At the end of the 20th century it is a fact that the number of nonative users of English has come to outweigh native speakers, with conservative estimates setting the figure for the former at 400 million and the latter at 350 million (Kachru, 1988: 2). This is more than a statistical detail and involves many profound linguistic consequences for the development of the English language, especially with respect to notions of norms, models and 'correctness'.

The most important group of internal users of non-native English are instantly identifiable as ex-colonies of the British Empire located in South Asia such as India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka on the one hand, and former British territories in East and West Africa on the other such as Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania and Zambia among others.

Common to all these countries is their high level of linguistic heterogeneity but the lack of one nationally acceptable speech community to provide the lingua franca cf. Maps 1 or 2. However, it should be pointed out that in the case of India there has existed a millennia-long literary heritage and the unifying factor of Hinduism. Nevertheless, all of these ex-colonies have maintained English for intranational public communication to varying degrees e.g. in government, education mass media, precisely because those in authority recognize that their potentially destructive linguistic and cultural heterogeneity can ironically only be overcome through the uniting and neutralizing exploitation of their colonial legacy: the English language.
DIALECTS OF HINDI
(INCLUDING NEPALI)

MAP.1. (Source: Ramanujan & Masica, 1969: 561)
MAJOR AND MINOR LANGUAGES OF SOUTH ASIA
MAP 2. LINGUISTIC HETEROGENEITY IN AFRICA EXEMPLIFIED BY THE CASE OF KENYA
(Source: Heine, 1970)
1. THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC DYNAMICS OF BI-& MULTI-LINGUAL COMMUNITIES IN S.ASIA AND AFRICA

Salient sociolinguistic processes which are fundamental to the bilingual societies found on the Indian sub-continent and in East and West Africa, will be highlighted in this section. Note that in the following discussion 'bilingual' should also be understood as denoting 'multilingual'.

As mentioned above, many Asian and African countries which have maintained English into the post-colonial period reveal considerable linguistic and ethnic diversity. The extreme heterogeneity of India (cf. Map 1) is striking where, even though only two languages are recognized at the national level (English and Hindi), 15 regional languages are accredited with official status in the states where they are spoken: Telugu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Punjabi, Urdu, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Oriya, Assamese, Sindhi, Sanskrit, Kashmiri as well as Hindi. In addition to these, a further 100 or so languages are currently employed; this figure does not include any dialects. On top of this, 11 different alphabets are in use: Devanagari, Bengali, Arabo-persian, Gurmukhi, Gujarati, Oriya, Telugu-Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil/ Tibetan and Latin.

The situation in Kenya, East Africa, is no less complex cf. Map 2. Swahili is the 'national' but not originally indigenous language and is known by as much as three quarters of the population but generally only as an L2, even though English continues to be used at an official level in certain public domains cf. Table 4. Apart from these two external liguæ franca, there are over 40 tribal languages which can be classified into three basic families: Bantu (of which the most important language is Kikuyu), Nilotic (to which Luo and Maasai speakers belong) and Cushtic (Galla).
Table 1  The demographic distribution of the Principal language groups of S.Asia according to country

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SRI LANKA</th>
<th>INDIA</th>
<th>PAKISTAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DRAVIDIAN</td>
<td>INDO-ARYAN</td>
<td>DRAVIDIAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil 30%</td>
<td>Sinhalese 70%</td>
<td>Telegu 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tamil 7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Malayalam 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kannada 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: only Sinhalese
OFFICIAL LANGUAGES: Hindi & English
OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: Urdu
WORKING LANGUAGE: English

1.1. THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE CHOICE

A university student in Kenya:
“My brother was arrested by the police and sent to the chief for making beer without a licence. The chief rejected his plea in our local language that he be forgiven. I then went to the chief’s centre. Nobody was allowed to go in and there was a policeman at the door. I spoke
Table 2  The demographic distribution of the principal languages in six West and East African states.
(Source of Reference: Fasold 1984 ; Malherbe 1983 ; Katzner 1977 ; New Encyclopaedia Britannica)
Notes: 1 These are very closely related languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WEST AFRICA</th>
<th>SIERRA LEONE</th>
<th>EAST AFRICA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NIGERIA</td>
<td>CHANA</td>
<td>SIERRA LEONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hausa 21%</td>
<td>Twi/Fanti 40%</td>
<td>Mende 33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yoruba 17%</td>
<td>Ewe 10%</td>
<td>Temne 30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ibo 11%</td>
<td>Ga 24.5%</td>
<td>Limba 8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fulani 9%</td>
<td>Adangme 2.5%</td>
<td>Kono 5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanuri 3%</td>
<td>Gurma 2.5%</td>
<td>Kuranko 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efik/Ibibio</td>
<td>Dagomba 2.5%</td>
<td>Loko 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shorbo 3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiv 1.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Susu 3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijo 1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kissi 2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edo 1%</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yalunka 0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urhobo 1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nupe 1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFFICIAL:</td>
<td>OFFICIAL:</td>
<td>OFFICIAL:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

English to the policemen and said I wanted to see the chief. I was allowed in. And it was my English during my talk with the chief that secured the release of my brother." (Scotton, 1978: 733)

An essential point to realize is that in every country included in this survey, the native acquisition of a local language typically marks the speaker as a member of a certain group which is distinct from their nationality; in Africa, for example, this is often called 'tribal' membership. Thus, the local
language functions as an ethnic symbol and is associated with a special ethnic identity, especially when no other distinguishing signs are available such as physiological features or physically decorative markers. Because the public use of a language inevitably involves identifying with a particular group, the choice becomes a political issue and may lead to conflict as different groups try to assert and or preserve their political power which is 'enshrined' in the employment of their ethnic language.

In order to avoid political tension arising from the deep-rooted ethnic association with a local language, English is frequently considered the only viable, neutral alternative. Its neutral status has only been attained since the departure of its imperialist native-speakers after Independence. Thus, 60% of Indians who are not native Hindi speakers strongly oppose the adoption of Hindi as the sole national language and want English maintained as the pan-Indian lingua franca because the rejection of English would either profit Hindi speakers or lead to the fragmentation of the Union into independent nation states with their own ethnic languages.

Attitudes to majority African languages vary from country to country. In Nigeria, for example, 70% of Nigerians who are not native speakers of Hausa would resent the latter's speakers reaping all the advantages from its official adoption. In Kenya, however, Swahili, being the L1 of but a few is viewed with much more favour and even considered as a potential future medium for pan-African identity, although this is unlikely as it is not widely known beyond East Africa. Nevertheless, about 40% of Kenyans do not natively speak Bantu languages and some of them hold negative attitudes towards Swahili with its heavy lexical and structural Bantu affiliations and the ease with which speakers of Kenyan Bantu languages have in acquiring it cf. Abdulaziz (1982).

However, this question of language choice is not only an internal matter. The tremendous international value of English and its offer of instant access
to global science, education, information and business vital for the modernization and development of the southern hemisphere is obviously also greatly appreciated. If local languages were promoted over English, then the economic and technological gap dividing these countries from the North would be made even more difficult to bridge: the need to master a completely foreign language for international survival would become a further handicap.

