectical speech is a sign of social status and that its written norm is not the same as spoken. He tells us South East English is the 'more used' yet it is only used in a small minority of upper classes.

2. Social – England was suffering unemployment, inflation and population growth. A large class of vagrants and dissidents would provide labour overseas.
3. Political – there was rivalry with other leading nations such as Spain, Holland and France.

Over 300 years, England conquered 4 continents using three methods:

1. Displacement – substantial settlement by 1st language speakers displaced pre-colonial population (North America).
2. Subjection – sparser settlements maintained pre-colonial population in subjection adopting English as a 2nd language (Nigeria).
3. Replacement – pre-colonial population was replaced by a new African labour force (Jamaica)

The English government became responsible for Celtic territories administration:

1536 – England included Wales. 'Britain' was revived to refer to Scotland

1707 – England, Wales and Scotland form Great Britain

1800 – Ireland incorporates to form United Kingdom.

By the 19th century, all territories were officially British with English as the language of the state and the British Empire formed overseas.

Colonists were subjects of the English monarchy and were controlled by the mother country. Linguistically English was a powerful model yet political corporation was looser until the 19th century when previously it was controlled by trading companies.

When communities have a distinct cultural identity, a national reaction emerges. By the late 18th century different forms of nationalism emerged. Language figured prominently with the pre-colonial language as a focus for assertion of separatist identity. Celtic territories particularly felt this and fought for a revival in these native tongues.

1776 – North America gains independence – a Republic State is established.

1867 – Fearing precedent, Canada receives a dominion status.

1901 – Australia becomes a commonwealth state.

1907 – New Zealand becomes a dominion.

1910 – South Africa becomes a union.

1931 – The Statute of Westminster confirms the independence of all dominions.

and further worsened by the North East's colonisation by Ulster Scots and even poor Londoners who could be 'seditions' in England.

The new colonists clung to their Protestant identities and forced the Irish to resettle in the poor West. Anti-English supporters began to rally which fuelled an independence movement in 1798. Ireland was subjugated to the United Kingdom in 1800.

By this time, English was the first language of half of Ireland. The 19th century saw Irish further decline due to depopulation, famine caused death and emigration, the introduction of universal English education and the becoming of English as language of the Catholic Church and Independence Movement. In 1921, Ireland created a Free State of 26 counties yet the UK hung onto Northern Ireland.

Before the 19th century, Irish was the 1st language of the whole population – now it is spoken by just 2% of Southern Ireland. It is still Ireland's national language and taught in schools as well as being the language of broadcasting and government. English is the 2nd official language. In 1893, 3 organisations were set up to revive the Irish language led by literary upper class figures.

Hiberno-English is very influenced by the Irish language and this has in fact increased over time. At a pronunciation level, the main difference is *tin* being pronounced as /t/ in *tin*. Grammar is a controversial subject yet clearly it has been known – 'It's looking for more land a lot of them are.' Some believe *tin* derives from regional varieties of 17th century English rather than Irish.

Colonisation of Scotland

Between AD400-800, Scotland was invaded by various groups leading to 5 linguistic groups by the 10th century – Gaelic Scots, Brythonic Celtic, Anglo Saxon, Norman and Old Norse. Indeed, Norse was spoken up until the 16th century in Scotland. The dominant group was Scottish Gaelic spoken by the centralised monarchy. The Normans actually came to Scotland on invitation as the King was attracted by their military superiority. They adopted town building which attracted English merchants making the Royal Court speak 'English' by the 13th century.

At the time, Edward tried to take the throne but was defeated at Bannockburn in 1314. Scotland remained an independent 'state' for 300 years with its own educational, administrative and legal system. Inglis became the state language and was referred to as Scots in 1494, although the first Bible to appear there was written in English.

When Elizabeth I died childless in 1603, James VI of Scotland was invited to become James I of England. The two territories united formally in 1707. Gaelic remained in the highland areas yet over the next 100 years, depopulation led to its decline. Anglicisation occurred and even urban Scots began to see highland natives as 'savages.'

Scots established a national identity based on whether they were from the high or lowlands. However, they both affirmed that 'to be Scottish is to be not English.' Derrick McClure argues that Scots is its own language – he agrees it began as a Northumbrian dialect but sees it as becoming independent in the Middle Ages, just as Portuguese and Spanish have similarities. He says Scots has its own range of dialects and due to literary promotion has an increased usage nowadays.

The Spread of English Beyond the British Isles

The establishment of English speaking colonies in North America in the 17th century was the first decisive stage in colonial expansion, making English an international language. In 1607, an expedition established the colony of Jamestown, Virginia. The pilgrim Fathers landed their Mayflower in Plymouth, Massachusetts later in 1620, creating the most successful colony for settlers. Within 25 years, 25,000 Europeans migrated there. These pilgrims sought religious freedom and expanded to Pennsylvania. At this time, French and Dutch colonists were also established around the same area.

The South of America became a huge plantation area in contrast to the North's small holdings. These colonies were filled up with deportees and political refugees from England, as well as African slaves. In 1724, there were 3 slaves to every free person in South Carolina. This complex relationship explains the major influence of West African on new forms of English in the Caribbean.

People claim many differences between American and British English is known as 'colonel lag'. Many settlers used 'conservative' language – the widespread pronunciation of /i/ (non-prevocative r) is attributed to its originally Elizabethan English. The London /r/- leis/ speech occurred too late to influence the speech of those who had left already. Some East coast areas do not over pronounce the 'r' – perhaps as they constantly traded with England, thus adopting the British model of speech.

Some dialect variation arose from contact with different indigenous languages. However, the influence was slight as many settlers wanted to convert local people by schooling them. Native Americans were reluctant to change and thus, pushed West as the colony expanded.

