

ISLE Workshop:
Varieties of English in the Indo-Pacific—English in Contact (VEIP-EIC)*

Sociocultural Motivations of Language Use: Englishes of the Indo-Pacific Region

Abstracts

Pam Peters (Macquarie University); Adam Smith (Macquarie University) & Tobias Bernaisch (Giessen University)

The Antipodean Lexicon in Australia and New Zealand

This paper addresses the question of (1) how much of the shared antipodean lexicon originated in Australia or New Zealand, and (2) the sociocultural mechanisms by which they were transferred across the Tasman Sea. The datings of the shared words in the lexicographic records of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (online 2010) will be used to establish prior usage and the direction of borrowing. If these are more numerous on one side of the Tasman, it suggests an asymmetric relationship between the two varieties (Clyne 1991), and would challenge or lend support to Leitner's (2004) notion of Australian English exercising some epicentral influence on New Zealand English.

The epicentral argument needs to be supported by sociohistorical evidence – based on demonstrable sociocultural influences exercised on one variety by the other, which foster the sharing and borrowing of words. Quite a few of the words transferred across the Tasman in mid-C19 related to agricultural topics (Peters 2009), most likely reflecting the opening phase of agriculture in New Zealand by Australian developers from the 1840s (Tink 2009). The same technique, applied to a much larger set of shared words, will bring to light other semantic fields in which trans-Tasman sociocultural influence can be documented.

This research takes its Australian and New Zealand data from the *Oxford English Dictionary*, using its labeling system to identify and extract all the Australian and New Zealand words and senses listed in its 2010 edition (2666 and 1564 words, respectively). The records of those words/senses common to both varieties will be compared, to establish the dates of the first citation, and the range of senses. They will also be categorised in terms of the semantic fields to which they belong, referring to those identified by Rayson (2007) in his statistical approach to cultural keywords. The relative frequencies of the words in the GloWbE corpora for Australia and New Zealand will be calculated, to see how comparable their usage in C21 is. This recent data will also show how productive the words are now in both the donor and recipient variety, in terms of the derived and compounded forms of the keywords to be found, and any differences in their acculturation (Mukherjee & Bernaisch 2014) in each country.

References

- Clyne, M (1991) *Pluricentricity in Languages* Berlin, Mouton De Gruyter
Grant, Lynn (2011) Culturally motivated lexis from New Zealand English. *World Englishes*, 31(2), 162-176
Leitner, G (2004) *Australia's Many Voices* vols 1 + 2 Berlin, De Gruyter

Oxford English Dictionary (online 2010)

Mukherjee, J & Bernaisch, T 2014 Cultural keywords in context: a pilot study of linguistic acculturation in South Asian Englishes. In P.Collins ed. *Grammatical Change in English World-Wide* Amsterdam, John Benjamins 411-435

Peters, P (2009) Australian English as a Regional Epicenter. In T Hoffmann & L Siebers eds *World Englishes: Problems, Properties and Prospects* Amsterdam, John Benjamins 107-124

Rayson, P (2008) From key words to key semantic domains *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 13,4: 519-549

Tink, A (2009) *William Charles Wentworth* Sydney, Allen and Unwin

Haidee Kruger (Macquarie University) & Bertus Van Rooy (North-West University)
Democratisation in the South African parliamentary Hansard? A study of change in modal auxiliaries

Democratisation as explanation for language change covers cases where linguistic usage demonstrates increasing avoidance of forms that cue unequal relations between people (Fairclough 1992, Farrelly & Seoane 2012, Leech et al. 2009). Changes in the use of modal verbs, especially the increasing avoidance of using modals in a way that imposes face-threatening obligations or rely on a hierarchically stratified view of human relations, have been adduced as evidence of such linguistic democratisation (e.g. Myhill 1995, Leech 2003, Millar 2009). The change in modal usage has been recorded across Inner Circle varieties of English (Collins 2009), with the exception of South African English, where core modals like *must* have not been in decline to the same degree (Wasserman & Van Rooy 2014).

The idea that democratisation accounts for language change is rooted in the assumption that, as societies become more egalitarian, language comes to reflect those changes. Democratisation, here, has a generalised meaning. In political science, however, democratisation specifically denotes extension of franchise and parliamentary participation to the broader public, e.g. the inclusion of women and other previously disenfranchised groups (Farrelly & Seoane 2012, Spirling 2016). Parliaments are thus a primary site where democratisation can be seen in action, making parliamentary discourse, as represented in the Hansard of Commonwealth countries, a particularly relevant data source of linguistic evidence.