Furthermore, it must be understood that the attitudes towards English in these ex-colonies are not without a certain ambiguity and complexity for English can never be historically neutral but obviously is associated with the former white, imperialist rulers. In fact, some radical and intellectual Asians and Africans go so far as to seriously question whether English is an adequate and appropriate channel to express their own experiences and cultures cf. Mazrui (1975). However, today most younger citizens in these areas seem to view English less as an unpleasant colonial inheritance but more in terms of benefits and profit cf. Shaw (1981).

Related to this is the high social value of English knowledge in these societies cf. the opening quotation to this section from Kenya. Fully competent English-speakers tend to belong to elite groups with a catch-22 situation where the best educational and professional opportunities are open only to those who are proficient in English but with this proficiency only guaranteed by intensive education in English which in turn can only be provided by those from privileged backgrounds; the result is typically a self-perpetuating English-speaking upper-class.

1.2. DIGLOSSIA

Fishman (1971) extended Ferguson’s (1959) original concept of *diglossia* (where special varieties of the same language are socially categorized into High and Low due to their hierarchical, functional allocation) to communi-
ties using two or more distinct languages. The societies using English as a second language in South Asia and East/West Africa basically fall into Fishman's category of *diglossia and bilingualism* because the linguistic and role repertoires are compartmentalized into *domains* or socially defined contexts such as home, school, work, media, shopping or law and so on. In these countries English is treated as the High language (or one of the High languages) and local vernaculars generally as Low varieties. The acquisition of the High language is reasonably accessible to members of the community through formal institutions of education and government, although, in fact, only limited bilingualism in the High variety tends to characterize the majority of the population. In diglossic bilingual communities the acquisition of the High language is generally not acquired at home nor in neighbourhood play groups, although the limited phenomenon of English being spoken at home among family members of the elite in S.Asia and parts of Africa has to be recognized.

In Table 4, which illustrates diglossic bilingualism according to the functional allocation of English in Eastern Africa, Tanzania clearly stands apart in its domain distribution patterns because of its nationalistic language policy aiming at reducing the domination of the ex-colonial language (English) in public communication in favour of a more localized and limited but African lingua franca: Tanzanian official government forms are published both in *Swahili* and English. Although Swahili is increasingly penetrating High domains previously reserved for English, it is unlikely that the latter will be totally replaced because of its indispensability for international commerce, diplomacy and science. This setting where two High languages co-exist has been called *double overlapping diglossia* cf. Fasold (1984: 45) and is illustrated in Figure 1.

*Double overlapping diglossia* is also found in India where Hindi may constitute a second High language for certain speakers in addition to
FIGURE 1. Double overlapping diglossia in Tanzania and India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HIGH</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HIGH</td>
<td>SWAHILI (TANZANIA)/HINDI (INDIA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOW</td>
<td>LOCAL VERNACULAR (S)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 CODE REPERTOIRE OF A SOCIOECONOMICALLY HIGH MULTILINGUAL OF THE REGIONAL CAPITAL OF HYDERABAD, STATE OF ANDHRA PRADESH, SOUTHERN INDIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>vernacular Telugu</th>
<th>High Telugu</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Tamil (3)</th>
<th>Kannada (3)</th>
<th>Malayalam (3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>street/home</td>
<td>writing</td>
<td>religion</td>
<td>university lecture</td>
<td>business dealings</td>
<td>poetry/servants</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KEY: (1) Name of code (2) Example of social context (3) Potential L2 Knowledge

English. For example, speakers in South India, where languages belong to the Dravidian language family, usually learn Hindi, which is a member of the Indo-Aryan family, as a second language resulting in a very high level of trilingualism among the urban upper castes cf. Ullrich (1982). Furthermore, even in the northern regions the so-called 'dialects' of Hindi are grammati-
cally, lexically and phonologically so different from oratorical and literary Hindi with its heavy Sanskritization as to constitute classic diglossic cases of Low varieties. Double overlapping diglossia occurs when such rural northerners in addition to the acquisition of High Hindi also learn English.

The contemporary proliferation of diglossic bilingual settings has been attributed to modernization and growing social complexity. Motivation for the mastery of the High language is obviously connected with concerns for prestige, social advance and comprehension of media at the national level.

1.3. SWITCHING AND MIXING CODES

As we have seen above, in the bi-/multilingual communities under discussion it is normal to employ different languages according to distinct situational criteria, most typically in response to the scales of formality/informality and intimacy/distance cf Table 3 and 4. However, on top of this Asians and Africans may also switch their codes according to a host of other factors such as the topic of conversation, the interlocutors’ age, sex, occupation, level of education, power relations or ethnic bacckground. Furthermore, speakers may also switch into another language during interaction either in between or in the middle of a sentence for various rhetorical functions such as softening, emphasizing, quoting, making asides, reiterating, summarizing, swearing, asserting expertise, catering for affection, expressing humour, avoiding taboo items or as a repair strategy among others.

Another interesting phenomenon that has been observed in S.Asian and African societies is the mixing of the local language with English. Although much theoretical confusion surrounds the distinction between switching and mixing, it is best to separate the two patterns by understanding the former as a controllable strategy, rather than as unavoidable interference, tending to occur with stronger convergence to the phonological, morphological and
Table 4 THE FUNCTIONAL ALLOCATION OF ENGLISH IN EASTERN AF RICA ACCORDING TO DOMAINS.
(Source: Hancock & Angogo, 1982: 311)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Tanzania</th>
<th>Uganda</th>
<th>Zambia</th>
<th>Malawi</th>
<th>Zimbabwe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National status</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High court</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local court</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Service</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary school</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local novels</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local records</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local plays</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies (not dubbed)</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road signs</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shop and vehicle signs</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business correspondence</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal correspondence</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use in the home</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Y = English used; N = English not used; S = English sometimes used
grammatical norms of the new code switched into. On the other hand, *codemixing* is increasingly taken as a non-arbitrary and stabilized, stylistically recognizable type of *code-switching*. A distinction between *code-switching* and *mixing* on a purely linguistic basis such as type of length of transferred item(s) is not useful since researchers have noted variation in transfer from single words to whole sentences for both.

In the following example of Indian code-mixing (Source: Bhatia, 1967: 55), it is not always clear whether the matrix code is Hindi or English:

> mujhe is bat mē bilkul *doubt* nahē hai, *rather I am sure* ki *this year B.Sc. examination* ne *results* bahut kharāb hai. *kuch to examiners ne strictness* kī aur kuch papers bīr aise *out of way* aye ki *students to unexpected questions* ko *paper* mē *set* dekh kar *hall* kī *ceiling* hī *watch* karte rah gaye. itnē *failure* to *last three or four years* mē kabhi huā hi na tha abktī admission mē bīr *difficulty* utħānī parektī. Last year bēr *in spite of all attempts* kuch *applicants* ke *admission almost impossible* ho gaye the. *After a great stir registrar ko move* kīyā jā sakā, jisse kuch *seats* kā *extra arrangement* kīyā gayā. (I have no *doubt* in this matter, *rather I am sure* that *this year the B.Sc. examination results* are very bad. To some extent the *examiners* used *strictness* and the *papers* also were *out of the way*. On seeing *unexpected questions set* in the *paper* the *students kept watch(ing) the ceiling* of the *hall*. This much [high percentage of] *failure* had not taken place in the *last three or four years*. This time, too, we will have to face *difficulty* in *admission*. Last year, too, *in spite of all attempts, admission of some applicants became almost impossible*. *After a great stir the registrar could be move(d), which helped in making extra arrangement(s) for some additional seats [places, openings].*

English constitutes 44% of the code-mixed discourse and provides, in addition to many content nouns, whole idioms and expressions as well as almost complete sentences e.g. the sixth sentence.

