

## **“Broken” English as an International Language**

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At the opening ceremony for the first group of graduate students at the International University of Japan in April, 1983, President Saburo Okita related an anecdote to illustrate the position of English in today's international society. The anecdote concerned a group of diplomats at an international conference. One diplomat remarked to a group of others, of various nationalities, that “it certainly seems that English has somehow become the international language.” This comment was met with general agreement, except from a Soviet diplomat, who retorted, “No, English is not the international language...the international language is ‘broken’ English!” Though “broken” English is an infelicitous term for reasons which will be discussed later, the Soviet diplomat had made a perceptive point, an examination of which can provide some insights into the reasons why English has become such an important language for international and intranational communication, and how its role is likely to evolve hereafter. After reviewing some of the evidence which supports the view of English as a world language of unprecedented importance, this paper will attempt to analyze the reasons for the success of English as an additional language and to speculate on how its role is likely to change in the future, in both instances with particular reference to the great variety of Englishes spoken around the world, many of which have been labelled at one time or another “broken” English. The paper will conclude with some tentative suggestions for how language training in Japan might be improved so as to help the Japanese meet their ever-increasing need for effective international communication.

The word ‘international’ was introduced into the English language nearly 200 years ago by Jeremy Bentham,<sup>1</sup> a utilitarian philosopher who shared the concern earlier expressed by Francis Bacon that learning suffers “distemper” through the fact that words effectively mask and obscure the “weight of matter” that should be at the center of our attention.<sup>2</sup> The problem of communicating across cultures had also been addressed by Shakespeare, in *The Merchant of Venice*: “You know I say nothing to him, for he understands not me, nor I him: he hath neither Latine, French, nor Italian...and I have a poore penniworth in the English... He is a proper man's picture, but alas, who can converse with a dumbe show?”<sup>3</sup> When John Milton made the difficult decision to write reject Latin and instead write a national epic in his native English, he resigned himself to the fact that he would have to be “content with these Brit-

ish Islands as my world"<sup>4</sup>; he was convinced that he would not be read or recognized abroad. A bit more optimistic about the English language was John Adams, the second president of the United States, who pronounced in 1780 that "English will be the most respectable language in the world and the most universally read and spoken in the next century, if not before the close of this one."<sup>5</sup> His timing was not accurate, but the substance of his statement was. Whether the English language is the world's most respectable or not is a moot point, but in the latter half of the twentieth century it is certainly the most widely read and spoken, second only to Chinese in sheer number of speakers, and clearly number one in terms of geographical spread.

### The Evidence

In many ways, English already meets the requirements of a true world "lingua franca." It is spoken natively by approximately 300 million people, and as an additional language by almost that many more.<sup>6</sup> It is the predominant language in which mail is written (70%),<sup>7</sup> the principle language of radio broadcasting (60%),<sup>8</sup> the standard language of aviation, and has become by far the most important language of diplomacy. In 1970, of the then 126 member nations of the United Nations, 80 received their basic working documents in English, and at least 15 more requested copies in English in addition to those they received in one of the other "official languages": French, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese.<sup>9</sup> In addition to its prominence at the United Nations, English has also been chosen as an official working language by many other international organizations including Amnesty International, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the Asian Development Bank, the Asian Industrial Development Council, the Pacific Basin Economic Council, the Association of International Libraries, the Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments, the International Passenger Ship Association, the Atlantic Treaty Association, and the Baltic and International Maritime Conference.<sup>10</sup>

As of 1975, English was the sole designated official language of some 21 countries and the designated co-official language of some 16 more, though it is spoken natively by 45% or more of the population in only 12 countries.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, there are several other countries where English is not an official language according to national policy but still plays official roles in terms of actual practice. Countries in this category include Kenya, Malaysia, the Sudan, Pakistan, and Burma.<sup>12</sup>

