LINGUISTIC COLONIZATION IN THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH[1]

by

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The spread of technologies, information, and products from 'the West' – primarily from Britain and the United States – has meant that in the modern era a large number of the new loanwords enriching the world's languages have been borrowed from English. It could be said that this present-day trend represents a process of 'linguistic colonization' which has replaced the political colonization of the past and which has resulted in some degree of consolidation of human experience as well as local adaptive responses in the way of hybrid forms of expression.

1. Introduction

Surely one of the most remarkable facts of the modern era is the impact which the English have had outside their home territory. Even in this age of non-colonialism, the influence of the English is still strongly felt through their language. As Phillipson (1992) has observed: 'Whereas once Britannia ruled the waves, now it is English which rules them' (p. 1).

In the former colonies and throughout what used to be called the 'Third World', rapid modernization and emulation of a Western model of development has been accomplished by the transfer of technology and its accompanying bodies of information, products, and ways of life on a grand scale. This massive transfer has been accompanied by largescale adjustments in nearly every facet of social life to fit the imported knowledge, practices, and objects to the host culture. These major adjustments include shifts from elitist to mass education systems, from privileged to mass communication, from minimally intersecting individual communities to networks of linked and interdependent communities, and from agricultural to technological and information economies – or to a symbiotic relationship with such economies.

These very rapid changes have resulted in the spread of English words and modes of expression to represent a new reality. In Africa,

69

for example, at the University of Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania, lecturers mix English classroom terms and technical vocabulary into Swahili, as in the following examples:

(1)   Mimi nina # *two points // the first one* # iko hivi ...
        I   I   have   it is like this
        ('I have two points; the first one is like this ...')

        Schule zilikuwa # *nationalised* # karibu zote
        schools were   almost all
        ('Almost all schools were nationalised')
        (Blommaert 1992:60, 66)

At that same university, a research assistant making a report was recorded to say:

(2)   Zile # *hormones* # za uvyazi za *tilapia* zatigemea #
        environ-mental factors # zinazoworathiri hawa *tilapia*.
        ('The repro-ductive hormones of tilapia depend upon how the environmental factors have been impinging on tilapia.')
        (adapted from Kamwangamalu 1992)

On the streets of Dar Es Salaam, young people speak varieties in which English words are creatively adapted to new meanings in their mixing with Swahili, as in:

(3)   Wewe unaji   # *praudipraudi* #
        you   you are   showing off
        ('you are boasting', 'you are showing off')

        Mambo # *fresh* #
        things   fresh
        ('I'm alright')

        Kupiga # *fix* #
        to hit   fix
        (to pull someone's leg)
        (Blommaert 1992:66-67)

The first two sets of examples, (1) and (2), illustrate lexical mixing in institutional contexts, while the last set (3) illustrates lexical mixing in vernacular speech. Each of these contexts tends to be associated with different types of mixing (Pennington 1994, 1998a, b). In in-stitutional discourse, where referential meaning and clarity and precision of expression are generally primary, English terms tend to retain their original phonological and morphological structure and are used in their original and usual meanings. In vernacular discourse, where social meaning and creativity and distinctness of expression are more likely to come into play, English words are generally adapted substantially to the host language and the needs of the speakers. Thus in set (3) above, English words realized in Swahili-assimilated forms 'receive metaphorical meanings, and become idiomatic or slang expressions' (Blommaert 1992:67).

In all of Britain's former colonies, one can find a range of linguistically mixed forms of language such as those illustrated for Tanzania. In Kenya, primary school teachers mix local languages and Kiswahili, a form of Swahili, with English textbook terms (Merritt, Cleghorn, Abagi, and Bunyi 1992). In the urban center of Nairobi, young people from different ethnic groups establish a social 'common ground' by mixing words and phrases from English into Swahili (Myers-Scotton 1993). The following is an example from a naturally occurring conversation that took place in Nairobi, Kenya, between a teenage boy from the Kalenjin ethnic group and another teenage boy from the Kikuyu ethnic group:

(4)   Hebu, twende kuwaona Mark na Fred. Wa-li-sema tu kona
       # *programme fit* # sana kwa # *TV* #.
       ('Hey, let's go and see Mark and Fred. They said there is a
       good ['fit'] programme on TV.')
       (adapted from Myers-Scotton 1993:2-3)

This example, in which the English word *fit* is adjusted in terms of meaning and word order to suit the mixed-language context, is similar to those above, where young people in Dar Es Salaam

illustrate the creative dimension of the diffusion of lexis from one language and culture to another.

