

## REVIEWS

### **GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON WORLD ENGLISHES**

*World Englishes. The Study of New Linguistic Varieties.* Rajend Mesthrie and Rakesh M. Bhatt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, xvii + 276 pp.

Reviewed by ANDY KIRKPATRICK\*

The main focus of this book is on linguistic structure, in particular on the linguistic forms characteristic of new varieties of English, and on ways of describing and understanding them. In this, the book makes an extremely useful contribution to the field. It is less successful in its attempt to cover and explain current trends in the spread of English, which is the aim of the final chapter.

The first chapter provides a summary of the development of world Englishes and the globalization of English, and adopts McArthur's term the 'English language complex' (ELC) as the cover term for all varieties of English. McArthur's ELC comprises 'metropolitan standards', 'colonial standards', 'regional dialects', 'social dialects', 'Pidgin Englishes', 'Creole Englishes', 'English as a second language', 'English as a foreign language', 'immigrant Englishes', 'language-shift Englishes', 'jargon Englishes', and 'hybrid Englishes'. The authors query some of these classifications, and also consider the extent to which it is possible to determine when a child's or adult learner's language becomes 'English proper' or 'an accepted community norm' (p. 7).

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 deal with the structural features of new Englishes and these provide the real meat of the book. Chapter 2 is concerned with morphology and what the authors call 'phrasal syntax'. In their own words, the authors' main focus is to seek 'to establish similarities among the recurrent features of New Englishes' (p. 39). Using data from a selection of South and Southeast Asian Englishes, Sub-Saharan and Amerindian Englishes, along with Irish English, the authors provide a range of linguistic examples including articles, number, gender, pronouns, tense, aspect, modality, prepositions and conjunctions. Given their interest in establishing similarities, it is surprising that there is no discussion of work on vernacular universals (VUs). The relationship between VUs and language contact-induced change, and the extent that these can be distinguished, have become key questions in contact linguistics (Filppula, Klemola and Paulasto 2009: 8). Chambers (2004: 129) has proposed candidates for VUs which include final consonant cluster simplification; conjugation regularization or leveling of irregular verb forms; default singulars or subject-verb non-concord; multiple negation of negative concord; copular absence or deletion. These features are all reported in many of the varieties of new Englishes described by the authors. And although the authors later state that the 'relative contributions of the

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\*Centre for Language Education and Acquisition in Multilingual Societies, Institute of Education, 10 Lo Ping Road, Tai Po, Hong Kong. E-mail: akirkpat@ied.edu.hk

superstrate, substrate and universals is very much an area of intense research and debate' (p. 188), they do not discuss the possible role of VUs in greater depth.

More research on the development of 'traditional' English is also of crucial importance in this respect. The authors cite Bailey and Ross' study into 'ship English' (as recorded in the logs of the British Navy between 1631–1730) (pp. 192–3) where they show, among other things, that third person singular '-s' was sometimes unmarked and that it also occurred with non-third person singular forms. The varied marking of third person singular '-s' is well-attested in many different varieties, including many of the vernaculars of British English (e.g. Britain 2007). This is important work, as the more we know about traditional English and the vernaculars of varieties such as British, American and Australian Englishes, the less surprising are the linguistic features found in new Englishes. Many of the examples presented in this book, along with much recent scholarship, show that many linguistic features are shared by vernacular varieties of 'traditional' Englishes and new Englishes. In this context, the authors also make the telling point that many of the early settlers and colonizers were themselves speakers of vernacular varieties of English. They point out that not all missionaries were necessarily well-educated and that 'some of the earliest teachers (of English) were soldiers' (p. 197). This may explain why speakers of Hong Kong English often replace TH with /f/. This is unique among the Englishes of Asia, but is also seen in certain vernaculars of British English (Deterding, Wong, and Kirkpatrick 2008).

Chapter 3 moves the discussion from 'phrasal syntax' to 'cross-clausal syntax' and syntactic theory. The authors provide a further range of useful examples of distinctive features, although, again, more examples from vernacular Englishes would have been illuminating. For example, the authors argue that all new Englishes follow a basic subject verb object (SVO) order, while admitting that some varieties prove 'fairly leaky' (p. 78) in this respect. But *spoken* English is not so rigorously SVO. For example Carter and McCarthy (1995) describe a spoken clause structure of 'topic slot' and 'tail slot'. This looks to closely approximate the topicalization and 'topic-comment' structures frequently found in new Englishes and exemplified here.

The authors propose a dichotomy between those varieties which tend to delete certain syntactic elements and those which tend to preserve them. They argue that this distinction is primarily due to 'the characteristic syntax of the substrate languages' (p. 90). They present Singaporean English as a prime example of a deleting variety and African Englishes as prime examples of preserving varieties. As currently presented, this is not a very compelling argument, however, as some of the examples they give from 'preserving' African Englishes ('He made me to do it' and 'The fact has made me to conclude') are apparently not always attested. Schmied (1991: pp 58 ff.) provides a list of common features of African Englishes, and these include free variation in verb complement phrases, so that 'allow him go' and 'they made him to clean the whole yard' are both possible. Schmied also suggests that African Englishes regularly omit articles and determiners and leave verbs unmarked for tense. More finely-graded definitions of what elements can be deleted and/or preserved would be useful.

In order to account for the variable occurrence of certain syntactic features across different varieties of English, the authors apply optimality theory (OT) to standard and colloquial varieties of Indian English. The core ideas of OT are that: 'constraints can be violated; constraints are ranked; and the optimal form is grammatical' (p. 101). Using OT the authors conclude that 'the difference between the grammars of the two varieties of Indian English is reducible to different rankings of the same constraints' (p. 107). This

explains, they argue, why colloquial Indian English allows pro-drop in certain contexts, but standard Indian English does not.