There are over 300 American Indian words in use today such as skunk, terrapin and totem. All these words have been radically changed and 'Americanised.' Some have even been combined with Indian (Indian pony or indeed, expressions have been created based on their lifestyle (peace pipe, bury the hatchet). In general, given the reduction in American Indians, their relatively slight influence on English is unsurprising. Moreover, the fact all the loanwords are nouns show no real affect. The only thing that has remained are the large number of American place names of Indian origin.

Another phenomenon is dialect levelling – American speech began to level out in the direction of educated South East England despite the speech of early settlers being non-

In terms of lexis, there are many Indian words and even Portuguese words inserted into the language. Vocab is increased thanks to compound words too such as 'tennisboy' or 'platematey.' Pidgins also have an excellent knowledge of culinary terms as the kitchen is their domain i.e. 'Tom Collins' and 'Bloody Mary' some words develop extra meaning such as 'put' to describe casting a boat, laying a table, cutting fruit and making the bed. Sometimes new words are coined such as 'Englishtime' and 'Marriage time'. There is also a common pattern of reduplication of words such as 'big big' or 'little little'. Sometimes there is a semi-duplication in rhyme such as 'bed/ged or linen/binen.

The Butler English developed as a result of colonisation yet is still in use today, contrary to the belief that it was dying out.

Describing the Sounds of English

When referring to phonology, English has around 20 vowels – phonemes. A given vowel letter can represent several vowel – phonemes such as 'cod' and 'rose' and what's more, that same vowel – phoneme can be represented by more than one vowel – letter or sequence of letters. Phonologically, a vowel is produced when the airflow from the lungs escapes uninterrupted through the vocal tract and out through the lips with no obstruction to cause friction or blockage. Any obstruction will make the sound a consonant.

Consonants are defined by:

- Where in the vocal tract the obstruction occurs
- What type of obstruction takes place

-Presence or absence of voices

So when considering /p/, we know it is a bilabial, voiceless stop as the obstruction occurs at the lips, they close fully and the vocal cords do not vibrate. To produce a purely oral sound, the soft palate must raise and act as a block.

When looking at how different accents use consonants (RP, cockney and Irish), we note very interesting things. For example, in RP 'this' and 'that' are pronounced 'ðis n ðæt' using a voiced dental fricative where the vocal cords do not vibrate, the obstruction is between the tongue and front teeth and the obstruction is not a total stop but enough to cause friction. In this case, cockney would say 'VIS n VAT' and Irish 'DIS an DAT'. Note, cockney's use of a glottal stop which completely closes the vocal cords and comes out voiceless. In the subsequent 'thick and thin', RP would say /QIK n QIN/ / using a voiceless dental fricative whereas cockney would use 'fik n fin' / and Irish /tik n tin/

culmination of the belief that a standard pronunciation should be adopted throughout the UK. Alexander Ellis believed this standard already existed unconsciously and was followed by those of a higher class. Ideas were widespread at this point and famous elocutionist Arthur Burrell commented that educated people speak so nobody can tell in what county their childhood was passed.

Charles Dickens also played upon this difference in accent as seen through the depiction of his publisher's wife Mrs Bradbury in his private letters – e.g. 'Wot ave you don with me bed.' Mrs Bradbury's voice has many class conscious stigmatised features such as the /h/ usage as in 'append' and 'at'. Ellis felt that in Victorian times, it was seen as social suicide to drop an 'h'. She also uses 'in' instead of 'ing' as in 'feelin' as well as the stereotypical 'wot' for 'what'.

Although it is linguistically impossible to speak without an accent, this was seen as a major attribute of RP. However it is slightly ironic as RP itself was based on a South East English accent anyway. Ellis noted, however, that the reality of RP showed an absence of total fixity and uniformity and rather, there was a subtle difference between speakers in London.

Ellis felt 'educated pronunciation' did not exist. He believed that there were pronunciations of English people more or less educated in a variety of things but not in pronunciation itself. Received Pronunciation, thus: was confirmed not by the egalitarian utopia of Sheridan, but rather a hierarchical image of division.

The BBC began in 1922 where by those chosen to present programmes or read the news had to eradicate all traces of regionalism from their speech. John Reith, the first Director General, saw the BBC as a chance to increase linguistic exposure to his chosen norm. He was happy for children to copy the BBC accent as it promoted 'good' English. The BBC set up an Advisory Committee in 1926 and decided to limit regional accents to comedy and light entertainment which reinforced social and cultural stereotypes.

RP became the voice of authority and alongside it, the newscasters had to wear dinner jackets. In fact, during the war when Wilfred Pickles from Yorkshire had to read the news, there were complaints from listeners feeling they didn't believe what he was saying. The BBC's ulterior motive was that Germans would find it harder to imitate his accent. This led to Pickle's being satirised in the papers and he noted that RP had become a firmly rooted national institution. The term BBC English came itself from BBC staff who resented the better prospects of speakers with public school accents.

Tom Leonard's 1984 poem is in huge contrast as it used 'eye-dialect' where the spelling is intended to suggest a Scottish pronunciation. Leonard demands to know why 'talking right' should be vested in one mode of speech and not others. The 1960's and 70's saw others expressing this same view.

age. They were assessed on elicitation and spontaneous speech. The results showed the dialect many resemble the traditional dialect of the area or it could reflect the range of new inhabitant's accents. But, in fact the children's accents differed from both aspects as well as from their mothers' accents. Instead, everybody had pronunciation features of London and the South East. The fact children say 'li'er and faves' make them seem cockney. There are other features as well though.