A similar phenomenon has been observed with the mixing of English with West African languages (source: Ansre, 1971):
1. *Mele* very sorry, *gake mena* every conceivable opportunity -*i hafi wọ let-*m down (Ewe).

“I am very sorry, but I gave him every conceivable opportunity and yet he let me down.”

2. *Se wọ bɔŋ*-report *wo ma me bia a mebe*-dismiss *wo* without further warning. (Twi)

“If you are reported to me again I shall dismiss you without further warning”.

3. *Nye* phoneme *nye* minimal phonological unit *eye* morpheme *nye* minimal grammatical unit, *lo, ekena* lexeme *anye* minimal lexical unit. (Ewe)

“If the phoneme is the minimal phonological unit and the morpheme is the minimal grammatical unit, then lexeme will be the minimal lexical unit.”

The complex motivations and functions of code-mixing that are revealed in the above Indian and African examples include the expansion of the register range in response to contemporary social changes and needs. e.g. culture blending, the identification of role/status and register, the assertion of expertise and/or authority, the provision of a technical flavour as well as, of course, the filling of lexical gaps in the matrix code of, Scotton & Ury (1979); Gumperz (1982); Ellis & Ure (1982); Kachru (1982); Pride (1982).

1.4. BILINGUALISM AND NORM DIVERGENCE

When English is employed as an internal L2 it is known as an *institutionalized variety* in contrast to countries like Japan where English has no intranational function and constitutes purely a *performance variety* cf. Kachru (1982). As with all bilingual groups, there exists a wide range of levels regarding English proficiency in Asian and African countries. Thus, Bokamba (1982: 92) points out that in general no more than 10% of the population of any anglophone Africa country is likely to be competent in English but this calculation of course varies according to individual
countries. In Kenya, for example, due to increasing educational opportunities, about 15% of the population is estimated to be effective in English cf. Abdulaziz (1982: 100).

As for the distribution of English knowledge in South Asia the following statistical information should be noted:

– English newspapers are published in out of the 29 Indian states and command the highest circulation in terms of total reading public: 23%
– the number of English bilinguals in South Asia is estimated at over 16% cf. Kachru (1982b: 356)
– close to 30% of university students in the southern Dravidian Indian state of Karnataka claim English competence in a recent survey (Sridhar, 1982)
– in a different survey conducted by Ullrich (1982) also in Karnataka state it was found that 70% of the urban members of the top Brahmin caste claimed to use English in contrast to 27% of their rural counterparts.

The above high percentages of English knowledge among the traditionally most privileged and highly educated groups, of course, are in no way representative of Indian society as a whole but demonstrate that not every member of even the highest socioeconomic categories acquired English competence.

However, below the fluent elite of these countries lies a multi-strata continuum of L2 competence which extends progressively further away from the native-speaker norm on every linguistic level and closer to the local L1 of the speaker the lower down the socioeconomic scale one descends, resulting in phenomena such as interference and interlanguage at intermediate level and pidginization at the bottom. This L2 variation is known as the cline of bilingualism and has been widely documented in multilingual societies where there are identifiably more and less “educated” varieties of English cf. Angogo & Hancock (1980) for African English and Kachru
(1982b: 357 & 1983) for Indian English. Moreover, L2 speakers close to native standards in these communities may shift into a less educated sub-variety in order to converge with, for example, a bus conductor or shopkeeper.

MAP 3. THE WEST AFRICAN PIDGIN-CREOLE CONTINUUM
(Source: Bailey & Gorlach, 1982: 252)

1.4.1. English-based pidgins and creoles

In certain of the countries under discussion, established English pidgins and creoles are used in conjunction to the locally modified standard-type and L1-influenced English. Local pidginized varieties of English in India have long existed as a convenient low-level lingua franca and even received names such as "Babu English" cf. Kachru (1969: ) & Mehrotra (1982). In
fact, Indian forms of pidginized English are capable of maintaining a higher level of intercomprehensibility than more standard varieties among the majority of the population cf. Mehrotra (1982).

On the other hand, the contact varieties in West Africa present a much more complicated picture of a fairly stable pidgin-creole continuum stretching from Gambia to Cameroon cf. Map 3 & Todd (1982). In Sierra Leone, for example, Krio, an English-based creole originating from the descendants of manumitted slaves, is employed in the written and spoken mass media and in political debate. In Nigeria it appears that English Pidgin speakers out-number those who approximate closer to native norms. In the extremely multilingual Cameroon, Pidgin English is frequent in Catholic religious communication and necessary between anglophone and francophone politicians as well as one of the varieties used by the police and army. Further contact processes with English are also at work as can as be seen in the current creolization experienced by Nigerian pidgin English (Shnukal & Marchese, 1983).

1.4.2. Nativization: norms in conflict

Until recently, L2 varieties of English were rarely invested with status, probably due to the fact that they were still at the point of crystallization. Considerable controversy still surrounds the acceptance of institutionalized varieties because of their norm divergence from the native speaker standard. For a full discussion of this issue cf. Kachru (1986) whose broad term *nativization* refers to the innovations on every linguistic level developed within the local L2 varieties. With reference to these innovations, however, it is vital to bear in mind that only a small selection of items have undergone codification and standardization within the individual multilingual societies. What is clearly needed is a higher degree of tolerance for the adaptation of English to new linguistic and cultural contexts as well as the acceptance of
L2 acquisitional handicaps connected with phenomena such as interference and interlanguage. However, also included under the concept of nativization are direct borrowings from the L1 or creative pseudo-English coinages in addition to semantic changes from the original English cf. Table 5 for the nativization arising from English in contact with South Asian and African languages.

The new regional varieties of English are increasingly regarded as neither deficient nor defective but as merely different and separate systems from the original native-speaker variety. Kachru (1982a, 1986a, 1988), the vanguard of Indian English, sees similarities in the contemporary fate of “coloured” varieties to the 19th century ridiculing of American English. The institutionalized variety is primarily a limited medium for the maintenance of indigenous patterns of life and culture with its validity and ‘standardness’ already recognized de facto by its users. What is occurring here is the blocking of the strict application of (sub-) norms of correctness because they are seen as hindering the highest norm of communication: the interpretability and producability of the message cf. Bartsch (1987). Apart from the case of West Africa, in the English-using communities under discussion it is generally speakers from the intermediate levels (mesolects) of the bilingual hierarchy who are seen as providing a norm authority while the lower, pidginized varieties (basilects) are rarely recognized as a normative model cf. Richards (1982).