Chapter 4 provides an interesting and thorough account of how new Englishes generate vocabulary, stressing that the processes are the same as those at work in 'metropolitan Englishes'. This chapter also provides an overview of the 'main phonological and phonetic characteristics of New Englishes in African and South and South-East Asia' (p. 118). This overview is accompanied by examples of the different vowel sounds which occur in these varieties, using Wells' lexical sets as benchmarks. The chapter also describes and illustrates consonant sounds, but with a disappointingly brief account of suprasegmental features. The authors conclude that these varieties share many phonological similarities, including the use of a five-vowel system, plus diphthongs in many varieties; the tendency towards syllable timing; and the non-fricative realizations of /θ/ and /ð/.

Chapter 5 is entitled 'Pragmatics and Discourse' and the authors rely heavily on the work of other scholars. There is thus not much new here. There is comparatively little on the important topics of speech acts and discourse in different varieties of English. The chapter ends with a discussion of code-switching and some examples from pop-culture are included.

Chapter 6 points to a 'paradigm gap' between traditional second language acquisition (SLA) studies and new Englishes and points out that the SLA researchers 'in the metropolis seem to have overlooked the fact that the goal of SLA is bilingualism' (pp. 157–8). This focus on bi- and multilingualism is to be applauded. A distinction needs to be made between the traditional cognitivist perspective of SLA (where the learner is measured against idealized native speaker norms) and a more social perspective of SLA (where the learner/speaker is measured against success in using the language) (e.g., Firth and Wagner 2007; Larsen-Freeman 2007). Despite this welcome position, however, the chapter's focus remains on more traditional SLA research.

The final chapter purports to examine current trends in the spread of English. The important question over whether new varieties of English should be recognized in the education system comprises a review of the well-known Kachru-Quirk controversy between 'liberation linguistics' and 'deficit linguistics'. The 'The Expanding Circle Again' section comprises only a brief review of English for airline communication, four pages on the development of Euro-English (of which English as a lingua franca receives just one page) and one page on English as a company language.

In the book's preface, the authors promise an examination of the current growth of English in China and Europe (p. xii). However, China receives even less coverage than Europe. Major treatments of the topic (e.g., Bolton 2003; Adamson 2004) are not consulted.

Despite the relative weakness of the final chapter, however, this book provides a thoughtful account and critique of the development of grammatical features in new Englishes, and will be of particular value to readers who already have a background in linguistics.

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*Language as Commodity: Global Structures, Local Marketplaces*. Edited by Peter K. Tan and Rani Rubdy. London and New York: Continuum, 2008, xiii + 228 pp.

Reviewed by HELEN KELLY-HOLMES\*

*Language as Commodity* is a welcome addition to the growing body of literature in the area of what might best be described as the sociolinguistics of globalization (Coupland 2003). All of the chapters in the book involve micro-level analysis of linguistic data or of a sociolinguistic situation or existing language regime, but then use their analyses to link to macro-level processes of global economic and political changes and trends.

*Language as Commodity* offers a great diversity of contexts and brings together scholars from a wide range of countries, providing a good mix between established researchers and newer voices. In the introductory chapter, Peter Tan and Rani Rubdy tease out the main issues in the volume and present their focus as ‘explor[ing] issues surrounding treating languages as commodities’ (p. 3). The volume is informed, in particular, by Monica Heller’s (1999) work, and, inevitably, given the topic, there is a strong focus on English. The introduction provides a very good lead into the twelve chapters of the book, which all attempt to explore and to further our understanding of the commodification of language (or what David Block in his chapter terms, ‘the pragmatic turn in language policy’ [p. 201]). The first chapter deals with an analysis of how globalization is treated in applied linguistics journals – applied linguistics being understood as encompassing a range of journals that might be considered also to include sociolinguistics. Paul Bruthiaux’s conclusion is that while there is a lot of rhetoric about globalization in discussions of language, language education and language policy, this does not always reflect understanding. He argues for a more rounded interpretation, which does not neglect the economic and political dimensions of globalization. In his words: ‘Lack of familiarity with economics is a problem that can be remedied. But the apparent unwillingness among many applied linguists to consider alternative views is more problematic because it is attitudinal’ (p. 20).

The next four chapters all deal with Singapore, and they are grouped together on the basis of their geographic focus. I can fully understand why the editors would do this, as they build on each other and thus avoid a certain repetition in terms of describing the sociolinguistic context of Singapore. However, spacing them out and highlighting their theoretical (rather than geographical) focus might have highlighted their importance in general (rather than just regional) terms. Lionel Wee’s chapter shows how a policy of linguistic instrumentalism can backfire on a government, using the case of Mandarin in Singapore; Lubna Alsagoff’s chapter looks at the rise and fall in the ‘value’ of Malay as a national language in Singapore; Huan Hoon Chng illustrates how Singlish has become

\*Department of Languages and Cultural Studies, University of Limerick, Limerick, Ireland. E-mail: helen.kelly.holmes@ul.ie

devalued in relation to 'standard' or 'global' English, and argues for its important role as a national unifier; and Bee Chin Ng examines how the rhetoric of globalization leads parents to use languages in the home (i.e., English and Mandarin) 'which they are not fully comfortable in' (p. 83), in order for their children to have access to economic advantage.

In Chapter 6, T. Ruanni F. Tupas shows how 'the question of English [in the Philippines] is tied up with past, present and future political, ideological and socioeconomic issues besetting the Filipino people today' (p. 91), in particular, the government's policy of training a portion of its population as a cheap, skilled, English-speaking, culturally adaptable and exportable global workforce. The links between macro-economic policy, education policy and language policy are taken up again in the next chapter, in which Peter Tan looks at the medium of instruction debate in Malaysia. He analyses the discourse around the proposal to reintroduce general English-medium schooling in Malaysia and shows through his analysis that the arguments in favour of English medium instruction all employ discourses of commodification. English-medium instruction is also brought into focus in Ch. 8, this time the sociolinguistic context being India. In this chapter, Rani Rubdy shows how the politics of English reproduces economic and social inequalities. So, while on the one hand English-medium education is sold as a way for parents to ensure the advancement of their children, on the other this advancement is always limited and contained within existing power structures and language regimes: 'When we speak of English in India, it is worth noting that it is primarily [a] small but powerful percentage of upper- and middle-class Indians that English serves today as both economic and symbolic capital' (p. 124).