In India, school children learn much of their school-subject vocabulary in English. In that country, special registers made up of creative mixtures of Hindi and English can be found in industries of information and modernization such as advertising (Bhatia 1992) and films (Bhatia 1989). In Hong Kong, English is commonly mixed into spoken Cantonese and written Chinese in educational contexts (Johnson and Lee 1987; Pennington 1996; Pennington, Lee, and Lau 1996) and in the media (Pennington, Chan, and Lau 1997; Pennington, Lau, and Chan 1998). It occurs as well in the speech of students and media personnel outside of media and school contexts, in the community at large (Pennington 1998a, b).

Hong Kong university students have been observed to use a range of specialized English words in their otherwise Cantonese speech:

(5)   medical students: kidney, enzyme, bilateral, function, blind spot, maxima, patient, diagnosis
sociology students: polarise, revolution, equality, under-developed, materialistic
geography students: systems approach, plane
philosophy students: valid, logic, premise
(Gibbons 1987:65)

These are in addition to their own more assimilated student terms derived from English such as:

(6)   *re#sí* [2] 'resident'   *tjuto#* for 'tutorial'
(adapted from Gibbons 1987:66-67)

In the Hong Kong popular press, one can find inserted into Chinese text English words and graphic symbols such as letters of the alphabet employed for their sound value, as in the examples of (7):

(7)   Capital letter *D* for *dı#* (Cantonese marker of plurality, comparative, possessive)

72

> Doubled capital letter *B*, i.e., *BB* for the loanword *bìhbı#* 'baby' and as part of a new coinage, *bı#bı# geı#* 'beep-beep machine', meaning 'pager')
> (adapted from Li 1996:103)

In Hong Kong, as in other cases, English words are most common in the 'domains of modernization' (Kamwangamalu 1989) of technology, business, food, fashion, lifestyle, and 'showbiz' (Li 1996). In Chinese language advertisements, words and phrases from English highlight selling points, such as the product name, its key features, and special offers such as service warranties and on-site demonstrations.

English words are inserted into Cantonese discourse in other media contexts as well. An example is given in the following excerpt from a Hong Kong bilingual radio program. The speaker is a caller who has phoned in to take part in an on-air contest that he has played in six times already.

> Júng jó léuhng chi ja. Daih ya#t go jéung bán haih ló go # *key chain* #.
> ('I've only won twice. The first prize I got was a key chain.')
>
> Daih yih go jéung bán haih ló jó ya#t go # *set* # gó dı# # *coasters* # a, bùi jín a.
> ('The second prize I've got was a set of those coasters, coasters, you know.')
> (adapted from Pennington, Chan, and Lau 1997)

The only words that are in English in this excerpt are the prizes that the caller has won, i.e., *key chain* and *set...coasters*. Other than these English nouns, which highlight key points of information, the stretch of speech is entirely in Cantonese.

Outside the former dominions of Britain, the English language has also gained a tremendous foothold, often as a result of American influence. In Japan, for example, it has been estimated that over 95% of recent loanwords are taken from English (McCreary 1990). The

vast majority of these represent new things and ideas borrowed under American influence since the Second World War. And these loans from English have been brought into the very heart of Japanese culture, as have the new technologies and products they represent. A telling example is the very term 'high tech', borrowed into Japanese as *hai tekku*. Not only technology, but also the media industries of news reporting and advertising in Japan have borrowed words and their associated images from English, often in creative ways. An interesting example is the new coinage *nowy*, a word used to promote products as modern and fashionable in Japanese advertisements.