The children tended to front their letters a lot more than adults, especially vowels. It is also far less variable suggesting a characteristic of Milton Keynes. Overall, it seems older girls have the greatest degree of fronting with the younger ones identical to their carers.

Therefore, it is older children who do most of the work in new dialect formation. Looking at the variable (t) in elicitation tasks, we note the reading task has the highest use of standard pronunciation. Also, the girls are consistently higher than the boys and thirdly, the older speakers use the (t) more. This shows older children demonstrate patterns of adult communities in terms of linguistic variations.

If we take the example of (an) in house, we can see that many different variants of its pronunciation came to Milton Keynes, yet most children have adopted the RP version. Today it is harder to tell apart someone from Southampton, Reading and London than it would have been 30 years ago.

Going back to Estuary English, it has been seen negatively by government officials who believe it is the government's job to regulate it. Some see Estuary English as a means for the powerful to identify with those they represent. It is interesting to note that while Margaret Thatcher adopted the RP accent in place of her Lincolnshire roots, Tony Blair adjusted his to an Estuary English.

Estuary English can be seen as upwards for those aspiring to positions of power or downwards for the powerful who wish to reassure the electorate that they understand their problems. The accent can be a strategy for aspiration or a claimed solidarity.

People feel regional accents are part of us and our local tapestry and it would be boring if we all spoke with an Essex accent. There is still a place for RP however especially as a voice of authority. Therefore, even though society is more mobile and open, social symbols and markers of identity are still as sharply felt as ever. Virtually everything in life is graded with subtle or unsubtle class tags.

cupid's torch, chunk stopper, Nimrod, pump handle and Dr Johnson (nobody he wouldn't stand up too!)

At this time, Shakespeare had any rude words taken out of it. The idea was that if common words were removed so would the thought from people's minds. In 1756, James Watt began working on the steam engine. This gave way to a new lexicon of words for industry. The Industrial Revolution had arrived! This drove England forward as a nation both commercially and linguistically. Many words shifted in meaning – factory, industry and train, reflecting a change in people's lives. This Revolution led to a high level of poverty and the word 'class' became used for the first time. People began making fun of cockney - /ba/ would have been /baf/, also /v/ would replace /w/. It was regarded as uncouth to those who had managed to adopt a non-regionalised accent. Cockney rhyming slang became a code which was constantly reinvented – apples and pears is 'stairs' and frog and toad is 'road'.

At this time, Lewis Carroll created Humpty dumpty and brought about English nonsensical rhyme, where words mean whatever the speaker intends by it and what the listener understands.

Shaw wanted Pygmalion to show that there was no magic in correct speech. He also broke a rule by putting the word 'bloody' on the stage – this led to outrage and a lack of being taken seriously. World War 1 took away the idea of being a better person if you spoke upper-class English.

Looking at English Colonialism and the spread of language, India is a major example of a place where the influence is obvious. In our English words like punter, dungaree, pyjamas and shampoo are just a few examples of Hindi influence on our language. Trade contacts brought the original words from Sanskrit but it wasn't until the 17th century when India began trading with the West.

The English were forced to learn Punjabi and Hindi to get by and this led to them establishing many factories throughout the country. Cloth was a major export bringing words like 'calico' and 'gingham.' By 1765, Calcutta was becoming a colonial capital. A dangerous climate arose of British superiority over Indians, with their religion at the forefront.

In 1813, William Wilberforce commanded the British to convert them to Christianity. Missionaries arrived and set up English schools. They even installed an English language policy in society. The argument was that the local dialects had no terms for legal or technical jargon. Some welcomed this and saw it as a window to another world but others resented it. This was limited to a higher class in Indian society who could rise as interpreters for the British. English was institutionalised yet changed by the experience.

Elements of Clause Structure

Syntax and word order are key to the meaning of Modern English. In a sentence such as 'the dog is biting the man,' we immediately understand who is doing what action due to position. If the order was changed, then so would be the meaning.

Sentences consist of certain phrases that belong together. The first example is a verb phrase which can be a single word: 'it springs to mind' or a group of words: 'they were singing loudly.' Each verb phrase is made up of a lexical verb where the main semantic content is housed, and occasionally, an auxiliary verb which adds extra information about the tense or aspect.

English divides time into four tenses:

PRE – PAST PAST PRESENT FUTURE

Had sprung sprang spring will spring springing

It is plain to say that the verb phrase is the focal element of the clause as all other elements revolve around it. Thus, each phrase contains just one verb phrase.

Noun phrases within a clause are carried out by a subject which usually appears before the verb and an object which goes after.

i.e. we will remember them.

A noun phrase always contains a headword which controls the concord or agreement with the verb when in subject position;

e.g. This idiotic team of wasters is playing badly

Other sentences contain indirect objects which cannot be an object.

e.g., I am feeding the horse some sugar

Complement elements express a meaning which adds to either the subject or object but cannot be said to undergo the process or action of the verb;

e.g. My son is a doctor

Adverbial phrases, however, say something about the verb such as when, where, how, why, with or what a process takes place. Unlike the other phrases, adverbial clauses can occupy several possible positions in a sentence and a sentence can contain more than one of them;

e.g. Typically Mr Bland had arrived in a dress.

Therefore, it has been banned from TV and adverts. Thus, one dialect has been labelled inferior to another. This is known as prescriptive.

A descriptive view would be that Singlish reinforces the idea of national identity and it could be accepted as a different variety of English which operated under a different set of rules.

The government's view has made people concerned as it could disadvantage the Singlish speakers. It is strange how Singlish can be the only variety they are proficient in when SSE is compulsory at school. Nevertheless, if educational success depends on the mastery of a standard variety, surely English's credentials as a social dialect are under mined.