Furthermore, the diversification of English is not just the result of acquisitional barriers but also serves the symbolization and emphasis of a distinctly local identity which can even constitute a source of ethnic pride cf. the statement made by the broadcasting authorities in Ghana who wanted its announcers to sound authentically Ghanaian in speaking English (Norrish, 1978) and the long-lasting unpopularity of Sri Lankans whose English closely approximates native-speakers (Kachru, 1985).
Table 5  THE NATIVIZATION OF ENGLISH: EXAMPLES FROM S. ASIAN AND AFRICAN VARIETIES
NOTE: The following data are to be understood as only potentially observable and tend not to occur in the speech of the higher bilingual stratum unless in interaction with locals of lower competence levels.

GRAMMATICAL INNOVATIONS
• An UNVARYING TAG is common in both Africa & S. Asia: He is a very clever boy, isn’t it.
• ARTICLE OMISSION • ABSENCE OF INFINITIVE to after certain verbs
• DIFFERENT USE OF TENSES • DIFFERENT WORD ORDER
• PLURALIZATION OF NON-COUNT NOUNS e.g. West African English: I lost all my furnitures Indian English: Do not throw litters

LEXICAL INNOVATIONS
■ COMPOUNDING Indian English: airdash (to fly from place to place): invitation-rice (ceremony at harvest time)
West African English: a been-to (a person who has visited Europe/USA)
■ AFFIXATION Indian English: teacheress brahminhood
■ BORROWING FROM LOCAL LANGUAGES INTO ENGLISH IndEng: lakh (100,000); sahib (sir) African English: oga (headman);
■ MEANING CHANGE West African English: hot drink (alcohol)
Indian English: colony (apartment building); tiffin (lunch)
■ GREETINGS West African English: How now?
■ EXPRESSIONS: East African English: Beat me a picture (take my photograph)

PHONOLOGICAL CHANGES
Note: The pronunciation of English varies considerably depending on the speaker’s native language as well as their educational background and degree of exposure to native English.
△ Indian English:
(i) REDUCTION of vowel system with some contrasts lacking depending on speaker’s background e.g. RP/a:/ and /i:/ may both correspond to IndEng /a:/
(ii) in northern India, word-initial /sk/,/st/or/sp/ tend to receive a preceding /I/ e.g. /spi:/ k/ (speak)
(iii) in southern India, word-initial front vowels tend to receive a preceding /j/ and back vowels a preceding /w/ e.g. /je:t/ (eight): /wo:n/ (own)
(iv) RETROFLEXIVIZATION of alveolar consonants /t,d,s,l,z/ is common
(v) Extremely DIFFERENT STRESS, RHYTHM and INTONATION patterns.
△ West African English:
(i) DEVOICING of final voiced consonants e.g. proud /praut/; robe /rop/
(ii) FINAL CONSONANT CLUSTER REDUCTION e.g. last/last/; passed /pas/
(iii) replacement of stress-timing by SYLLABLE-TIMING
(iv) West Africans may not distinguish the vowel sounds in cutting and curtain which both end up sounding something like cotton
Although the evidence on the question of intelligibility of non-native varieties of English is scanty, Bansal’s (1969) study reveals a remarkably high degree of comprehension of Indian English among native speakers where the average level of intelligibility stood at 70% for RP speakers and 74% for Americans but sinking to 57% for German speakers and 53% for Nigerians. However, it must be stressed that Indian English must be differentiated from international English and primarily for members of Indian society.

These issues of deviation from native-speaker norms, the standardization of local models and international intelligibility are, of course, vital considerations for the educational language policies of these societies. Nevertheless it is essential to understand that each country, having different sociolinguistic realities and priorities to face, will want to develop its own solutions without native-speaker interference.

1.4.3. Local literatures

“I am Indian, very brown, born in
Malabar, I speak three languages, write in
Two, dream in one. Don’t write in English, they said,
English is not your mother-tongue. Why not leave
Me alone, critics, friends, visiting cousins,
Every one of you? Why not let me speak in
Any language I like? The language I speak
Becomes mine, its distortions, its queernesses
All mine, mine alone. It is half English, half
Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest.”

The Indian poet, Kamala Das, makes a plea for her creativity in *The Old Playhouse and Other Poems* (1973).

A further important development connected to English bilingualism is the

Although the history of non-native creative writing in English goes back almost two centuries, from a qualitative viewpoint Indian writing in English is said to have come of age in the late 1930’s, while in Africa it is seen as having matured in the late 1950’s and 1960’s. What is significant is that the strongest creative impetus coincided with the demise of the British Empire and the formation of local nationalist movements. Other factors connected to the timing of literary developments in English include the growth of societal bilingualism in English creating a new type of reading public and the increasing skillfulness of non-native writers to deal with styles beyond legal and administrative domains cf. Sridhar (1982) who terms this the “debureaucratization” of English.

Why has English been chosen as the medium of literary creativity? First of all, because of the high degree of multilingualism in most of these Asian and African states, English alone is seen as capable of serving as a viable vehicle for national art. On top of this, due to education systems based on English competence, particularly at university level, English is inextricably associated with intellectual activity and the intelligentsia. Furthermore, in Africa English is often the only language in which literacy can be guaranteed for any meaningful number of people.

The main problem for Asian and African writers is trying to convey their cultural milieu, including specifically local modes of feeling and thinking, in
a medium whose Judeo-Christian ethos and Platonic-Aristotelian patterns of logic are absent or irrelevant in the transplanted context cf. Kachru (1986). Another sociolinguistic difficulty is the inadequacy of having to restrict themselves to the English language to depict the reality of a multilingual society and forgo the rich and subtle semiotics of multilingual speech behaviour.

Asians and Africans writing in English have been heavily criticized for their lack of patriotism in choosing to express themselves in the ‘alien’ tongue of the former colonists and abandoning their local languages to a second class status. However, even nationalists such as Mahatma Ghandi and Jawaharlal Nehru wrote in English and understood that English was the sole language that could unify their country and conquer the barriers of multilingual/-ethnic diversity. Additionally, non-native writers in English recognize the pragmatic reality that English may constitute a more effective means of self-expression cf. Achebe (1975: 33), the Nigerian novelist, who states: “I think certain ideas and certain things seem better done in Igbo and other things seem better in English”. Finally, it must not be forgotten that there exists a host of European writers who have received literary acclaim writing in English as an L2 such as Joseph Conrad, Samuel Beckett and Vladimir Nabokov.

2. EVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES

This final section considers the past and future evolution of English in Africa and Africa. Map 4 illustrates the extent of the British imperial control in these regions at its height-in the years following the First World War. After the Second World War, the British Empire in South Asia and Africa rapidly disintegrated. Emancipation came first to South Asia in the late 1940’s but it was not until a decade later that Africans were freed from colonial rule. Furthermore, certain states decided to break completely with
MAP 4 The British Empire and Commonwealth in Africa and Asia 1920-1980.

