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Title	Towards developmental world Englishes
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Citation	Bolton, K., Graddol, D., & Meierkord, C. (2011). Towards developmental world Englishes. <i>World Englishes</i> , 30(4), 459-480.
Date	2011
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/10220/38384
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Towards developmental world Englishes

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ABSTRACT: Over the last three decades scholars promoting the world Englishes paradigm (WE) have worked towards establishing a more positive attitude towards international varieties of English. However, despite the best intentions of Western linguists working in this field, there is an obvious imbalance between the developed and developing world in many contexts of English language education. Educators and teachers in many Outer Circle and Expanding Circle contexts face difficulties in terms of conditions, facilities, and resources very different from those of Western institutions. Academics in developing societies have parallel difficulties in publishing research, both in journals and in books with international publishers, while local options for publishing are often restricted. This paper suggests a number of ways in which linguists and other scholars might begin to engage with a range of issues related to ‘developmental world Englishes’.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last three decades, the world Englishes (WE) paradigm has successfully worked towards establishing a more positive attitude towards international varieties of English, and towards a research agenda examining the sociolinguistic dynamics and realities of the spread of English worldwide.¹ The world Englishes approach has been adopted by many linguists in North America, Europe, and Asia as well as a number of ‘third world’ scholars. However, despite the best intentions of linguists working in the richer societies of the world, there is an evident imbalance between the developed and developing world when it comes to English language research and English language educational endeavours. While educators in many industrial nations increasingly participate in the global economy with all that entails, including the worldwide exchange of scientific ideas and innovations, international academic associations, and international collaboration, many academics in developing countries often find themselves on the wrong side of the global divide. In such societies, questions relating to English language education may influence wider issues linked to the economic and technological development of society, linguistic ecologies, and the survival of endangered languages. In fact, about many third-world societies – despite much rhetoric on the evils of linguistic imperialism – relatively little is known as regards the uses of English at the grass roots of communities outside various elite domains (although pioneering examples include Bautista 1981; 1984 on the Philippines; Michieka 2009 on rural Kenya; and Khubchandani and Hosali 1999 on India).

Educators and teachers in many Outer Circle and Expanding Circle contexts face problems in terms of conditions, facilities, and resources very different from those that impinge on Western (or ‘Northern’) institutions. At university level, academics in developing societies face a range of difficulties in publishing research internationally, both in journals and in books, and frequently local options for publishing are restricted as well. At the levels of elementary and high school education the situation in many public education systems is poor, with teachers in the poorer societies of Asia and Africa beset by problems caused by scant resources as well by incompetence and corruption. Although *World Englishes* as a journal and the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE) have been aware of such questions, and has for the past three decades created an important space for researchers and educators from the developing world, it is perhaps time to re-evaluate these issues in order to develop new strategies for linguists in better-off societies to work together with scholars from developmental contexts on a range of world Englishes (WE) issues. One important motivation for this is that WE studies are not merely concerned with ‘the English language’ as a linguistic system, but rather, and more frequently, with a wide range of other topics, ranging from bilingual creativity, languages in contact, language and globalization to language policies, the dynamics of multilingual societies, applied linguistics, and language education.

‘Developmental world Englishes’, we suggest, is a concept that entails two central meanings and related applications. In the first sense, it would refer to a multi-disciplinary academic project, the

recognition of which would create a space for research and other activities concerned with the sociolinguistic dynamics of English in relation to development studies. Second, it would refer to the practical engagement of scholars in questions of educational collaboration and cooperation. We would thus hope that 'developmental WE', as an academic area with its own research agenda, would be complemented by a project where world Englishes researchers from the first world are able to work together with linguists and language educators in developing societies. The central question emerging from this is what—at a very practical level—can WE scholars from developed countries do to establish more effective contacts and synergies with scholars from developing societies in contexts such as South America, Africa, and Asia? Given that the world Englishes ethos is inclusive and pluralistic, perhaps more needs to be done to create contexts for teachers and researchers from developing nations to participate and voice their concerns more fully in WE-oriented conferences, journals, symposia, and other forums. How this might best be done requires careful thought. Similarly, pressing research concerns, emerging from the conceptualisation of developmental world Englishes in the first sense referred to above, also need to be identified in close collaboration with researchers in the relevant developing societies.

This paper sets out to deal with three issues. First, it starts with an overview of some of the uses and problems regarding English in Africa, Asia, and on the Indian subcontinent, second, proceeds to discuss a number of the practical issues that a special interest group on developmental world Englishes might concern itself, and, finally, outlines a possible research agenda for work in this arena.

DEVELOPMENTAL, LANGUAGES, AND WORLD ENGLISHES

While there is no clear cut or official definition of 'developing country', one criterion commonly used to categorise countries within this category or not is the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) list of the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate. This subdivides countries into 'least developed', 'low income', 'lower middle income' and 'upper middle income' countries and territories, based on their per capita gross national income (see Appendix for the details of this list).

An examination of the DAC list shows that many of those nations which have been at the centre of world Englishes research, namely, Outer Circle societies, such as Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan, Papua New Guinea, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, are in the OECD's 'least developed' and 'low income' categories, along with many Expanding Circle countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Oceania as well. By contrast, when it comes to 'lower middle income' and 'upper middle income' societies, we find a much wider range of regions and societies represented, with many countries from Central and South America, and Eastern Europe as well as Africa and Asia (including both China and India). However, even here it is worth reminding ourselves that even these 'lower middle income' and 'upper middle income' societies, with GDPs per capita of respectively \$936–\$3,705 and \$3,706–\$11,455 are still relatively quite poor countries, and are recipients of OECD development funding. English has also come to play a role in one way or another in the linguistic ecologies of many developing countries which do not have an Anglophone heritage, such as Rwanda.

The relation between language(s) and development has been discussed from within various paradigms, among these sociology, particularly developmental studies, sociolinguistics, and world Englishes. Development studies is a multidisciplinary discipline, which evolved from the mid-1950s 'chiefly drawing on insights from political sciences, economics and sociology' (Haynes 2008: 17). After the Second World War, when development emerged as an issue on the international agenda, fields of investigation were 'political cultures, nation-building and the construction of stable institutions and administrations, as well as how currently "underdeveloped" countries might deal with uniformly pressing problems of political and economic "underdevelopment"' (Haynes 2008: 17). While, initially, the study of poverty and underdevelopment and their causes had been central issues, this has given way to concerns about the reduction of poverty and the promotion of sustainable development. Development studies today involves looking at development actors and policies at a local, regional and global level and has moved from the original discussions of rural spaces to considering urban contexts. In

development studies, language issues have received some previous attention, although much of this has been concerned with issues related to literacy or the effects of colonial language policies, and related educational issues (Potter et al. 2008). Many publications, however, do not address language issues at all (for example, Clark 2006; Chant and McIlwaine 2009).