Social Class

If Standard English is the vehicle of educational success, it seems likely that habitual users will be middle and upper class. We should find least dialect variety among them. This suggests that the further up the scale you go, the less variation you will find.

Gender

In every social class, men use more non-standard forms than women. There are various explanations why:

- Women are more status conscious than men.
- From an early age, there is a greater expectation for women to conform to social norms of 'correct' behaviour.
- Women's use of standard forms represents a desire to be polite and not to offend

From a male point of view:

- Non standard forms are more masculine, tough and rebellious

All speakers, irrespective of gender, use more non-standard forms in a less formal context. In an interview, women tend to be more cooperative conversationalists, adjusting to the speech of their interlocutor – given that the interviewer is typically middle class, women will respond to this formality by using standard forms.

Age

The use of non-standard forms is high at adolescence moving towards greater use of standard forms as people grow older before reverting to non-standard forms at an older age

Downs believe this is due to 'the pressure of different sorts of norms for different age groups:

At adolescence, peer groups exert great normative pressure on each other than by institutions of the outside world. Middle age are more susceptible to outside pressures of

of 'shall', will or 'll are used.- even in questions such as 'shall I put the kettle on? In Tyneside, 'will is used.

In Standard English, there can only be one modal verb in a sentence, yet in Tyneside, as long as the second modal is 'can' or 'could,' it is ok. An example is 'I might could get it changed' or 'I would could do it.' Also, in SE certain adverbs are placed before main verbs but after modals, yet in Tyneside, they can go anywhere – 'She just can reach the gate.'

Fourthly, like in other dialects, can and could are used to express 'to be able to – 'I thought I could've brought it back.' Finally, Tyneside has a few modal verbs with different meanings to Standard English so 'the lift mustn't be working.' Also, when we use 'mustn't to express something that isn't necessary, Tyneside uses 'haven't got to' which can be confusing – 'You haven't got to do that!'

Quotative verbs are used to introduce dialogue and recently they have seen a new addition of 'be' followed by 'like' – 'So my dad's like, hurry up.' Since the 1990's, be + like has expanded considerably especially among university students introducing first person dialogue

In 1990, be + like was favoured twice as much by women as men, within 2 years, both genders favoured it equally. Seeing as this spread occurred so quickly in United Kingdom, USA and Canada, it is fair to say that n and tv have had a huge influence.

Tag questions are another aspect prone to variation throughout English dialects. In Standard English when the verb is repeated in the tag it undergoes a polarity shift and is followed by the subject pronoun. However, Scottish English as well as Tyneside and Liverpool use a double positive such as, 'Are you still working, are you?' Another aspect seen in Welsh, Indian and Malaysian English is to add 'is it' or 'isn't it' to the end of a sentence regardless of the subject.

From this chapter, it is fair to say that the boundaries between Standard and Non Standard English are few and that really it is the prestige of the speaker that obscures the objective. Everyone has the ability to develop language suitable for certain purposes yet social and cultural barriers stop them.

speech, particularly at the key part of the action. Nevertheless, the speech is always paraphrased and reframed to show ourselves in a particular light.

Labov identified the structure of conversational narrative in six points:

- Abstract – what is the story about?
- Orientation – who, when, what, where?
- Complicating action – then what happened?
- Evaluation – so what?
- Results – what finally happened?
- Coda – an additional remark

In conversation, stories are often told collaboratively. In doing this, people can present someone else's idea as their own. Bakhtin argues that whenever we take on a voice, we talk on an evaluative stance. People that speak various languages and code switch adopt different persona based on impersonations i.e. a shop manager may be quoted using RP whereas a difficult customer is linked to creole. Codes switching has been proved as a sign of solidarity and in some cases, white adolescents may adopt features of black creole speech to find a new identity. However, they limit this usage depending on who they are with.

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wrong – this draws attention to it and highlights that perhaps it is dyslexic abuse as one reason. The tagline ‘it doesn’t make sense’ has the joint meaning of the inaccurate spellings and the central message of bullying.

The text has three narrative voices – the abused staff, the omniscient narrator and the spokesman for the organisations. This final voice is the most powerful and authoritative despite taking up the smallest bit of space. The staff are not the key voice as their speech is in quotations. The target reader is debatable as by saying the passengers, you are suggesting that they are all abusive. Perhaps the ‘help us’ line is directed at those who would never dream of abusing staff.

We must remember that while advertisements seem to speak to us as individuals, they are aimed at a mass market. If we add a cultural dimension, we see that persuasive texts represent aspects of society from which they emerge so how we ‘read’ them depends upon our own context.

Another rhetorical tradition to affect political speeches is the rhetoric of Christian religious preaching. Many preachers embody rhetorical and musical traditions with African roots that emphasise democratic participation known as ‘call and response.’ This is particularly observable in Martin Luther King’s speeches – two basic categories of response were found: affirmative (yeah, alright!) and commentaries (I like it, yes it is) Both types provide positive evaluations of the speech yet affirmations marked approval of an argument and commentaries marked a response to specific devices. King’s speeches are made up of three part lists, contrasts and repetition i.e. ‘I have a dream’.

King draws upon on his audience’s awareness of call and response to manage the interaction.

key theme, whereby inexplicit references are made to previous conversations. This is a key aspect of work conversations.

As the conversation moves on, we can tell something is nagging the builder by the failure for his discourse to move decisively forward. The accompaniment of swearing serves two purposes – to conform to the macho environment he is in and to surreptitiously direct it at the other builder who made the mistake in the first place. This builder would never dare react like this to a fellow team member as he depends on their cooperation to succeed.

The end of the language use is seen in the written agreement that the builder signs for the work he has done. This particular text will function as a device set to go off later, away from its context and immediate reception.