These are but a few examples of a phenomenon that is part of what has been called the 'Anglicization' (or 'Englishization') of the world's languages. It could be said that in the present day, this trend represents a process of 'linguistic colonization' that has replaced the political colonization of a bygone era. As colonization proper may gradually evolve forms of culture and government that are a mixture of local and imported elements and that are well-adapted to their environment, so is this process of linguistic colonization evolving hybrid forms of expression that have their own unique, local utility and functions.

2. The Exchange of Technology, Information, and Language

The spread and development of technology, information, and the English language are interlinked processes. In an accelerating trend since the Second World War, the people in many countries have been adopting Western technology and products, with the concomitant lifestyles and values. At the same time, they have been acquiring the linguistic resource of the English language to broaden their access to the desired technologies, products, and services, to the developers and disseminators of those goods and services, and to the bodies of information that are interconnected with their development and dissemination.

During the course of adoption, not only the physical processes of production and dissemination of the desired goods and services, but

also the linguistic processes of production and dissemination of knowledge related to those goods and services shift from essentially one-way to more two-way, interactive processes. Adopting English words to describe the tangible and intangible resources imported from the Western world facilitates their cooperative development. At the same time, it makes possible the creation of a home-grown culture of these technologies, products, lifestyles, and values that supports independent development of:

(i) the same goods and services;

(ii) other goods and services that serve the same purposes as well as or better than the original imports; and

(iii) new developments that build on the originally imported knowledge to create new products and services which have their own distinctive utility and advantages, and which can compete on their own terms in the marketplace.

In similar manner, the lexis – the *words* – associated with the innovations can be localized and customized to fit, linguistically and socially, into the communicative repertoire of speakers in the home community. Just as new products and technologies are adapted to local needs and resources, newly imported lexis can interact with local discourse contexts and resources in the creation of new communicative vehicles with their own distinctive utility and advantages. These creative effects are made possible by the pervasive influences of translation, school study, advertising, and the media of television, radio, and newspapers in spreading a certain level and type of knowledge of English throughout the host population (Baik 1994; Flaitz 1993; Hsu 1994; Shim 1994).

Technological and cultural borrowing creates the conditions for the development in societies of new communicative niches filled to a certain extent by lexical imports. These lexical imports can serve to boost the stock of a resident language, such as Swahili in Kenya as against other African languages (Myers-Scotton 1993) or Cantonese in Hong Kong as against other Chinese languages (Pennington

1998b), and so help it compete in the local 'linguistic marketplace' (Heller 1992). In this way, as Heller (1992) has observed, societies maximize their 'symbolic capital' through 'the setting up of alternative systems of value, alternative marketplaces' (p. 126) in which their own communicative means and values hold sway.

There is a general codependency of marketplace items, related information, and the linguistic forms in which the information is encoded, such that they develop and spread in tandem (Anttila 1972). 'A rapidly developing society constantly requires new vocabulary' (Kay 1995:72). Rather than taking the option of coining new words entirely within the native tongue, in the rush to modernize in Africa and Asia, cultures are borrowing and mixing English lexis into their indigenous languages on a massive scale. In the words of Zabus (1991):

> Whether Alfred Sauvy meant it or not when he coined the phrase – *le tiers monde* – after the French *tiers état*, the 'Third World' has become the site of the 'third code'.... This new register of communication, which is neither the European target language nor the indigenous source language, functions as an 'inter-language' or as a 'third register'.... (p. 102)

This Third-World code is constructed in large measure by English lexical imports on a base of local language.

