'Contact With' and 'Use Of' English in Different Circles: a 3-case comparison

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Abstract

Contact With and Use Of English is a dichotomized view of language used in this paper. It is used to consider how English occurs and affects language behaviour incurring English across three zones in Kachru's Three Circles of English: Japan in the Extending Circle; Singapore in the Outer; and Norfolk Island in the Inner Circle. While the lingua franca in Japan is Japanese rather than English, the other two zones have English as lingua francas (ELFs). However different languages and English varieties regularly occur in different situations in language cultures across each of these zones. English that people have Contact With is any ostensibly English text which people in a language community would encounter, consciously or subconsciously, whether the people make sense of meaning or not.

This Contact-with/Use-of-English framework is presented in relation to significant domains of English and of discourses pertaining to English varieties in each zone including constitutional and law provisions, English education, English corpora, signage, spoken language events, people's attitudes to English and also English education. This deconstruction can go some way to account for the extensive diglossia, including how people are members of multiple micro language communities within the language cultures in Japan, though more so in Singapore and on Norfolk Island.

　本稿では、日本、シンガポール、ノーフォーク島（オーストラリア近隣）における英語との接触と使用についての相対評価を行う。英語と code-mix 言語様式のみに限定するのを避けるため、異なったテキストタイプや語用論的なバリエーション、さらに各コンテクストで人々が学ぶ言語と教えられる言語の違いにも注意を払う。英語に関しては、学習法・教授法の多様性が、各地域におけるリンガフランカとしての英語の現状をある程度反映すると言える。

This paper addresses an English–as-lingua-franca (ELF) conundrum: that ELF is hard to pin down as to be observable. How then might ELF be realized by different parties, from individuals

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to students to teachers and syllabus makers to government language policy makers? This is particularly difficult if ELF is considered as a single linguistic entity or phenomenon. My conjecture is that from place to place ELF is hardly ever the same thing. As the title suggests, this paper attempts to dichotomize English as something which people have contact with and also which people use. Could this dichotomized view solve the conundrum just mentioned?

Starting with Kachru's (1985, 1992) Three Circles of English model as a template, Japan, Singapore and Norfolk Island were selected to represent the Extending, Outer and Inner Circles respectively. In this paper, Contact With and Use Of English are considered as theoretical and generic concepts, with evidence in relevant texts presented with observations and experiences in the field. Further discussion of other aspects (including Pragmatics, English which is taught or otherwise learned and people's attitudes to English) leads to final discussion of the situation regarding ELF in light of findings in this research.

In Singapore and on Norfolk Island where English is the lingua franca, there are
● competing varieties of English including creoles; and
● other languages competing with mainstream, so-called standard Englishes.
In fact, Norfolk Island, with English and Norfolk language (commonly referred to as *Norf'k*), was chosen for consideration especially for this reason, though it lies in the center-circle Australasian English zone, and uses an Australian state education system but maintains the Norf'k variety. However, I was interested in lingua franca rather than isolated community languages. In this sense lingua franca means the common language in those places. That being said, English is not lingua franca in Japan. However, English occurs in other ways in the language culture there. As well, people in Japan still do have contact with English, and on certain occasions people in Japan do use English. This certainly is the case when normally Japanese-speaking people leave Japan. Patterns and scales of different languages and their varieties become clearer when contact with English is assessed in each case.

To illustrate Contact With and Use Of English, in a recent collection of papers on the English in Singapore, Gupta (2010 pp 77 – 81) revisits Singapore English, including making a list of people's complaints about erroneous English texts and utterances in line with the local Speak Good English campaign. The point here is that the complainants noticed (heard or read) the English – *they had Contact With it but they certainly had not Used it*. However, certainly somebody else in the Singapore language community had used that English

The Research
I was interested in this *contact with ／ use of English* dichotomy not just in Singapore. Contexts

I chose do correlate with different zones in Kachru's (1985, 1992) Three Circles of English model. Using Kachru's model as a starting point is convenient: the convenience of nation-based references to English varieties in zones located at relative distances from standard native-speaker varieties of English at the center. A brief history of English in Japan, Singapore and on Norfolk Island demonstrates features of those zones. It also demonstrates the weakness of using geographic reference to label zones where English is, such as occurs in Kachru's model: the historical exposure of Japan to languages besides English; historically the *a priori* regional rather than national context for Singapore; strength of creole varieties besides standard varieties of English in Singapore and on Norfolk Island. Rather, the language community or language culture is a more relevant and utilitarian point of reference: geographic location and language culture usually coincide (eg. Singapore and Singapore English) but occasionally not (eg. Norfolk Island and Pitcairn/Norf'k). In order to demonstrate characteristics of each zone, brief histories are provided in Table 1.

My normal environment is in Japan in the outer-most Extending circle, and I have encountered and researched this context in my life and work there. While it is obvious that Japanese rather than English is the lingua franca in Japan, English and Japanese language forms, relevant pragmatics and other cultural presumptions do coalesce in certain ways to form identifiable Japanese English (Loveday 1996, Stanlaw 2004, Honna 2008, Morizumi 2010). Also, one cannot consider speaking alone in a place like Japan as so much English which is used, and by far the bulk of English texts people have contact with, are written. If English competes with Japanese, it fills communication and linguistic niches rather than losing out.

Moving closer to the center of Kachru's model, Singapore and Norfolk Island were chosen as each has identified creole varieties, Singlish and Norfolk Island language. English in Singapore has been investigated extensively (including an up-to-date collection of papers (Lim et al. Eds. 2010) sourced mainly from Singaporean authors). I had done my own research as well albeit remotely from my Center in Japan (reported in Doyle 2011) and had encountered standardized varieties of English in Singapore (SSE) and the more fluid localized variety, Singlish. I was more interested in a wider scope of textual evidence in Singapore from an anthropological perspective, as I also was on Norfolk Island. To be able to investigate more suitably, I visited both locations in the only flexible way available for a short period, as an independent tourist though with contact persons in each place who I had not met before.