South Africa offers an exemplary case of social change which may influence language use. This paper first outlines the historical trajectory of democratisation in the South African parliament. It subsequently sets out to correlate these socio-political changes with changes in the use of English modal auxiliaries in a specialised corpus consisting of the South African parliamentary Hansard, sampled at 10 year intervals from 1925 to 2015, to yield approximately 500,000 words per year sampled.

Modal auxiliaries are an important resource in political discourse (Simon-Vandenberg 1997, Vukovic 2014). We trace changes in the use of modal auxiliaries, as possible evidence for linguistic democratisation aligned with social and political democratisation, taking into consideration both changes in the immediate communication context of the chamber, and changes in the wider public audience as construed by parliamentarians. Changes in the frequencies of modals are reported first, before turning to the semantics of a random sample of modals that display significant changes in frequency over time, focussing on the strength of deontic force and the sources of obligation.

References

- Collins, Peter. 2009. *Modals and Quasi-modals in English*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Farrelly, Michael & Elena Seoane. 2012. "Democratisation". In Terttu Nevalainen & Elizabeth Closs Traugott (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 392–401.

- Ilie, Cornelia. 2015. "Parliamentary discourse". In Karen Tracy (ed.), *The International Encyclopaedia of Language and Social Interaction (Volume 3)*. London: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 1113–1127.
- Leech, Geoffrey, Marianne Hundt, Christian Mair, & Nicholas Smith. 2009. *Change in Contemporary English: A Grammatical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Leech, Geoffrey. 2003. "The English modal auxiliaries 1961-1992". In Roberta Facchinetti, Manfred Krug & Frank Robert Palmer (eds.), 2003. *Modality in Contemporary English*. Berlin: Mouton De Gruyter, pp. 223–240.
- Millar, Neil. 2009. "Modal verbs in TIME: Frequency changes 1923-2006". *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 14(2): 191–220.
- Myhill, John. 1995. "Change and continuity in the functions of the American English modals". *Linguistics* 33.2: 157–211.
- Simon-Vandenberg, Anne-Marie. 1997. "Modal (un)certainly in political discourse: A functional account". *Language Sciences* 19(4): 341–356.
- Spirling, Arthur. 2016. "Democratization and linguistic complexity: The effect of franchise extension on parliamentary discourse, 1832-1915". *The Journal of Politics* 78(1): 120–136.
- Vukovic, Milica. 2014. "Strong epistemic modality in parliamentary discourse". *Open Linguistics* 1: 37–52.
- Wasserman, Ronel & Bertus van Rooy. 2014. "The development of modals of obligation and necessity in White South African English through contact with Afrikaans". *Journal of English Linguistics* 42(1): 31–50.

Carolin Biewer (University of Würzburg) & Kate Burridge (Monash University)

Angloversals, varioversals or areoversals? Pronominal systems in Australasia and the South Pacific revisited

In this paper we focus on the pronominal systems of the most significant Englishes currently spoken in Australasia and the South Pacific (AuSP). Our account covers the range of different variety types that have evolved as a consequence of the spread of English into this part of the world, and includes English as a first language (standard and vernacular), English as a second language (acrolectal and basilectal), ethnic, pidgin, creole and mixed varieties (among others, Māori English, Aboriginal English, Pasifika Englishes, Fiji English, Samoan English, Cook Islands English, Tok Pisin, Bislama, Solomon Islands Pijin, Pitcairn / Norfolk, Palmerston Island English).

Drawing on Kortmann's (2010) classification of recurring vernacular features and considering the grammatical behaviour of pronouns around the Anglophone world, it is clear that a number of these AuSP features are widely attested and constitute (near) universals (or *angloversals*) of (nonstandard) pronominal usage in English; for example, special second person plural forms, levelled cases, null subjects. More interesting are those morphosyntactic features that stand out as being peculiar to this region (see Wagner 2012; Siegel 2013); for example, pronoun number (singular, dual (trial), plural), inclusive/exclusive contrast (including or not including the addressee), null objects. The question then is to what extent these features cluster according to geographical region (i.e. as *areoversals*) or according to variety type (i.e. as *varioversals*).

Kortmann argues "that variety type outperforms geography as a predictor of the morphosyntactic profiles of Englishes around the world" (2010: 410). But the question then remains — why do we find such strikingly different features in this region? Clearly there have been substrate effects at work, but only when we take account of the external ecology can we explain why certain language habits are transferred. Many of these speech communities in the Pacific are small and closely integrated, so people interact frequently with one other and share a large amount of common knowledge; often there are serious tensions between insiders and outsiders (historically and continuing to present-day). This paper revisits the impact of geography and explores how factors to do with the sociocultural and historical aspects of the linguistic setting have been involved in shaping the unusual pronominal patterns.