All regions shown on the map belonged to the British Empire in 1920.

Note: Colonies in the Middle East are not included.

(SOURCE: Falkus & Gillingham/中村英勝他 1983)
their British links by leaving the union of the Commonwealth set up in 1931 which formally guaranteed all member nations equal status with the 'motherland'; these included Burma in 1947, South Africa in 1957 and Pakistan in 1972. On the other hand, British opinion swung sharply against unrestricted immigration from the Commonwealth, destroying the common citizenship basis of membership in the Commonwealth Immigration Act in 1962.

2.1. EUROPEAN CONTACT WITH AFRICA: A SOCIOHISTORICAL PROFILE

As in India, the first Europeans to arrive in the "dark Continent" were the Portuguese who in 1423 landed on the northwest coast (Cape Bojador) and went on to reach Senegal, the mouth of the Congo, Arab settlements on the East African coast and Ethiopia by the end of 15th century. The Arabs, on the other hand, had been active in Black Africa as far back as AD 640 expanding Islam into North Africa and beyond the Sahara but halting at the dangerous and inaccessible central rain forests. In fact, it was the Arabs who introduced the Portuguese to the slave trade. The English soon joined in this after arriving in the Gambia region and sailing as far as the Gold Coast in the 1530's; by the end of the 16th century the Dutch had also appeared on the West African coast. During the 400 years of the slave trade conducted by the Europeans over 10 million Africans were forcibly transported principally to the Atlantic islands and the New World. The full effects of this vast and brutal uprooting are hard to assess but it undeniably involved the cruelest and degrading exploitation of innocent human beings for huge profits. It ultimately culminated in the liberationist movements of the New World such as Black Power which, in their turn, also influenced modern African nationalism.

Before 1870 the parts of Africa under direct European control were very
few and restricted to small but strategic coastal enclaves. British settlements were established on the one hand, on the west coast in the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold coast and Accra but the most significant penetration was in the south where the British had taken over the Cape in 1806 from the Dutch (Afrikaaner) colonists. However, due to new demands for raw materials and markets created by industrialization by the beginning of the 20th century almost the entire continent had been partitioned by European states who transferred their rivalries to the “scramble for Africa”. Furthermore, the earlier 19th century concept of “civilizing mission” had broadened into a wider notion of national destiny-to teach, to preach, to heal, and to guide the less fortunate. The termination of the slave trade, the development of legitimate commerce, the explorers' achievements and missionary involvement all served to create new spheres of influence. The largest territorial beneficiary was France in possession of Morocco, Algeria, French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa followed by the British in Egypt, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Somaliland, Uganda, Kenya, Rhodesia, Bechuanaland and South Africa; the few remaining areas of the continent either directly belonged or were affiliated to German, Portuguese, Belgian, Spanish and Italian empires up until the end of World War I.

After 1918, the British gained the German colonies of East Africa (Tanganyika/Tanzania), Togo, Northern Cameroons and indirectly South West Africa (Namibia) which was ceded to the Dominion of South Africa. During the early 20th century the British were committed to the eventual evolution of their colonies beyond self-government to independence, within a loose framework of attachment to the Commonwealth. However, these developments were complicated both by the resistance of sizeable minorities of European settlers, with consequent inter-racial tensions, and by conflict with local cultural systems. The need to raise western-educated elites from the indigenous population to man at least the lower ranks of colonial
administrations had already resulted in the growth of powerful nationalist movements due to the unwillingness of the European legislatures to finance the high expense of a full-scale, white-manned bureaucracy.

Table 6 The sociolinguistic legacy of European imperialism in Black Africa. 
NOTE: Dates refer to year of independence from a European power.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OFFICIAL EUROPEAN LANGUAGES in 1990</th>
<th>UNDERSTOOD/SPOKEN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES BUT NOT OFFICIAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FRENCH</td>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin 1960</td>
<td>Botswana 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi 1962</td>
<td>Cameroon 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazzaville 1960</td>
<td>Gambia, The 1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon 1960</td>
<td>Ghana 1957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad 1960</td>
<td>Lesotho 1966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast 1960</td>
<td>Liberia 1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon 1960</td>
<td>Malawi 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea 1958</td>
<td>Namibia 1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali 1960</td>
<td>Nigeria 1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger 1960</td>
<td>Rep. of S. Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Volta 1960</td>
<td>Sierra Leone 1961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda 1960</td>
<td>Swaziland 1968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal 1960</td>
<td>Uganda 1962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo 1960</td>
<td>Zimbabwe 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaire 1960</td>
<td>(not official but widely employed: Tanzania 1961)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The disastrous events of the Second World War severely reduced the military and economic capability of the unilateral perpetuation of European colonialism. The War had revolutionary effects on the slow processes of emancipation within all European empires which had already been set in motion by world-wide political and intellectual forces operating throughout
the 20th century which emphasized human dignity and the entitlement to
equality of opportunity. Moreover, Africans were increasingly aware of their
own potential power and translated this consciousness into effective action
for freedom. Furthermore, the ascendancy of the United States and the
Soviet Union, both professedly anti-colonial nations, highlighted the
obsolescence of imperial ideology. It was the British who took the first major
step towards conferring autonomy in Africa by granting independence to
Ghana in 1957; the subsequent independence dates of other states are shown
in Table 6.

Table 6 summarizes the sociolinguistic legacy of European imperialism
and shows that at the end of the 20th century French and English have been
adopted as official languages in almost an equal number of ex-colonies (16 : 15).

For South and West Africa colonial rule has been the longest averaging
about 150 years while in East Africa it lasted for about 70 years.

The colonial heritage has posed many problems for African nations and in
various ways hindered efforts at mutual cooperation and joint action at the
international level. It has left arbitrary and illogical state boundaries which
only mark positions of imperial advance and usually bear no relation to
ethnicity or language grouping. Colonialism also resulted in varying degrees
of political and economic identification with and dependence on the imperial
"mother country" that persists beyond independence. On top of this, the
relatively brief period of European dominance superimposed patterns of
institutions and customs deriving mainly from French and Anglo-Saxon
culture which also separates fellow Africans from each other. The main
challenge for the future will be to find the means to create a sense of unity
and pan-African identity as well as finding a workable and acceptable means
of pan-African communication, although the claim that Swahili could fulfill
this role is unrealistic since the language has no hold in the western and

2.2. LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING IN FOUR AFRICAN STATES

Most African nations confront the sociolinguistic dilemma of having to maintain the language of their colonizers if they are to guarantee intranational intelligibility and social, educational, technical and scientific progress because of the overwhelming number of indigenous linguistic minorities and the unavailability of written or sufficiently standardized and codified native languages. The typical result of this language policy is that the mass of the population do not understand the official language of their country. Furthermore, it produces a very elitist system where most children are forced to undergo their education in a foreign language and in the long term is bound to lead to the death of minority local languages. There now follows very brief summaries on a selection of the most prominent Anglophone states with a special focus on their sociolinguistic histories.

