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THE WORLD IN ONE COUNTRY:
ENGLISH IN SOUTH AFRICA

The slogan "the world in one country" has, with justification, been part of marketing South Africa's tourist attractions for decades. Yet it is striking that the idea can so aptly be applied to other aspects of the country. Even a superficial glance at the language situation in South Africa illustrates this point. In the first period of colonial rule, under the Dutch, speakers from three broad areas of origin contributed to the language mix: from Africa, the indigenous Khoekhoen and San, the tribes speaking Bantu-languages and the slaves from various parts of Africa; from Europe, the Dutch and speakers of other Germanic dialects, some Scandinavians, the French Huguenots, and the Malayo-Portuguese speaking sea-farers; and from Asia and the Indonesia archipelago, the people brought against their will as slaves brought their diverse languages with them. After that, the British came: colonial administrators, missionaries, entrepreneurs, and fortune-hunters, and settlers, and immigrants from all over Europe. Finally, the land is in the hands of the 'rainbow nation'. In this context, languages have been in contact and conflict, and indigenous adaptations have suited the languages to the needs of the speakers. English is but one of these languages but of particular interest due to its position of power as a hypercentral language in the global constellation of languages.[1]

In the last years of the 20th century, it had become a commonplace to read of 'our globalising world', of the challenges and opportunities presented by globalisation, or of the globalisation not only of the economy but also of culture. Within this discussion, language too received its share of attention, and the English language in particular was investigated, with two strands that stand out for our purposes: its role as a global language, and the emergence of world Englishes. On the one hand, English is seen as facilitating communication throughout the world but also thereby threatening other languages. On the other hand, non-native, indigenised world or so-called 'new' varieties of English have proliferated across the world and are increasingly accepted, standardised and taught. Both perspectives have received extensive attention from researchers. The phenomena and the processes driving them are being studied in their own context and within a global context. This presents scholars, as well as speakers and teachers of English of any kind with challenges and choices. The topic is dauntingly complex and diverse, as can be seen from the plethora of terms (and often their acronyms from ENL through to LFE), that have been coined to discuss it.[2] This paper seeks to provide an entry point into topic and the literature on it,

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[1] DE SWAAN, Abram: *Words of the world: The global language system.* Polity Press and Blackwell, Cambridge, 2001. (Hereinafter: De Swaan, 2001.)

[2] Discussion of the topic is made more difficult by the way the people are affected by ubiquitous language bias, whether they benefit from speaking a prestigious variety or suffer from language

and to suggest that the situation of English in South Africa is well-suited to illustrate the various relevant themes and issues. Due to its particular circumstances, English in South Africa can be seen as 'the world in one country.'

To this end, the paper will begin by considering the origin and spread of English, and its place in the world. This will be followed by a targeted overview of the historical background to the present situation of English in South Africa. Finally, the Kachruvian framework for looking at Englishes in the world will be briefly presented and the position of South Africa within this model considered.

English in the World

A fundamental recognition in a discussion of World Englishes is that English, originally the language of England, is "not the prerogative or 'possession' of the English" as Quirk (1962[3]) stated, going on to say that "there is no single 'correct' English, and no "single standard of correctness". He subsequently (1972) different-iated the "common core" of the language in various classes of variety which differ from each other only minimally in vocabulary, grammar and orthography (but not pronunciation)[4] and later (1990) went on, in an article in *English Today*[5] to defend a single, strong standard for English which should be promoted and prescribed in the British educational system and serve as a model for non-native learners of English around the world. The point of view was countered by Kachru[6] (1991), who pointed to the ideology underlying Quirk's argument and offered instead a view based on the pluricentricity of English and acceptance of multi-identities. The discussion in *English Today* continued and the issues raised still challenge educators.

English clearly changes over time, and across space and social group. Investigating its spread and modifications leads us to ask the question of how it came to be the first language with true global presence[7] and a hypercentral language in terms of its attraction.[8] Crystal states that a "language achieves a truly global status when it develops a special role that is recognised in every

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prejudice due to their way of speaking. Sadly, even academic discourse about English as a post-colonial language in South Africa is affected by the way in which power relations in society have influenced linguistic stereotypes and even research. Just as English is not a neutral language, so too the ways in which languages and sociolinguistic settings are described carry within them distortions and implicit biases.

[3] QUIRK, Randolph: *The Use of English*. Longman, London, 1962. 15–16

[4] QUIRK, Randolph, GREENBAUM, Sidney, LEECH, Geoffrey and Svartvik, Jan: *A Grammar of Contemporary English,* Hartow, Essex, Longman, 1972. 13–32. (Hereinafter: QUIRK, 1972)

[5] Ibid.

[6] KACHRU, Braj B.: *Liberation linguistics and the Quirk Concern*. English Today, 7/01, 1991. 3–13.