Moving on, English is now the recognised language of trade and business. It is only normal that through continual use by non-native tongues, a pidgin language will develop such as Tok Pisin. Extensive research has shown that sometimes, difficulties in comprehension may arise when people from significantly different cultures are involved. In a conversation, between a Japanese and Australian businessman, Marriott observed that the Japanese man often sought clarifications and offered summaries of the information discussed. When asked afterwards how it went, the Japanese man felt that the Australian didn't explain about his company and the conditions of trading properly, whereas the Australian felt that the Japanese man was brief and non-committal, leaving him feeling confused.

Although, one could point out the different expectations held as a cultural thing, one must also consider each speaker's background to find out more information. The Japanese man is from a big company that frequently deals with intercultural business, whereas the Australian is from a small national firm. Therefore, it could be down to his lack of experience that he wasn't finally aware of the 'ground rules'.

In other cases, international business interactions can go well. One particular company made frequent usage of the personal pronoun 'we' as well as technical terms and evaluative language to establish interpersonal relationships. The company speaker wants to highlight a shared image of the company. English is also used to build a sense of group identity among participants with diverse cultural backgrounds. This really highlights the point that evaluation is one of the most significant types of interpersonal meaning commonly expressed in workplace language.

In written communication, Ulla Connor noticed that some people tend to simplify their command of English when speaking to less proficient business partners. Similarly, when speaking to somebody else with a high proficiency, more polite. Sophisticated language is used. This is known as accommodation. Other factors influencing the variation are cultural background, the broker's own role and his relationships. As the seller, he uses polite language and as the buyer, his tone is more direct and informal. He also code switches

nature of kampong does not correspond to the real kampong either – what was once homogenous is now seen as multi-racial.

The government public information text shows a tour guide on a coach explaining how to apply for a flat in Singapore. Everybody on the bus is a typical candidate who would apply for a flat. The advert is keen to show a multiracial Singapore with clear identifiers of each race – i.e. skin colour, dress code etc. There are many intertextual references and played-up stereotypes of the Chinese, for example. This strip is generally in Standard English with any Singlish comments used to lighten the tone only. English is manipulated when kicking the Australians off the coach. This invokes a foreign national identity.

Overall, the government document aims to inform readers of the rules as well as portray a harmonious multiracial Singapore. The other text is convincing people to visit a shopping mall. Both texts' informality encourages reading and humour. Gender roles are clearly distinguished and stereotypes are over exaggerated for clarification. It seems both advertisements influence each other as the shopping mall is not obliged to show multiculturalism but it does so anyway.

There does come a time when consumers reject salespeople and have no skills to deal with them. This may include subverting attempts to initiate thank you or waiting for the seller to say goodbye. Junk mail is easily thrown away or deleted straight away as well.

Going back to the final meeting between the salesperson and client, the client is asked to fill in a sheet with friend's contact details. This is likely to trigger resistance as it could have social implications as well. Some clients have become sensitised to 'buzz-words' and do recognise lexical changes now. Readers can no longer be manipulated by language designed to persuade. One example is the medic's use of 'collateral damage' for 'civilian casualties.' The reader can recognise this cover-up as well as the fact that another phrase was used to conceal it, thus making them double angry.

Commercial institutions train their employees in how to talk to the public. Many places have an institutionalised script that is used throughout all global branches of the company, so customers in Dubai, USA and Hong Kong could all be spoken to in the same way.

Recent studies looked at the use of passenger's names on airlines to calm them down and show they are not anonymous, as well as the strict use of codification and surveillance in British call centres.

This has led to culture becoming a commodity with increasingly market-orientated politics renaming student's customers as they are worth a certain sum of money to an educational institute. The system is becoming based on the idea of a customer as a consumer.

possibility that the basis of later language development rests in children's early, preverbal efforts to make their wishes known.

During their first year of life, infants produce a range of sounds and begin to indulge in vocal play:

MILESTONE	AVERAGE AGE
Eyes open	0
Eye to eye contact	2
Social smile	2
Coos and goos	2
Laughs	4
Squeal/yells/raspberries	4
Canonical babbling	7
Comprehends a word	9
Comprehends 10 words	10.5
Variety of babbling	11
Onset of pointing	12
Comprehends 50 words	13
Produces first word	13
Produces 10 words	15
Produces 50 words	20
Produces word combinations	21

The fact that infants can use one word to convey different feelings shows how it is possible to have a one word vocabulary, yet be understood through intonation. When infants acquire control over their sound-making equipment, they are taking control of a system which will later be useful in communicative exchange.

Critical also to communication is the context in which children are growing up – babies' early interactions can contribute to their communicative capabilities.

- Then past tense of regular verbs appears – now, all past references will use inflections even irregular ones that were correct before – slept/comed/goed.

Children seem to be able to use language to locate events in time before using Standard English verb inflections. It seems that children locate the event referred to and then continue in the present tense.

An explanation is that when children begin to use an irregular past tense, they treat it as a new word and not related to its present tense form. When children begin using the regular past tense they have discovered the range of words available by adding –ed, yet, they do not immediately notice the exceptions.

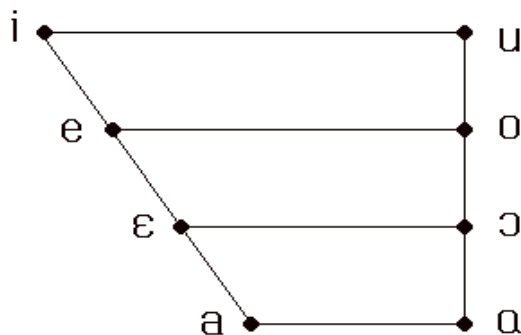
This behaviour is consistent with the idea that children are trying to discover the rules of language. The rules they apply are sensible and plausible but incorrect. Children who produce ‘comed’ and ‘goed’ are making creative use of the rules they have learnt, rather than copying what they hear adults saying.