A very big part of the information that is spreading around the globe is in a technicalized form – either an electronic or a technicalized linguistic form. In the latter, the linguistic, case, a technicalized discourse has grown out of the language of science, which for some time now has been dominated by English. In a related trend, discourse has become increasingly objectified. Miller (1995) speaks of a

> radical change in the world that follows from new technologies of objectification and, in particular, the continued increase in material culture, capitalism and the revolution in communications. (p. 20)

The technicalization and objectification of discourse means an increasing incorporation of technical terms in all disciplines, and an increasing reliance on language forms that name objects and their properties – nouns and adjectives. This includes the names of new products and ideas and the adjectives for describing these, in addition to the complex nouns that encapsulate the specialized meanings of each field, such as those below:

Applied Linguistics   second language acquisition
Adj.   Noun   Noun

Psychology   bilateral hemispheric function research
Adj.   Adj.   Noun   Noun

Medicine   lung   cancer death rate   increase
Noun Noun Noun Noun Noun

3. The Extent of Lexical Incorporation

The importation of Western technology and its accompanying lifestyles and information have promoted a degree of *lexical bilingua-lism* with English, through the largescale mixing and borrowing of English in Asia and Africa. In Europe as well, new product and lifestyle lexis has created such phenomena as so-called 'Franglais' (Étiemble 1964; Kahane and Kahane 1992; Kibbee 1993; the pheno-menon is also known from the Canadian (Francophone) province of Québec) and 'Youth German' (Salmons 1991). Lexical mixes or borrowings conveniently represent information in a 'distilled' form (Halliday and Martin 1993a,b), with a high concentration of content words, especially nouns, both simple and complex. The new terms brought in through lexical incorporation condense information in a way which is useful for the host language and its speakers to represent new layers or facets of meaning.

In most cases where this phenomenon has occurred, the presence of English has been felt not only in the lexicon, but also in the grammar and the semantics – the meaning system – of the languages.

All of these languages have made use of English in the creation of new words, sometimes by combining English and native language forms, sometimes by developing new meaningful combinations based entirely on English lexis. Thus, English serves as an important resource for naming and describing new things and ideas, both those imported from Britain and America, and those created on home soil.

The first two sets of examples below show the sorts of assimilatory, language-specific effects of this lexical incorporation. The subsequent sets show some of the more creative effects of this language mixing and borrowing process that involve blends and shifts of various kinds.

Table 1. Examples of Lexical Incorporation (Mixing/Borrowing)

<u>Change in Pronunciation</u> <u>Change in Word Structure</u>

pèi ('play')*, chè* ('chair'), gat[hering]'), *r#itsanòuh* ('regional')	<u>Cantonese</u>	*sòukek* ('soc[ial] *jòkgá* ('geog[r]a[phy]')
rajio ('radio') *rimujin* ('limousine'), *basu* ('bath', 'bus')	<u>Japanese</u>	*akuseru* ('accel[erator]'), *nisu* ('[var]nish'), *masukomi* ('mass commu[nication]'
mising ('machine') *libölöl* ('liberal')	<u>Korean</u>	*temo* ('demo[nstration]'), *suphö/syuphö* ('super[market]')
kabohydreti ('carbohydrate'), *kamishna* ('commissioner')	<u>Kiswahili</u>	*koti/makoti* ('court'/'courts') *motisha* ('moti[va]tio[n]')

<u>Change in Meaning</u>

<u>Cantonese</u>: *fuhlu#k* ('person who got through with minimum of work'; source 'fluke'), *fa#tsí* ('frivolous'; source 'fussy')

Japanese: *potto* ('thermos flask'; source 'pot'), *furonto* ('reception desk'; source 'front [desk]'), *manshon* ('high-class block of flats'; source 'mansion')

Korean: *haentül* ('steering wheel'; source 'handle'), *mithing* ('blind date'; source 'meeting'), *thalentü* ('TV star'; source 'talent')

Kiswahili: *life* ('a very luxurious kind of life'; source 'life'), *ready-made* ('a special kind of imported dress'; source 'ready-made [dress]')

Mixed Language Combination [simple mix or loanblend]

Cantonese: *chè lóu* ('chairperson'; source E. 'chair' + C. 'guy'), *làai gei* ('library'; source E. 'li[brary]' + C. 'business'), *cheung choir* ('sing in the choir'; source C. 'sing' + E 'choir')

Japanese: *chusha supeisu* ('parking space'; source J. 'parking' + E. 'space'); *haburashi* ('toothbrush'; source J. 'tooth' + E. 'brush'), *denwa bokkusu* ('telephone box'; source J. 'telephone' + E. 'box')