[7] CRYSTAL, David: *English as a global language*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2003²; Crystal, D. *English worldwide*. In R. Hogg & D. Denison (Eds.), *A history of the English language*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2006. 420–439 (Hereinafter: CRYSTAL, 2006; ROMAINE, Suzanne. *Global English: From island tongue to world language*. In A. van Kemenade & B. Los (Eds.), *The handbook of the history of English*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden, 2006. 589–608; SVARTVIK, Jan & LEECH, Geoffrey: *English: One tongue, many voices*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, 2006.

[8] De Swaan, 2001.

country".[9] For this to happen, it needs to be spoken as the first language by large numbers of people, as is the case in the countries of North America and the British Isles, and Australia and New Zealand. Secondly, it needs to be widely declared an official language, or given special status. Thirdly, it needs to be a priority in foreign language teaching, that is, the one children most often learn or that is most available for adults to learn.[10] In the European Union, for example, in 2012 English was the foreign language most widely used and half of these EFL speakers used English on a regular basis.[11] The effects of Brexit are still to be felt, however in 2020 English continued to be the most commonly studied foreign language at the upper secondary general and vocational education level in the EU, with 96% and 79% of students learning it, respectively as compulsory subjects or as compulsory curriculum options.[12] To take another example: India is a country where the constitution recognises 22 scheduled languages. In addition, there are 99 non-scheduled languages, and any number of local dialects spoken by fewer than 10,000 people. English is a post-colonial language there and has a special, limited status for official purposes, although it is not a scheduled language. Based on data from the 2011 Census, use of English shows an interesting profile.[13] Whilst the number of English L1 speakers is relatively low (with 256,000 speakers it is in 44th place), it is in 2nd place as the L2 of speakers (83 million). Many more speakers use it as their L2 than use it as an L1, indicating its use as a bridge language in a country with 22 constitutionally recognised Indian languages and 99 other languages with more than 10,000 speakers. If the use of English as an L3 by another 43 million people is taken into account, it becomes the second most spoken language in the country, reinforcing it bridge role.

Estimates of speakers of English suffer from weaknesses related to how the data is collected, but the worldwide trends are clear. According to *Ethnologue* (21st edition) there are 1,121 million English speakers, of whom 378 million are native speakers. The non-native speakers are nearly double that number. What is not clear from these statistics is the variety of language that these speakers speak or that the learners learn. English can present in any diverse way around the world, and it is the very diversity that causes us difficulty – how to talk about them, group them, classify them, differentiate them? Kachru, Kachru and Nelson have categorised the spread of English historically, through the Four Diasporas used to structure the chapters of Part I of *The Handbook of World Englishes*.[14]

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[9] CRYSTAL, 2006, 422.

[10] CRYSTAL, 2006, 422–423.

[11] *Eurobarometer (2012). Europeans and their languages: Special Eurobarometer 386.* http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/index_en.htm

[12] *Eurostat 2020: What languages are studied the most in the EU?* https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat

[13] In India, who speaks in English, and where? Mint, 14 May 2019. https://www.livemint.com/news/india/in-india-who-speaks-in-english-and-where-1557814101428.html

[14] KACHRU, KACHRU & NELSON, 2006.

To Begin at the Beginning

In a discussion of the unprecedented spread of English in the world and the proliferation of new varieties of English, it is tempting to begin after the two dominant standards (US and UK English) that we regularly encounter had become our default points of reference. Yet this glosses over the fact that American English is itself a postcolonial English, and that the roots of the varieties we can see and hear today are hidden from us in early, scarcely written history. Language constantly changes and virtual language spread, as Widdowson declares, "implies adaptation and non-conformity" as it is variously actualized[15] (p.140). There is a need therefore to go back further in time in order to place the World Englishes of today in historical context. The four diasporas outlined before stem from the book *Handbook of World Englishes*[16] and facilitate the conceptualisation of the spread of English. Thereafter, a more detailed contextualisation is required, to place English within the web of languages to which is it being added.

The journey back to Old English, the language that was formed in Anglo-Saxon England, led from the Indo-European ancestral language to Proto-Germanic to the languages of the Germanic tribes who settled in what is now England and displaced the Celts, and was itself a process of expansion and settlement. In the following period, it was the French who came and conquered, though by the 14th century a transformed English was once again the language of England. This is the period of the First Diaspora of English with Wales and Ireland coming under English dominion, and the development of Scots in Scotland. By the time English East India Company was formed in 1600, English had shifted from Middle English to early Modern English and had started to move the language to the distance shores across the oceans. With the Second Diaspora, English became established as the dominant language in the colonies of North America (first, from 1607), and Australia and New Zealand (much later, from 1788 and about 1840 respectively). European-style slavery and the need for a lingua franca led to development in the Caribbean of restructured Englishes or creoles. The Third Diaspora describes English as it is transplanted into new linguistic, cultural and social contexts, in Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Europe, by often relatively tiny minorities. This entailed English being acquired, learnt, taught and transformed in multilingual situations and in contact with quite unrelated language contexts. The Fourth Diaspora brings us to the World Englishes of today where English as a language of access and identity has been adapted beyond the colonial context. A paradigm shift in the study of English worldwide has been underway in the past 30 or so years. It "provides a penetrating overview of the terminological, functional and theoretical conceptualizations of the current