Within sociolinguistics, this issue has drawn varying amounts of attention over the last fifty years. Language surveys and language planning were of prime concern in the early years of sociolinguistics as a discipline, partly as a result of Ford Foundation funding for a number of language surveys in post-colonial Africa and elsewhere (Cawson 1975). In 1966, a conference in Warrenton, Virginia, dealt with the language problems of developing nations, which led to the establishment of 'language policy and management as a major component of sociolinguistics' (Spolsky 2011: 6). Papers from that conference were published, and were subsequently influential in establishing language planning as a legitimate area of academic concern (Fishman et al. 1968). Closely related to such concerns was the issue of language in education. As Mesthrie et al. (2000: 368) emphasise, on independence many former colonies 'had to weigh up the benefits of retaining the coloniser's language against choosing indigenous languages'. Despite the arguments of UNESCO and many others in favour of 'mother tongue' education, Mesthrie et al. (2000: 371) note that the decision about which language to choose as a teaching medium is usually 'not a purely linguistic one'. Another major educational imperative has been the eradication of illiteracy and the development and implementation of writing systems for languages without them (Fishman et al. 1968, Fishman 1974). Issues related to language in education and language planning have also been discussed in relation to nation building, identity construction and cultural diversity (Simpson 2008, UNESCO 2009).

Perhaps the most detailed consideration of the issue of English from a development perspective has been a series of publications by Coleman (2010; 2011a) including a position paper and a recent edited volume on this topic. In his position paper, Coleman asserts that 'development must accommodate both economic and social elements', and quoting Desai and Potter's (2008) argument that:

[E]conomic growth is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for development. Without redistribution of income and wealth, inequalities are not going to be reduced, and there is much evidence that it is inequalities that hurt. Thus, development must be regarded as synonymous with enhancing human rights and welfare, so that self esteem, self-respect and improving entitlements become central concerns (Desai and Potter 2008: 1–2, cited by Coleman 2010: 3).

Coleman then goes on to argue throughout his paper that although the benefits of English are often distorted or exaggerated, there is some evidence that knowledge of the language may be beneficial in at least four areas: (i) employability; (ii) international mobility; (iii) accessing information; and (iv) as an impartial link language. However, he is also at pains to point out that English, whatever the perceived benefits for some, may disadvantage others:

Acquiring real competence in English is a privilege which in many contexts seems to bring with it many of the 'entitlements' and 'freedoms' which are attributes of development. However, 'access to English is far from equally distributed' and even well-intentioned efforts to promote English for development purposes may end up being restricted to a privileged elite [. . .] English undoubtedly plays a major role in various aspects of development. Nevertheless, it is important that we should not exaggerate the importance of English nor should we undervalue the importance of other languages. We must temper our enthusiasm for English with a sense of responsibility towards those who do not have easy access to it (Coleman 2010: 16).

The volume that Coleman then edited for the British Council (2011a), *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language* discusses English and development issues in 15 African and Asian countries. Here again, as Coleman has pointed out in a recent newspaper article, a number of the contributors to the book reject outright the notion that English is always the necessary key to economic development in development contexts, while others highlight the dangers of using

English as the medium of instruction in primary schools, or the risk that English may be used by elites for gatekeeping purposes, in particular to control access to social advancement and economic and political power (Coleman 2011b).

As early as the 1980s, Kachru (1986) was writing insightfully about the ‘power and politics’ of English, in ways that preceded and set the stage for both the linguistic imperialism and critical applied linguistic approaches to the politics of English. At the same time, the world Englishes approach as it matured and developed also began to consider approaches to English teaching and applied linguistics, and how these might be best informed by insights from the WE approach (Kachru 1990; Kachru and Nelson 1996). Moreover, and arguably much more importantly, over the last three decades, the founding editors of the *World Englishes* journal have consistently reached out to scholars in many developing societies and have provided them with both encouragement and a forum where their academic research may be published. It is indeed the inclusivity of the world Englishes approach that has largely motivated interest in this topic, and our concern to move forward on such issues. The next sections in this paper are intended to give some illustration of the wide range of very diverse questions that pertain to language development issues, by giving specific examples of developmental contexts in Africa (South Africa), Asia (The Philippines), and the Indian subcontinent (India) in some detail.

ENGLISH IN CONTEXTS OF DEVELOPMENT

In this section of the paper, we set out to give contextualised examples of some of the diverse issues that are salient in a number of developmental contexts. One theme that emerges from these three rather different ‘snapshots’ of English in development, is that relatively little research is available on language issues and the relevance of English to less privileged groups in such societies.

South Africa

As has been explained above, Africa is not usually discussed as a success story. Public opinion tends to discuss the development of sub-Saharan African nations in terms of corruption, dictatorship, disease, educational disadvantage, political unrest, poverty, and violence, and ignore the fact that today individual African economies are characterized by high growth and rapid economic development (World Bank 2008: 2). Following the European scramble for the African continent from 1881 to 1914, which led to its partition between the Belgians, British, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, several European languages were introduced to the colonies. (Following the Second World War, Germany lost her colonies, but the traces of the language can still be felt in what today is Namibia, cf. Deumert 2009 on *Kiche Duits*). Although these languages were primarily used by a tiny elite for administrative purposes, they have remained in use as official languages in most countries, even throughout the post-independence era. Given the many Francophone societies in Africa, English does not necessarily enjoy unrivalled dominance on the continent. However, it has not only been retained as an official language in most former British colonies, but is also gaining ground in other post-colonial societies, such as Rwanda, and in pan-African associations, such as the African Union, and the Arab League.

Outside the elite domains of politics, business, and academia, English would seem to play an insignificant role, judging from the high illiteracy rates that reflect the low level of formal education which characterise many societies. However, there is a huge divide between urban and rural communities (Michieka 2009): while the latter frequently suffer from underdevelopment and emigration, urban communities are, as a result of in-migration from the country, multiethnic and multilingual. Typically, the postcolonial language and English are part of the linguistic ecologies in these communities, present either through various groups of first language speakers or in the form of second language varieties. For example in Nairobi or Cape Town, descendants of the original British settlers and members of the growing black upper-middle class use English as their first language. At the same time, many others have acquired English either through formal instruction in school or informally through interaction with first or second language speakers. Interactions conducted in English occur

frequently. They range from those between first language speakers of Xhosa and Tswana, via interactions with tourists at the 'robot' (traffic light), where the self-employed tend to sell their merchandise, to exchanges between politicians at meetings of the African Union.