Korean: *libölöl-hata* ('to be liberal'; source E. 'liberal' + K. predicative marker), *temo-hake* ('in order to participate in a demonstration'; source E. 'demo[nstration] + K. adverbial marker)

Kiswahili: *plagi cheche* ('spark plug'; source E. 'plug' + K. 'spark'), *ofisa mipango* ('planning officer'; source E. 'officer' + K. 'planning'), *udongo alkali* ('alkaline soil'; source K. 'soil' + E. 'alkali')

Mixed Language Combination [creative mix or loanblend]

Cantonese: *ngàauh jíh gag* ('biting [Chinese] character gag': punning on Chinese characters; source C. 'biting [Chinese] character' + E.

79

'gag'), *CD chì* ('CD maniac'; source E. 'CD' + C. 'obsessive [person]'), *short short déi* ('a bit short': crazy; fr. E. 'short' + C. 'a bit')

Japanese: *mai homu shugi* ('my homism': 'a centring of one's life on home and family (rather than on work)'; source E. 'my home' + J. 'philosophy'), *hai tekku jidai* ('the age of high technology'; source E. 'high tech[nology]' + J. 'age')

Korean: *maikha sitae* ('my car period': an era when everybody has one's own car; source E. 'my car' + K. 'era'), *nochönyö histeli* ('old-maid hysteria': temper tantrums of single women around thirty; source K. 'old maid' + E. 'hysteria')

Kiswahili: *kuspend* ('enjoyment'; source K. 'to' + E. 'spend')

English-based Combination [simple phrase]

Cantonese: *fa#s yiàh* ('first year [student]'), *spòt ke#p* ('sport[s] cap[tain]')

Japanese: *buraujingu koonaa* ('browsing corner'), *ruutin waaku* ('routine work')

Korean: *aisü khöphi* ('ice[d] coffee'), *kkolkhip* ('goal keep[er]')

Kiswahili: *telefoni operata* ('telephone operator'; source E. 'telephone operator')

English-based Combination [creative neologism]

Cantonese: *destroy look*, *recycle fashion* (types of fashion); *junk culture*, *junk information*

<u>Japanese:</u> *pureigaido* ('ticket office'; source E. 'play' + E. 'guide'), *hai sensu* ('good taste in fashion'; source E. 'high' + E. 'sense'); *beisu appu* ('salary rise'; source E. '[wage] base' + E. 'up')

<u>Korean:</u> *onö tülaipö* ('owner driver' : people who drive their cars by themselves), *oltü misü* ('old miss': single women around thirty)

<u>Kiswahili:</u> *gia frii* ('neutral gear'; source E. 'gear' + E. 'free')

Sources for *Table 1*

<u>Cantonese</u>: Gibbons (1987); Li (1996); Pennington, Lau, and Chan (1998)
<u>Japanese</u>: Hayashi and Hayashi (1995); Kay (1995); McCreary (1990)
<u>Kiswahili</u>: Kishe (1994)
<u>Korean</u>: Shim (1994)

These examples give some idea of the nature, the extent, and the creative exploitation of English lexical imports in the languages of the world.

4. The Significance of Two-Language Discourse

The importation of a significant amount of lexis from one language into another makes available to at least partially bilingual users the combined symbolic resources of two knowledge stores, cultural stores, and semantic systems:

> the availability of two or more languages or codes offers new possibilities for encoding meaning, in the sense of providing two different representational systems, each with its own lexicon and unique cultural content, for conceptualizing ideas and for creating higher syntheses of ideas that build on the two representational systems or that create new merged systems of representation. (Pennington 1996:254-255)

81

An imported word or expression brings with it the interpretive framework of the imported language and its culture. In addition to the semiotic benefit of new creative resources, there is the benefit of broader inter-interpretation across discourse communities and cultures – though these two potential benefits are to some extent in conflict. There is also a semiotic cost, since 'all uses of lexis from one language in another are metaphorical in that their use implies a different map of reality than use of native lexis' (Pennington 1998c:4). Given largescale lexical borrowing, all discourses begin to fall into the Orwellian nightmare of 'Politics and the English Language', where all meaning is indirect and abstract – euphemistic and poetic rather than literal – and all language becomes political (Shapiro 1981). What has been termed the 'polyphony of all discourse' (Candlin 1996) then threatens to become a 'monophony' – or perhaps a 'cacophony'.