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[15] WIDDOWSON, Henry G.: *EIL, ESL, EFL: global issues and local interests*. World Englishes, 16/01, 1997. 135−146.

[16] KACHRU, KACHRU & NELSON, 2006; NELSON, Cecil, L., PROSHINA, Zoya G., & DAVIS, Daniel R. (Eds.), *The Handbook of World Englishes,* Wiley-Blackwell, 2020[2] (Hereinafter: Nelson et al, 2020)

presence of English in its pluralistic world contexts and of its characterization and the constructs of English in world Englishes".[17]

The southern Africa English spread to

As part of the third diaspora, English spread to, and then in, southern Africa. [18] The reasons for this and the outcomes can be understood only in the context of the history of the region, encompassing the main drivers of politics, economics, societal characteristics, and geography. Today we can see a country with clear borders and sub-divisions, but when our story begins in the sixteenth century, there was none of that, and the many borders that did get drawn were subject to frequent, sometimes wrenching, revisions. Nevertheless, the current external borders have been stable for a little more than a hundred years. If we start describing the language situation from the time when the Dutch East India Company officially established a "refreshment station" at the Cape of Good Hope and contact between the Europeans encroachers and the nomadic or hunter-gatherer KhoeSan began, then period we can survey is less than 400 years. The first European colonisers were the Dutch, and it was their language and dialects that they brought to South Africa, where contact with other, genetically quite different, languages and the distance from the metropole led to the expected adaptation and non-conformity.[19] By the time the British occupied the Cape in 1795 – as it turned out, temporarily, only to return soon after in 1806 – the determining role of the VOC, the Dutch East India Company, came to an end. By this time, the area has been the site of extensive language contact, involving a large number of related and unrelated languages, spoken by what we would today consider a small number of people.

The borders of the colony were fixed in 1798 and the territory occupied by Europeans by 1800 covered an estimated area of 286,000 sq. kms,[20] a huge, sparsely populated area roughly 40,000 sq. kms larger than the present-day United Kingdom. The maritime VOC had reluctantly moved inland but the uncontested main centre of the colony was Cape Town. Even though they were used as a basis on which policy decisions were made, estimates of population need to be considered approximations, but a census was conducted in 1805, the results of which reflect aspects of society important from a linguistic perspective. "The total population of the Cape Colony was reported as 75,308, including 25,757 Europeans (excluding soldiers) or 34.20 percent, 29,545 slaves (39.23 percent), but only 20,006 indentured Khoikhoi 'Hottentots', mixed 'Bastards', and San 'Bushmen' (26.57 percent)" (Vink, 2019:19). (The nomadic pastoralist or hunter-gatherers KhoeSan were considered outsiders and therefore not subjects of the VOC and only counted if they were indentured.) In addition to the

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[17] KACHRU, KACHRU & NELSON, 2006. 3.

[18] English is also spoken in the neighbouring countries.

[19] RICHTER, Borka: Europe Meets Africa at the Cape of Good Hope: First Contacts between the Khoekhoen and the Dutch. In: GECSŐ, Tamás & SÁRDI, Csilla (Eds). *Az interkulturális kommunikáció elmélete és gyakorlata*. Tinta, Budapest. 2013. 184–189.

[20] GILIOMEE, Hermann. *The Afrikaners: Biography of a People*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2003.

speakers of Dutch dialects of the time, the Europeans would have included a significant contingent of (mostly single men) speakers of other Germanic dialects. The temporary population, made up of the crew of the ships that docked there and the soldiers of the garrison, would have been more mixed in origin, reflecting the sailor-soldier-trader seafarers of the period.[21] The community of French Huguenots who had fled religious persecution after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes had assimilated within a few generations and their language was not kept. Added to this was the linguistic influence of the main VOC centres in the East, with Malay and Portuguese playing an important part. The languages of the men, women and children held as slaves could vary depending on where they had been brought from. Shell (1994) estimated that between 1652 and 1808 approximately 63,000 slaves were imported.[22] Records showed the region from which the slaves were sent, but not their origin. In the early years, most of the enslaved people came from the Indian sub-continent and Ceylon, but over the whole period, also from Africa (including Mozambique and East Africa), Madagascar and the Mascarene islands, and the Indonesian islands.[23] Chinese political exiles and East Asian prisoners sent to the Cape often stayed after the end of their sentences, and Ambonese-Portuguese Mardijkers were also present. All of these added to the numbers of the non-European free black population of Cape Town, which amounted to about 10 percent of the population.