As the most common additional language in the world, English is supported by school programs in virtually every nation.<sup>13</sup> The vast majority of people learning English in the world today are learning it in secondary school, a very significant fact because it is in secondary schools that the educational systems

of developing countries are now experiencing their most dramatic growth. Growing school age populations together with a growing percentage of the population actually enrolled in secondary school mean a demand for English instruction which is growing at a substantially greater rate than the population itself. In Asia, the secondary school age-appropriate population doubled between 1960 and 1970, while 97% of the actual secondary school enrollment was participating in English classes. The situation in Africa is equally impressive, again with 97% of the secondary school enrollment involved in English classes. The figures for other areas of the world are lower, but in no area is English class enrollment under 50%. The percentage of the secondary school enrollment in English classes in Europe is 56.9%, in Latin America 54.0%, and in the Soviet Union, 53.4%.<sup>14</sup>

At the tertiary, or university level, the situation is complex and it is more difficult to ascertain the role of English. Many non-English mother-tongue countries have university work conducted through the medium of English in some advanced fields, particularly technological fields. It can also be assumed that in countries where secondary level education is conducted mainly through English (the study cited in the previous paragraph lists 19 such countries), tertiary level work is through the English medium as well. Furthermore, most universities around the world offer not only instruction in the English language, but also English major programs which often include the study of English literature via the medium of English. Another way to examine the role of English in higher education is to look at the numbers of foreign students studying in English mother-tongue countries. In 1971, the total number of foreign students studying around the world was just over 500,000. About 40% of those were studying in English mother-tongue countries, and of that group approximately 80% came from non-English mother-tongue countries.<sup>15</sup>

Another indication of the worldwide status of English is the abundance and variety of English-language newspapers published in non-English mother-tongue countries. The *Political Handbook of the World, 1975*<sup>16</sup> lists 76 such newspapers in Africa, 50 in Asia, 13 in Latin America, and 4 in Europe. The large number of newspapers published in English in the non-English mother-tongue countries of Africa and Asia illustrates that there are many people who are able to read English competently and that they do so on a regular basis.

### **Reasons for the Spread of English**

The unique role of English as a world language, in terms of its number and geographical spread of native and non-native speakers, its official and non-official uses in international and intranational affairs, and its prominence

in education and the media, cannot be denied. Like the other important languages of the world, its rise can be largely attributed to the fact that it has been a language of empire. Its spread and influence were originally acquired through British imperialism in the nineteenth century and American economic power in the twentieth century. The combination of the political influence and the technological superiority gained through these two successive movements has given English an advantage over the other major imperial languages, such as French or Spanish, while the relative geographical restrictions of Russian, Chinese in its many forms, or Arabic have made these languages less influential internationally. However, this is far from being the whole story; indeed, it is where the story of "broken" English begins.

English has not only been the language of the imperialists. It has also played a vital role for many countries in their achievement of independence. Ali Mazrui, a Ugandan scholar, has pointed out the very wide range of audiences which had to be addressed in the years leading up to independence by politicians in countries like Nigeria, Kenya, and Uganda. It was necessary to reach such diverse audiences as the local indigenous populations, local colonial authorities, European governments, the public at large in European countries, other black African populations, black Americans, the government and people of India, and international organizations and agencies. At the same time, the language had to be politically neutralized as much as possible, since it would be difficult for anyone to advance a liberation movement using a language filled with associations of colonialism;<sup>17</sup> this situation reveals one of the sources of "broken" English. A language was needed that was widely intelligible, but somehow different from that of the oppressors. Perhaps English was especially well suited for African independence movements because the English colonizers had never taken pains to teach impeccable Queen's English "to those born without that grace," whereas that had long been the explicit policy of French governments with regard to both French language and culture.<sup>18</sup> Mazrui and other scholars maintain that the resultant "militant linguistic cosmopolitanism" among French-speaking African leaders in countries where French was the only common language inhibited the national liberation movements in those nations.<sup>19</sup> President Leopold S. Senghor of Senegal, himself a noted poet in French, puts a different perspective on the matter in his statement that English "provides an instrument which, with its plasticity, its rhythm and its melody, corresponds to the profound, volcanic affectivity of the Black peoples."<sup>20</sup> This is certainly not the impression of English that you would expect a first-time tourist to London to come away with, but Senghor's statement illustrates how English seems to adapt well to its variety of users. At any rate, compared with French, "writers and speakers of English are less

likely to let their respect for the language interfere with their desire to use it.”<sup>21</sup> One consequence of this difference in attitudes is that French is generally more uniform across the world, while English has developed a series of national standards.<sup>22</sup>