2.2.1. West Africa: Nigeria

Today Nigeria is Africa’s most populous country and, together with South Africa, among the first areas on the continent to experience European contact which came with Portuguese and British slavers during the 15th and 16th centuries. During an anti-slave trade campaign in 1861, the British seized Lagos and gradually extended their control inland.

Mission schools, which were established in southern Nigeria as early as 1742, played a significant role in the early dissemination of English.

Due to its high multilingualism with estimates of native languages varying from 200 to 400 and problematic inter-tribal conflicts, English has become the official language by default since independence in 1960 and functions as the lingua franca among the educated. Like all the other West African states,
Nigeria's ruling elite has chosen to maintain the language of the previous colonial rulers, producing a situation of diglossia plus bilingualism where English domains are associated with formality and power while L1 mediated domains relate to informality and solidarity. English is the language of instruction from mid-primary to university education: it is employed in government business, the judiciary as well as constituting the dominant language of the print medium and mass media.

In fact, a wide spectrum of heterogeneous Nigerian English varieties are in use, often related to the extent of the speaker's formal education and L1 background. The question of whether or not there is a standard Nigerian English has been variously explored by many local language planners. In addition, Nigerian Pidgin English is widely employed and probably by more people in Nigeria than any other language; in some areas it is creolizing. There are increasing demands for its recognition at the official and educational level. According to Todd (1982: 299), it seems unlikely that in the future an individual Nigerian version of English will emerge but instead a standard West African English that has already evolved will gain in sociopolitical status. Cf. Akere (1982); Jibril (1982); Awonusi (1990) for further details.

2.2.2. East Africa: Kenya

During the colonial era beginning in 1888, the missionaries were divided between the employment of vernacular languages and Swahili with its literate tradition. The communication patterns of the colonial administrators up to the district level was generally vertical, with English as the top language and Swahili preferred for the practical consideration of developing one local language as opposed to many. The European settlers mainly supported Swahili but educationalists favoured the development of English as a lingua franca with the phasing out of Swahili.
A decade after Independence in 1963, President Kenyatta proclaimed that Swahili was to be Kenya’s national language. Particularly in the capital, Nairobi, however, Kikuyu would have been a more obvious choice in terms of number of speakers. However, the government wanted an African language and hoped that Swahili would prove ethnically ‘neutral’. Now, both Swahili and English are official in Kenya, although the former retains national-language status, and moves are underway to standardise a variety of Swahili that will be specifically Kenyan with the difficult future aim of making Swahili the sole official language in the 21st century. Cf. Abdulazis (1982); Scotton (1982); Eastman (1990) for further references.

2.2.3. East Africa: Tanzania

Even though less than 10% of Tanzanians speak Swahili as a mother tongue, it was made the official language of the country in 1967. However, Swahili was never spoken by large sections of the population and originally only used in coastal areas mainly as a trade language later spreading to the interior during the early 19th century. During German colonial administration (1986-1918) Swahili was selected as the most economical medium for bureaucratic control and this policy was continued by the British who took over the colony. Subsequently, Swahili was adopted as the language of the local nationalists and a few years after achieving formal independence in 1961. Tanzania made Swahili official. Nevertheless, English continues to retain an important role in certain contemporary domains such as the civil service, the upper levels of the judiciary, secondary and higher education and written communication such as official documents, literature, newspapers, advertising and correspondence cf. Table 4.

However, numerous sociolinguistic factors work at promoting the internal status of Swahili over English such as:
- the historical establishment of Swahili as a trading and administrative
language which contributed to its national diffusion
- the absence of demographically large and/or politically powerful linguistic minorities
- Swahili is not the native language of a dominant sociocultural group (in contrast to the case of Hindi in India) and therefore is acceptable as an ethnically neutral alternative
- the structural similarity of Bantu-based Swahili to Tanzanian local languages, which are 95% Bantu, facilitates its acquisition
- the egalitarian policy of *ujamaa* (African socialism) discouraging the elitism associated with the acquisition of English
- the vigorous language planning activities of the Institute of Swahili Research.

For further information see Polomé (1982b); Fasold (1984: 266-277).

2.2.4. The Republic of South Africa

This area has not been mentioned so far, although it is often featured in the literature on varieties cf. Lanham (1982) de Villiers (1976). There are several reasons for this apparent neglect:

1) the primary concern of this survey has been the sociolinguistics of *Black African English* while the 30% White demographic proportion, official racism (*apartheid*) and the adoption of Afrikaans, descended from Dutch, together with English as an official language make this state atypical.

2) the increasing political instability of South Africa (at the time of writing this report) leaves many doubts as to the continuation of the contemporary status quo and the prolongation of its policy of promoting Afrikaans and restricting English knowledge among the Black community.

Nevertheless, the following facts deserve mention. English is spoken as a mother tongue by only 1.5% of the population but about 40% use it as an L2. Many middle and upper class Whites are bilingual, with English being
associated with commerce and Afrikaans with administration. Among Black South Africans, Afrikaans is associated more with oral skills and practical needs while English with reading and writing; urban Blacks tend to be more proficient in English than their rural counterparts.

2.3. THE BRITISH RAJ: A BRIEF CHRONICLE

The present-day indigenous multilingualism of India is partly the result of the Aryan invasions into northern India which took place in the second millennium B.C. and brought Indo-European contacts to the area (Sanskrit). India was invaded by Arabs in the 8th century, controlled by Turkish Muslims in the 12th century and ruled by a Mogul dynasty descended from the Turkish and Mongol rulers from the 16th to 19th centuries. Portugal became the first significant European influence when Vasco da Gama established trading posts there at the beginning of the 16th century. The Dutch and the French followed but the English, operating as the East India Company, were successful in obtaining sole control of most of India during the 17th century after setting up their first trading settlement in Madras in 1611.

The onset of British influence in India differed fundamentally from former historical invasions in that the British came neither as migrating hordes seeking new homes nor armies seeking plunder and land; unlike the Muslims they had no missionary zeal. At first the British were only one group of foreign traders and their entry into politics was gradual, first as allies of local powers, then as their virtual directors, and only finally as masters. To understand how a whole subcontinent containing a unique and ancient civilization of 300 million could be subjected with no more than a few thousand British soldiers, it must be realized that at each step the British were aided by indigenous forces who preferred their influence to that of their neighbours. British supremacy was further aided by the innate divisiveness of
Table 7 The political development of the Indian subcontinent since European contact

Note: This category only chronicles the first European arrivals in coastal settlements and does not cover subsequent expansion into the interior.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.ASIAN STATE</th>
<th>FIRST EUROPEAN CONTACT</th>
<th>BRITISH CONTROL (until INDEPENDENCE)</th>
<th>REPUBLIC STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td>Portuguese 1498 Dutch 1595 British 1611 French 1674</td>
<td>1765-(1857 directly &amp; indirectly in most areas 1858)-1947 formally as a colony</td>
<td>1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BANGLADESH</td>
<td>Danish 1616 Dutch 1625 French 1673 British 1690</td>
<td>1765-1947</td>
<td>until 1971 province of East Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRI LANKA</td>
<td>Portuguese 1505 Dutch 1644</td>
<td>1796-(from 1802 official crown colony)-1948</td>
<td>1972</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hindu society, rent by class and caste divisions, which made it unusually willing to call in unwelcome outsiders to defeat local rivals. Of course,
Britain enjoyed the advantages of superiority in military technology and military discipline in addition to overseas reinforcement through its sea power and other power reserves from its expanding industrial economy, none of which a lone Indian prince could compete with. In later stages, the British reaped further advantages from their disciplined civilian morale and increasing, racist self-confidence in the progressive nature of European civilization which contrasted with Hindu pessimism and Muslim fatalism.