Despite the fuzziness of the data, it is clear that the colony and Cape Town especially was particularly multilingual and multi-cultural, with the VOC dominating the life of the city and Dutch being the language needed for the administration and used for commerce. Dutch therefore was the dominant language until the British took over, but that Dutch was already morphing into what would eventually officially be recognised as Afrikaans in the twentieth century. European languages, KhoeSan languages, Bantu languages, the languages of the Indian sub-continent and the Indonesian islands – all of these had come into contact in the roughly 150 years of Dutch colonial rule, and at its end, English entered the picture. Such was the Cape into which the British soldiers and later settlers moved.

British rule and English-speakers: The early days

The language varieties of English in South Africa would show the traces of the myriad language and culture contact scenarios in the period of Dutch rule. Added to that would come not only English but increasingly the Southern Bantu languages spoken by the peoples who would over time come to comprise the majority of speakers.

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[21] WORDEN, Nigel. *Strangers Ashore: Sailor Identity and Social Conflict in Mid-18th Century Cape Town*. Kronos, 33, 2007. 72–83.

[22] SHELL, Robert, *Children of bondage: A social history of the slave society at the Cape of Good Hope*, Wesleyan/University Press of New England, Hanover and London, 1994. 40.

[23] WORDEN, Nigel. *Indian Ocean Slaves* in *Cape Town*, *1695–1807*, Journal of Southern African Studies, 42:3, 2016. 389–408, 394–395

The main value of the colony for the British, as it had been to the Dutch, was its strategic position on the sea route to the East. Commercial interests drove British colonialism, as had been the case for the VOC previously, and the economy of the colony was developed. At this stage this meant primarily agriculture and its products: wine, the introduction of merino sheep, and wool for the textile mills. The pound sterling was introduced and replaced the Dutch rix dollar and English replaced Dutch as the language of administration. Despite VOC slave-trading operations coming to an end in the 1780s, slaves and 'prize Negroes' who were 'apprenticed', increasingly from Africa, continued to be brought into the colony during the first British occupation until the end of slavery in 1834.[24] On the eastern border areas of the colony, tribes migrating from the north and speaking Bantu languages were already posing a security threat. The lands wars or Cape Frontier Wars, between the Dutch frontiersmen, the British Empire and the amaXhosa would last a hundred years from 1779 to 1879.

Lord Charles Somerset was Governor of the Cape from 1814 to 1826 and in that time, he embarked on a programme of anglicisation.[25] He encouraged the use of English and targeted three areas education, religion, and government and administration. His fourth aim was to promote immigration. Anglicisation would remain a prominent feature of British colonial policy. The 1820 Settlers nearly doubled the permanent English-speaking population to about 10,000 (compared to about 35,000 Dutch-speakers). This meant that they amounted to approxi-mately 10 percent of the total population, according to Branford.[26] Some pronunciation features, mainly those from south-east England, have survived in Cape English.[27] These settlers came from the lower strata of society and had to cope with difficult conditions, including the frontier wars, since the land they were allocated had already been occupied. They had little opportunity to return 'Home' or refresh their original accents. Cape English provides the basis of Extreme South African English and is socially stigmatised.[28] This period saw two additional major social changes: the emancipation of the slaves and the exodus, or Great Trek, of the Dutch-speaking, vanquished Boers who left the colony to found their own republics, such as the Orange Free State and Transvaal.

A second large influx of immigrants from Britain settled in Natal in around the middle of the nineteenth century. These settlers were more committed to remaining English in their identity, language use and social life. They were able to maintain their more prestigious accents and, being better off, some of them were able to go 'home' and renew contacts there. Varieties of English today still

[24] CHEESE, Hans F.: Cape of Good Hope? Meeting Place of Unwilling Migrants from Africa, Asia and Indigenous People. Insights of Anthropology, 4/1, 2020. 268−279, 275.

[25] RICHTER, Borka: And Then the British Came: the Impact of English in Southern Africa. In: K. Kodó, A. Jakabfi & B. Richter (Eds). *Identity-building in the English-speaking World*. Lambert Academic Publishing, Saarbrücken, Germany. 2012. 202−216.

[26] BRANFORD, William. English in South Africa. In: R, Burchfield (Ed) The Cambridge History of the English Language Vol. 5: English in Britain and overseas..: Cambridge University P,ess, Cambridge 1994. 430−496.