Norfolk Island was also selected as it lies in the center-circle Australasian English zone, uses an Australian state education system but maintains the Norf'k variety. As in Singapore, this involved me interacting firstly with people who tourists normally interact with and also the

texts tourists normally have contact with and have to use: travel and hotel personnel, official registration forms, maps and signs, tour operators and guides, food and drink establishments, menus, advertising, bank and money transaction events.

Norfolk Island (NI)	Singapore	Japan
1856 – Pitcairn Island community (descended from HMS Bounty mutineers & expat Tahitians) transplanted to NI, English-Polynesian creole as lingua franca defining local culture 19th Century to late 20th Century – Pitcairn-Norf'k language repressed publicly; NI under Australian political & cultural umbrella, including education system 1940s-> – US & Australian military presence with new airport causing greater intercourse with outside world; NI politically autonomous 1980s-> - increasing tourism, increasingly strong NI cultural identity, encoding of Norf'k language by Alice Buffet (1999), Norf'k recognized as Official Language on NI with English, taught as L2 in school	To 19th Century –itinerant Malay, Peranakan Chinese communities 1820s – increasing British regional imperial presence – Peranakan-English pidgin development 19th Century – 1940s – Malay, Tamil, Chinese merchant and indentured labour communities causing multilingual language culture with English as standard and pidgin English varieties developing as lingua franca. Local Peranakan Chinese educated and working in English medium contexts 1950s–1970s – political and economic discourses frequently in English and also Chinese & Malay; political split from Malaysia 1970s–2010s – increasingly English emphasized in most aspects of society as lingua franca; rise of (spoken) Singlish	1808 HMS *Phaeton* Incident – shock of English-speaking British overcoming Dutch in Nagasaki From 1811 – Government Translation Centers for English, French, Dutch, Russian and Chinese set up in Nagasaki and Edo (Tokyo). Tokyo Center later becoming Tokyo University and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies 1853-1860s – traumas from incursions by Western imperialistic powers heighten but English-speaking translation resources in place for bilingual communication 1860s-1940s – individual Japanese overseas to learn foreign languages and cultures; beginnings of private unstructured English language schools; start of first rapid rise of contact with scientific, literary, legal treatise and interpersonal communication and other English texts normally requiring translation into Japanese, with proportionally far less translation from Japanese to English and other languages. Lexical borrowing more extensive 1890s-1940s – compulsory school English education, emphasizing grammar-translation 20th Century – expanding Japanese phonemic base in katakana script to accommodate encroaching scope of loanwords primarily from English in Japanese 1940 & 50s – occupation by US and Allied forces, expanding English contact in mass media and public domains; second rapid rise in need to access overseas science, technology frequently in English-language texts 1950s-21st century – rising economic, technological development, world marketing, consumerism & culture causing generation of multilingual texts; loanword corpus quite apparent, English euphemism encroaching on Japanese in some contexts 1970s, 1980s, 2000s – English education reforms towards more communicative approaches, Japanese variety of English increasingly identifiable in linguistic circles 1980s-2010s – international travel, culture, online technology – new needs, domains, media, text-types and literacies involving English

Table 1: *Significant Historical Features the English in Norfolk Island, Singapore and Japan*

Data collection in all three contexts included collecting texts, both real artifacts and photographed, as well as recording English speaking events in real time or writing immediate short-term recollections of them. Recording had an added advantage of allowing me to be thinking aloud describing my reflections and reactions in real time as well as recording observations of the immediate environment and context, at times having a participant role as well as observer. This could be achieved by carrying an audio digital recorder leaving it switched on continually taking care to maintain impersonal distance from people. Though unorthodox, this approach resembles some tourists' normal behaviour with video cameras continually switched on. However, some semblance of anonymity was maintained by relying only on audio and never entering into details of people's personal domains. As well, interviews were done after appropriate permission was obtained from subjects. Recordings were heard, edited and transcribed later.

Key Questions

Specifically I wanted to find answers to the following open questions in each case:
- What English is there:
  - English people have contact with; and
  - English which people use
- What English is learnt; and what English is taught.

Regarding these latter educational aspects of English, it is conjectured that education is a principle domain for contact with English, increasingly so where English is used less outside of schools. As such this domain was considered worth investigating and it turned out to be possible to do this on the ground particularly in Japan and on Norfolk Island.

Regarding Contact With English, the concept is raised specifically in relation to Japan by Loveday (1996) who presents a continuum of language contact, mixing and bilingualism based on the depth of and extent of contact (pp 13-15). This is akin to concepts of pidgin as contact language blending parts of two or more languages to attend to a narrow range of communication functions, or creolization where languages blend and mix in the direction of becoming self-sustaining language varieties. The notion discussed here, Contact With a language, instead relates to language as an environmental phenomenon in a person's culture. In this sense the person would notice language texts but does not have to be making sense of them. Hence the contact can be conscious or remain subconscious. In other words, English texts may be apparent and so people many encounter or notice them, but paying attention to meaning in them is something else. For researchers and observers the language itself needs to be able to be recognized. The immediate way to do this is to identify English language text. In order to do this, a broad-based understanding of text is required, to include recordable written or spoken-mode language,

examples of which are presented.

In this research I have made an attempt to capture English in Japan, Singapore and on Norfolk Island. Yet there is a big distinction which needs to be made: I am interested in the English in Japan/Singapore/Norfolk Island rather than any Japlish/Singlish/Norf'k. This might presume that these varieties are disparate languages from English, which I do not necessarily presume. However they could also be considered identifiable varieties of English in their own rights.

What English is There in those Cultures: contact with English:

In a non-ELF place like Japan, people actually can have a lot of contact with English. But so much of it is unnoticed or subconscious, to the extent that when Roman script texts are seen they are often presumed to be English even when it is not. Though English is used a lot in Japan, it is used a lot more in a place like Singapore and rather universally in a place like Norfolk Island. On a Three-Circles-of-English basis, this could be seen as a continuum, as in Figure 1:

But two questions here are:
- What are the sources of the English? and
- What constitutes the English in the cultures in those locations?