It now becomes necessary to distinguish between sound and phonemes. Different sounds can belong to the same phoneme – if we consider the /t/ in bottle in both RP and London English they are clearly pronounced differently yet, using minimal pairs, there is no difference between the two’s meaning.

The phoneme must therefore be viewed as an abstraction. To say English has 44 phonemes in its sound system is an abstract theoretical statement. We must look at phonetics to understand further.

Phonetics aims to describe the articulation of any sound in any language. To say bottle is made up of phonemes /bɒtl/ is a phonological statement, whereas, explaining that in RP the word sounds like (bɒtl) and in London English (bɒ>u) is a phonetic statement.

Use of the IPA enables the description of actual sounds both within and across languages and their varieties. Take the example of /p/ - depending on where it occurs in a word it is more or less implosive. Phonetically, the presence of aspiration can be signalled by a diacritic, whereas, phonologically it makes no difference – it is /p/ in all cases.



Any vowel from any language can be positioned in this chart.

A study by Kelly saw joke making in children occur in four stages:

1. The deliberate violation of semantic categories – a child putting their foot through a sleeve and saying 'shoe'. This allowed her to explore the boundaries of the concept represented by the word.
2. Games based on phonetic patterns – 'Cow goes moo, mummy goes mamoo and daddy does dadooo.' The sounds of the word become arbitrary symbols for objects and not essential properties in order for the sounds to be bended in a certain way.
3. Introducing new words into established sequences – 'Little Bo People has lost her steeple' – the syntax is preserved and the introduced words make sense.
4. Jokes are produced with a regular discourse format i.e. a riddle
5. Similar to stage 4 yet the joke was set up a linguistically misleading context.

This shows that children quickly learn to manipulate English to achieve surprise and amusement and to show how learning to use English creatively depends on learning certain conventional discourse formats.

When children go to school, their humour develops more, although for a while, they do explain jokes afterwards to ensure they have been understood. This shows how linguistic skill and social awareness are very closely entwined.

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Many 8 year old girls 'lose their voice' until near adolescence when they repeatedly say 'I don't know' when they do know.

Certain interactional features like interruptions are associated more with boys, whereas, indirect requests are associated with girls. A study by Harness – Goodwin noted that in single-sex groups, girls' interaction was collaboratively organised and made use of indirect forms, whereas the boys used direct forms.

When girls become adolescent, they typically adopt more standard varieties of speech than their male counterparts.

Macaulay found that children's speech diverged according to social class as they got older. The perception of vernacular English as more 'masculine' does start at an early age but does seem to hold true as boys growingly identify with men in the community. Boys reflect their self-assertion in vernacular speech and swearing unlike girls' sensitivity to stylistic variation. Boys also tend to self-correct away from the standard and girls self-correct towards it.

Le Page and Tabouret-Keller believe that these views assume that distinct languages and fixed membership of social groups can be taken as given. They believe the identity of a group lies in the projections that individuals make of the concepts each has about the group.

A study by Payne in to what extent children acquired the accent of their peers found that those who arrived in Philadelphia after 8 years old stood a far lower chance of sounding like a 'local' than those who arrived before. Their linguistic identity had become relatively fixed. One family from New York seemed to have deliberately chosen not to acquire this accent and resisted it slightly.

So, in contrary to Labov's hypotheses, children become less flexible around puberty and more conscious of a particular set of identifications. In cases where children are exposed to more than one language variety, perception of the different social values attached to each type is likely to develop from infancy onwards along with sensitivity to linguistic forms.

So, young speakers can:

- Unconsciously adopt the speech of others because they identify with it
- Consciously emulate the speech of groups they wish to impress
- Consciously mimic the speech of others while also distancing themselves from the stereotype

All of these acts of social positioning can be accomplished at various levels, through sound, grammar, vocabulary or discourse patterns.

Up to adolescence, children are learning to use these different varieties to express their identities and achieve goals. Sometimes these identities support one another and sometimes they are in conflict. Beyond adolescence, young people get more fixed linguistic

A study by Camilleri at English and Maltese in Malta classrooms shows code switching used in a different way. The switch to Maltese tends to amplify the point being made. Two parallel discourses are created – the written one in English and the spoken in Maltese.

A study by Zentella at a Spanish-English school in New York revealed that IRF sequences contained both languages yet their usage reflected certain 'ground rules' governing language choice. The teacher tended to initiate all conversations in English, pupils respond in Spanish if related to other children and feedback was given in both languages depending on the activity.

Overall, code switching in the classroom will depend on pupils' degree of fluency in English, bilingual competence of teacher, teaching goals and attitudes to other languages involved.

The behaviour of teachers and pupils in school in regards to English will usually depend on the official education policy of language use. This tends to change over time according to the government's particular beliefs. It is a difficult process for a country to decide whether to adopt English as a classroom language – it is usually down to government policies and can change according to parental demand (i.e. Wales)

Another difficult situation is the encouragement of native English speakers to use standard varieties in the classroom. Those in favour feel one must maintain standards of correctness in British schools. However, others worry about the effects that a reevaluation of regional English may have on the self-esteem of pupils.

As well as education providing certain ground rules for spoken English, it also provides it for written English. Children must learn such complexities as the use of nominal forms – the betrayal of Macbeth. They also need to recognise and use the genres typically associated with different areas of the curriculum: e.g. the way you describe bubbles in water will be very different in poetry than in science.