[27] LANHAM, Len W.: The Pronunciation of English in South Africa. Rhodes University. 1996. (https://www.ru.ac.za/media/rhodesuniversity/content/dsae/documents/articles/The_Pronunciation_of_English_in_South_Africa.pdf

[28] Ibid.

reflect this pattern of settlement, in Cape English, Natal English and General South African English.[29])

In the 1860s, the Natal settlers looked to British India to solve their labour problems, and Indians, from the Bengal and Madras Presidencies, were brought in to work as indentured labourers on the sugar plantations. Later, thousands of traders, from the Bombay Presidency, were allowed to settle. Mesthrie lists the following Indian languages, in order to importance, as involved in the genesis of Indian South Africa English: Tamil, Bhojpuri-Hindi, Gujarati, Telugu, Urdu and Konkani.[30] He adds that the first contact language they used was Fanagolo, a pidgin with Zulu as lexifier, with input from English and Dutch/Afrikaans, and helped to stabilise it. As early as 1909 Mahatma Gandhi, at that time a young lawyer working in South Africa, observed the young Indians had begun using English "even when it is not necessary to do so".[31] Today most of its speakers no longer have an Indian language as their L1 and Indian South Africa English can be considered a shifted variety.[32]

The road to Union and beyond

Violent conflicts continued, including the significant victory of Britain in the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 and its aftermath. The discovery of diamonds and gold changed the history of the area, led to markedly increased immigration (400,000) in a short period, mostly from Britain, and led to the wars between Great Britain and the Boer republics. The grimly fought Anglo-Boer War or Second War of Independence ended with a British victory. The Boers, however, were able to hold on to their culture and their language: In the Act of Union in 1910, when South Africa was granted independent dominion status, it was laid down that the two languages (Dutch, later Afrikaans, and English) would both be official languages of the Union.

The languages of the indigenous peoples were not afforded the same respect and this period saw their defeat and subjugation. The way in which Europeans conceptualised African languages and ethnic groups fed into decisions about education in those languages and served political power politics.[33] Whilst commitment and concrete support for the Dutch, later Afrikaans, language would grow, this was only nominally true for the policies related to the Bantu languages, which focussed on the so-called Bantustans (pseudo-national territories intended to become independent, in which it was envisaged that the vernacular would slowly be introduced even to university level). Similarly to elsewhere in the Empire, the British followed a policy of "tolerating basic (primary-level) schooling

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[29] SVARTVIK, Jan & LEECH, Geoffrey: *English. One Tongue, Many Voices*. London: Palgrave Macmillan 2016² 115. (Hereinafter: Svartvik & Leech, 2016.)

[30] MESTHRIE, Rajend: *Indian South African English*. IN: Kortman, Bernd & Kerstin Lunkenheimer, (Eds) *The Mouton World Atlas of Variation in English*, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2013. 501–510, 501. (Hereinafter: Mesthrie, 2013.)

[31] Cited in Svartvik & Leech, 2016, 116.

[32] Mesthrie, 20131, 50.

[33] ALEXANDER, Neville: *Language Policy and National Unity*. Buchu Books. 1989. 19. https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/language-policy-and-national-unity-south-africa-neville-alexander

in the relevant indigenous languages – and promoting English-medium instruction in a classically Anglocentric curriculum for the tiny missionary elite". [34] This contributed to the fact that even today the Bantu languages of South Africa have not been developed into fully-fledged standard languages,[35] bedevilling mother tongue instruction and fuelling the debates over the role of English.[36] The period after the Act of Union saw the beginnings of passive resistance amongst the disenfranchised and the rise of the African National Congress – which would ultimately win the first free elections in 1994.

Despite a long period of steady economic and population growth in the Union, tensions continued to exist between the speakers of the two colonial languages. The British did not embrace the idea of the parity of the two languages. On the other side, the Afrikaners were very aware that they needed to reject the hegemony of English and preserve their identity. Consequently, major efforts were made to support the knowledge and use of Afrikaans, to improve the status of the language and to ensure the dual language policy. The period of Anglicization can be said to have ended in 1948 when the Nationalist Party of the Afrikaners came into power. After that Kamwangamalu speaks of a policy of *Afrikanerization* as Afrikaans became the main language of government.[37] Alexander sees Apartheid language policy as a continuation, even intensification of British colonial policy but replacing English with Afrikaans.[38] The experience of building up Afrikaans gives insight into the efforts and resources needed for such a project, even given committed support from both below and above. Intentional and successful corpus, status and acquisition planning require immense commitment, social organisation and allocation of resources.