The extent to which these national standards, and the varieties of English which they have engendered, have developed and continue to develop is the key to the unique suitability of English as a universal language of wider communication. Some groups concerned with the promotion of English in the world have viewed this development with alarm; these sorts of groups would doubtless also have a tendency to categorize the many national varieties of English together as “broken” English, with its strong connotation of imperfection and inferiority to so-called “standard” English. The British linguist Randolph Quirk dismisses such an attitude quite effectively: “notions such as English is the Englishman’s gift and the language remains fundamentally ‘ours,’ etc., are parochial and naive;” they “do not even remotely correspond to linguistic realities and can do nothing but harm to the cause of human relationships and international harmony.”<sup>23</sup> This quotation is not meant to apply to the poor Soviet diplomat in Dr. Okita’s anecdote. He was correct in observing that the language most commonly used for international communication is not the same as that spoken by native speakers in England or 11 other countries, but considering the ever-growing demands of cross-cultural communication around the world, it should be agreed that the term “broken” English has outlived its usefulness.

### The Future

By the year 2000, the non-native speakers of English will in all likelihood outnumber those who speak it natively.<sup>24</sup> Already, an important new trend in the spread of English can be observed, in that it is now being significantly fostered by the non-native mother-tongue world, rather than being largely dependent on the resources, efforts, and personnel of the native English-speaking world.<sup>25</sup> Even more impressive is the fact that “this effort is not only conducted by Third World recipients of Western largesse, but equally massive programs via English are being conducted by the Soviet Union, the Arab world, and mainland China—world powers that have their own well-developed standard languages and that normally oppose various political, philosophical, and economic goals of the English mother-tongue world.”<sup>26</sup> Two complementary reasons why this trend is possible are that 1) in most parts of the world English has come to be accepted as a fact of life, its imperialistic associations fading rapidly;<sup>27</sup> and 2) with the rapid increase in global communication, “people like engineers, doctors, scientists, airline pilots and businessmen,

whatever primary cultural values they subscribe to, acquire the secondary culture of their specialities and thereby take out membership of different occupational and professional groups without being involved in any conflict of loyalty. These groups quite naturally develop uses of English which give identity to their particular specialist domain and at the same time fulfil the necessary conditions for communicative efficiency."<sup>28</sup>

The English language will continue to grow, in its breath of uses and number of users, as long as those who use it can feel that it is their own possession, with its own appropriate range of uses, its own body users with whom they want to communicate, and its own set of linguistic features.<sup>29</sup> That English has indeed become a possession of many of its non-native users can be most clearly seen in countries where policy-makers have tried to decrease the role of English. As early as 1951, a team of UNESCO specialists urged that an "unwilling public be persuaded to accept education in the mother tongue."<sup>30</sup> President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya announced in 1969: "We are soon going to use Swahili in Parliament, whether people like it or not."<sup>31</sup> The following year, the Kenyan ruling party Kanu proclaimed that it would "not tolerate homes where mothers and children talk to each other in English, forgetting their way of life."<sup>32</sup> About the same time, a sociolinguistic investigation conducted in Kenyan homes determined that English was the clear first choice of Kenyan children for the language that they would like to bring their own children up in.<sup>33</sup> Although these examples are all from Kenya, similar ones could surely be found in many other countries, especially those which have tried to limit the uses of English, such as Malaysia and Burma. More and more, non-native speakers of English are showing that the language has been accepted from within, that it is their language.