In other words, What English is there in those places (which people have contact with)? One source is in texts from outside of those language cultures, such as in Japan. More relevant to this research are texts of English produced by people in those language communities:

- limited inside Japan, as Japanese rather than English is the lingua franca;
- more common in a place like Singapore where English as a lingua franca competes with other languages (Mandarin Chinese, Malay, Tamil and other languages in émigré language communities) and different varieties of English, such as modern Singlish, Peranakan (Lim 2010), an older "Eurasian" variety (Wee 2010) and identifiable
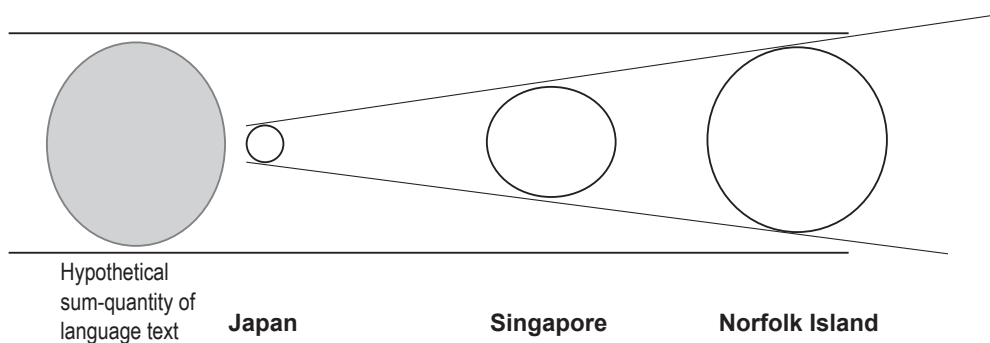

Figure 1: *Levels of English People have Contact with relative to all languages in Japan, Singapore and Norfolk Island as a Continuum.*

standard Singapore Englishes as promoted by the government;

- near universal in a place like Norfolk Island, which lies under an Australasian English community and cultural umbrella plus the traditional local variety, Norf'k (Muhlhausler 2010).

Figure 2 shows hypothetical proportions of internally-sourced English texts with which people have contact in these communities. Note that the amount of English in the Norfolk Island zone should reflect the less complex enterprise-, information- and technology-driven culture there relative to the other two zones.

Then there was a complication:

● there were texts evidencing code-switching and mixing in real life situations in these cultures of English, rather than registering simply distinct languages or language varieties.

In three days in Singapore, a week on Norfolk Island and half a lifetime in Japan, evidence I could collect suggests that this is quite frequently, even regularly the case. Two more issues then develop:

● the extent to which any pidgin or creole varieties (eg. Singlish in Singapore or Norf'k on Norfolk Island) are actually English; and

● the extent to which such pidgin or creole varieties show maturity as languages in their own right.

It is too problematic to assess or quantify these extents, primarily because interactive language events within these language communities are too frequent. There was also observable
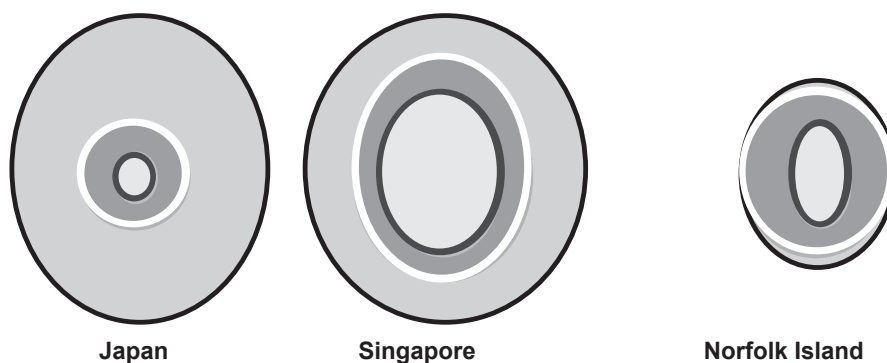

Japan   **Singapore**   **Norfolk Island**

Figure 2: *Estimated Proportions of English People have Contact with Sourced in Texts from Inside Compared with Texts from Outside the Language Cultures, relative to the Sum of All Language Text* (NB. Central area in peach shows English sourced <u>inside</u> the language cultures; next underlying area in darker, blue shows English text sourced <u>outside</u>; the outer curve bounds hypothetical sum totals of all language texts people have contact with. Actual amounts are virtually impossible to calculate. Proportions are hypothetical estimates only)
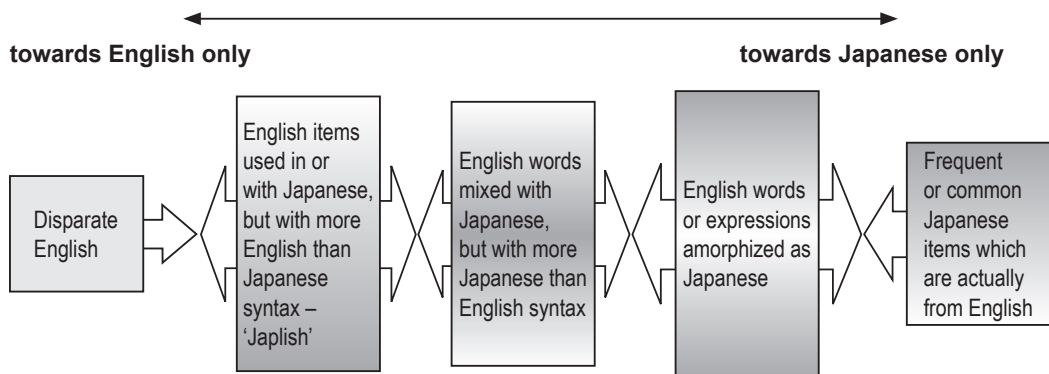
towards English only　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**towards Japanese only**

| Disparate English | English items used in or with Japanese, but with more English than Japanese syntax – 'Japlish' | English words mixed with Japanese, but with more Japanese than English syntax | English words or expressions amorphized as Japanese | Frequent or common Japanese items which are actually from English |

Figure 3: *English in Japan as a Continuum.* (Source: Doyle 2009)

code-switching or code-mixing in my small samples. In short, at micro-levels they are too difficult to gauge.