The following passages illustrate the diverse uses of English in South Africa by taking a closer look at individuals from the greater Cape Town region, based on interviews with South African citizens that Meierkord collected between 2003 and 2006. The individual speakers are of different social and linguistic backgrounds. Some are street vendors selling the local *Big Issue* magazine; others are kitchen and room service staff employed in Cape Town hotels, craftspeople employed in local community upliftment projects, and students. They either have an indigenous African language (Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, or Venda) or a variety of Afrikaans as their mother tongue.

The interviewees' views about English were predominantly positive, even though their proficiency levels differed considerably. The following quotes² from the interviews illustrate some of these voices. Toto, who works as a craftsman in a wire art workshop explains how various languages are used at his workplace and that English has a place within this mixture.

- (1) Here at work, there is lots of languages, but mostly ah it's Xhosa and it's English and it's Shona. So, I (have) been with those f+ eh friends (.) a lot, those people (who I work) with. (..) So that's where I I I learned the language, cause we worked with them like three years or two years (Toto, male, Xhosa speaker).

Toto here discusses an experience which many of our interviewees share: his living in a multilingual environment in which English is part of the linguistic ecology and acquired informally. However, not all craftspeople or manual workers require a knowledge of English. As Lerato explains in the next quote, there may be one staff member interacting with international customers, who then passes on orders in the others' languages. Lerato herself is one of the directors of a bead art project which produces various items of bead art.

- (2) I'm a director of the Art of Beads. Most of the time I'm just **eh** look from the business and the lady that is doing this beadwork. . . . Most of the lady they don't/ can't understand English. When there's some orders like (.) orders still to do that take the orders to the ladies to (.) to make them (Lerato, female, Shona speaker).

While using English may not be a necessity for craftspeople, it certainly is for individuals working in the hospitality sector, as the next quote reveals.

- (3) No, it shouldn't be **uhm** it shouldn't be difficult for us because we **uhm** (.) like we work with different type of people and that is **uhm** English is the only- But otherwise, they're comfortable their language, and I'm comfortable with mine, otherwise. (.) On the floor strictly, (.) I always say: Ladies, it's English. It's a English restaurant tonight, so we speak English tonight (Hettie, female, coloured Afrikaans speaker).

Hettie, who supervises the restaurant staff at a Cape Town hotel, is very clear about their use of English. As they have to cater for tourists from all around the world, English is the language chosen not only for interaction with these customers but also for communication on the floor, between members of staff.

While the above quotes indicate a rather positive, albeit pragmatic, attitude towards using English at the workplace, the link between proficiency in English and socioeconomic participation is far from being understood. Often knowledge of the post-colonial languages became a commodity associated with the educated upper middle classes, creating what has been called 'elite-closure'. Deumert et al. (2005: 303) find, for example, that South Africans migrating to Cape Town from rural areas of the Eastern Cape are ill-prepared for the local job market. As they explain, 'inadequate knowledge of the dominant urban languages (English and Afrikaans) limits opportunities for employment and access to

social services'. Similarly, access to tertiary or even secondary education, and thus eventually to the upper job market, is limited or impossible without proficiency in English in many post-colonial countries. On the other hand, 'spoken English is not a requirement in the few jobs available in rural Kisii. Nurses, drivers, business people or even clerical officers in the local offices in rural Kisii must be proficient in spoken Ekegusii, the local language, if they are to serve the people' (Michieka 2009: 362). In addition, when official communication takes place in the postcolonial language, also participation may be difficult for those who do not speak English. In Kampala, for example, local council debates in multilingual city wards are normally conducted in English, making interaction impossible for those who do not speak English. At the same time, in the domains of administration and law English is not necessarily used in rural areas: in Kisii, Ekegusii is used at the local level (cf. Michieka 2009).

In fact, although English is often the sole official language in post-colonial nations, only a fraction of the population normally are competent speakers. As Deumert and Mabandla (2009: 433) explain for Cape Town, South Africa, 'linguists estimate that only between 20 per cent and 50 per cent of South Africans have an adequate understanding of English, the language which reigns supreme in public and economic life'. Similarly, Michieka (2009) finds that the spread of English to rural Kisii in Kenya is very limited, despite the fact that Kenya belongs to the Kachru's Outer Circle. As she explains, the functions of English are of limited use in the rural classrooms and in local administration. Also, it is a marker of prestige only for the youth, and English newspapers or books are not published in the area. Thus, while English is acquired as a second language by large parts of the elites in post-colonial nations, the realities at the grassroots of these multilingual countries tend to be different. Obviously, more research illuminating our knowledge as regards the use of English on the ground and on the social stratification of its speakers is necessary, possibly through collaborations with colleagues from developing countries. This might furthermore include discussions of the use of English vis-à-vis other languages as well as investigations into relation between individual varieties of English spoken in a particular country and the attitudes towards these.

Two further quotes from Meierkord's data indicate that South African students are developing rather positive attitudes towards multilingualism and the local African languages, despite their high proficiency in English. As Masingua explains, English is not the first choice in his hall of residence, although it may be used if communication across individual African languages becomes difficult.

- (4) Well then, (...) most of the times just to just to ease communication, you speak English. But then then there because I'm also interested in learning Xhosa, I do speak Xhosa. But qui+ well, I can say not most of the times. Most of the times, we do speak each/ **uh** we speak the African languages (Masingua, male, Zulu speaker).

Zo, who has been to a multiracial school and exposed very much to English in her childhood, even reports on her private deliberate decision to foster her use of her original heritage language, Venda.

- (5) SOMETimes, ja, but then I was trying to speak Venda more and more because we are realizing that more families, (...) come ten years of democracy, most black families are actually speaking only English at home (...) and losing out. Cause I know many Venda people who don't even speak Venda anymore. Who:: go back to Venda and they have to speak English with Venda people. And that I feel is just a tragedy. Since, I mean it's our own language if we are not gonna keep it, who will? No-one's gonna speak it for us. So we try to do that at home and practice speaking Venda and just keeping that alive as much as possible (Zo, female, Venda speaker).