These rules are actually rarely taught by teachers and tend to be inferred from what they say, do or feedback instead.

Two approaches to the teaching of school-based writing have been influential in recent years: process writing and genre approach. Process writing concentrates on the processes engaged in by students as writers in order to produce their written work. Graves suggested a student must draft, conference, revise and edit a text before publishing to the class. Ownership of the writing is retained through topic choice and personal voice, with the teacher's role as a supportive adviser. This has led to criticism that students restrict themselves to limited topics and do not receive clear guidance on what styles suit particular subjects.

An alternative approach to the study and teaching of writing, based on work by Halliday, is known as genre approach. This aims to focus the attention of teachers and students on how

written texts in English are expected to vary according to their nature and function. Genres encode knowledge and relationships in certain ways through the use of different language structures. Teaching children how to recognise and form these genres in the adult world. Denying people access to genres means denying access to the subject, argue the founders of the genre.

Genre approach is positive as it offers teacher and students an analysis of how English works in specific social contexts and what ground rules are needed to produce socially appropriate writing. Its criticisms include; the encouragement of teaching narrowly defined models for specific kinds of text; it supports an uncritical view of how established, powerful groups use English; and leaning 'powerful' ways of using English does not necessarily give the user access to power.

Classrooms tend to adopt both approaches nowadays. Genre may actually vary among countries or cultures too as conventional expectations of what counts as a story may differ, for example. If children enter a classroom from a different cultural background, it may be hard for both them and the teacher to distinguish between acquiring a basic fluency in English and learning the conventions of genre in school. Sometimes, it is hard to work out whether a child is struggling with English or the 'local' ground rules.

Even in terms of written English, genre problems occur. A study by Moore on non-native English speakers in English schools found that Mashud, a Bangladeshi boy, wrote enthusiastically in English, but all his creative writing assignments were based on heavily formulaic fairy tale and moral tales. It seemed that he was drawing on typical cultural stories of his country and translating them into English. This proved the large gap between what Mashud was brought up to value and what he has been told to value at school. Mashud also wrote in a very linear style, associated with oral story traditions. This led to specific activities designed to see Mashud's capabilities and the results were positive, showing he further grasped the genres of English expected of him.

Typically, the curriculum consists of seven text types: recount, narrative, procedure, information report, explanation, exposition and discussion.

Teaching Progress has focused on changing school structures to make them more receptive to a diversity of needs.

Teachers such as Mukherjee have called for a language syllabus for minorities which is based on power and powerlessness, identity and rootlessness and equality and justice.

When teaching English, many cross-cultural issues come up as typically it encourages learners to adopt new values and attitudes considered appropriate for immigrants. Neville Grant sees this as a sign of cultural imperialism and ethnocentrism. Grant tries to ensure that resource materials reflect national, social and cultural aspirations of a country.

In Nigeria, Grant selected a text by a well – known national author that deals with the culturally specific topic of ‘bride-price’. No attempt is made to ‘preach’ to the student: rather, they are encouraged to use English to think about the issue. One may argue that although remaining neutral, opening a debate on ‘bride-price’ shows a hint of Western notions associated with liberal humanism.

Grant also worked in China, helping to develop a new English curriculum programme. It was made clear that the Chinese wanted to improve the students’ ability to use English communicatively as well as providing learners with a window on the world outside China. Particular emphasis was given to ‘cultural difference’, although texts were checked to ensure they were not politically controversial.

Many texts that attempt to break the stereotype of English people are included as well as hints of the multicultural society in the UK. Racism was also highlighted. Once again, as Grant’s colleagues were reluctant to include racism articles, was he seen as imposing Western views upon them? Also, he had to provide a comical story rather than a factual account of riots as it may bear too much resemblance to Tiananmen Square in 1989.

In Tanzania, there is a problem with free press. This leads to conflicting views among journalists on what to print. A story on a failed village settlement scheme was seen as both wrong to report as it may sway people against the government’s views: a moral obligation to write or something to be written with great care.

Once again, issues rose on whether Tanzania would welcome critical reviews of these texts or be offended by them. There were actually positive results and the president had no problems with it.

This highlights how culturally sensitive one must be when producing EFL texts – e.g. whereas a dog is seen positively here, in the Middle East, it is portrayed as something dangerous and dirty.

It is interesting that in ex-colonial countries such as Africa, less emphasis is on teaching English culture and more is put on local issues. Grant is keen to support ‘native culture,’ yet surely in defining some issues as controversial indicates his cultural perspective.

In 1935, the British Council was set up to promote Britain and the English language abroad. Routh argued that around the world, a need to create new 'linguistic missionaries' was needed. To avoid being unpopular, he felt Britain should present English as an international language. Nowadays, countries like Australia and Ireland are also keen to promote English around the world.

This promotion has given way to local English teaching expertise in non-English dominant countries, meaning they no longer need 'experts' as teachers. As a response, the UK began to play down its international status and instead develop 'British Cultural Studies' as well as standard norms and test materials. Its aims were to ensure that English remained the preferred language for international communication and sustain and develop the global market for English goods and services.

Philips sees this as 'linguistic imperialism' where other languages have been neglected in national education systems. He feels that people are being persuaded of the superior merits of English (modernisation, liberalism etc) compared to backwards, parochial languages; being promised goods and services to those who use English (education, progress etc); and being forced to support issues that stigmatise local languages (internal divisions, resource costs etc).

Bisong argued that in Nigeria, parents wished for their children to learn English to open up new opportunities. But their aim was multilingualism. Parents want English to add to the child's repertoire rather than replace it.