In the next chapter Agnes Lam and Wenfeng Wang point out that the valuing of languages is rarely simply a cultural or economic/instrumental issue, and they use the case of multilingual China to illustrate their argument. The trading that goes on at policy and individual levels between different languages can be seen to occur 'because the values attached to languages in any community are often in an unending state of flux and negotiation' (p. 169). Nkonko Kamwangamalu, in the next chapter, shows the incompatibility of the two goals which can be seen to have characterized language policies in post-colonial Africa: the first is the ideology of decolonization of education, which involves status planning for indigenous languages in this prestigious domain; the second is the ideology of development, which concerns trying to make economic progress and to participate in the global market, something which accords 'real world' status to the former colonial languages, particularly English.

David Block's chapter both fits perfectly and at the same time sits somewhat uneasily in the volume. On the one hand, he engages in a critical way with the whole premise of the volume (that language policy has turned from something ideological to something pragmatic) and references the other chapters in so doing. On the other hand, unlike the other chapters, his contribution does not have a specific regional or geographic focus, instead looking at migrants and their narratives. Nonetheless (and maybe for these very reasons), his contribution is very thought-provoking and in many ways serves the functions of a concluding chapter or response to the volume (although that is not its intended function), reminding us that: while the view of languages as cultural repositories may have given way to the view of languages as commodities in many parts of the world, what are we to make of the possibility that the former view was never representative of the feelings of the masses of people it was purported to be representative of?

The final chapter by Jinghe Han and Michael Singh looks at the globalization of the Bologna Process, the effort to create a pan-European area of higher education with

compatible degree standards. Han and Singh examine the role of the Bologna Process in legitimising the global dominance of English in education and the economic rationale behind that. They tell us that despite the European Union's commitment to multilingualism, and the Bologna Process 'guaranteeing provision for linguistic diversity' (p. 205), English still dominates within higher education. This dominance is encouraging English-speaking countries, in this case Australia, to compete with other Anglophone nations in the 'trade in English language products and services' (p. 222) and the market for international students.

I enjoyed the book very much and learned a great deal from it. The chapters provide interesting and extensive evidence of many trends which we can see emerging internationally, such as the role that English is being assigned as a 'neutral', 'logical' and 'efficient' choice in complex multilingual situations. They also show, even where economic issues are not at the forefront, the interlinkage between economics, education, politics and language, and how language is simply a tool or a means rather than an end in itself. Although Rubdy and Tan insist in the introduction that what we are witnessing is something new, 'a brave new world where languages are learnt to gain economic advantage' (p. 1), what the chapters show very explicitly of course is that commodification or instrumentalisation of language is nothing new. *Language as Commodity* will be of interest not only to linguists, but also to political scientists and economists, and to anyone interested in global economic processes and their consequences. I look forward to using the volume in my own work and to using the chapters, which provide a wealth of contexts and case studies, as recommended readings for a number of modules on which I teach.

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## WORLD ENGLISHES AND CORPUS STUDIES

*Word Formation in New Englishes. A Corpus-based Analysis*. Thomas Biermeier. Berlin: LIT Verlag Dr. W. Hopf, 2008, xiv + 292 pp.

Reviewed by ZOYA G. PROSHINA\*

This book represents a thorough comparative linguistic study in the field of word-formation and can be of interest to linguists dealing with theoretical aspects of the English language and to developers of the world Englishes paradigm. The research is based on eight varieties of English: British, Indian, Singaporean, Philippino, Kenyan, Tanzanian, New Zealand, and Jamaican. This selection, however, is not explained by the author and leaves it to the reader to guess why these varieties were chosen and others ignored.

Following a dissertation format, the book consists of the Introduction and three chapters that deal with methodology, the analysis of word-formation categories (compounding, hybridization, conversion, affixation, backformation, clipping, abbreviation, and blending), and special aspects of word-formation. They are followed by the Conclusion, two

\*School of Foreign Languages and Regional Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia. E-mail: uliana\_p@mail.ru

Appendices (text categories and word lists), References, and lists of abbreviations, tables, and diagrams.

The Introduction outlines the author's understanding of the term *new Englishes*, which he considers to be equal to and interchangeable with 'world Englishes' (with which I cannot agree, for after the publication of Platt et al.'s 1984 work, the term 'new Englishes' is usually associated with the varieties transplanted to the Outer Circle and thus, does not include British and New Zealand Englishes, which are included in Biermeier's study).

According to the author, the field of word-formation was chosen for research as it is "characterized by a high potential of innovation and creativity" (p. 2) and thus, testifies to the change and development of the varieties under study. The research is not carried out on texts from journals or books, as is typical in previous studies, nor on dictionaries, but on computerized language corpora taken from the International Corpus of English. Given this fact, Biermeier's study can serve as a model for further studies based on corpora material. Here, however, I will not go into details of methodology, but will refer those interested in this aspect to the chapter with the corresponding title.

The hypothesis that "quantitative and qualitative differences between the new varieties are proof of their independent evolution" and that "English has diversified across the varieties and developed its own variety-specific features in the field of lexis" (p. 6) has been supported in full. Of great importance is the confirmation of the qualitative differences between varieties that use different lexicalization strategies to form words for the same semantic concept – e.g., *petrol station* (BrE, TanzE, NZE), *petrol kiosk* (SingE), *gas(oline) station* (PhilE), *petrol pump* (IndE), *filling station* (TanzE), *fill-ups* (SingE) (p. 50). The comparison of various ways of word-building is conducted for written and oral forms of speech.