Efforts were made to impose Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in black schools, starting with the Bantu Education Act of 1953. Missionary schools were closed down and Black children were sent to under-funded state schools. Over time, this met with increasing resistance and eventually sparked the Soweto Uprisings of 1976 in which several schoolchildren were killed. The hegemony of Afrikaans began to unravel. After the riots, Afrikaans came to be seen as the language of oppression and English as the language of liberation[39] (Alexander, 1989). It is important to note that Afrikaans is not only the language of the Afrikaner it is the language of the so-called Coloureds, people of mixed historical origin, including the KhoeSan, mainly concentrated in the western Cape. The apartheid period ended with the birth of the 'new South Africa' in which universal adult suffrage led to free general elections in 1994 and the acceptance of a new constitution.

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[34] Ibid, 20.

[35] WEBB, Vic: The politics of standardising Bantu languages in South Africa, Language Matters, 41:2, 2010. 157–174.

[36] WEBB, Vic, LAFON, Michel & PARE, Phillip, Bantu languages in Education in South Africa: an Overview. Ongekho akekho! – the absentee owner, The Language Learning Journal, 38:3, 2010. 273–292, (Hereinafter: WEBB, 2010)

[37] KAMWANGAMALU, Nkonko M.: The Social History of English in South Africa. World Englishes, 21, 2002. 1–8.

[38] ALEXANDER, 1989.

[39] Ibid.

The 'New South Africa'

South Africa now has eleven official languages: Sepedi (also known as Sesotho sa Leboa), Sesotho, Setswana, TshiVenda, xiTsonga, isiXhosa isiZulu, SiSwati, isiNdebele, Afrikaans and English. This 1996 constitutional recognition shows a laudable respect for the country's multilingual past and present. At the same time, it presents significant challenges when it comes to developing the nine African languages. The Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) was established in 1995 to promote multilingualism and create conditions for the development and use of the eleven official languages (and some other languages), and to protect language rights in South Africa. One of its focus areas was lexicography and terminology, aimed at compiling monolingual dictionaries and other similar products. The 26 years that have elapsed since the Constitution was accepted have witnessed intense academic, and governmental, investigation of progress, problems and issues. Initial hopes and substantiated expectations abounded, but the realities of the situation are so complex that researching them as they are happening provide insight and provisional conclusions.

English, the language of a colonial power, appears to be less discredited than Afrikaans with its associations with the apartheid period, and therefore more acceptable as a lingua franca. In the South African context, English is part of the African linguistic landscape South African Englishes in the twenty-first century include South African White Englishes, South African Indian Englishes, Coloured[40] South African Englishes, and South African Black Englishes. Each of these has its own sub-varieties that may be influenced by a large variety of first languages or settings. They range from near standard British English to the pidgin Fanagolo. The majority of South Africans speak African languages as their mother tongue, and Black South Africans Englishes have undergone a great expansion from the years just prior to the 1994 elections, with varieties that show influence from the Bantu languages spoken as first languages of the speakers.[41] Recent research suggests that processes of innovation and propagation have led to BSAE becoming an emerging norm with conventionalised innovation, but that this norm has not yet stabilised. English is the mother tongue of only about 10 percent. Nevertheless, according to the 2011 census it is the fourth-largest spoken language in South Africa, after isiZulu, isiXhosa and Afrikaans. IsiZulu and isiXhosa are Bantu languages of the Nguni sub-group.

Throughout its history, South Africa can be seen as a laboratory for language contact and language change. This continues to is truer than ever currently. The mix of language and speakers has thoroughly stirred by turbulence stemming from local political and social change, and global economic and technological processes. As South Africans of the New South Africa redefine their individual and group identities, languages in South Africa are an ever-present

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[40] A term that has unfortunate connotations of segregation but that continues to be used to describe a heterogenous group of people of multiple ethnicities, found mostly in the Cape. Today the term is becoming increasingly preferred as a label but the people it refers to.

[41] HICKEY, Raymond (ed.), *English in multilingual South Africa: The linguistics of contact and change* (Studies in English Language). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2019. 402.

aspect and English in South Africa is significant both as a reflection of society and its broader manifestation, and a driver of the transformations. In this final part of the paper, the perspective will zoom out to return to the question of how South Africa fits into a global view of English.