Another very significant indication of the extent to which English has come to be accepted from within by non-native speakers is the growing body of creative writing in English by non-native speaking writers, up until now predominantly from the countries of the Indian sub-continent, East and West Africa, and the Caribbean. Ironically, the biggest spurt in this English writing has come in the years immediately surrounding the demise of the British Empire. This body of writing continues to grow in both quantity and quality as the writers come to handle a wider range of registers, themes, styles, and techniques with increasing authenticity and idiomatic expressiveness, (at the same time "nativizing" all these aspects to suit their own purposes), and as their potential audiences grow, both in terms of the increasing bilingualism that creates a larger English-knowing indigenous audience, and through international recognition which provides a greater worldwide audience. Some of the writers in this group who have achieved wide recognition are Raja Rao, R.K.

Narayan, Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka, and Elechi Amadi. In the following quotation, Chinua Achebe highlights several of the themes dealt with in this paper:

So my answer to the question, Can an African ever learn English well enough to be able to use it effectively in creative writing? is certainly yes. If on the other hand you ask: Can he ever learn to use it like a native speaker? I should say, I hope not. It is neither necessary nor desirable for him to be able to do so. The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use. The African writer should aim to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium for international exchange will be lost. He should aim at fashioning out an English which is at once universal and able to carry his particular experience ... It will have to be a new English, still in full communion with its ancestral home, but altered to suit its new African surroundings.<sup>34</sup>

As writers such as Achebe continue to "legitimize" local varieties of English, speakers of these varieties will increasingly demonstrate a solidarity, identity, and loyalty to their particular variety. This indicates a bright future for English, but it could be in the very success of the spread of English where trouble lies in the future. Of course, a massive shift in economic and technological power away from the English speaking world would lead to a significant shift in the status of English, but third party inertia would reinforce the use of English for decades or longer.<sup>35</sup> The more likely danger is based on the threat that English poses, or seems to pose, to other languages. The perception of this threat will continue to increase as English continues to become more multicultural, and will gradually lead more and more people to wish for some alternative to English.<sup>36</sup> Already this phenomenon can be seen in the recurring need to control, regulate, or tame the spread of English by various governments. If English is to thrive as a world language, it must avoid political or social dominance over indigenous languages; thus, careful and sensible language planning is essential so that English, other languages of wider communication, and local indigenous languages can take their proper roles alongside each other in a way that is appropriate for each particular country. A problem deeply related to the ill feelings which are sometimes caused by the predominance of English is what sociolinguist Joshua Fishman calls the "parochialism of world languages."<sup>37</sup> Because of the convenience which the worldwide spread of English has afforded the Anglophone world, most native English speakers are insulated from learning the languages and cultures of other peoples of the world. The resultant parochialism is immediately deleterious to cross-cultural good will

and ultimately will be deleterious also to technology, science and industry in the English-speaking world. According to Fishman, "only if the massive world-wide efforts to learn more English are increasingly matched by Anglophone efforts to learn a good bit more of the languages (and values, traditions, purposes, etc.) of the rest of the world, might the current extraordinary position of English as an additional language be any more firmly established than were those of the previous *lingua francas* of world history." He continues, "unfortunately, we know far more about how to help the world to learn English (little though that may be), than we do about how to help native speakers of English learn about the world."<sup>38</sup> Thus, the future success of English as an international language rests in large measure on how well native speakers face up to the responsibilities brought on by the various international roles of their language, and indeed how well they are able to accept the fact that it is no longer exclusively "their" language, that in its many forms it belongs equally to peoples around the world.

### Implications for Language Training in Japan

In 1859, Fukuzawa Yukichi concurred with John Adams in declaring that English would be the most useful language in the world of the future.<sup>39</sup> A few years later, in 1873, Mori Arinori went much farther and proposed that the Japanese language be abandoned so as to "adopt instead some better, richer, stronger language, such as English or French."<sup>40</sup> His sentiments were later echoed by Shiga Naoya.<sup>41</sup> The ideas of Mori and Shiga were rather eccentric, to put it charitably, but Fukuzawa's prediction is particularly applicable to today's (and tomorrow's) Japan. Japan would certainly benefit from having more competent speakers of English, as well as of other foreign languages. Producing such speakers should be easy, since Japan probably devotes more resources to English education than any other nation. However, after 5-9 years of English classes, most Japanese are unable to communicate at even a basic level in English. What is the source of the problem?