One way to resolve this is to consider a continuum model. Figure 3 shows the example of English in Japan as a continuum.

Though this model is applicable to the whole language culture, say of Japan, it is limited in that English *per se* dissipates. However regarding language culture in Japan the relatively high extent to which English becomes subsumed in and as Japanese is a unique feature, which is not realized in Loveday's (1996) continuum, referred to earlier. That continuum would hypothetically extend from the middle of the Figure 3 model left towards Disparate English only, considering mainly code mixing and switching rather than the opposite direction of English infecting Japanese, and Japanese infecting the English - *amorphization* (Doyle 2009. Demonstrated later).

Another limitation of a Continuum model is that it is best applied to single text items or small units of text which register single points or micro-fields on the continuum; larger texts viewed holistically can spread too widely across the continuum depending on variation in the amount of mixing or changing of the language (amorphization) throughout the text. Further, as the following two text items show, meanings at times shift, are unclear or inconsistent though the text remains constant.

Instances of English in Japan in Texts

i.　　Written English text as image semiotic

For instance Text 1, a careers information publication cover text at first appears bilingual, but actually meanings in the English and Japanese text are complimentary and inconsistent. Rather than being translations they just supplement each other adding to the overall meaning. In some

senses the English text is meaningless in context – for instance ACTION X THINKING X TEAMWORK has no equivalent Japanese text present. This is not surprising in the sense that as the lingua franca actually is Japanese and that is what the target readership are likely to take in first, even unilaterally. Another feature is font size, the larger bolder text seeming to stand out more. It is English text as image semiotic rather than language-founded semantic. So much English text seen in Japan is like that.

社 会 人 基 礎 力

BOOK 2010

秋   号

The Basic Knowledge for the real world

キミの未来のために。トレーニングを始めよう。

TAKE FREE

ご自由にお持ち帰りください。

ACTION

X

THINKING

X

TEAM WORK

社 会 人 基 礎 力

Text 1: *English and Japanese together in Japan: magazine/pamphlet cover text - English as Image Semiotic rather than Language Semantic* (Source: reproduced from *Keizai Sangyoushou Kyouroku Kabushukigaisha*. 15 Sept 2010. p 1)

ii. Code-mixing – eg. in spoken English

A second instance occurs in Text 2, part of a spoken interaction between two young Japanese females and two young Anglophone non-Japanese males in a drinking place.

….

i.   Japanese Girl (JG) 1: エッ *[e?!/What]* ?!

ii. Gaijin Boy (GB) 1: あなたは *[anata ha/You are]…/ You are very beautiful. I think you are very beautiful.* わかりますか *[wakarimasuka/Do you understand]*?

iii. JG1: 彼　何って *[kare nan tte/What's he saying]*? / アッ *[ah/Oh!]* ! Bari biyoochifuru?! …

iv. GB1: なに *[nani/What are you/]*?/

v.   JG2: ソッソ -*[so, so-/Yeah]*! そう言う意味 *[sou iu imi/That's what he means]* …

vi. GB1: /What? Do you know what she's saying bro?

vii. GB2: No. Maybe – Oh maybe she's saying 'beautiful' – yeah, I think she's, like, translating, …

viii. JG2: そう *[so-/Yes, that's right]*, she is bari beau-tiful. Me は *[ha/and(what about) me]*?

ix. GB2: Yeah, she は *[ha/and(what about) her]*?

x.   JG2: そう [so/yes]! Me も *[/mo/also]* beau-tiful, too?/

xi. GB2: Ha, ha! [LAUGHING]

xii. GB1: ハーイ！はい、はい *[ha-i,hai,hai/yes yes]*! Yes you are. You are very cute/

xiii. JG2: あたしキュート *[atashi kyu-to/I'm cute]* !! hihihi [LAUGHING]

xiv. JG1: ソッ ソ -*[so, so-/Yes you are]*! アッ！ソ —*[a! soooo/oh,and while I am thinking about it]* kyu-to ga-lzu one mo-a. One mo-re

xv. JG2: Please! ちょうだい *[cho-dai/please]! Two more!/*

….

　　　Text 2: *Transcript of spoken interaction – young adult Japanese females and young non-Japanese males.* (Source: Doyle 2009, own data)

Features of this text are primarily code-mixing of English and Japanese forming an extremely local pidgin as a contact medium of exchange. The males tend more towards English for the source of lexis – words and expressions – while the females rely more on Japanese. Yet there is also hybridization of, say, English produced using Japanese phonemics: for example, first one of the boys says

　… very beautiful (GB 1 Turn ii)

which is negotiated by the girls as

　… アッ *[ah/Oh!]* ! Bari biyoochifuru?! (JG1 Turn iii)

later becoming

　そう *[so-/Yes, that's right]*, she is bari beau-tiful. Me は *[ha/and(what about) me]*? (JG2 Turn viii)

Interestingly, it seems the syntactic sense is Japanese throughout for the females: though it appears English grammatical order is used, this is just coincidence with the similar Japanese grammar pattern in Japanese; yet the Japanese verb is elipted and this relational process is simply inferred.

そう [so/yes]! Me も [/mo/also] beau-tiful, too (JG2 Turn x)

For the non-Japanese males, they prefer their normal, natural English:

あなたは [anata ha/You are].../ You are very beautiful. I think you are very beautiful. わかりますか [wakarimasuka/Do you understand]?) (GB1 Turn ⅱ)

Contact With English in Diglossic Situations

Although it is not viable to generalize from this micro-example, predictably this was one of the few times the Japanese girls would have direct conscious contact with English in their normal language culture inside Japan. Moreover, clearly they are not interacting expressly using English among themselves. The Text 2 example is significant in that more than one language or language variety has been encountered, as in most spoken interactions in my recent research. Yet both examples are instances in which people in a language community in Japan do have contact with English produced inside that language community.