Biermeier argues that compounding is a productive process in new Englishes where compound nouns are predominantly used in written texts, unlike in British English, which shows a preference for spoken forms. The author comes to the conclusion that like in British English, compound nouns are especially typical of New Zealand and the Philippines, with a low figure characteristic of Indian English. Somewhat less frequent than compound nouns is the use of compound verbs in English varieties: *to drink-drive*, *to house-hunt*, *to outfish*, etc., with East African English being an exception to this trend. Kenyan English proves to be stronger than any other variety in compounding verbs. The formation of compound adjectives (*mosquito free*, *poverty-free*, *public-private*, *passion abiding*) proves to be evenly distributed between written and spoken language forms, especially in Singapore and Philippine Englishes. New varieties of English tend to make coinages with Greek and Latin forms on a regular basis: *cyber-punk*, *hypercharged*, *retro-rockets*, *ultrastructural*, *fiscal-cum-economic*, *car-cum-driver*, etc. Indian English offers the widest range of neoclassical compounds. Multiple word combinations (*two-birds-with-one-stone ideas*) happen to be a fairly fashionable kind of written English especially in India and Tanzania.

Semantic shifts are noticed in the so-called synthetic compounds as employed in some varieties, e.g., *healthchecker* (PhilE), 'a person who evaluates the risks and issues of a project', or *holduppers* (PhilE), 'a group of criminals who are about to commit a robbery'.

New varieties also reveal a trend to use hybrids consisting of an indigenous and English element: *paperwalah*, *professorji* (IndE), *bluffology*, *kiasuism* (SinE), *jeepney*, *ma-discover* (SinE), *bandooolooism*, *anancy stories* (JamE), etc.

Conversion is most popular in New Zealand, Kenya, the Philippines, and Singapore, which distinguishes these varieties from that of Great Britain. While in the Philippines this

type of word-building is preferred in spoken English, thus expressing an informal character, other varieties use it in written texts, except for Singapore English where differences between written and spoken forms are not that clear. The text type analysis has revealed that N-V conversions are most characteristic of creative writing and in prepared monological oral speech, while V-N conversion is preferred in academic writing. Varieties differ in this respect, with East African Englishes employing conversion mostly in more formal and official contexts.

The analysis of affixation allows Biermeier to draw conclusions on the productivity and non-productivity of some affixes. Productive in new Englishes are *un-*, *-ee*, *-ness*, *-ish*, *-y*, *-ly*, *-like*, *-ize*, while the suffixes *-ment*, *-en*, *-age* are currently unproductive. Indian and Philippine Englishes seem to have a preference for the prefix *de-*, and Singaporean English has a high frequency of the suffix *-wise*. Readers interested in new coinages can find variety specific vocabulary structurally nativized and with new meanings, e.g., *co-brother* 'one's sister's husband' (InE), *repeaters* 'contract workers who are re-hired' (PhIE).

The highest number of back-formations (*to televise*, *to headhunt*, *to enthuse*) is found in written texts of New Zealand and Philippine Englishes and spoken Indian as well as British English. This type of word-formation is hardly productive enough.

Biermeier claims that clippings predominantly appear in spoken texts: *mag* < *magazine*, *exaj* < *exaggerate*; they are variety-specific: for example, *stat board* (< *statistical*), *irres* (< *irresponsible*), and *specs* (< *specifications*) are characteristic of Singapore English. Diminutive clippings seem to be in favor in New Zealand English (*boatie* < *boatman*; *sausie* < *sausage*.)

Abbreviations, found mostly in written texts, often come up with a different meaning in the new varieties: *EC* – (InE) 'Election Commission', (SinE) 'externally constrained', which signify their strong dependence on cultural and socio-political contexts.

Blending (*trapo* < *traditional politician*; *Amerasian*; *Europolitan*) turns out to be a modern and creative type of word-building, mostly typical of the Philippines, Singapore, and New Zealand, where it is preferred in spoken English and used both in business and media.

Summarizing the word-formation types, Biermeier makes, to my mind, interesting comments: "English in Singapore is on its way to a first language variety" (p. 162), and "While it has been argued that Singapore English is on its way to becoming a quasi-native variety, this has not been postulated for Philippine English" (p. 159). However, judging by the diversity of word-formation means, Philippine English is not far from Singapore English. These two varieties are closer to the Inner Circle Englishes than any other Englishes of the Outer Circle.

The chapter on special aspects of word-formation covers two issues: gender-marking morphology (formations with *-man*; *lady*, *woman*, *she*, *-(r)ess*; *person* and *guy*) and the influence of British and American English. Of all the varieties under study, Singaporean and New Zealand Englishes seem to be less affected by any political correctness campaign, since in these varieties the usage of the lexical morpheme *-man* is the highest in number. Biermeier argues that while in today's Standard English the determinant *lady* is sometimes regarded as derogatory or objectionable, in Asian and African Englishes it resonates with respect, politeness, and admiration (*lady driver*, *lady manager*, etc.), except for Singapore English where it may have a negative connotation. Frequently attested is also the determinant *woman*, especially in East African Englishes. Indian and Jamaican Englishes have no compounds with *-woman* or *-lady*, which agrees with the sociocultural context in



these countries where women are struggling for equality. The neutral term *person* appears to be widely employed in New Zealand and in Kenya. Singapore English seems to have preference, especially in spoken English, for the term *guy*, which has lost its originally American connotation.

Though the majority of new Englishes have close historical links with Great Britain, almost all of them, including British English itself, have been impacted by American English (except for East African Englishes). This is seen in the fact that “words that reflect the professional world and modern life style tend to be ‘imported’ from American English” (p. 188). Meanwhile, the semantic fields of household and traditional cultural properties are still under the influence of British English vocabulary. In fact, for many English users (e.g. Singaporeans) the difference between British and American English has simply disappeared, accounting for the cases of “heteronymy” (p. 196). In New Zealand, however, American trends are found in spoken English, which justifies the assumption that “lexical innovations are more likely to occur in oral English” (p. 197). In general, the researcher’s hypothesis that “today it is no longer appropriate to distinguish between American and British English” vocabulary (p. 197) has been supported and is worth mentioning.

The general conclusion of the study includes the following idea that might be significant for the world Englishes paradigm: new Englishes mainly follow traditional word-formation rules, with rare cases of rule-bending creativity.

All in all, this study maintains the reputation of the series *Anglistik/Amerikanistik* for meticulous monographs published on the basis of well-done dissertations. It gives us a lot of useful information about both varieties of English and word-formation processes as a linguistic means for their differences and similarities.