In fact, it was only between 1798-1818 that the British were consciously imperialistic and only after then did they treat India as a conquered country by replacing the defunct Mogul regime and the abortive Maratha successor empire with a veiled but very real hegemony through the diplomatic settlement of 1818 which basically remained in force until 1947. According to this, the East India Company was saved the expense of administering as much of India as possible, especially the less fertile portions. Having controlled the larger states by its subsidiary forces. (for which it paid), the Company was content with tribute from the remainder while maintaining posts at strategic points. The individual states were isolated and excluded from any connection with the British. About half of India remained under Indian rulers, robbed of any power of aggression and deprived of any opportunity for cooperation. In all there were more than 360 units; politically they were like the surviving fragments of a broken jigsaw puzzle, with all its complexity but without its unity. However, the scale of the problems in India were too overwhelming for the vast and complex chain of British bureaucracy to solve in anything but a marginal way: desperate poverty, virulent disease and frequent famine.

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 arose from discontent and misunderstanding outside as well as in the army. British reforms, including the administration of justice on Western lines, the suppression of infanticide and suttee, changes in land tenure and the start at railway construction among others,
went against the customs and even the religious precepts of the people they were intended to benefit. The rebellion led the London Parliament in 1858 to pass a new Act abolishing the East India Company as a power in India and transferring rule of its territories to the British Crown, represented there by a viceroy controlled from London by a secretary of state, and assisted in India by a council of fifteen.

As for the dissemination of English in the region, missionaries were the first English teachers in India. Beginning in 1614, mission schools taught English almost continuously until the independence of India. In the mid-19th century, the British promulgated an official policy of training natives in English and established a number of universities. However, it is incorrect to believe that the British administrators, educators and missionaries provided a model of 'educated' English. The largest proportion of the British in India (army personnel, railway and postal officers and so on) had minimal education and came from diverse dialect areas. The educated senior administrators of the Raj had very little interaction with Indians in general and tended to maintain as much distance as possible from “native contamination” in their residential islands. From the 1870’s onwards (due to the completion of the Suez Canal and the development of steam transport which radically cut the sea passage duration from several months to weeks and encouraged English women to come out) British contacts with Indian society diminished and sympathy and understanding for Indian life was generally replaced by suspicion, indifference and fear on top of the racial hatred already tragically engendered by the 1857 mutiny.

The six decades that followed the Mutiny until the conclusion of World War I saw both the peak and decline of British colonial power in India. Imperial strategy revolved almost entirely round the security of India and of the routes to it: India was the greatest source of British strength and profit. In 1878 Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India which
remained on British coins until 1949. Simultaneously, however, this period also witnessed the birth of nationalist agitation against British dominance which found political expression in the Indian Congress, founded in 1885. While the British government of India remained a paternalistic and hierarchical despotism, the more educated Indians, especially those who studied at Oxbridge, were looking towards self-government. In the early part of the 20th century these aspirations became more widespread and led to violent demonstrations against British rule, boycotts against British goods, British schools and colleges, British courts of law, British titles and honours and British elections and elective offices in addition to the assassination of several officials. An Act of 1909 gave Indians a majority in the partly nominated, partly-elected provincial legislatures and a voice in the executive provincial and central executive councils. This limited political gesture together with the turmoil of World War I stilled unrest for a while but in 1919 a new Act had to be introduced allowing for provincial legislatures with elected Indian majorities and in the provinces Indian ministers were given responsibility for matters of government outside finance, law and order. However, the pace towards self-government was not fast enough to satisfy Indian nationalists such as Mahatma Gandhi who politicized the National Congress and led it in advocating nonviolent noncooperation but these campaigns of civil disobedience were, in fact, accompanied by much violence and anarchy. During these inter-war years more and more higher civil service posts were opened up to Indians and a commission was begun in 1927 to consider ways of safely increasing self-government resulting in the Government of India Act of 1935 which provided for immediate self rule in the provinces and ultimately for a federation of the whole sub-continent. Ironically, however, hostility between the Hindu and Muslim communities was fanned by the very success of Congress at forming ministries in eight of the eleven provinces. The Muslims, numbering 90 million feared that they
would be subjugated by the Hindus, numbering about 250 million, and began to demand (through the Muslim League founded in 1906) the separation of those parts of India where they were in a majority; this eventually led to the creation of the new post-war nations of Pakistan and Bangladesh.

The paradox of European colonialism was that by imposing a new economic and social order, it caused the break-up of traditional society and at the same time produced agents of decolonization whose familiarization with Western values inevitably led them to reject imperialism. Thus, the British produced cultural hybrids, whom the historian Thomas Macaulay in 1835 referred to as “Indians in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect”. This nascent bilingual and bicultural group were to prove the undoing of the British because their frustration and malaise combined with their skill in manipulating the ideas and weapons of their rulers was subsequently channelled into emancipatory action. As the West suffered repeated crises throughout the first part of the 20th century—the First World War, the Russian Revolution, the Depression and the Second World War—it become less and less sure of its moral position, allowing colonized people to find effective allies in anti-colonialist militants of all tendencies: forward-looking intellectuals, liberal politicians and churchmen. Even before the wave of mid-20th century decolonization, back home in the “mother country” colonialism was already considered economically out-of-date, politically unreformable and morally indefensible. Competent indigenous elites were ready and waiting for their moment to take over.

At the outbreak of the Second World War, Congress demanded a pledge of independence for India at the end of the conflict as a condition of supporting the country’s participation. However, during and after the war the chances for one united India under Indian rule steadily eroded. A partition into two “dominions” of the Commonwealth, one Hindu and the other Muslim, was established when the British ended their rule in 1947. In 1950 India brought
into force a new constitution under which the dominion became a union of states and a republic; in 1956 Pakistan also became a republic. Without any actual liberation wars, the era begun five centuries before with the dawn of European expansion was now over but the modernizing and westernizing effects of the British presence in India were far-reaching and left an indelible mark on the society and its way of thinking.

2.3.1 CONTEMPORARY LANGUAGE POLITICS IN SOUTH ASIA

Only very brief notes can be provided in this section which focusses on the sociolinguistic status of English. For fuller discussions on the power relations between indigenous language groups via-a-vis English cf. papers in Pride (1982); Shapiro & Sochiffman (1982); Fasold (1984); Kachru (1986).