Thus we are left with the second complication, of considering English with which people have contact sourced from more than one language community: diglossia, or Diglossic situations (Harada 2009, Alsagoff 2010). A way to address this complication is to consider the second theme of this paper, what English is used in an English language community.

What English is Used?

A diglossia analysis works in theory but it comes across as a more impractical model to maintain than maintaining the notion of just a single variety being used – if everybody speaks and writes the same all the time then there likely cannot be diglossia. This seems rarely the case, especially in polyglot situations. A diglossia pattern is similarly impractical for language planning or putting an English language curriculum in place at a macro-, or national level. This is certainly so in Japan and so it might seem for Singapore. Norfolk Island is different again though partly due to local people's feelings about their language (considered later). Certain aspects from which case evidence can be drawn from contexts in Japan, Singapore and on Norfolk Island are considered below. The list is not exhaustive - electronic media texts are not considered but need to be in order to be conclusive. Even so, each point relates to English used in a public context.

i.   Constitutional and Law Provisions and Language Policy

Laws and language policy statements are useful in as far as these texts reflect dictates for what

is appropriate regarding language, from government and other institutions with power. Their perceptions, cultural and ideological positions may be revealed in sources of such texts, as much as in the content, language form, terms of reference and the language medium itself. However these texts do not naturally reflect the linguistic reality on the ground, as demonstrated in the case of Singapore in the next section.

The English-as-lingua-franca situation in Japan is straight forward: it is not the lingua franca and it is not controlled though the Ministry of Education, Culture Science and Technology (MEXT) do control foreign language curriculum content. (On the contrary, MEXT controls Japanese language forms quite tightly, even as far as what Chinese characters can be used in people's names. Yet items in katakana script are not controlled, which is one reason for proliferation of loanwords in Japanese encoded in this script. Stanlaw (2004) discusses this issue in Chapter 4).

Regarding Singapore, the linguistic situation is complex, with English competing with, complementing and supplementing Chinese, Malay (the national language) and Tamil. Constitutionally they are all Official Languages (Articles 152, 154A of the Singapore Constitution) but they do not include Singlish.

However, on Norfolk Island, Norf'k is accommodated from the top down in law, with the *Norfolk Island Language (Norf'k) Act 2004* guaranteeing its status as "*an official language of Norfolk Island*"

ii.　Education Language Medium

English is the language medium in educational contexts, if it pervades texts that students see, hear or read for instance as teaching materials or in lessons. In Japan, English is now intended to be the medium for English language lessons in high schools (from 2013 (MEXT nd pp 8, 9)), although this has not been popularly taken up, and in spite of Japanese being the language medium for all other curricula. English in Japan is not a separate area of curriculum, instead falling under the Foreign Languages curriculum umbrella – though 95% of schools teach English mainly as English is a requirement for high school and university entrance examinations (Loveday 1996 pp 96-97). Textbooks are heavily scaffolded with Japanese explanation and translation text.

English is the working instructional language in Singapore school education (*English Language Syllabus* 2010 p 6) though the other ethnic cultural community "Mother tongues" are prescribed subjects in their own right (Singapore MOE 2012), but not Singlish. Yet, by accounts a diglossic situation can arise even in something as regulated as a class in a Singapore school (Farrell & Kun 2007), in which Singlish is reported to occur sourced even from teachers who risk losing their

jobs if found out.

English is the de facto language in the NSW state education system used on Norfolk Island but Norf'k is taught too as a second language (referred to as a 'Language other than English' (LOTE)) up to high school level, with curriculum for senior high school now available (Beadman and Evans 2012). Indeed education is a chief domain for contact with English in each of the three cases examined here, though for different reasons discussed later.

iii.   Corpora

A language corpus is a body of language items, usually words or collocations accumulated and maintained usually by a relevant public or private institution. Dictionaries can act as corpora. Naturally language is used in order to compile a dictionary, and a dictionary acts as a systemized language item compendium which people have contact with when they access it.

In Japan people defer to the numerous bilingual dictionaries available for English. However, the act of referring to a bilingual dictionary evidences behaviour of accessing meaning in language they normally do not use (ie. English) through the mode of a language they do use (ie. Japanese). Partly for geographical and also political reasons relating to local cultural needs, localized corpora – if they exist at all - tend to reflect local language use. That is English used locally in this case. There have been a few attempts to catalogue Japanese English and these focus on neologisms (loanwords) which could make up perhaps 10% of modern Japanese of which three quarters would be English (Loveday 1996 p 48, Stanlaw 2004 p 13).

Standard Singapore English and Singlish items have been accumulated in non-local mono-lingual dictionaries and other corpora such as the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE) but local Singlish efforts are largely recent, private, bilingual with English, and online, notably *The Talking Cock Singlish Dictionary* (talkingcock.com) and Lee (2004). In contrast, Norfolk Island shares the same Australian Macquarie Dictionary basis of Australasian English. But a corpus of Norf'k in Alice Buffet's (1999) orthography, which has been introduced into local Norf'k syllabi in the Island's school, also doubles as a bilingual dictionary with standard Australasian English.

iv.   Signage

Signs are among the most public texts and a significant marker of lingua franca forms used. Also, given their intended public display they are texts with which people almost unavoidably have contact. In Japan, when English occurs in signs it is most frequently together with Japanese text. Similarly to texts explained earlier, such bilingual signs in Japan are not always inclusive of the

Figure 4: *Sign Texts – a. a sign telling of restricting entry in English but telling people to keep the door locked in Japanese at Fukuoka Airport; b. a succinct graphic and English-text message about bicycle traffic in a pedestrian tunnel in Singapore; c. a shop sign telling open days in Norf'k text, the only such sign I saw on Norfolk Island.* (Source: Own Data)

same meaning, as in the example in Figure 4a. Singaporean signs are now predominantly full of standardized English, in part due to the local Speak Good English Campaign aiming at removing local variations from public usage most easily and visibly done in signs. Even simple traffic signs commonly had contained superfluous or awkward English form, unlike the modern one in Figure 4b. Again in contrast, a local Norfolk Island movement wants publicly displayed signs in Norf'k to supplement pervasive English – though without some planning the end result potentially could resemble uncontrolled bilingual signs in Japan. Figure 4c shows a present day Norf'k sign telling days when a local shop is open.