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## LANGUAGE USE IN ASIA AND AFRICA

*Language in South Asia*. Edited by Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru and S.N. Sridhar. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, xxiv + 608 pp.

Reviewed by JONATHAN J. WEBSTER\*

Writing in the preface, the editors of *Language in South Asia*, Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru and S.N. Sridhar, indicate that the inspiration for this current volume, the sixth in the series initiated by Cambridge University Press, came from the first book in the series, *Language in the USA*, edited by Charles A. Ferguson and Shirley Brice Heath (1981: ix). In the foreword to *Language in the USA*, Dell Hymes describes it as ‘a resource to citizens, a spur to scholars, a challenge to those who shape policy and public life’. This present volume on *Language in South Asia* lives up to the high standard set by its famous predecessor for addressing the interests of a wide range of users and uses, including both specialists and non-specialists.

\*Department of Chinese, Translation and Linguistics, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong. E-mail: ctjjw@cityu.edu.hk

*Language in South Asia* consists of twenty-six chapters contributed by well-known scholars and experts in the field covering a wide range of topics on what some see as ‘a linguist’s paradise’ (p. 31) and others regard less enthusiastically as a ‘linguistic “problem area”’. The list of major language families represented here includes Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman, and Munda. As for the actual number of languages spoken in South Asia, R.E. Asher, in the volume’s first chapter, “Language in historical context”, ‘confidently’ puts the number at not less than 300, while also acknowledging that ‘some languages still remain to be discovered’ (p. 31). South Asia is also complicated socio-politically – comprising seven sovereign states: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bhutan, and Maldives. In addition, it is rich in religious pluralism – including Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Jainism, Sikhism, and Zoroastrianism.

In his *Introduction* to the volume, Braj B. Kachru discusses the linguistic impact of Sanskritization, Persianization, and Englishization on ‘this tapestry of typologically-related – and unrelated – families of languages and their subvarieties that represent distinctions of caste, class, profession, religion and region’ (p. 3). Readers of *World Englishes* may be disappointed by the fact that other than a very informative section on ‘Englishization’ in Kachru’s Introduction, which extends over slightly less than twenty pages, there is no chapter specifically and exclusively focused on South Asian English. Instead, references to English appear where relevant to the particular topic being addressed. For example, in the chapter on “Language of religion”, Rajeshwari V. Pandharipande notes how English, which had previously been excluded from the domain of Hinduism, ‘is readily acceptable within the Hindu community for philosophical discussions, sermons, and theological discourses’ (p. 415). She goes on to note how mixing English with modern South Asian languages can be ‘seen as a strategy to popularize religious beliefs (of Christianity, Hinduism, neo-Buddhism and Islam) among the diverse groups which use mutually unintelligible languages’ (p. 415). The role of English in the legal system, particularly in India, is discussed by Vijay K. Bhatia and Rajesh Sharma in their chapter on “Language and the legal system”. Tej K. Bhatia and Robert J. Baumgardner, in their discussion of “Language in the media and advertising”, note that ‘While multiple-language mixing is the most distinctive feature of advertising discourse, mixing with English represents its unifying feature’ (p. 394). Rukmini Bhaya Nair’s chapter on “Language and youth culture” also addresses what she describes as the intersection of ‘[t]wo large and amorphous categories, namely “Indian youth” and “Indian English”’ (p. 466). In her conclusion, she notes ‘the changing landscape of English as it is being rapidly and almost unrecognizably “internationalized” and “politicized”’ (p. 493). These interesting discussions notwithstanding, given the significant role of English in South Asia, I would have expected South Asian English to have earned a section, or at the very least a chapter.

In *Part 1: Language history, families, and typology*, the historical orientation of Asher’s first chapter is complemented by Karumuri V. Subbarao’s linguistically-oriented discussion in the next chapter on “Typological characteristics of South Asian languages”. Subbarao’s study of phonological and syntactic features, and word order universals in South Asian languages shows nearly identical syntactic features across languages from the four genetically-different major language families, thus lending support to the notion of the Indian subcontinent as a linguistic area. This study will be of particular interest to those interested in language typology and language universals.

*Part 2: Languages and their functions* is comprised of five chapters covering selected languages but at the same time providing a bird’s eye view over the sociolinguistic landscape

of South Asia. Yamuna Kachru focuses on Hindi-Urdu-Hindustani, while S.A.H. Abidi and Ravinder Gargesh look at Persian, both in terms of the Indianization of Persian and the Persianization of Indian languages over a prolonged period of contact. The example of Persian prompts Abidi and Gargesh to wonder 'whether English would be accepted, adopted, mastered and creatively used to the same extent as Persian in South Asia' (p. 120). This second part is rounded out by three chapters addressing the broader categories of "Major regional languages" (Tej K. Bhatia), "Minority languages and their status" (Rakesh M. Bhatt and Ahmar Mahboob), and "Tribal languages" (Anvita Abbi). The question of status suggested by the categorization of languages into 'major', 'minor' or 'tribal' highlights the challenges facing certain languages whose survival is uncertain.

Sanskrit is the primary focus of Part 3, both in terms of role within this context ("Sanskrit in the South Asian sociolinguistic context", Madhav M. Deshpande), and its contribution to the linguistic study of language in general, in particular, through the grammar of Panini ("Traditions of language study in South Asia", Ashok Aklujkar).

Starting off *Part 4: Multilingualism, contact and convergence*, E. Annamalai's discussion of "Contexts of multilingualism" focuses on the situation in India, in particular in terms of demographic, communicative, functional, political and cultural contexts. The focus of S.N. Sridhar's "Language contact and convergence in South Asia" is on the Indo-Aryanization of Dravidian languages, both in terms of linguistic impact (vocabulary, phonology, morphology, syntax) and sociolinguistic implications (caste dialect, diglossia and language attitudes). Ian Smith in "Pidgins, Creoles, and Bazaar Hindi" looks at the new linguistic varieties which have arisen in multilingual South Asia to facilitate intergroup communication.