The individuals' statements also indicate that interactions in English in South Africa involve various varieties of English (Meierkord 2006). As the interactions that such speakers participate in take place repeatedly over a prolonged period of time, such contact between different varieties of English is likely to result in changes similar to those which have been observed in dialect contact. In fact, such changes are taking place in South Africa, both in terms of the factual use of individual linguistic features and as regards the attitudes towards these features. Traditionally, the various Englishes spoken in South Africa

have varied, for example, as regards their pronunciation. White South African English has a subvariety, 'Cultivated South African English', which has enjoyed the highest prestige in the country. Other Englishes, both first and second language, differ from this in various aspects (see the contributions to Kortmann et al. 2004 and Schneider et al. 2004). The acceptability of the different accents varies greatly, even among the speakers of the individual varieties themselves. As Makubalo (2007: 31) points out, 'varieties such as black South African English [. . .] are usually stigmatised' by blacks living in the new affluent suburbs even today (see also Gough 1996). Middle and upper-class black parents send their children to formerly whites-only schools, where English is the medium of instruction, wishing that their children acquire 'proper' English (De Klerk 1999: 318). De Klerk points out that 'these children will acquire something closer to standard SAE by the time they leave school, and their influence is very likely to counteract the appeal of BSAE'. With their privileged educational backgrounds, 'elite closure' (Myers-Scotton 1993) is likely to result from their influence in maintaining the normative value of exonormative English.

The attitudes which prevail particularly in the upper middle class have been documented by the research findings of VanRooy et al. (2000: 205–6): they explain that Black (grade 11 Sotho-speaking pupils) users of English attach the highest prestige to an acrolectal variety of Black South African English, which closely resembles White South African English as regards both pronunciation and grammar, rather than to White South African English. To them, 'it serves as a marker of cultural identity within the complex, multilingual and multicultural identities of black users of English in South Africa'. The results of Coetzee-Van Rooy and Van Rooy (2005: 16) furthermore indicate that also the mesolectal variety of Black South African English is attributed with low prestige. Their findings demonstrate that university students they observed 'do not want to associate themselves as much with this variety in their proximity ratings, and it scores low in the attitude and comprehensibility tests'. This is corroborated by Mesthrie (2009: 6), who explains that black students who had attended one of the secondary schools that had previously been reserved for white students 'rejected township English entirely, seeing it as deficient', while students who identify with black culture regard those who seem to adapt to white culture as 'coconuts': dark on the outside, but white on the inside. Similarly, Makubalo's ethnographic study reveals that individual pupils in a formerly white, now desegregated, English-medium high school, located in the affluent northern suburbs of Johannesburg, find ways 'of distancing themselves from those who have been assimilated into the mainstream' (2007: 31). Thus speakers make different selections from the phonetic features available in South Africa's 'pool' of variants.

Currently, these choices seem to be undergoing change across the various social strata and ethnic communities in South Africa, as Meierkord's and Mesthrie's ongoing research into language and identity construction in South Africa indicates (see Mesthrie 2009, Meierkord 2012). Their sociophonetic analyses of the pronunciations in the various ethnic communities reveal that prestige assignment to the different pronunciations differs across class boundaries. One sound which is particularly interesting in this respect is the vowel /u:/ in words such as *soon*, *room*, or *goose*. In the past, prestige had been attached to the White South African English variant of the vowel, [u:], while the laxer variant [U:_ associated with Black South African English had been stigmatised. During the last years, White South African English speakers have followed a trend found in Received Pronunciation (RP), fronting the vowel towards [y:]. Mesthrie's (2009) study observed for upper middle class speakers of various ethnicities and found that black speakers show extreme fronting of the vowel and that this is also, in part, found with coloured speakers. That is, these two ethnicities follow the trend associated with overt prestige. By contrast, the speakers discussed in Meierkord's project make very heterogeneous choices. While many students, both black and coloured, opt for the variant associated with White South African English, [y:], many other coloured as well as black speakers cluster together in their opting for a laxer vowel [U:_ . The coloured speakers thus disfavour the form of pronunciation traditionally associated with Cape Flats English and select a variant associated with educated Black South African English instead. Apparently then, the Black and coloured upper middle class is much more influenced by current changes in the White population's speech than is the case with the lower middle class and working class speakers. This might indicate that the latter speakers are not as

susceptible to overt prestige forms when their daily contacts involve interactions between Black South African English and Coloured South African English. Also, it would seem that they attach more value to their own accents, particularly since these are nowadays present and accepted in the media. Clearly, looking beyond the middle class or representatives of academia is necessary to arrive at a precise and representative picture of how English looks like in South Africa, which linguistic choices are appropriate in diverse social contexts, and how these choices affect social and economic participation.

India

India is a linguistically complex country in which several hundred languages are spoken and around 25 writing systems used. According to the 2001 census, there are 122 languages with more than 10,000 speakers, but over 96 per cent of the population speak one of the 22 ‘scheduled languages’, recognised by the constitution as their first language. There exist also a great many smaller languages – including 196 listed by UNESCO as ‘endangered’ (Moseley 2010), making India the home for more endangered languages than any other country. In such a multilingual society English plays a complex and multiple role. Indeed, the history of English in India is as old as that in North America, dating from the very beginning of the 17th century. Indian English is also one of the earliest recognised and documented of the new Englishes. Hobson-Jobson’s dictionary of Indian English (*A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*), for example, was first published in 1896.

This long history makes it the more remarkable how little we know about the numbers of speakers of English in India, who and where they are. A good command of English is limited mainly to a social elite, especially the relatively small number of whom have been educated in an English-medium private school. The latest census figures (collected in 2001 but released only in 2010) report that English was the first language for only 230,000 residents, but more than 86 million listed it as their second language and another 39 million as their third language (India Census 2010). This puts the number of English speakers in India in 2001 at more than 125 million, or around 10 per cent of the population. English is now, in terms of numbers who use it, the second language of India after Hindi. But in India, English is distributed very unevenly in a society which is divided not just by age and gender, but also an urban-rural divide, by ethnic and language group, religion and caste. It is impossible to understand the status of English and its role (potential or otherwise) in India’s development, without engaging methodologically with such complexity. For example, Manipuri speakers are over three times as likely to report English as their second language as Hindi speakers, and Tamil speakers twice as likely (see Table 1), reflecting historic regional differences in the place of English.