Top-Down Views and English Used: Singlish in Singapore

Previous research about Singapore (Doyle 2011) indicated diglossic shifting among both different languages and different varieties of English, and I could notice code-switching and mixing among languages in my encounters when recently on an independent investigative visit to Singapore. But I could not notice Singlish. That is not surprising – I was never part of a Singlish language community.

Another explanation comes from a surprising source. Since 2000 the Singapore Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports has sponsored a Speak Good English movement. This has been variously described as incongruous, Big Brother newspeak policy from the Top down, "denying Singaporeans ownership (both in usage and positioning) of both standard English and Singlish" (Blockhurst-Heng, et al. 2010 p 141). In 2010, its Chairman Goh Eck Cheng launched the 2010 Campaign stating in support of it,

　　We use English because we are a multi-lingual, multi-racial society – and English is the

neutral language that enables all of us to communicate with each other. … in Singapore, *we use English for pragmatic reasons*. If history had turned out differently, and we could achieve the same utilitarian objectives in Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, or any other language, … to communicate with others, to make sure we are understood, and we understand others.

… What do we mean by "Good English"? I believe it simply means simple, grammatical, intelligible English that other people can understand

(Goh Eck Kheng 2010. Italics mine.)

Goh's emphasis on being pragmatic (not the linguistics sort) and communicative utility resonates with the logic for instituting English like this in Singapore over fifty years ago. The same communicative logic resonates now except that things have changed: English like any language evolves and the strength of basilectal, Singlish varieties are enough evidence of that. This strength extends to people's identities as Singaporeans with a Singlish language culture (as suggested by Alsagoff (2010)), bereft of written Singlish text as it is.

While there is no doubt the Singlish language entity begins to form a lingua franca of a macro language culture in Singapore, there are so few fixed, ongoing texts – use of Singlish in public media and schooling is suppressed. Singlish text was not evident in signage, and as mentioned earlier, efforts to build corpora are ineffective at a macro level. With a fragmentary text base, Singlish varieties remain in a creole-basilect state, unstable and likely to diverge in form and pragmatics from more standard English.

Pragmatics Affecting the English Used

But it is this pragmatic aspect which is hard to judge yet remains intrinsic to maintaining communication. ''Pragmatic'' was mentioned by Goh as well, though for implying practicality more than for a linguistics understanding. Linguistically, pragmatics (as the pragma-linguistics aspect - Leech 1983; Paltridge 2001) significantly influences language form choices or pragmatic repertoire (Blum-Kulka 1991) of any participant who departs from their usual language cultural practices, such as people speaking foreign or second languages (L2) (Kasper 2007 discusses L2 pragmatics and cross-cultural pragmatics as sharing common ground). The same principles transfer to lingua franca communication where one or more of the participants adapt or alter their usual pragmatic performance for successful and appropriate communication.

One interaction in Singapore showed the sheer communicative functionality of language use: core meaning at the sake of leaving out verbs, plurality and articles, such as in this segment (Text 3) in a bank cashing a traveler's cheque and clarifying procedure,

i.   **Me:** [TO YOUNG FEMALE CLERK] *Hello I'd like to change a traveler's cheque,*

that's all.

ii.   Clerk: *change traveler's cheque?* [I PLACE ONE 10,000 YEN TRAVELERS CHEQUE
ON COUNTER]

… [14 SECONDS]

iii. Me: ⋯ *yeah, ten thousand Japanese yen.*

iv.   Clerk: *Japanese yen ten thousand?*

v.   Me: *Yep*

vi.   Clerk: *.. you have your …/*

vii. Me: *passport?*

viii. Clerk: */..passport?*

ix.   Me: *Yep, I've got my passport .. here it is!*

… [24 SECONDS]

x.   Clerk: …*you wait for (one OR while UNCLEAR) (?) /*

xi.   Me: *Yep!*

xii. Clerk: */ to .. check for officer/*

xiii. Me: *Sure!*

xiv. Clerk: */ (UNCLEAR) be …*

xv.   Me: Sure!

xvi. Clerk: … *But for this one (there for* OR *therefore* UNCLEAR) … *be seven dollar
charge*

xvii.Me: *OK!*

*… [PASSPORT TAKEN TO SUPERVISING OFFICER, 6 MINUTE 10 SECOND
GAP TILL PASSPORT RETURNED. I MAKE COMMENT, 'I was wondering where
my passport went to', GREETED WITH LIGHT LAUGHTER BUT NO OTHER
RESPONSE]*

    Text 3: *Transcript Segment of Spoken Interaction in a Bank in Singapore* (Source: own data)

Locative, directional, quantitativity and qualitativity functions were all direct, succinct,
formulaic. Politeness devices plus small talk were ignored or avoided in 75% of exchanges which
I observed occurring in an environment where Mandarin was also encountered: for instance in
the bank Mandarin punctuated by key English local technical references in English seemed the
spoken lingua franca, except to the customers., though every visible written text (signs, forms,
letters) was in English.

There is no space here to report detailed analysis, however I encountered three exceptional
interactions in Singapore, coincidentally with people showing no recourse to Mandarin unlike
in the bank, and who were more gregarious: a Malay restaurant manager explaining the local

retirement system; an Indian lady advising slowly, informatively and empathetically about cheap ways from the airport to my hotel; three Filipino bar staff describing Japanese customers' behaviour. The obvious implication is that people do take their individuality baggage (including linguistic) with them to communication events in turn affecting the pragmatics and their language choices.