Already in the first chapter of this volume, Asher raised the point about the dichotomy in the language situation in South Asia between those languages with a long literary tradition and those for which no writing system has either been developed or adopted for everyday use. Those languages with the largest number of speakers are the literary languages, but at the same time it is also true that many, if not most, of the languages of South Asia lack a literary tradition. The topic of "Orality, literacy and writing systems" is further discussed in Part 5 by Rama Kant Agnihotri, who argues that 'orality and literacy constitute a continuum, constantly feeding into each other in human multilinguality at the individual and societal levels' (p. 284). The second chapter in this part, by Peter T. Daniels, looks at "Writing systems of major and minor languages".

Both Parts 6 and 7 consist of a single chapter only. Robert D. King's socio-political perspective on "Language politics and conflicts" looks at tensions throughout the history of South Asia from the time of the Aryan invasion in 1500 BCE to the freedom movement in the late 1800s. King also discusses the post-independence politics of conflict in the larger nation states of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka. The broader subject suggested by the title of Part 7, *Language and modernization*, is actually a very specific treatment of the effects of modernization on Kannada in terms of its lexicon, syntax and style repertoire.

Several of the chapters in *Part 8: Language and discourse* have already been mentioned previously with reference to their consideration of the role of English in the South Asian sociolinguistic context. Besides chapters addressing the role of language in the legal system, media and advertising, cinema, and religion, there is Yamuna Kachru's chapter on "Language in social and ethnic interaction", which includes a section on traditions and constraints that operate in academic discourse in South Asia.

A sociolinguistic emphasis is apparent in the final two parts of the volume. Besides the previously mentioned chapter on “Language and youth culture” in *Part 9: Language and identity*, there are also chapters dealing with “Language and gender” (Tamara M. Valentine), and “Dalit literature, language and identity” (Eleanor Zelliot). *Part 10: Languages in diaspora* includes two chapters, the first covering “South Asian languages in the second diaspora” (Rajend Mesthrie), which concerns the migrations of Indian workers during European imperialism. The final chapter of this part and the whole volume, “South Asian diaspora in Europe and the United States” (Kamal K. Sridhar) addresses the third diaspora, which as the title indicates, looks at the impact of the more recent movement of people away from South Asia to Europe and the United States. In that final chapter, Kamal K. Sridhar makes the following interesting observation: ‘Code mixing and code switching are a way of life in India, and abroad, too . . . The mixing is so pervasive . . . Not only are words and phrases mixed and transferred freely between English and Indian languages but a free mixing of speech conventions from Indian languages into English and vice-versa is also rampant’. A similar point is made by Yamuna Kachru in her chapter on “Language in social and ethnic interaction”, where she illustrates the impact of linguistic and cultural contact with English on speech acts ‘related to expressing gratitude, paying compliments, voicing criticism, and so on’ (p. 358).

The coverage of this volume on *Language in South Asia* is extensive and will address the needs and interests of a wide readership. The lengthy list of references will further assist readers interested in following up certain topics beyond what could be covered in this volume. Speaking as one who began reading *Language in South Asia* with only limited awareness of the vast sociolinguistic complexity of the region, I felt as though comprehension of the rich diversity of language, culture and society in South Asia was finally attainable, at least within sufficient measure to encourage and support further exploration and discovery. In fact, my feelings are much the same today reading *Language in South Asia* as when I read Ferguson and Heath’s *Language in the USA* many years ago. It is the feeling of reading a seminal work which is as informative as it is transformative, making readers aware of and therefore appreciative of the wonderful gift of tongues.

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*Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries*. Edited by Aneta Pavlenko. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2008, 234 pp.

Reviewed by ANNA A. EDDY\*

This volume is a collection of papers with the unifying subject of the “contested linguistic space” (p. 2) in the former Soviet republics, now independent countries that are presented

\*Department of Classical and Modern Languages, Literatures, and Cultures, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202, USA. E-mail: aeddy@wayne.edu

with opportunities for linguistic freedoms and choice. Isolated behind the Iron Curtain for numerous decades, the 15 states located in Central Asia, Trans-Caucasus, the Baltic region, Eastern Europe, and the geographic sprawl from Siberia to the Pacific were fused by a political system and in most cases an imposed dominant lingua franca. Russian was used with varied success over seventy years within this vast geographic territory, where over 150 languages are spoken belonging to Turkic, Indo-Iranian, Caucasian, Slavic, Romance, East-Siberian, and the Uralic language families, as well as some Germanic and Isolate languages. Excluding Russia, the 14 now independent states have been coming to terms with reestablishing the status of their ethnic languages.

The book opens with an overview of the sociolinguistic contexts of these 14 non-Russian, post-Soviet countries and the challenges they have faced in managing language shift and in implementing language reform. Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Lithuania, Estonia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan are then treated in individual papers. The common themes in all papers are language policies, language attitudes, and language education. The authors provide sociohistoric and sociolinguistic backgrounds of each country and raise issues relevant to the emergence of these language minorities.

While the research field of world Englishes is not the focus of this collection, the subject of the English language as a necessary medium of communication with non-Russian speaking countries, as a preferred foreign language, and as a medium of instruction is a part of the discussion and consistently, although sparsely, referred to throughout the volume.

The book is significant in that it is one of the first volumes to address the “post-Soviet context as a whole” as well as to include contributions from scholars from both within and outside the former USSR. It also initiates a discussion of the “minority rights of speakers of a ‘postcolonial’ language”, in this case the communities of Russian-only speakers residing in these 14 countries who practically overnight went through a metamorphosis from being part of the linguistic majority to becoming a minority representing the language of the former oppressor (p. 4). However, as Aneta Pavlenko states in her introduction “Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries: Language Revival, Language Removal, and Sociolinguistic Theory” (pp. 1–40), approaching all of the former Soviet republics from a “post-colonial” perspective is problematic, since many of the states do not fit the traditional colonial model (p. 29). Each republic had a unique socio-political situation with a different degree of political, social, and linguistic subjugation. Although some republics underwent heavy linguistic russification, others were on relatively equal terms with Russia, received systematic support for their cultures and languages, and could institutionalize their local languages. As the former republics attempted to transition to new democratic models, they did so in the context of complex preexisting language ideologies, attitudes, and educational policies.