2.3.1.1. The Republic of India

In order to foster Indian nationalism, the Government of India decided in its 1950 constitution to raise Hindi to the status of a federal language and give more than a dozen other indigenous languages state level status. At that time its was planned that English should be employed only until 1965. However, the English Language Amendment Bill of 1967 proclaimed English as an "alternative official or associate" language until such time as the states of the Union all would freely accept Hindi as the sole national and official language and by which time English should have lost its intranational value. In reality, such an outcome is highly unlikely given the fact that English is the only practicable means of day-to-day communication between the central government at New Delhi and states with non-Hindi speaking populations in the south i.e.speakers of Dravidian languages such as Telugu, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam. Moreover, today English is recognised as the official language of four states and eight Union territories.
The effects of this policy, however, have been to strengthen an already existing North Indian nationalism and provoke a South Indian reaction to it. At the present time, however, the Dravidian language (non-Hindi) speaking population of the south are unwilling to accept the devaluation of their English skills and the weakening of their position as an elite. They claim that English places all Indians at an equal disadvantage while Hindi, spoken natively by over 40% in the north, gives native Hindi speakers an unfair advantage. Underneath the surface, a power struggle is being played out between English speaking, Hindi speaking and Dravidian language speaking elites who are to varying degrees involved in local, ethnic and religious factionalism.

The 1956 *Three Language Formula* devised for educational purposes is that all secondary pupils are required to study:

1. The regional official language or their mother tongue when this does not correspond to the former
2. Hindi, or where this is the L1, any other Indian language
3. English

Altogether 67 languages are available for school instruction. The purpose of this formula is to force northerners into studying a South Indian language to overcome separatism and promote pan-Indian nationalism. Unfortunately, many North Indians decide to choose an 'easy', related Indo-European language, rather than have to struggle with the profoundly different structure of Dravidian languages. Furthermore, there is the problem of finding minority language teachers for the schools in the areas of linguistic majorities. At the moment, the policy seems to have been counterproductive conversely working to support discrimination against linguistic minorities.

Actually, today more Indians want to learn English than ever before because it is regarded as an essential asset for upward mobility; if they could afford it, all classes would prefer to send their children to English medium
schools. The regular campaigns for banning English from the official domain by certain political groups in the north seeking wider educational and occupational democraticization do not receive much support in Indian society as a whole. The reality is that English newspapers number around 3,580 (in 1986) and it is the only language which holds the distinction of being published in every state and Union territory. For further details cf. Mohan (1978); Mehrotra (1982); Das (1982); all references under Kachru.

2.3.1.2. Sri Lanka

Language constitutes a major source of conflict between the overwhelming majority of Buddhist Sinhala speakers (80%) and the minority Hindu Tamils who are descended from settlers from south India. Under 150 years of British rule, English became the official and prestigious language. Prior to independence in 1948 there was a movement for a national language embracing both Sinhala and Tamil. However, an ethnic resurgence among the majority Sinhalese community led to a "Sinhala only" thrust which culminated in the 1956 declaration of Sinhala as the sole official language of the island. This naturally provoked resentment among the Tamils, whose language is large and powerful on the Indian mainland where it is spoken by over 40 million speakers. The trends have been of increasing polarisation and agitation with demands for a separatist Tamil state. The 1972 constitution only reaffirmed the dominant position of Sinhala.

With the official termination of English as the administrative medium in 1956, it was inevitable that English would also cease to be the major language of education as well. Although English has not survived in the public domain it is still important in other areas such as among family members and friends belonging to the middle-class upwards, Christianity, education and employment. For example, specialized fields of tertiary education such as law and medicine continue to teach in English and a
working knowledge of it is considered essential for professionals of all kinds. English remains one of the languages of the law and both lawyers and litigants still use it. The choice of English over Sinhala serves as a significant indicator of socioeconomic status but the Sri Lankan variety of English is avoided in written communication. The later is much more strongly oriented towards native-speaker norms than in India. More information is provided by Chitra (1977,1982); Kandish (1981).

2.3.1.3. Pakistan

In 1971 Pakistan, a linguistically heterogeneous region, became an autonomous republic comprising two states, East and West. Originally, Bengali and Urdu were made the national languages of East and West Pakistan respectively, with English adopted as a third official language and functioning as the medium of interstate communication. In fact, today except for local administration, English is used for official domains and commerce; the press publish more newspapers in Urdu than English. Parallel to India, the 1956 Constitution prescribed the use of English for 20 years but the 1962 Constitution made the period indefinite. It has been estimated that English is spoken by only about 2% of the population. Cf. Dil (1966) for further information.

2.3.1.4. Bangladesh

In 1971 East Pakistan broke away from its western partner and became the independent state of Bangladesh. Even though Bengali is the mother tongue of almost 99% of the population, English still retains an important cultural position but is not an official language. The extent of interlinguistic contact can be gauged from the fact that Bengali includes a large portion of loanwords from English in addition to those from Arabic, Persian and Hindi. With such an exceptionally high level of linguistic and ethnic homogeneity
in comparison to the states mentioned above, an intra-national need for English obviously does not arise. Of the 28 daily newspapers published in 1978 in Dacca and major provincial centres, 22 were in Bengali and 6 in English. English is used as well as Urdu, Arabic and, of course, Bengali in radio and television broadcasts.

3. SOME CONCLUSIONS

At its zenith the British Empire occupied 20% of the Earth's surface, imposing its system of 'indirect rule' on the continents of America, Australasia, Afrian and Asia but inspite of its collapse, the language of the British Empire has not declined. On the contrary, it is now the official language of 25% of the world's nations as well as being employed as an auxiliary language by a further 10% cf. Coulmas (1985: 170), Of course, imperialism is not the sole cause for the present-day spread of English but it was undeniably the genesis. The other contributing factors have been the political, scientific/technological and economic hegemony of the USA together with the urgent need for a viable lingua franca for the global network which has been rapidly evolving since the Second World War.

Numerically, India is the third largest English-using nation in the world after the USA and the UK with, at a conservative estimate based on 3% of the population, over 23 million English users (Kachru, 1986). Related to this point is Mazrui's (1975) argument for the recognition of the "Afro-Saxon" speech community due to the fact that the number of African native speakers of English surpasses those of the entire population of Britain. What do these contemporary statistics portend for the future of the English language?

On the one hand, some such as Prator (1968) predict that the developing autonomy and legitimatization of local varieties of L2 English will lead to "progressive deviation" with the very long-term consequence that English might split into mutually unintelligible tongues in a similar way to Latin
after the fall of the Roman Empire. However, such fears are unfounded and fail to take the following norm-maintaining factors into account:

1) prescriptive works such as the dictionary and grammar book support the international standard variety and will continue to foster and guarantee conformity to it as long as their authority is accepted.

2) English as a world language is essentially a tool of highly literate users whose norm consciousness is developed and strengthened through formal L2 instruction.

3) variation in English is generally restricted to the oral channel on the level of pronunciation and grammatical differences are much less significant than lexical ones, which are typically limited to local cultural contexts.

The most important challenge, however, of the inevitable demographic outnumbering of English native-speakers by bilingual/multilingual English users will have less to do with the legitimacy of language change but more with attitudes and conceptions of the status and role of the native-speaker.

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