Circles, Stages and Choices

The paradigm shift that moves us from a framework based on the history of the English language ending with the heading 'Modern English' to a recognition of the new dispensation can be associated with the conversation-defining conceptualisation of the Three Concentric Circles Model put forward by Kachru in the mid-1980s.[42] Since its first formulation, this model has occasioned much debate, spurred extensive and dynamic research, and contributed to the creation of a whole field of study in linguistics and sociolinguistics that can be seen as a distinct academic discipline. Despite the criticism that the model has received, it has defined the way in which world Englishes and Global Englishes are seen, understood and studied. It homes in on the essential differences between the Englishes of the world and is intuitively recognised as 'true', even if it does not allow definitive classifications as to membership of the various circles, as Kachru himself acknowledged. It was constructed and put forward to represent "the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional domains in which English is used across cultures and languages".[43] In the same article, Kachru advocates for the codification of the institutionalised varieties and suggest a new theoretical framework for linguistics studies.[44]

A visual representation of the model shows three concentric circles based on how the language is acquired and currently used. The Inner Circle, or norm-providing circle, encompasses countries that have English as the native language of the majority of the people, though it should be borne in mind that these countries have non-native speakers of English as well, such as indigenous people, ethnic minorities or immigrants with a different first language, who would be learning English as an additional language (EAL), foreign students or workers, who may be English languages learners (ELL). English is the primary language used in everyday life and in government. This where we find the UK and the US, but also countries that were British settler colonies, such as Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Depending on who is doing the classification, South Africa is included, or not.[45] In the next circle, the Outer Circle, there are countries where English has

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[42] KACHRU, Braj B.: *The alchemy of English: The Spread, Function, and Models in Nonnative English*. Oxford, Pergamon, New York, 1986; KACHRU, Braj B.: *The sacred cows of English*. English Today*, 16*, 1988. 3–8; KACHRU, Braj B.: *World Englishes: Approaches, issues and resources*. Language Teaching*, 25*, 1992. 1–14; KACHRU, Braj B.: *World Englishes and English-using communities*. Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 17, 2011. 66–87.

[43] KACHRU, B. B. Standards, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: The English Language in the Outer Circle. In: R. Quirk & H.G. Widdowson (Eds): English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985. 11–30, 12. (Hereinafter: KACHRU, 1985)

[44] Ibid.

[45] In the same period but approaching the question from a different angle, Quirk classified South Africa with Australia and New Zealand under "national standards of English", but did point out that

been adopted as an official or additional language, mostly as a consequence of British colonialism. Here English is used for intra- and international communication in a multilingual setting, for social life and government functions. It may include use of English as an internal lingua franca. English is a second language for most speakers (ESL), often acquired early in a natural environment, as well as learnt in school, both as an additional language or because it is the medium of instruction. An increasing number of people grow up speaking a local, nativised form of English as their mother tongue, which makes the use of the term ESL inappropriate. Kachru emphasises the norm-developing independence of the Outer Circle. The Expanding Circle is the third circle in the model and refers to those countries where English is taught as a foreign language by a large number of people, using external norms. (i.e. it is norm-dependent). Exposure to authentic communication by native speakers may be limited, especially outside of educational settings. Whilst it is not the language of communication within the country, it is used for international communication and within organisations using it as a working language. The norm in teaching has traditionally been the native-speaker, but the effect of globalisation has made it ever more likely that communication will be between people from different language backgrounds and this phenomenon has led to the rise of English as a lingua franca studies (ELF), which includes initiatives to describe LFE, that is lingua franca English, and identify implications and strategies for teaching .[46] ELF is differentiated from English as an international language (EIL), used to refer to international native speaker varieties.

The question of where to locate English in South Africa in the circles has three different answers, depending of the variety of English being considered and its speakers. We have seen the impact of the first two groups of English-speaking settlers and their lasting influence. Bekker claims that a third process of koinéisation occurred, when a large influx of immigrants came to the Witwatersrand after the discovery of gold, and speaking a range of dialects, some English, some colonial. The outcome of this was a sociolectal continuum which was generally referred to as 'South African English' and now more accurately as 'White' SafE. [47] These L1 speakers are usually sub-divided into Cultivated or Conservative, approximating the external British standard, Respectable or General, a wide-spread local but still exo-normative standard, and Extreme or Broad, with links to the working class and political-ideological overtones.[48] All of these can be accommodated in the Inner Circle, especially since General SAfE has spread at the expense of the other two. Yet Extreme SAfE merges into Afrikaans English, which is an L2 variety and would therefore need to be placed in the Outer Circle.

English in not the "sole language" and mentioning the other South African who speak Afrikaans or Bantu languages. QUIRK, 1985, 4.

[46] JENKINS, Jennifer: *The Phonology of English as an International Language*. Oxford University Press, 2000; SEIDLHOFER, Barbara: *Teaching English as a Lingua Franca*. Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, 24. 2004. 209–239; JENKINS, J. *English as a lingua franca: interpretations and attitudes*. World Englishes, 28, 2009. 200–207.

[47] BEKKER, Ian: *The Story of South African English: A Brief Linguistic Overview*. International Journal of Language, Translation and Intercultural Communication, 1, (Special Issue: Varieties of English.) 2012. 139–150, 141.

[48] Ibid, 141–142.