Lexical mixing and massive borrowing may produce an enriched discourse, through enrichment of the lexical store of the language and through articulation with the conceptual framework of an additional language. Alternatively, rather than this type of in-dependent development, it may produce a codependent or parasitic form of discourse, based in a chameleon-like adaptive non-culture such as that attributed to the African petty-bourgeoisie:

> Because of its indeterminate economic position between the many contending classes, the petty-bourgeoisie develops a vacillating psychological make-up. Like a chameleon it takes on the colour of the main class with which it is in the closest touch and sympathy. (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1981:22)

Contact with another language and its culture could thus result – on the analogy of Ivan Illich's (1982) notion of the 'shadow work' of housewives – in a kind 'shadow discourse' or what might be called a 'muted' discourse, in the sense of the Ardeners' *Muted Group Theory* (for discussion, see papers in S. Ardener 1975, 1978). According to the Theory of Muted Groups, in a given culture, the dominant structure is formed by the dominant group and its dominant model of

82

the world. A non-dominant or muted group and its counterpart model form a subdominant, muted structure (S. Ardener 1975b). Muted groups have 'a reduced level of perceptibility' (E. Ardener 1975); their voices are also muted in the sense that '[t]he muted structures are 'there' but cannot be 'realized' in the language of the dominant structure' (E. Ardener 1975).

In my conception, a muted discourse is one that is but a dim reflection of an unmuted, dominant discourse – one that is backgrounded and in some sense degraded or 'bleached' in comparison to the dominant discourse. Such degrading or bleaching might mean that the discourse has been assimilated and simplified in its pronunciation and grammar, and also that its semantics and conceptual structure are similarly derivative. Besides a muted discourse, other possible outcomes of contact with a second language and its culture include a sort of 'skeletal' discourse that has been termed a 'pidgin language', as well as hybrid discourses built through the creative blending of the resources of two languages to form a creole.

The potential semantic and cognitive value of the availability to speakers of two languages is therefore counterbalanced by the opposing potential of a very dominant language, such as English in the present era, to infiltrate and hence to dilute the world's stock of languages and the cultural bases underlying them. It might even be maintained, as some scholars are now claiming, that the distinctive-ness of the world's languages is under threat as a result of linguistic consolidation with English.

Presumably none of the societies where the presence of English is strongly felt through lexical incorporation or borrowing set out to allow themselves to be invaded to such an extent by foreign imports. What probably began as a limited expedience, imitation, and social embellishment, in s-curve fashion burgeoned into a massive incorporation or overlay of the foreign culture and its language. The linguistic and cultural consolidation that results from the spread of the English language then replaces the literal political domination by colonizers of a society – and its language and culture – from the *outside-in*. This literal form of colonization is replaced by a figurative form of domination of the society via linguistic

83

incorporation, taking over the language and the culture, as it were, from the *inside-out*. This internalized form of colonization has been termed 'linguistic imperialism' by Phillipson (1992) and 'symbolic domi-nation' by Bourdieu (1991).

5. Reactions to Linguistic Colonization

As a particularly insidious form of infiltration, lexical incorporation is in a sense potentially more threatening to cultural and linguistic integrity than the externally imposed military-political type of domination. On the other hand, it may be selected by speakers as the easiest, and apparently least linguistically disruptive, form of adaptation to the foreign language, its culture, and its products. Over time, this apparently minimal adaptation may, in exponential fashion, grow into a sort of 'black hole suction' process whereby speakers import more and more of the foreign lexis as they simultaneously import more and more of its cultural and material products.