This leads us to a final question — where might some of these "exotic" pronominal features be heading now? Certainly, societies like those in Australasia and the South Pacific are not closed to innovation, and they are of course not closed either to importing cultural and linguistic elements from outside. Of particular relevance here is the impact of New Zealand English and Australian English, not just on account of geographical closeness but also of political and economic clout. How will these morphosyntactic features fare under the spread of new technologies, the demands of international communication and the flourishing of novel creative and colloquial discourses online? And most importantly, what will the influences be of youth culture on the young generation of speakers now so hooked to their smart devices.

References

Kortmann, Bernd 2010. Variation across Englishes: Syntax. In Andy Kirkpatrick (ed) *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*. London: Routledge.

- Siegel, Jeff 2013. Regional Profile: Australia Pacific Region. In Bernd Kortmann and Kerstin Lunkenheimer, eds., *Mouton World Atlas of Variation in English*. Berlin/Boston: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 765-782.
- Wagner, Susanne 2012. Pronominal systems. In *Areal Features of the Anglophone World*, edited by Raymond Hickey pp. 375-408 Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Verena Schröter (Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies)

Degree of contact and subject omission in Asian varieties of English

It is well known that the extralinguistic conditions of language use crucially influence the structural outcome of language contact. Intense contact on a societal and individual level can cause massive restructuring on the linguistic level, potentially culminating in a typological shift of the contact variety away from their superstrate (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988). The present study investigates the relation between sociolinguistic habitat and degree of structural adaptation in three Asian varieties of English, fruitfully combining insights from World Englishes studies with the quantitative methodology of variationist sociolinguistics. The analysis is based on the respective components of the International Corpus of English (ICE), allowing for a comparison of educated spoken Singapore, Hong Kong, and Indian English.

Singapore, Hong Kong, and India constitute widely different sociolinguistic settings. However, the linguistic ecology is more homogenous, since the local languages in contact with English all represent a syntactic configuration contrary to Standard English with regard to the classic typological parameter of subject pronoun realisation (*pro-drop* vs *non-pro-drop*, see e.g. Dryer 2013). Their influence on the varieties of English investigated here is evident from instances of null subjects that are exceedingly rare or considered ungrammatical in Standard English, such as subject omission in subordinate clauses and questions, in non-initial position, and in non-referential contexts. This tension, together with the quantitative nature of the syntactic variable, makes null subjects in Asian Englishes a promising field of investigation for researchers interested in the interface of linguistic typology, language-internal variation, and variationist sociolinguistics.

The current approach builds on the comparative variationist method devised by Poplack & Tagliamonte (2001) and uses the diagnostics proposed by Meyerhoff (2009) to assess different degrees of structural convergence between the English superstrate and the local substrates. This manifests in similarities and deviances between the linguistic constraints at work in the different varieties. The analytical method of choice is multiple logistic regression, a statistical tool widely used in variationist sociolinguistics, and increasingly employed to evaluate contact effects in the grammatical system of contact Englishes (see e.g. Sharma & Rickford 2009, Torres Cacoullos & Travis 2015). Differences in the conditioning of syntactic variables are visible from the statistical significance, as well as in the different weightings of structural factors in the multivariate analysis - the greater the contrasts between these diagnostics, the larger the divergence between the underlying grammatical systems.

Adopting such a comparative perspective allows for more qualified statements on the degree and amount of contact effects in each individual variety. Indeed, the comparison of the three Asian Englishes shows that, beyond mere differences in the frequency of null subjects, the L2 varieties Indian and Hong Kong English exhibit more fundamental similarities in subject pronoun realisation compared to the L1 variety Singapore English. This is especially impressive given the strong institutionalised pressure towards Standard English in Singapore and shows how the crucial role of non-Standard varieties in identify formation can override such prescriptive efforts.

References

- Dryer, Matthew S. 2013. "Expression of pronominal subjects." In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. <http://wals.info/chapter/101>, accessed on 2018-01-20.
- Meyerhoff, Miriam. 2009. Replication, transfer, and calquing: Using variation as a tool in the study of language contact. *Language Variation and Change* 21(3). 297–317.
- Poplack, Shana & Sali Tagliamonte. 2001. *African American English in the Diaspora*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sharma, Devyani & John R. Rickford. 2009. AAVE/creole copula absence: A critique of the imperfect learning hypothesis. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 24(1). 53–90.
- Thomason, Sarah G. & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Torres Cacoullous, Rena & Catherine E. Travis. 2015. "Foundations for the study of subject pronoun expression in Spanish in contact with English: Assessing inter-linguistic (dis)similarity via intra-linguistic variability." In Ana M. Carvalho, Rafael Orozco & Naomi Lapidus Shin (eds.), *Subject Pronoun Expression in Spanish: A Cross-Dialectal Perspective*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 81-100.