In the second paper of this collection, Markus Giger and Marián Sloboda (pp. 41–65), focus on language policies and education in Belarus, a country where there are two state languages, Belarusian and Russian, but the latter has historically enjoyed significantly greater prestige and current attempts to revive interest in and raise the status of Belarusian seem to be failing. Laada Bilaniuk and Svitlana Melnyk in their paper on bilingualism in Ukraine (pp. 66–98) argue that, by contrast, in that nation, Ukrainian has made a comeback (p. 69); it is the sole official language and is closely tied to the recovery of the country’s national identity. The authors mention that English is the preferred foreign language in Ukraine, and they come to the unexpected conclusion that English “is in

a position to replace Russian as the language of international communication" (p. 82). This is problematic both because the term "international communication" is unclear, and because such a claim in reference to a country where the overwhelming majority is fluent in Russian demands stronger evidence.

Unlike other post-Soviet countries that have claimed independence from Russia and reestablished themselves as nations, Moldova has historic and linguistic ties outside the former Soviet Union, as it identifies strongly with its neighboring country of Romania. For his study "Uneasy Compromise: Language and Education in Moldova" (pp. 99–121) Matthew H. Ciscel finds a middle ground between various theoretical approaches to language management, minority rights, and language planning by examining Moldova's sociolinguistic complexity against international norms in language rights. Scholars interested in world Englishes will find references to the use of English and its manipulation by the Russophone business community as a form of resistance against the Moldovan/Romanian language (p. 112). The note on how the authoritarian regime in the breakaway region of Transnistria employs English in their quest for international recognition (pp. 116–118) also deserves attention.

Two individual papers treating two of the three Baltic states, Lithuania and Estonia, are "Language and Education Orientations in Lithuania: A Cross-Baltic Perspective Post-EU Accession" (pp. 122–48) by Tatjana Bulajeva and Gabrielle Hogan-Brun, and "Estonianization Efforts Post-independence" (pp. 149–65) by Mart Rannut. These contributions reveal similar sociolinguistic tendencies; Lithuania is striving for a compromised existence between Russia and the EU, while Estonia has a stronger focus on establishing itself as an equal participant in the EU. This main difference is reflected in the use of English in these countries: as Estonians are distancing themselves from Russian and perceive English as the most valuable foreign language, in Lithuania English and Russian share the status of the most studied, spoken, and used foreign languages. Educational initiatives in Estonia and Lithuania are aimed at meeting the standards of the European Language Education policy with regard to promoting individual plurilingualism for intercultural communication. The focus of the local education policies is to foster multiculturalism and multilingualism (p. 122).

Three Central Asian post-Soviet countries are treated in the following papers: "Language Policies of Kazakhization and Their influence on Language Attitudes and Use" (pp. 166–201) by Juldyz Smagulova, "Multilingualism, Russian Language and Education in Kyrgyzstan" (pp. 202–26) by Abdykadyr Orusbaev, Arto Mustajoki and Ekaterina Protasova, and "Language and Education Policies in Tajikistan" (pp. 227–34) by Mehriniso Nagzibekova. Central Asian post-Soviet countries have a complex ethnic make-up of more than fifteen ethnicities in every country. As these states are re-establishing their education systems to raise literacy in the titular languages, which were neglected during the Soviet era, they stress the necessity for proficiency in Russian and English, for example, for "increasing economic cooperation between Tajikistan and other countries" (232). In tertiary education English is used as the medium of instruction along with Russian, Arabic, and Turkish as well as the state languages of all three countries (p. 217). Despite interest in English and other foreign languages, the scarcity and the expense of education materials and facilities impedes the learning process.

This collection is a fruitful attempt in filling the gap in sociolinguistic research on post-Soviet countries. It provides invaluable information on contemporary sociolinguistic tendencies and challenges, the establishment of titular languages, language minority rights,

and language ideologies. In spite of the general descriptive nature of the papers, the collection presents ample sources for scholars in various linguistic disciplines, especially those interested in societal multilingualism, language shift, and language ideologies. The authors make a clear attempt to stress the uniqueness of the post-colonial social and linguistic situation in the region. The volume is by no means an exhaustive treatment of the sociolinguistic context in post-Soviet countries, but rather the initiation of collaborative research, as the editor suggests in the introductory paper. Readers of *World Englishes* interested in researching how English fits into this very complex linguistic landscape will find this volume useful. Although the scope of this collection appears limited due to the omission of other post-Soviet states, it is, however, a fascinating read.

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*Cameroon English: Authenticity, Ecology and Evolution.* Arbeiten zur Sprachanalyse Vol. 45. Eric Anchimbe. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006, 231 pp.

Reviewed by LEONARD MUAKA\*

*Cameroon English* by Eric Anchimbe addresses pertinent issues of how indigenized varieties of English (IVEs) are viewed and how these perceptions can be reoriented using an integrated approach. Anchimbe's main focus is however on Cameroon English, its unique features and how its analysis can be extended to other IVEs. By engaging in this dialogue Anchimbe defends IVEs as legitimate varieties. He revisits the three concentric circles proposed by Kachru (1985), namely the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. Inner Circle English has come to be considered as the "standard" on which other varieties are measured. Varieties that fall in this category include British English, American English and Australian English. However, the question as to which variety can legitimately be used as a yardstick in postcolonial contexts remains contentious.

While in previous research much emphasis has been placed on interference, Anchimbe's volume tries to show that interference is not enough in describing IVEs since it is a phenomenon that can be found in any language contact situation. Anchimbe challenges the perception that IVEs are deviations and consequences of interference from local languages.

The book is divided into three parts: the literature review in the field of world Englishes (pp. 1–66); the framework emphasizing an integrated approach (pp. 67–94); and the uniqueness of Cameroon English with evidence from morphological, phonological, syntactic, lexical and semantic processes (pp. 95–214). In Ch. 1, the author offers a cursory survey of the spread of English to different regions of the world, but with more emphasis on its spread and adaptation in the former colonies. It is this chapter that sets the stage for the argument that English is spreading, and where it is spreading it is adapting to the local conditions. This argument echoes Chinua Achebe's approach of using an English that is flavored to reflect his local culture in his writing.