Overall, however, a total figure of 125 million English speakers in India is lower than has been commonly assumed. Bolton (2008), for example, surveys several recent studies and suggests a consensus view as 30 per cent of the population being able to speak English, implying a total of around 350 million. What might account for such discrepancies? Does it reflect the concentration of English among the elites and urban areas, where it is most easily noticed? Or a failure to understand the complexity of what counts as ‘speaking English’ in an Indian context. According the 2001 census data over 70 per cent of the Indian population over 5 years old are monolingual. It is interesting to compare this statistic with reported second language knowledge in the EU, where 44 per cent report being monolingual, varying from 1 per cent in Luxembourg to 62 per cent in the UK (Eurobarometer 2006). These figures suggest that the UK population is more multilingual than that of India. Furthermore, English accounts for one third of India’s second language use. Graddol (2010) concludes that the status and role of English in India is undergoing rapid change, and the 2001 census data may already fail to capture the reality of a newly-emergent situation. Indian society and its economy is experiencing a number of significant transitions. A demographic transition may well take the Indian population to over 2 billion before it stabilises early in the next century. As population growth slows, so its age structure will become more balanced, with a greater proportion of the population of productive working age.

Table 1. Percentage of L1 communities reporting English as their L2

Manipuri	27.67
Malayalam	21.24
Konkani	19.86
Oriya	15.32
Tamil	14.88
Bengali	11.09
Assamese	10.68
Telugu	10.48
Kannada	9.82
Punjabi	9.31
Hindi	7.68
Nepali	7.35
Sanskrit	6.66
Sindhi	6.22
Dogri	4.75
Kashmiri	3.86
Urdu	3.79
Bodo	3.54
Gujarati	2.22
Maithili	0.70
Santali	0.60

There are significant structural transitions in the Indian economy, which are together transforming the nature of employment. Fewer people will work in agriculture, more in services. The domestic economy, meanwhile is also growing—led by increasing consumption by a more affluent middle class, and is likely soon to become more important than the export sector. The availability of low-cost, English-speaking labour has been a major contributor to the growth of Indian business process outsourcing (BPO, including call centres but also back-office work). This sector has, however, become a victim of its own success: as operational costs and salaries rise, so locations like Bangalore have needed to move into higher value services, in which skills and education are as important as English. Many traditional BPOs meanwhile now recruit from second tier cities, even rural areas, where labour may be cheaper, but accents which are internationally acceptable more difficult to find. There are also important social transitions: the middle class, with disposable income, is growing in size, even in rural areas. More people will live in cities and small towns, though the urbanisation rate in India does not appear to be as high as is currently taking place in China. Lastly, there are important changes taking place in education: Enrolment, up to the age of 14, has improved significantly in recent years, but the quality of education in many schools is still extremely poor. Studies by ASER (an NGO which has surveyed educational outcomes in rural areas over several years) suggest that even though children may be enrolled in school, attendance by both students and teachers is poor, and very little learning appears to be taking place.

Graddol (2010) noted that these trends are fuelling an ‘English transition’ in India. For example, as an economy shifts towards services, communication skills (including in English) become more sought-after by employers. English is seen by many poor families in India as providing an escape from poverty, and one of the first calls on any disposable income is often in education: especially sending a child to one of the many private (and hence English medium) schools which are proliferating in both urban and rural areas. Higher education – largely English-medium – is also expanding, putting further pressure on schools to improve the English skills of school-leavers.

The increasingly vocal demand for English among the poor is not just caused by economic factors, it is also increasingly political. Government schools – which have long been the heartlands of vernacular-medium schooling – have come under parental pressure to provide English teaching at primary level, and even English-medium classes. The medium of instruction continues to be the focus of struggle in

several Indian states, with courts often becoming involved. English-medium schooling in Karnataka, for example, has been a politically sensitive matter for decades, and seems no nearer resolution than ever, despite a ruling by the Supreme Court in Delhi in 2010 that parents have the right to decide the medium of instruction for their children. This is not just a regional-centre struggle. Some believe that there is a lack of political will to expand access to English among the elite. During research for Graddol (2010), one senior member of the Indian Administrative Service (IAS) admitted:

I feel that inside, most politicians in India are very wary of English, they know its power, which is why all their children go to English-medium schools, but I think that we need to recognise the fact that politicians are basically against the spread of English because they feel once English medium reaches Government and municipal schools, people will be able to understand what all these American and British TV channels are saying. They will be able to access the internet to become a truly global citizen. Then they will start asking the question: Should I vote for this person? Or do I demand a higher quality of individual to represent me as my elected representative [. . .] Everyone must understand that at least in India, we are battling this and any solution we find has to be a solution which does not openly confront anyone at the political level.

Dalit intellectuals now argue that English is the key to the emancipation of low-castes. For example, Meena Kandasamy (Interview with Meena Kandasamy by David Graddol, recorded in Chennai, March 2009), a Tamil writer and political activist, makes three main claims for English: (a) oppressive relationships and social positioning of ‘outcasts’ is codified in the lexicon and grammar of regional languages, which English allows escape; (b) competence in English allows Dalits to present their plight to an international public, without requiring their message to be mediated by higher-castes that oppress them: ‘The only thing that can put an end to this evil system is the aroused opinion of the international community’ (Brown 2010); (c) English can unite Dalits across the country, who speak many different languages, into a coherent political movement, just as English allowed the independence movement to come together. The official position of English in India remains that of a post-independence transitional necessity, and there remains a ‘department of official language’ in central government, whose role is to promote the learning and use of Hindi for official purposes. This agenda has been overtaken by events, yet our understanding of the role of English in many Indian communities remains poor.

‘English in development’ as a topic of study thus lies at the intersection of many processes, social, political and economic. The sheer complexity of these contexts makes any simple analysis impossible, but there is a growing agenda requiring research. The familiar policy question, ‘What is the best age to start teaching English?’, is difficult enough to answer on educational grounds, but has become a seemingly intractable issue in the political, economic and social context of India. The notion that English should be learned in the context of nurturing multilingualism has long appeared in policy documents, but not in classrooms. Yet there are interesting experiments taking place – often by NGOs working in remote areas – which could usefully be fed into the mainstream.