In Singapore I could encounter differing pragmatic stances from different people. What remained consistent was the business or service contexts, fairly neutral ground for communicative contact with these people. What varied were the local ethnic or other types of cultures people were coming from, which seemed to determine certain pragmatic norms.

On Norfolk Island, it was not possible to encounter this kind of variation, and the type of data (ultimately interviews with and monologues from significant locals) ensured that I was not going to. Rather I did hear significant anecdotal accounts of people from the Pitcairn Descendants' families: frequently speaking Norf'k rather than English till they were of school age; feelings of shyness when using Norf'k when outsiders were present; emotional shifts – feeling more comfortable in the Norf'k medium (Coyle (2006) relates variation within Norf'k spoken by different age groups and different families). These and other data suggest a conscious separation in the pragmatics of Norf'k from acrolectal Australasian English there, while data from Singapore suggest a far more complex pragmatics further affecting diglossia.

While the situation in Singapore is seen to be quite complex and contradictory, Norfolk Island appears more straight forward and cohesive. Both have local creoles (ie. Singlish and Norf'k respectively) and both zones show diglossic lingua franca situations – Singapore to a large extent, but Norfolk Island to a far more limited extent. While language cultures in both places are largely shaped by historical circumstances, present-day cultural and political agendas from the Top and from the Bottom shape present-day attitudes to language in communities in both zones, at the Top and at the Bottom.

What English is Learned?

Agendas and attitudes are most clearly seen in answers to the question, What English is learnt or taught?, assuming that what is taught is learned. In Japan, Singapore and Norfolk Island people are taught prescribed English content at school.

In Japan, the form-focused American-style English is taught as a school subject for school and college entrance exams successfully, as many students succeed in those exams (Honna 2008 pp 146-154, gives a succinct critical account of these issues). But the English of the most recent

national communicative and literacy-based curriculum (MEXT nd) is yet to produce a generation showing evidence of successfully learning more communicative, literacy-focused English set down in the curriculum.

In Singapore and on Norfolk Island respectively, people also learn local Singapore and Australian English naturalistically which they have contact with in their environments: frequently they also acquire local (in the case of Singapore, localized) creole varieties, Singlish and Norf'k especially inside family, work or designated ethnic community. Further though, at school students on Norfolk Island are taught Norf'k as a second language up to high school level, with curriculum for senior high school now available (Beadman and Evans 2012).

But what is being learned there? Numerous older locals there had frequent recourse to Norf'k in my hearing, but not younger people. At least not until at the beach on my last day, the son of one of my contacts was there with his friend speaking like Australian young people at any beach until an older person who seemed to know them well greeted them and I could hear five minutes of pure Norf'k. A single observation provides flimsy generalization. However it does provide a case for further investigation suggesting that in or out of school, Norf'k and Australasian English are both being learned. But Singlish is the last thing the government of Singapore wants school students there to be taught. And in Japan where Japanese rather than English is normally needed, an observable general trend is that a minimum of English is indeed being learned.

Thus from a language-teaching learning perspective, there are curious situations regarding English in Japan, Englishes in Singapore and on Norfolk Island. These are summarized in Table 2.

Zones	Standard or mainstream English taught or learnt	Creole or other English varieties	Observational Comments
Japan	Generic American model	Insignificant; English amorphized in Japanese	*English not lingua franca; considerable foreign neogolism corpus especially from English*
Singapore	Standard world lingua franca model according to the local official vision, with some authorized localized patterns	Unstable Singlish varieties affected by other community languages and popular language culture	*Diglossic English lingua franca situations determined by individuals' shifting language cultural environments (eg. home work, institutional) affecting language form and pragmatics. Singlish as basilect.*
Norfolk Island	Australian	Localized Norf'k complemented by prescribed Norf'k as LOTE Some New Zealand features evident.	*Australasian English as lingua franca. Norf'k as basilect publicly; Norf'k as acrolect in local micro language communities (eg. home, family, local friends).*

Table 2: *Englishes taught or learnt in Japan, Singapore and on Norfolk Island*

On Norfolk Island, Norf'k seemed significantly distinct from English at a personal experiential level. Further, Norf'k as a language appears more stable than Singlish for which I could not find any written text except online. On Norfolk Island there is also interest in Norf'k signage to be installed in public places and businesses (Evans 2012, Beadman & Evans 2012). My informants' consensual suggestion was that it would give local people and tourists greater contact with the local Norf'k cultural heritage, including texts. These and other efforts make me optimistic for the future of Norf'k, however it also implies that Norf'k becomes a language more distant from English. Among certain micro-communities Norf'k either mixes with or takes precedence over English. Outside it though, I was left with the Australasian English culture of the zone with all its accompanying texts and pragmatic norms.

Attitudes to the Language

Underlying these situations is an attitudinal condition: how all these Englishes are viewed by institutions, and also what people might see as socially or culturally appropriate in their communities. English in Japan is viewed as a foreign language, normally used by others who are not Japanese. Yet English occurring within and alongside Japanese, though acknowledged and used according to certain semantic, rhetorical and discursive conventions, is not viewed as anything peculiar but rather is just taken in stride.

English in Singapore is viewed as a neutral lingua franca means of communication tying a multicultural community together and enabling Singapore to compete economically and technologically (ie. survive) in the world, while from the Bottom up, the government's rationale not withstanding, Singlish is a maturing local language medium for people to express cultural identity and also one language medium for communicating with each other inside language cultures in the Singapore zone. Regarding creole varieties, the present Singapore situation resembles Norfolk Island in the past, whereas Singlish and Norf'k have also been regarded as de facto languages distinct from English. But in the present, while basilectal Norf'k has been embraced at the Top and is encouraged in education as a supplement to English, in Singapore Singlish is discouraged, even repressed.