Appiah stated that English helps maintain divisions and hierarchies within a country as it is used for elite formation and international identity. He felt that it legitimises differences in economic wealth as one class can always gain from possessing the 'cultural capital' of easy access to English through paying for extra classes.

Rogers feels that teaching English in the context of developing economies does not work for the majority. For most children, it is not a passport to a better job. If the aim is really to access educational opportunity, progress is more likely in their local language.

In Australia, a policy which recognised multi-lingualism was conceived but never implemented. 'The English Only' debate continues throughout the world where it has already effected the provision of bilingual education in USA as well as Hong Kong.

Countries that depend on aid will always be heavily influenced by international agencies such as the World Bank, meaning that English will always have a main priority. However, more emphasis has been put on literacy in the mother tongue first now.

There are current developments in place that respond to the ever changing social and political imperatives of a country:

- . Diversification of the ELT curriculum – Many want to combine ELT with cultural studies; ‘international’ ESP for doctors, tour guides etc; EAP for university students; balancing literacy and communication skills.
- . Broader educational remit for English teaching – Teaching ESOL in wider educational programmes such as science, history etc. This is being carried out in Australia at present. However, one must question whether students are given access to powerful ways of writing or simply coached to produce set forms to pass exams.
- . Critical approaches to languages in society – This approach is used in South Africa – what being a speaker of English means to students in the ‘new’ South Africa and how the language has different social meanings is considered? Others take the English that the natives have seen around them which helps improve competence as well as increases awareness of what happens when two cultures come into contact.
- . Bilingual approaches to language learning - Focus on both forms of language as well as communicative activities are considered which offers considerable potential for learners. Contrastive analysis helps students flag up differences and may lead to experimentation and code switching.

Many people want to learn the English that they hear on the streets as this is the real thing and has been described as ‘secret English’ by Australian Aboriginals.

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neither knows where they are heading yet, nor what the outcome will be. The jagged frames can also convey danger.

Deictic can also operate in visual English. Shapes show deictic expressions of time such as then or now. Colour can also be used deictically to indicate time or the passage of time. Black and white links to the past and the transition to colour shows the movement towards the present.



Relationships can be represented in images through camera angle. Horizontal angle signifies involvement or distance, and vertical represents power relationships between the viewer and those depicted. The size of the frame also indicates social distance – close-ups, long shots etc depict friends or strangers.

Angles in drawings operate in similar ways – aerial shots convey power or show more information. Placing the reader on the same level as the character creates empathy and solidarity. Aerial views can show a character's vulnerability making the reader feel powerless to intervene and desperate to read on.

Culture and the influence of verbal language also play an important role in page layout. Japanese cartoons are far more critical than American ones. But American cartoons use more action-to-action frame transitions compared to Japan's subject-to-subject transitions. Given that Japanese comics follow large anthologies, more time can be given to 'setting the mood.'

Creating meaning from a multimodal text depends on the interaction of verbal and visual English presented to the eye, as well as contextual and background knowledge. Arnheim noted that what we see depends not only upon the image itself but also on the context, other images and words on the page. The Sun reported a story entitled 'Blackmail' with the image of a black male next to it – negative connotations form in a reader's mind because of their positioning on the page.

When looking at adverts, both words, music and pictures must be considered. A problem arises on how to transcribe music and pictures on the page though and how to analyse their interaction with each other and language. We will consider a Sprite advert.

When putting together the pictures and lyrics, a complex set of metaphors and puns are found:

1. When the heat is on – not just difficult life but traffic jam too.
2. And the pace is slow – life and the traffic jam.

Overall, it appears English is still the dominant language online. However, other languages are beginning to catch up (Chinese). There is an ongoing debate as to whether this multilingualism is imposed or reflects speaker's interests.

New media technology has therefore created novel situations in which language can be explored and expressed.

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Many students learn English in an 'acquisition poor environment' where the teacher is not fully proficient in the language, where classrooms are under-equipped and where there is not a real communicative need for English in the community.

Tickoo's study raised the points that the existence of English in the upper hierarchy serves to position languages lower down as everyday vernaculars – languages don't have a chance to be standardised. Secondly, educational policy determines how successful speakers of the lesser-used languages are within the education system.

It is extremely difficult to find the mix of language education and planning that will work for everyone in postcolonial and multi-lingual societies. For example, Papua New Guinea has shifted over a 10 year period from an English – only educational system to one that used a quarter of the 800 local languages.

Improved communications within countries has transformed patterns of human interaction. It has encouraged international travel, as well as an increase in global electronic media. Sadly, this is all dominated by English-speaking interests.

Expansion began with the telegraph that coincided with the development of the railway in Britain. At the end of the 19th century, a process of global restructuring occurred – the social and economic relations between people changed.

Britain soon dominated global telegraph networks due to their colonial possessions, industrial expansion and development of financial systems. The telegraph led to rapid growth in international services such as new agencies and financial dealing. It also led to English as a lingua franca in terms of trade and services.

As the telephone grew in the early 20th century, so the USA overtook the UK in the exploitation of technology worldwide. This remains true today with satellites controlled namely by the USA. The breakdown of centralised controlled communication systems is regarded as 'centrifugal', moving away to encourage diversity of language.

Improved global communication also increases the number of interactions between speakers of different languages. Due to this increase in multinational meetings, a shared language is required. In many cases, that is English. This creates a 'centripetal' trend in which speakers converge upon English for certain communications.

Improved technology also allowed public communication with the first radio broadcasts made in the 1920's. By the 1990's TV was seen around the whole world, courtesy of satellite – another centripetal force.

Terrestrial media has long served a function of constructing a sense of shared national identity and culture. However, satellite TV encourages the breakdown of national media cultures – firstly, many channels exist, each with specialised content, allowing viewers to