Loy Lising (Macquarie University) & Tobias Bernaisch (Giessen University)

A Study of Attitudes towards Varieties of English in the Philippines

Within the framework of World Englishes, attitudes towards varieties of English spoken in multilingual postcolonial contexts have been regarded as an important factor in the evolution of these varieties. Schneider's (2007) stage 4 of his evolutionary model emphasises that for nativised structures to become accepted as local norms, and for an exonormative orientation to be replaced with an endonormative one, positive attitudes towards and endorsement of the local variety of English are essential. He also emphasises the close relationship between such acceptance of local norms, and the development of a local identity (Schneider 2007 p.49).

A number of attitudinal studies in the framework of World Englishes have focused on the attitudes of speakers towards different varieties of English. Bernaisch (2012) and Bernaisch and Koch (2016), for example, focus on the attitudes of Sri Lankan and Indian users of English towards their own and other varieties of English. Hundt et al. (2015) carry out a similar analysis of attitudes towards different varieties of English in Fiji. In the Philippines, Bautista (2001), Borlongan (2009), Martin (2014) and Tupas (2006) have conducted similar studies to determine attitudes towards the varieties of English in the country. These studies yield important attitudinal findings.

This paper extends these studies and investigates university students' contemporary attitudes towards existing varieties of English in the Philippines. On the basis of bipolar pairs arranged on six-point semantic differential scales, the survey samples attitudes towards American English, British English and Philippine English and correlates the results with relevant sociobiographic variables. The results based on 92 surveys from Manila and Cebu are relatively clear-cut and provide a recent snapshot of Philippine perceptions in relation to varieties of English thus documenting modifications in the speakers' mindsets that may have set in since earlier attitudinal studies in the Philippines (cf. e.g. Gonzalez, 1983). While it is certainly true that Philippine informants recognise and positively evaluate their local variety of English, there is no denying that British English is associated with positive attributes in the Philippine speakers' "attitudinal cognitorium" (Bassili & Brown 2005: 552). It is noteworthy that the historical input variety of Philippine English, American English, receives more positive evaluations than Philippine English, but it also become obvious that the Philippine speakers systematically assigned British English more positive evaluations than American English. It is only with the solidarity-related characteristics *friendliness* and *humbleness* that Philippine English receives the highest attitudinal ratings, where British and American English are assigned more positive ratings with attributes relating to *competence*, *power* and *status*. The acceptability and shifting positive attitude towards Philippine English is consistent with previous studies (Bautista, 2001; Borlongan, 2009; Martin, 2014 and Tupas, 2006). Similarly, while the local variety is gaining acceptance, a privileging of American English over the local variety continues to persist also as shown in the previous studies. A departure from the previous findings is the privileging of British English over American English. A follow-up qualitative research investigating this preference is important to shed light to this increased positive attitude towards British English over American English.

References

- Bassili, J. N. & Brown, R.D. (2005). Implicit and explicit attitudes: research, challenges, and theory. In D. Albarracín, B. T. Johnson & M. P. Zanna (Eds). *The Handbook of Attitudes*, (pp. 543-574). Malwah, NJ and London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Bautista, M.L.S. (2001). Attitudes of selected Luzon university students and faculty towards Philippine English. In M.L.G. Tayao et al. (Eds.). *Rosario E. Maminta in focus: Selected writings in applied linguistics*, (pp. 236-273). Quezon City: Philippine Association for Language Teaching.
- Bernaisch, T. (2012). Attitudes towards Englishes in Sri Lanka. *World Englishes* **31(3)** (pp. 279-291). Bernaisch, T. & Koch, C. (2016). Attitudes towards Englishes in India. *World Englishes* **35(1)** (pp. 118-132).
- Borlongan, A.M. (2009). A survey on language use, attitudes, and identity in relation to Philippine English among young generation Filipinos: An initial sample from a private university. *Philippine ESL Journal* **3** (pp. 74-107).
- Gonzalez, A. (1983). When does an error become a feature of Philippine English? In R.B. Noss (Ed). *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia*. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.
- Hundt, M., Zipp, L. & Huber, A. (2015). Attitudes in Fiji towards varieties of English. *World Englishes* **34(4)** (pp. 688-707).
- Martin, I. (2014). Philippine English Revisited. *World Englishes* **33(1)** (pp. 50-59). Schneider, Edgar W. (2007). *Postcolonial English: Varieties around the world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tupas, T.R. (2006). Standard Englishes: Pedagogical paradigms and their conditions of (im)possibility. In T.R. Tupas and M Saraceni (Eds). *English in the World: Global Rules, Global Roles*, (pp. 169-185). London: Continuum.