According to applied linguist Christopher Brumfit of the University of London Institute of Education, there are three conditions which need to be fulfilled in order to learn a language:

- 1) Extensive exposure to the target language;
- 2) Extensive opportunity to use the language so far acquired as creatively as possible—through reading, writing, conversation, listening activities, whichever are most appropriate to particular learners;
- 3) Students must be motivated to benefit from 1) and 2).<sup>42</sup>

English language education in Japanese schools does not fulfill any of these requirements. There is not extensive exposure to the language, but rather only



intensive exposure to a few peculiar aspects of the language; in fact, the students get much wider exposure to the language outside of the classroom. The students do not get a chance to use the language creatively, but rather devote their efforts to translating the language learned back into Japanese as soon as possible. Finally, students' motivation is generated mainly by the looming entrance examination to the next level of school.

Probably the greatest single step that could be taken to improve the situation would be to remove the English component from university entrance examinations, unless communicative skills in English were to be tested. English will never be widely used in Japan until it stops being abused as a screening apparatus for university admissions. Secondly, not everybody should be required to study English. At least under the present circumstances, Suzuki Takao was right in claiming that it is wasteful to teach English so widely.<sup>43</sup> In the future it may be important for all Japanese to have some degree of proficiency in English, but the present situation demands a reorientation from quantity to quality. Currently, few junior high and high school can see how English will help them in their future lives. As Peter Strevens has said, "Most people learn as much or as little of a foreign language as they need—not as much as they are taught."<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, in the coming years Japan is going to have an increasing need for speakers of other languages, especially other Asian languages. Many students should be encouraged to study those languages in place of or in addition to English.

On the classroom level, what is most needed is a change in attitude away from the "cult of the native speaker." Japanese teachers of English often avoid using English in class because they are hyper-conscious of their inadequacies; their English is not native-like. Since English is rarely used for communication between Japanese in Japan, a distinct "institutionalized" variety of Japanese English has not developed; however, whatever sort of "Japanese" characteristics appear in the English of a native speaker of Japanese are normal and nothing to feel embarrassed about. Of course Japanese teachers of English should set and try to maintain high standards both for themselves and their students, but those standards should be appropriate and reasonable for Japan, and they should not interfere with the goal of becoming communicative in the language. By using and having the students use the language as freely as possible, it will begin to become their own possession. There are several reasons why it is counterproductive to be too concerned about the native speaker model. One is that when Japanese are acting on the international stage, there is a good chance that at least some of the other players will not be native speakers of English themselves, and the native speaker model will have no special aura for them. Another reason is that native English

models are not necessarily more comprehensible than other varieties. In one study done at the East-West Center at the University of Hawaii, the intelligibility of a Japanese speaker of English, judged by non-native speakers of English from 8 countries, was much greater than that of a native speaker of American English.<sup>45</sup> For the Japanese teacher of English, native-like pronunciation would be impossible even if it were desirable, so it is much better to get down to the real work of making the students communicative in English.