The Philippines

The Philippines is a linguistically diverse society, and home to more than 100 different Austronesian ‘languages’, and hundreds more dialects, according to the linguistic experts who have carried out research there, although for the last fifty years there has been a concerted government effort to promote the Tagalog-based national language, Filipino (McFarland 2008). In numerical terms, as well, the Philippines is also one of the largest English-using societies in the world, with, according to surveys, around 75 per cent of the population claiming to both understand and read the language, 46 per cent stating that they speak English, and 38 per cent claiming to think in English (Social Weather Stations 2008). The Philippines experienced almost 400 years of colonial rule, first, from Spanish from 1565 till 1898, and then from the US from 1898 to 1946, prompting Filipinos to comment wryly that they spent ‘300 years in the convent, and 50 years in Hollywood’. American colonial rule started with a brutal war which was then succeeded by the establishment of the first system of mass education that the Philippine islands had known, with elementary schools established throughout the country, using English as a

medium of instruction. In the period following Philippine independence from the US in 1946, English-medium education in the schools gave way to a bilingual system, made official in 1987, which persists to the present, although there are now efforts to establish a 'multilingual' system which would give greater recognition to regional lingua francas and local vernaculars. English has retained a wide range of functions in this Outer Circle society, including its use as a co-official language of government, law, and education, as well as its extensive use in the business sector, mass media and entertainment (Bautista and Bolton, 2008). However, whatever its usage in high domains of activity, among Filipinos themselves, the default spoken language tends to be the national language or local language coupled with extensive code-switching and mixing (referred to informally as 'Taglish' in Tagalog areas, Ceblish in the Cebuano region, etc.).

The acquisition of English is perceived as a passport to success by not only the business community and the government, but also by the grass roots (or the 'masses') themselves. Part of the reason for this is that knowledge of English is necessary for employment overseas, and it is now the case that an estimated 8 million Filipinos are currently working as overseas Filipino workers (OFWs), and that their remittances sent home to their families make an enormous contribution to the domestic economy (Llorente 2011). However, in the Philippines, as elsewhere, knowledge of English is also stratified by social class, and the argument has been made that the continued valorisation of the language helps perpetuate the class system in a highly stratified society where around half the population find themselves at or below internationally-benchmarked levels of poverty (AusAID 2011). According to Bernardo, we can conceptualise the links between English acquisition and social status in terms of three classes: the elite who achieve 'near-native competence' through private schools and the top universities; middle socioeconomic class who attain a 'passive competence' in English, and gain employment in lower-level positions in businesses, factories (and one assumes, overseas); and the poor who learn to speak 'rather poor English' and 'settle for low-paying, low-level jobs if they manage to gain employment at all' (Bernardo 2008: 35). With reference to language education, Bernardo goes on to comment that:

The overwhelming majority of Filipino children find their limited proficiency in English a major stumbling block in their efforts to learn in the various domains of knowledge [. . .] In contrast, the small proportion of Filipino children who acquire English language proficiency in a privileged milieu have good opportunities to benefit from English language education. They are likely to have a wide array of options available for further education, even in foreign countries. (Bernardo 2008: 36)

In this context, one major and obvious gap that exists in language education exists between most public schools and the well-resourced elite private schools, many of which are linked to the Catholic church. The situation for many public schools is distressing, as teachers continue to face countless problems in Philippine schools, including overcrowding, with up to 100 children per classroom, poor pay and conditions, poor textbooks, and, a lack of buildings, classrooms, and desks. When Brother Andrew Gonzalez (1940–2006) took on the challenging role of Secretary of the Department of Education in the country, he faced a number of pressing issues, as he explained in his memoir of that period (Gonzalez 2002). Among these were the shortage of 30,000 classrooms; a shortage of 40,000 teachers; and a shortage of 2 million desks. He also uncovered massive corruption at many levels, including building and procurement contracts, textbooks, and teachers' insurance. Despite tackling all these issues with energy and passion, many of the problems persisted and may even have contributed to his unfortunately early demise.

At the grass roots level, some idea of the experiences of public school teachers of English throughout the Philippines is available through a recent edited collection of teacher accounts of their work (Martin 2009). In one essay, one teacher describes the challenges facing educators in provincial schools:

It may be impossible to transform most of the public elementary school children from carabao English speakers into proficient users of the language [. . .] English is taught as a subject for a total of one hour a week in the elementary levels. And most public school children live in poverty. How then do we feed

their heads if their families cannot feed their stomachs? (Fernandez 2009: 21)

Many of the essays in Martin's book genuinely moving, evoking as they do the commitment and enthusiasm of frontline teachers for their work in public schools. In many of the essays, teachers not only discuss their own problems, but also those of their pupils. One of the teachers reflects that 'the English language is more accessible to the rich', and then discusses the case of a female student called 'Nerissa':

I have also come to realize that the English language is more accessible to the rich. Take the case of Nerissa. This 15-year old girl walks two and half kilometers to and from school every day. How can I expect her to be as attentive as those who are not as tired and sweaty when they get to the classroom? Nerissa belongs to a typical poor family of seven children and a father who worked as a laborer at a local banana plantation. If Nerissa had ten pesos a day, she could take a ride instead of walk to school. If she had ten pesos a day, she might have been more interested in the listening tasks. If Nerissa's family had electricity at home, she could have written better reports. If her home had electricity, she would have turned in better homework assignments. (Braganza 2009: 14)

In the contemporary Philippine economy, English has also proved something of a boon as far as employment of young Filipinos are concerned, at least in the case of one area, that of the call centre industry, which has been growing rapidly in many Philippine cities since the turn of the millennium. There are many critical issues that one might raise in this context (Bolton 2010), but, nevertheless, for many thousands of young men and women, the call centres have provided the opportunity to gain employment. As one young Filipino, John, interviewed by one of the authors in Manila declared, despite the stress of the job, he enjoyed using English:

Overall I find it quite enjoyable . . . especially for me I came from the province Im not a – I'm enjoying it a lot together with me talking in English because it's my pride to talk in English because when you're in the province and you talk in English they're like oh my god that uhm guy is talking in English. They're not used to Filipino talking in straight English especially they're just farmers. (John, 25 years of age)

John, who was from a modest background in the south of the country, also explained that in fact, English was his fourth language learned:

My first language it's Waray-Waray it's the dialect in our province. My second language is Cebuano which is from the Visayas region, my third language is Tagalog and English is just my 4th language. But I was able to develop English language when I was in elementary because the medium of communication in our school is English.