Discussion

Thus, regarding what English people have contact with and what they use, I see separable pragmatic norms in all three cases. There are also distinct roles for English texts, most markedly in Japan. Diglossic situations exist regarding English as lingua franca, to the extent that this is in the nature of language evolution in ongoing communities and cultures of English. Even in Japan – perhaps especially in Japan – the English which people have contact with is various, however it is not English which they use (ie. texts which they produce themselves) which predominates in

their language community. In other circles – Singapore and Norfolk Island - people have contact with texts produced inside English language cultures in those zones extending to creole varieties which begin to mature and to take on characteristics of separate languages.

This situation begins to push the Kachurian Three-Circles-of-English model into another perspective. For instance the diglossic linguistic environments in the three zones examined here would suggest the need to include lots of smaller circles radiating from sub-centers in each of the concentric circles, representing distance of different sub-varieties of English from lots of local standard varieties. The situation in Singapore would exemplify this. Alternative models, such as built around a continuum would also require local adjustments – a three-dimensional model could be more inclusive and appropriate in order to accommodate scope beyond just a local or regional context.

What does this say about ELF? Firstly people in different zones have contact with different varieties of English sourced from within and also without their own zones. Further, the English which people use also shifts, not least of all because people use different varieties of English – as well as different languages – in different situations even in the same location. Textual evidence from all three cases suggests this conclusion. Hence ELF cannot be taken as a single linguistic entity, except hypothetically.

In essence, this is an answer to the conundrum presented at the start: ELF cannot be pinned down unless one realizes that one needs to pin down more than one.

Thus the essence of ELF in these situations should be to accommodate variation in order to communicate. This is taken to extremes in Japan where main meaning is often complemented by English text semiotically. If English as lingua franca is seen as a contact language among people from different language cultures, then for communication purposes necessarily the language form and pragmatic norms are going to be negotiated more by those people than by parties or institutions outside. In other words, it is for people who use the language to shape it ultimately, not people outside. Variation therefore becomes natural hypothetically and in reality.

So, should educational institutions teach and governments plan for standard language varieties within their domains? In light of the preceding statement, the answer would seem definitively No. However, teaching standard language varieties seems efficient and conducive to a more cohesive and productive culture and society - at least hypothetically - and this tends to tie in with the missions of public education institutions. Yet the linguistic reality on the ground in people's language behaviour and attitudes towards their language or languages differ from

local community to local community. And those communities are defined not just politically or ethnically, but by other social and cultural characteristics as well. Though people carry this cultural baggage with them, they do so from one situation to the next. Linguistically speaking, this behaviour frequently extends their membership of single language communities to membership of multiple language communities simultaneously. This perspective is echoed in Discourse theory in the concept of multiple discourse community membership (Gee 1990 is a main exponent). In other words, people may switch language varieties as they switch registers as they move from one situational context to the next – at its most basic, they can speak one way in one situation and communicate in another situation differently. Even the Japanese girls could do this though limited as their English repertoire was - and that was in spite of stated goals for the foreign (ie. English) language education regime they probably had experienced as stated by the Education Ministry at the Top.

Eventually those girls and the non-Japanese boys could communicate as successfully as I could arrange for cashing a travelers cheque with the mixed Mandarin and English-speaking bank clerk in Singapore. Significantly that was in spite of the language forms used by all of us being somewhat non-standard, error-ridden English. In linguistic terms, all the people had been learning language, including or exclusively English, even if it was just one standard variety which they are taught at school – but that English wasn't the English used in those situations. One reason here seems to be linked to English they learned and how much it reflects language texts with which people have contact with outside of school. A more significant reason would be the actual English which people have contact with and acquire in contexts and situations outside of school, and also their recourse to use that English as well.

Limitations and Recommendations

Linking with this discussion point on the primacy of English people have contact with and use outside of school-learning contexts, this view is limited in the context of Japan. The limitation is that most people almost all of the time do not use English, or the English is submerged in Japanese, mixed with Japanese or mediated through Japanese, to the extent that it loses semblance to any standard English. This situation should remain, unless particularized contexts requiring use of English increase in Japan leading to increasing amounts of English for people to have contact with being sourced from Japan. How much English and sources of English texts which people have contact with in other Extending circle zones, are worth further investigation in order to substantiate the Contact With and Use Of English concepts explored in this paper.

Further limitations include the empirical impracticality of using analyses of interactions at micro-levels in order to draw generalizable conclusions regarding varieties of English in zones at

nation-state level. Regarding English, diglossic situations seem the norm and as such inhibit this - people generally belong to multiple language communities which are usually defined locally less by national culture or ethnicity than by other social characteristics like age, family, occupational and other contexts. In this sense, the Kachurian Three Circles of English model was found to work best as a guide rather than as a definitive English-language geo-linguistic map, as I hope is seen in this paper. It would be fortuitous if this seminal model could evolve, or alternatives like a continuum design as suggested above could be developed. However cross-sectional, the case-study approach here hopefully can guide more focused future research on themes raised, such as the Contact With/Use Of English dichotomy introduced at the start.

Also, my access to texts in Singapore and Norfolk Island was limited to my effective role as a tourist, inhibiting proper wider investigation of local English texts, especially online, in electronic and print media, and also interactions with local people in their local contexts. Here is scope for further, more extensive, deeper and better resourced research. I have tried to maintain a more ethnographic and anthropological than a linguistic perspective in this research. Equally, beyond the contact with/use of English dichotomy, I hope I have been able to let what little evidence is presented here speak for itself without undue noise or bias.

Conclusion

In the end, my view is that Singapore Speak Good English Campaign Chairman Goh got it right, though ironically in the incongruous, Speak Good English context:

> ... *in Singapore, we use English for pragmatic reasons. If history had turned out differently, and we* <u>could</u> *achieve the same utilitarian objectives in Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, or any other language ...,*

What he got wrong was 'could' – 'can' is more actual and more pragmatic. Further he added,

> *we* <u>could</u> *well be speaking some other language today*

More accurately is that in all the circles of English, to communicate at times we do speak some other languages today.

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