In another study sponsored by the East-West Center, carried out in Japan and 11 other countries, the most severe problems facing English teaching institutions were surveyed.<sup>46</sup> Especially in countries where English was a classroom subject rather than a medium of instruction, the most severe problems were 1) listening comprehension, and 2) lack of ability to understand different varieties of English. Critics might claim that the difficulty in understanding different varieties of English is due to the fact that permissiveness toward deviation from so-called "standard" English is splintering the English language into many mutually unintelligible sub-languages; however, though cross-varietal problems in intelligibility cannot be ignored, in reality worldwide mass media combined with international interactions in business, diplomacy, travel, and politics tend to limit this diversity mostly to phonology and a few differences in vocabulary.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, the study also showed that the most likely causes for these problems was lack of exposure to English, followed by lack of confidence to speak a foreign language, and poor initial training. Based on the findings of this and other studies,<sup>48</sup> it can be concluded that the same principles which will help Japanese students learn English will also help make it possible for English to best fulfill its role as international language. These principles are 1) to be proud of one's own variety of English; 2) to get exposure and develop sensitivity to as many varieties of the language as possible; and 3) to try to understand and appreciate the culture within which each variety developed. If the teaching of English is to be of any value, in the words of sociolinguists Krishaswamy and Aziz "it must end up in better human relationships and international harmony. Without losing their identities, nations want harmony; without losing their valuable values and cultural heritage, people want better relationships. They want to be Indians/Arabs/Japanese/Chinese, etc. and at the same time international."<sup>49</sup>

To conclude, the principles outlined above should apply equally to native and non-native speakers of the language. In fact, perhaps it would be useful to consider international English a language having no native speakers, and as being a tool which we can all learn to use more skillfully and sensitively to promote more effective worldwide communication. From such a perspective, there would no longer be a context for the term "broken" English.

## NOTES

- 1) Randolph Quirk, "International Communication and the Concept of Nuclear English" in C.J. Brumfit ed., *English for International Communication*. Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1982. p.175.
- 2) Francis Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, 1605. Cited in Quirk, *op. cit.*
- 3) William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act 1, Scene 2, Line 72.
- 4) John Milton, *The Reason of Church-Government Urg'd against Prelaty*. London, Edward Griffin, 1641.
- 5) John Adams, *Life and Works IX*. Cited in M.M. Mathews, *The Beginnings of American English*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1931. p.42.
- 6) Andrew W. Conrad and Joshua A. Fishman, "English as a World Language: The Evidence" in Joshua A. Fishman, Robert L. Cooper, and Andrew W. Conrad eds., *The Spread of English*. Rowley, Mass., Newbury House, 1977. p.6.
- 7) *Ibid.*
- 8) *Ibid.*
- 9) *Ibid.*, p.9 (Until 1976, Arabic was not an official language of the United Nations).
- 10) Verner Bickley, "The International Uses of English: Research in Progress" in C.J. Brumfit ed., *op. cit.*, p.85.
- 11) Conrad and Fishman eds., *op. cit.* p.7-8. See also their note 6) on p.57 for a complete list of the countries in which English is spoken natively by 45% or more of the population.
- 12) *Ibid.*, p.8-9.
- 13) Richard W. Bailey and Manfred Gorfach eds., *English as a World Language*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982. p.2.
- 14) Conrad and Fishman eds., *op. cit.*, p.16.
- 15) *Ibid.*, p.27.
- 16) Arthur S. Banks, *Political Handbook of the World, 1975*. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1975.
- 17) John B. Pride, "The Appeal of the New Englishes" in John B. Pride ed., *New Englishes*. Rowley, Mass., Newbury House, 1982. p.1.
- 18) Bailey and Gorfach eds., *op. cit.*, p.2.
- 19) Ali M. Mazrui, "The English Language and the Origins of African Nationalism" in Richard W. Bailey and Jay L. Robinson eds., *Varieties of Present-Day English*. New York, Macmillan, 1973. p.56-70.
- 20) Leopold S. Senghor, "The Essence of Language: English and French" *Culture* 2:2 (1975) p.75-98.
- 21) Bailey and Gorfach eds., *op. cit.*, p.3.
- 22) Albert Valdman ed., *Le Francais hors de France*. Paris, Champion, 1979.
- 23) Randolph Quirk, *The Uses of English*. London, Longman, 1968.
- 24) Braj. B. Kachru ed., *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. Oxford, Pergamon Press, 1982. p.3.