Many of the call centre agents interviewed expressed the belief that the call centre industry was good for the Philippines, as mentioned by Susan, another interviewee:

A lot of people now is getting bothered of how to uh on how to learn how to speak English. If you noticed before, people, we have graduates from different universities but they don't but they don't really care about the language. But now that they have seen how potential it is to work in a call center [. . .] they will undergo training just to have this job and it's really a big help for the country. Number one for income, that's number one. I was able to survive my family because of the earnings I have from this company. (Susan, 32 years of age)

The stories of these teachers and call centre workers are not simply interesting, but also have a deeper significance that resonates with many other settings in Asia and elsewhere. Among other things they serve to remind us of the distance between the discourse of the office-bound linguist *qua* cultural theorist often compelled by academic orthodoxy to limit his discussion of these topics to a postcolonial critique, and the rather fresher and perhaps less sophisticated voices of those whose daily lives are affected by such matters. Another argument here is that academic research on English worldwide has

typically tended to focus overly on official accounts and elite contexts of use, and relatively little published research actually provides the space for accounts of the sociolinguistic realities of particular contexts from the points of view of the grass roots players themselves. This general axiom would apply not only to research in the Philippines but to many other contexts throughout the Asian region.

Indeed, what emerges in different ways from all three accounts above is that users and uses of English in the various developing countries are highly diverse. Much more might be done, we feel, to investigate the realities of English(es) in the world from the perspective of folk domains and less privileged communities at the grass roots of such societies.

TOWARDS EDUCATIONAL COLLABORATION AND RESEARCH

The results of the summative regional and country reports in the earlier sections of this paper, in their various ways, serve to indicate a significant need for further research on English in developmental contexts. In particular, we would argue that there is an acute need to move away from empty rhetoric, however enticing the latest post-colonial or postmodern turn may be, to engage in primary sociolinguistic research on the realities of English acquisition and use in third world communities. Such research must, obviously, be carried out by or with colleagues working in the areas. In development contexts, moreover, the humanities and social sciences activities of scholars are often underfunded and poorly supported, in ways that first-world scholars – despite the ‘crisis in the humanities’ discourse in Europe and North America – can only imagine. In this section, we attempt to outline a number of strategies that might help strengthen collaboration between first world and third world scholars working on English-related research from a WE perspective.

Collaboration on English language education

In developing societies, the teaching of English from a young age or the use of English as a medium of instruction is now a widespread practice in most educational systems. In these systems, however, the teaching of English as a subject, or its role as a medium of instruction is often highly problematic. At a very practical level (as seen above in the snapshots of the African, Indian and Philippine situation), there are issues relating to such basic resources as teachers, textbooks, desks, and classrooms, not to mention the question of adequate and inspiring teacher education. There is also the issue of deciding on a suitable teaching model. In most parts of Africa, Asia and India English is still taught with reference to a British model, which is typically very different from the localised variety that students typically encounter, and where the acquisition of a ‘native-like’ model is unrealistic (Medgyes 1994; Kirkpatrick 2007). One essential question for us here then is, how can established WE scholars in the developed world can best assist their counterparts in the developing world with reference to English language education? How can WE scholars from all parts of the world, including the developed and the developing world, best cooperate with reference to advice and assistance in English language education?

We should also emphasise that we do not see this endeavour as some kind of one-way missionary enterprise where one would seek to bring light to the darker corners of the ELT world. In our view, one of the most obvious deficits in knowledge and expertise is to be found among first-world scholars who may comment on issues of ideology and power with reference to ‘centre’ versus ‘periphery’ problems in English worldwide with little first-hand knowledge of the societies and the sociolinguistic realities where educational development issues are important. The proposed collaboration, therefore, would aim not only to benefit developing world partners, but also to benefit linguists working in Europe and North America and other developed countries, and to help these academics to understand the sociolinguistics of world Englishes in much finer grain and greater detail.

Establishing research networks

Given the scale of the task, establishing research networks with developing societies both at local, regional or even international level requires innovative strategies. Frequently, colleagues from the third world may not be able to attend international meetings due to monetary constraints as well as visa restrictions. One possibility here may be a more mindful consideration at international conferences of the problems faced by participants from the thirdworld, together with a push to establish dedicated scholarships for conference attendance. Another potentially easier solution might be to establish virtual networks, utilising internet technology (Koslow and Huerta 2001). With relation to this issue, we need to discuss how relevant WE research groups (involving scholars from all backgrounds) might best be established to extend research on the spread, function, and teaching of English in developing societies? The University of Bochum has recently been able to host a discussion forum through which interested scholars can collaborate, and details of this are provided at the end of this paper.³

Access to knowledge and publishing

Another issue related to monetary constraints is access to knowledge, in at least two senses. First, there is access to knowledge that has been created within developing countries. For example, in many African countries, in the field of language studies, it is often the case that highly relevant Masters and PhD theses are available only at their authors' home institutions. As a result, research by local scholars often remains unrecognized by scholars residing outside these countries. Second, research which is published in developed countries is often out of reach for scholars in developing societies, whose own resources may be limited, and whose institutions may not have the budget to acquire expensive books or journals. Although the Budapest Open Access Initiative and similar schemes are laudable international efforts to make research in all academic fields freely available on the Internet, most open-source online publications enjoy lower prestige than the established academic journals (Suber 2011). Here, it would be desirable to explore how established WE scholars can best assist their colleagues in publishing in relevant local and international journals and how publications might best be made available to colleagues in developing countries.

Doctoral and post-doctoral training and funding

Research into the status, functions, features and sociolinguistics of English in contexts of development also requires nurturing new generations of young researchers who are abreast of current developments in the respective countries. However, the difficult economic conditions in many developing countries often result in a lack of funding within these countries for research on language issues, including research on indigenous languages as well as the impact of English. At the same time, junior faculty usually have heavy teaching loads, which may hinder a PhD or post-doctoral research. Similarly, access to qualified supervision may also be affected by local exigencies. In the developed world, there are various funding schemes in existence for establishing exchanges between North America/Europe and Asia and Africa, some of which include PhD and post-doctoral training, but often this information may be difficult to access. Developmental world Englishes may thus have a role to play in collating and providing information on what sources of funding may exist for assisting younger scholars from the developing world to study for higher level degrees at university level, both in their own countries and abroad. If an interest is established in developmental WE, its agenda may well include such matters. It will also be important to consider which research agendas for PhD students and post-docs may be most relevant and productive in this context.