In Ch. 2 Anchimbe situates Cameroon English within the sociolinguistic situation of Cameroon, providing information on how different languages are used in different domains.

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\*Department of English and Foreign Languages, Winston Salem State University, Winston Salem, NC 27110, USA.  
E-mail: muakale@wssu.edu

This chapter reminds the reader of the different language policies that colonial powers in Africa adopted and which later influenced language use and attitudes in the postcolonial situation on the continent. Interestingly, in the case of Cameroon, the presence of both the French and the British led to the adaptation of French and English as official languages.

Chapter 3 introduces an integrative framework that can account for Cameroon English as a distinct variety. In Anchimbe's view, an eclectic approach is the best way to explain the emergence and characteristics of Cameroon English because it pays attention to the sociohistorical contexts of the speakers. Thus, an approach made up of several elements, including interference (the incorporation and integration of new elements into a language) and Mufwene's (2001) competition-selection hypothesis (choices based on ecological factors) is proposed. In this approach interference can be viewed as being positive because it leads to productivity in the receiving language semantically, lexically, syntactically, and morphologically. Such productivity is achieved by several filters. These filters check and filter new elements from the home languages, Cameroon Pidgin English, and French.

Chapters 4–7 take the reader through different linguistic processes that show Cameroonianism in Cameroon English. Chapter 4 introduces morphological features and explores how they are used. These processes are universal and they include inflections, reduplication, clipping and blending. Speakers introduce elements into the language by (over)generalizing morphological rules. For example, the use of the prefix *co-* forms a noun that is secondary to the primary noun and similar to what the word *associate* would mean in American English. Words such as *co-worker*, *co-driver*, *co-wife* all show that the person serves as an assistant. In order to achieve effective communication, speakers generalize rules through inflection, suffixes, and prefixes. For example, whereas it is unquestionable to say "she mistook someone for me," the use of *mislook* as a verb shows the overgeneralization of a morphological rule. Other examples include the generalization of the use of the suffix *-ee* as in *payee* to words such as *invitee*, *rapee*, etc. In clipping, a word such as *police* is used instead of *policeman*, *steering* for *steering wheel*, *army* for *army officer*, etc. Although Anchimbe's study compares Cameroon English to the British variety, the challenge that some of these examples face is the question of whether speakers in Cameroon have been influenced by speakers of other English varieties. For example, it is not uncommon in American English to hear the word *summer vacation* being shortened to just *summer* or in the case of Kenyan English where the title *police commissioner* is often rendered simply as *commissioner* provided the context is established.

In Ch. 5 Anchimbe focuses on lexical processes. What the reader will find here are local words that add a Cameroonian flavor to the English vocabulary. As indicated the ecological setting of Cameroon leads to innovations in the English language that facilitate effective communication among the speakers. This is achieved through borrowing in areas such as cuisine, where traditional foods are incorporated into English (e.g., *garri* for grated, dried and fried cassava, *koki* a type of beans, *cocoyam* for a type of tuber). Similar borrowings are exhibited in clothing and belief systems due to ethnic diversity in Cameroon. In administration and other official settings, French provides lexical items because of its long history as the language of administration. These findings are not only important to researchers of Cameroon English, but to researchers in other Sub-Saharan multilingual settings where contact between local and official languages is inevitable.

The morphosyntactic processes discussed in Ch. 6 give the reader an idea of how speakers use their creativity in dealing with syntactic elements, such as deletion of prepositions: *all (of) my skin is paining*; *all (of) these words stand today for spouse* (p. 146). The



chapter also addresses the liberal use of reflexive pronouns and repetitions or pleonasm. The discussion offered is very interesting, but the challenge remains in how one can point out that such omissions or innovations are restricted to speakers of Cameroon English or even IVEs only.

In Ch. 7, Anchimbe describes semantic innovations in which speakers extend or modify meanings of the English words they encounter. For example, in Cameroon English the word *stranger* means a guest or visitor, but in British English it refers to an unknown person (p. 164). Other innovations include the generalization of meanings of nouns, such as *hand* to mean the portion from the armpit to the fingers. Innovations such as these are noticeable in other IVEs spoken in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, etc. Another interesting innovation is semantic contraction of nouns, such as *boyfriend* and *girlfriend* which are generally reserved for lovers in Cameroon English. In British English and American English the use of this term is broader. Culture and how speakers are socialized play an important role here and it would be very interesting to see how such lexical items are used elsewhere.

Chapter 8 serves as a summary of the research agenda. Specifically, a Cameroon English variety exists and the integrational and post-integrational processes and the transitory role of Cameroon Pidgin English are critical to the emergence of this variety, which can be described as unique. The filters that are associated with the integration processes safeguard Cameroon English from accepting what does not conform to the community's ecology in the language. Any word introduced in the language reflects the Cameroonian ecology and is introduced to facilitate effective communication among the speakers. The need for a lexical item, the prestige of the source language and the appeal for that particular element ultimately allow it to pass through the filtration process.

In summary, Anchimbe's book addresses pertinent issues that are relevant to other post-colonial situations, where speakers have had to grapple with the choice between their local languages and English. Another important component of the book which makes it applicable to world Englishes research is how Cameroon Pidgin English and similar varieties affect IVEs. In Cameroon, Pidgin English acts as a middle point between the official and the home languages just as Sheng, a hybrid variety in Kenya does for urban speakers (see Muaka 2009). Similarly, these unofficial varieties have been viewed by some speakers as being detrimental to the IVEs in their respective contexts. This simply calls for more research to fully understand how language contact affects the languages involved. Anchimbe's position that each language variety reflects the people's socio-historical trajectory is important because it justifies the presence of cultural nuances in the local English variety. The proposed framework is an important tool that should be tested and modified if need be in pervasively multilingual settings where IVEs are spoken.

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