At a certain point of high incorporation, the effects of the importation process start to change the way speakers create utterances, and the way they think, using language, about things and about the world. At some point – particularly, in the face of decolonization – there may be a backlash and an attempt to retreat from the brink of total linguistic and cultural incorporation or overlay. As Tiffen (1987) has remarked:

> The processes of artistic and literary *de*colonization have involved a radical dis/mantling of European codes and a post-colonial subversion and appropriation of the dominant European dis-courses. This has frequently been accompanied by the demand for an entirely new or wholly recovered 'reality', free of all colonial taint. (p. 17)

Linguistic 'purists' in Africa, Asia, and Europe – often those in education and government – wish to rid contemporary vernacular language of the influence of English and to recover their local language 'free of all colonial taint'. In Hong Kong, mixed language is blamed for a decline in educational standards, which the Education Department expects to raise by abolishing the mixing of Cantonese and English. In France, there has been a great effort to 'cleanse' French of English, American English in particular, since the 1960's: 'The rejection of *Franglais* turned into a crusade' (Kahane and Kahane 1992:153), with a polemic '[reflecting] the mentality of siege, a kind of cultural panic among French intellectuals' (Kibbee 1993:209). As Kibbee (1993) summarizes:

> Concern over the French lexicon has expressed itself in attacks on the penetration of English, and specifically American, vocabulary into French, laments interlaced with criticism of contemporary society in which America served as a symbol of the worst aspects of modernity. In this vision, the English language is inherently bad, a garbage dump of a language, which has accepted indiscriminate-ly input from any source.... The English language not only was created this way, but it had the same effect on European civiliza-tion.... All the worst aspects of modern society are linked to the American language: instability..., big business..., industrializa-tion..., materialism..., and so on. (pp. 213-214)

However, in Kibbee's (1993) view:

> Much of what passes for linguistic conservatism and anti-Americanism in the [anti-]*franglais* movement is, at its heart, a fear of modernity. Much of that fear of modernity, in linguistic matters, is a fear that the deed of linguistic authority will be transferred, in the new world order, to a new elite. (p. 213)

In some cultures, the rejection of English is a rejection of British colonialism; in others, it is a rejection of American culture and influence in the world. In the words of one scholar, however,

those who totally reject America appear to ignore how much of their own cultures make use of the international technical language to which America has so largely contributed during the twentieth century. (New 1978:362)

In Africa, early efforts to abolish colonial influence have been reversed as English is again a common *lingua franca*. In Japan, an official policy excluding foreign words from the Japanese language during the Second World War was replaced in the post-war occupation period by

> concerted efforts to Westernize. Previously banned words were reinstated in the language, and the 'boom' in adopting foreign culture which became renewed in that period has continued to this day. (Kay 1995:68)

In Japan today,

> [t]he loanword vocabulary, mainly from English, continues to expand and evolve, serving the changing linguistic needs of modern Japanese society, and fulfilling an essential role in the development of contemporary Japanese language and culture. (Kay 1995:75)

In Korea, 'there are some scholars who overtly express their admiration for the English language' (Shim 1994:239) and believe that Koreans should borrow more English words which are found to be useful. In addition, English loanwords in Korea, like Japan, are seen as increasing one's prestige (Shim 1994:239). The same can be seen in India, where, according to Kachru (1986):

> Competence in English and the use of this language signify...an added potential for material and social gain and advantage.... English is considered a symbol of modernization, a key to expanded functional roles, and an extra arm for success and mobility in culturally and linguistically complex and pluralistic societies.... In comparison to other languages of wider com-

munication, knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science, and travel. In short, English provides linguistic power. (p. 1)

Given the obvious utility of lexical incorporation in terms of technical communication, modernization, and creative expression, and given the considerable history of two languages together at the stage where people become alarmed about the degree to which their native language has been 'submerged' or 'polluted' by the foreign tongue, a full retreat from English – however much the purists might desire it – does not seem possible.