TOWARDS ESTABLISHING A RESEARCH AGENDA IN DEVELOPMENTAL WE

Research issues pertaining to English and development are by no means new and have been discussed by a number of scholars, as noted above (see also Kachru 1990; Kachru and Nelson 1996; Bolton 2006). However, the current proposal is not essentially aimed at contributing to critical discussion in

this context, but much more with considering what may be constructively done to improve the context for WE scholars on the ground in Third World and developing contexts, and how links may best be established between them and their colleagues in the Western academies and other so-called ‘developed’ contexts. This in turn may involve a research agenda that is specifically aimed at such key topics as the teaching of English in developing societies, English and socioeconomic development, English within multilingual societies and in the diverse communities of such societies, the impact of English on the linguistic ecologies language policies and language planning, and the teaching of English in developing contexts.

Also, as Clark (2006) explains, the greatest challenge faced by researchers dealing with issues of development is that they ‘must also be able to detach from intellectual disciplines to an effort to engage with the views and experiences of ordinary people’:

First, development studies must respect the voices of the poor. As social scientists, we have at least as much to learn from the poor as they have to learn from us. Second, research that does not engage with the poor and disadvantaged in a coherent and logical fashion may end up damaging the interests and prospects of the very people it is supposed to help. (Clark 2006: xxxvi)

As well as the careful consideration of what and who are suitable and appropriate objects of study in a developmental world Englishes research agenda, ethical considerations also need serious consideration. The Commission for Research Partnerships with Developing Countries at the Swiss Academy of Sciences has established guidelines which identify 11 principles. These include the development of sustainable networks, the creation of transparency, the dissemination and application of research results, and the equitable sharing of profits. When it comes to researching individuals’ actual use of English, the ethical problems associated with documentation techniques such as audio and video recording also require consideration, potentially resulting in the refinement of data collection procedures. In addition to such ethical considerations, practical issues include a lack of electricity in remote areas or the replacement of questionnaires in contexts of high illiteracy.

Perhaps one possible starting point in this context is for a special interest group in ‘developmental world Englishes’ to be established, to meet regularly at conferences run by IAWWE as well as American Association for Applied Linguistics (AAAL), International Association of Applied Linguistics (AILA), the Sociolinguistics Symposium, Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), etc. However, this project is still in its early stages, and the authors of this paper would welcome inquiries from interested academics from both developed and developing contexts. We would also encourage you to email us, as well as to visit the Bochum University discussion forum, details of which are given below.³

NOTES

1. This paper is based on a discussion forum that was held at the 16th International Association for World Englishes (IAWE) conference at Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, on July 27, 2010.
2. To ensure informants’ anonymity, all names have been replaced by nicknames. In addition to standard orthography, the following symbols are used: one or two points in round brackets “(.)” and “(..)” for a short pause, “+” for cut-off words, “/” for re-organised turns, “-” for cut off utterances, capitals for stress, and “:” for lengthened sounds. Bold print indicates hesitation phenomena, and italics backchannels.
3. An online forum has been set up at the University of Bochum to continue the discussions that emanated from our plenary at the Vancouver IAWWE conference in 2010. Its central goal is to allow for continued discussions in between conferences but also to provide practical information as regards funding options, publications, study grants etc. Please contact christiane.meierkord@rub.de for access to the forum.

APPENDIX

The Development Assistance Committee List of overseas development aid recipients (2009–2010)

Least developed countries	Other low-income countries (per capita GNI < \$935 in 2007)	Lower middle-income countries and territories (per capita GNI \$936-\$3,705 in 2007)	Upper middle-income countries and territories (per capita GNI \$3,706-\$11,455 in 2007)
Afghanistan	Côte d'Ivoire	Albania	*Anguilla
Angola	Ghana	Algeria	Antigua and Barbuda ¹
Bangladesh	Kenya	Armenia	Argentina
Benin	Korea, Dem. Rep.	Azerbaijan	Barbados ²
Bhutan	Kyrgyz Rep.	Bolivia	Belarus
Burkina Faso	Nigeria	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Belize
Burundi	Pakistan	Cameroon	Botswana
Cambodia	Papua New Guinea	Cap e Verde	Brazil
Central African Rep.	Tajikistan	China	Chile
Chad	Uzbekistan	Colombia	Cook Islands
Comoros	Viet Nam	Congo, Rep.	Costa Rica
Congo, Dem. Rep.	Zimbabwe	Dominican Republic	Croatia
Djibouti		Ecuador	Cuba
Equatorial Guinea		Egypt	Dominica
Eritrea		El Salvador	Fiji
Ethiopia		Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	Gabon
Gambia		Georgia	Grenada
Guinea		Guatemala	Jamaica
Guinea-Bissau		Guyana	Kazakhstan
Haiti		Honduras	Lebanon
Kiribati		India	Libya
Laos		Indonesia	Malaysia
Lesotho		Iran	Mauritius
Liberia		Iraq	*Mayotte
Madagascar		Jordan	Mexico
Malawi		Kosovo	Montenegro
Maldives		Marshall Islands	*Montserrat
Mali		Micronesia, Federated States	Nauru
Mauritania		Moldova	Oman ¹
Mozambique		Mongolia	Palau
Myanmar		Morocco	Panama
Nepal		Namibia	Serbia
Niger		Nicaragua	Seychelles
Rwanda		Niue	South Africa
Samoa		Palestinian Administered Areas	*St Helena
Sao Tome and Principe		Paraguay	St. Kitts-Nevis
Senegal		Peru	St. Lucia
Sierra Leone		Philippines	St. Vincent and Grenadines
Solomon Islands		Sri Lanka	Suriname

Continued

Least developed countries	Other countries (per capita GNI < \$935 in 2007)	low-income countries (per capita GNI \$936-\$3,705 in 2007)	Lower middle-income countries and territories (per capita GNI \$936-\$3,705 in 2007)	Upper middle-income countries and territories (per capita GNI \$3,706-\$11,455 in 2007)
Somalia			Swaziland	Trinidad and Tobago ²
Sudan			Syria	Turkey
Tanzania			Thailand	Uruguay
Timor-Leste			*Tokelau	Venezuela
Togo			Togo	
Tuvalu			Tunisia	
Uganda			Turkmenistan	
Vanuatu			Ukraine	
Yemen			*Wallis and Futuna	
Zambia				

Notes: *Territory.

(1) Antigua & Barbuda and Oman exceeded the high income country threshold in 2007. In accordance with the DAC rules for revision of this list, both will graduate from the List in 2011 if they remain high income countries until 2010.

(2) Barbados and Trinidad & Tobago exceeded the high income country threshold in 2006 and 2007. In accordance with the DAC rules for revision of this List, both will graduate from the List in 2011 if they remain high income countries until 2010.

(3) This does not imply any legal position of the OECD regarding Kosovo's status.

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