- 25) Joshua M. Fishman, "Sociology of English as an Additional Language" in Kachru ed., *op. cit.*, p.15.
- 26) *Ibid.*, p.16.
- 27) Pride, *op. cit.*, p.2.
- 28) Henry Widdowson, "English as an International Language II: What Do We Mean by 'International Language?'" in C.J. Brumfit ed., *op. cit.*, p.13.
- 29) Pride, *op. cit.*, p.3.
- 30) *Ibid.*
- 31) *Ibid.*, p.2.
- 32) *Ibid.*
- 33) *Ibid.*, p.3.
- 34) Chinua Achebe, "English and the African Writer" *Transition* 18 (1965) p.29-30.
- 35) Fishman, *op. cit.*, p.21.
- 36) Christopher Brumfit, "English as an International Language I: What Do We Mean by English?" in Brumfit ed., *op. cit.*, p.7.
- 37) Joshua Fishman, "English in the Context of International Societal Bilingualism" in Fishman, Conrad, and Cooper eds., *op. cit.*, p.334-335.
- 38) *Ibid.*
- 39) Cited in Quirk, "International Communication and the Concept of Nuclear English" *op. cit.*, p.15, 18.
- 40) Cited in Roy Miller, *The Japanese Language in Contemporary Japan*. Washington, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1977. p.41.
- 41) Kachru ed., *op. cit.*, p.5.
- 42) Brumfit, *op. cit.*, p.5.
- 43) Takao Suzuki. Column in *The Japan Times*. June 24, 1979.
- 44) Peter Strevens, "Localized Forms of English" in Kachru ed., *op. cit.*, p.28.
- 45) Larry Smith and Khalilullah Rafiqzad, "English for Cross-Cultural Communication: The Question of Intelligibility" in Larry E. Smith, *Readings in English as an International Language*. Oxford, Pergamon Press. p.49-58.
- 46) Donald Campbell, Peansiri Ekniyom, Anjum Haque, and Larry Smith, "English in International Settings: Problems and Their Causes" in Larry Smith ed., *op. cit.*, p.35-48.
- 47) Smith and Rafiqzad, *op. cit.*, p.57.
- 48) See, for example, the studies done by Smith, Smith and Bisazza, Kachru, Strevens, Krishnaswamy and Aziz, and Baxter, all in Smith ed., *op. cit.*
- 49) N. Krishnaswamy and Salim A. Aziz, "Understanding Values, TEIL and the Third World" in Smith ed., *op. cit.*, p.100.

## 要 約

### 国際語としての“ブローケン”イングリッシュ

マーク・ソーヤー

今や英語はリンガ フランカである。英語人口は 6 億人と、中国語に次いで多く、手紙や、ラジオ放送、航空関係の通信に、外交の場で、重要な役割を担っている。また、英語国 12ヶ国に加え、22ヶ国で公用語とされている。アジア、アフリカの中等教育で 97%、その他の国々でも 50%の学生が英語教育を受け、大学教育レベルでも特に外国人学生を大いに助けている。世界の英語新聞の豊富さも、英語の影響力の現われである。英語は帝国主義の一環として広められたが、植民国の独立運動を強く支えた。この植民国の英語こそ、ブローケン英語のはしりである。現在、英語の普及は外国人（中国や、アラブ、ソ連邦までも）が中心になって進めている。英語は最早、ネイティブだけのものではなくなった。インド、東西アフリカ、カリブ諸島では、多様な英語で著作がなされ、活字が地域内外の人々を多様な英語に寛容にさせている。ネイティブも自己満足に溺れることなく、英語のリンガ フランカとしての地位を守るためにも、他言語を習得すべきだ。日本の英語教育は大学入試英語でなく実用英語に力を注ぐべきで、とりあえず、英語を学ばねばならない学生数とその授業数を減らし、量より質の教育をすべきだ。また、学生はアジアの言語を学ぶよう奨励されるべきだ。教師たちもネイティブの英語に固執せずに、異文化間コミュニケーションの道具として、英語を活用できる人材を育成すべきだ。