6. Conclusion

One of the great linguists of our time, Michael Halliday (1993), has remarked that: 'A language is a meta-stable system, which can only persist by constantly changing in interaction with its environment' (pp. 30-31). For the purposes of such interactive change, bilingualism can be viewed as a resource for linguistic rejuvenation:

> From an evolutionary perspective, the bilingual's adaptive be-havior and creative manipulation and replenishment of linguistic resources predicts to a continual renewal of the linguistic stock of the community and to a strong and long-surviving population. In this way, bilingualism promotes the persistence of human populations and languages as metastable systems which evolve by continually interacting with external influences and incor-porating new resources. (Pennington 1996:269)

As semiotic systems, that is, systems for making meaning, languages are dynamic open systems (Halliday and Martin 1993b; Lemke 1984). Halliday and Martin (1993b) have observed that:

> Human history is as much a history of semiotic activity as it is of socio-economic activity. Experience is ongoingly reconstrued as

societies evolve; such reconstrual is not only a necessary condition for their evolution – it is also an integral part of it. (Halliday and Martin 1993a:10)

And the incorporation of one particular discourse into others in modern times is possibly the most important form of this reconstrual that has ever occurred in the history of human languages and societies. The whole history of the English and their progeny in America and elsewhere now survives in small packets – in these lexical 'sound bites' – scattered all over the world and reconstructing the present and future face of the world in their image.

To me, it is clear that the English language and its associated culture and larger body of knowledge are massively infiltrating the languages of the world through the process I have termed 'linguistic colonization' and 'lexical incorporation'. However, at the same time as the people in many cultures are taking in, by choice, all this English lexis, it is equally clear that each language and its indigenous speaker group is asserting its individual identity through creative lexical development and localization of English terms and expressions to its own purposes (even in science, as Kibbee (1993) notes). Such a phenomenon is a recurrent one that in fact affected the English language in the medieval and early modern period, when it massively borrowed French lexis, in a process of 'lexical trickle-down' (Kahane and Kahane 1979).

In an article provocatively entitled 'The French lineage of English', Bailey and Maroldt (1977) describe the linguistic amalgam that survived into the modern era in the form of the language spoken by the people of England as a creole mixture of English and French. Whether one accepts that the degree of blending with French was great enough to warrant the term 'creole' to be applied to the English of the sixteenth century and beyond, I think it would not be at all accurate to say that Anglo-Saxon language and culture were weakened by the influence of French language and culture. One could easily argue the opposite case, that the language and culture of the British Isles was greatly strengthened by its en-richment by, or hybridization with, French, into the new linguistic species that is Modern English. Indeed, one might even suggest that the very

survival of the Anglo-Saxon language and its speakers into the present age was due to this creative amalgamation of communicative resources and cultural attributes.

In like fashion, the many cultures that have embraced English lexis to increase their access to technology, information, and the products of the disseminators of that technology and information have not only enlarged their semiotic systems but have increased their potential for innovation through the resources and norms of a different culture. In this way, they have been able to rapidly modernize through borrowing and hybridization and to thrive in the present era of global cooperation and competition by (i) linking in with a world network of business and communication and (ii) developing new resources, both material and expressive, on an expanded foundation – one built of two different views of the world, two different histories.

Although it can be argued that some cultural distinctiveness is lost by these borrowing and hybridization processes, any tendency to consolidate languages or world views appears to be offset by a tendency to creatively manipulate the resources of a second culture to construct new languages and world views. Rather than spelling the downfall of the affected languages and cultures, what we are witnessing is their growing strength, through a process of dynamic evolution that is in fact a prototypical one, given that 'linguistic hybridization is not the exception but the rule' (Whinnom 1971:111).

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Notes

1. This paper is revised from the author's inaugural address for Powdrill Professor of English Language Acquisition ('Linguistic Colonization: Technology, Information, and the Spread of English'), given at Putteridge Bury, England, on June 4, 1997, and appearing as an internal research report (Research Report 1:1, 1998, Language Research Centre, University of Luton). A different version of this work was given at the Knowledge and

Discourse Conference (June 1996) at the University of Hong Kong under the title, 'The Hegemony of English and the Consolidation of Human Experience'.

2.　　For the Cantonese examples, superscripted diacritics represent the tone patterns of words.

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