Black South African English is a cover term for heavily marked varieties spoken by L1 speakers of the nine other official languages.IT has its origins in the way English was taught to the Black people by teachers who were themselves second language learners.[49] Research shows that it is characterised by a "separate and identifiable sound system".[50] There seem to be no major differences between the forms based on differing first languages and Wissing concludes that BSAE is still rather a mesolect developing towards becoming a new English than a stabilised new English variety.[51] Van Rooy, reporting research, conducted some years later, into how the norm is perceived and applied in South Africa with reference to BSAE, sees it as "in the process of expanding itself to a standard form, at least in practice".[52] In the third circle, the Expanding Circle, the emphasis is on English as a foreign language, learnt rather than acquired. As English is a native and second language in South Africa, this would not be a good fit. However, on the level of teaching practice, it would seem that there is a sense in which English as it is taught on the ground has much in common with EFL in the countries typical of the Expanding Circle. As Webb comments in a footnote, "For learners with a Bantu language as primary language, English is a second language in regions where English is part of their daily lives and where they are thus meaningfully exposed to it. But in environments where learners are not exposed to English except in classrooms, English needs to be regarded as a 'third' (or even foreign) language."[53] In the rural areas especially, English is a language that learners may not encounter often and there access to settings where they could use it naturally with native-speakers is limited. Their teachers might themselves have learnt English in this way. The similarities to EFL learning and teaching are clear. Experience and research into EFL can usefully be considered in the implementation of English language teaching in South Africa.

Multilingualism is implicit in the Outer Circle, and its nature is changing as the globalising process. Parallel proficiencies are giving place to fluid multilingualism in which languages and their use are negotiated by the multilingual participants in the interaction. Heugh suggests that people's language repertoire is nuanced in that it allows "horizontal communicative practices of conviviality which include practices of 'fluidity'", but also allows people to "access and engage in contexts in [with] a vertical 'standardised' written variety of language, such as in higher education and economic, legal and political activity".[54]

The 'world in one country' analogy is apt in describing the complexity of the South African language situation. English in South Africa is but one of the

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[49] DE KLERK, Vivian: Towards A Norm in South African Englishes: The Case for Xhosa English. World Englishes 22/4, 2003. 463–481.

[50] WISSING, Daan: Black South African English: A New English? Observations from a phonetic viewpoint. World Englishes, 21/1. 2002. 129–144, 129.

[51] Ibid.

[52] VAN DER WALT, Johann L. & VAN ROOY, Bertus: Towards a norm in South African Englishes. World Englishes, 21: 113–128. 2002.

[53] WEBB,2010.

[54] HEUGH, Kathleen & STROUD, Christopher. Multilinguialism in Southern African Education: A Southern Perspective. In R. Hickey (Ed), *English in Multilingual South Africa: The Linguistics of Contact and Change* (Studies in English Literature), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2019. 216–238, 220.

aspects of this complexity. The Kachruvian paradigm can disentangle the closely linked elements and offers a multi-facetted way of focussing and refocussing on diverse aspects. Burgeoning research into particular topics can be better understood by choosing the appropriate perspective.

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Abstract

As the allusion in the title to the unintentionally humorous phrasebook published in the nineteenth century suggests, broken English and mistranslation have long been a source of humour and condemnation. Both of them abound due to the increasing prevalence of English in the world and the challenges posed by learning and using a foreign language, and by using translation to bridge the gap between English and other languages. If we add to this the appropriation of English by its speakers beyond the lands of the English, we appreciate some of the issues the spread of the English language in the world brings to the fore. The Englishes spoken in the 21st century are an outcome of the history of the English language, which is in turn bound up with the history of the speakers of the language. In what follows, we will start at the beginning and consider in broad strokes how English came to be, where it went, and how and why it spread. For this I will use as a framework the four diasporas, of spread. Thereafter, suggestions will be shared on how best to approach the study of world Englishes and global Englishes. First of all, how do Englishes vary? Secondly, how are the varieties of World Englishes distributed across the globe, and how can they be grouped into categories? Thirdly, theoretical models that researchers have suggested to help us understand the processes underlying the phenomenon will be presented. Kachru's Three Circle Model (1992), Schneider's Dynamic Model (2007) and De Swaan's Global Language System (2004) have all had a major influence on this field of study and each of them can help us to make sense of the complexly interconnected, diverse aspects of World Englishes. In the final part of this paper, these themes are pulled together by looking at a concrete example. The focus will be on South Africa and how English is spoken there. Once again, we will look at how English came to be spoken there, where the language went and who its speakers were and are. To this end, the specific history of South Africa will be sketched, making the links with the spread of the English language, and relating its use to the use of other languages in the area. The paper will end with a description of the current language situation, the popular and academic debates about English in education, and a discussion of the ambiguous place South African English holds in the general scheme of World Englishes.

Keywords: World Englishes, diaspora, varieties, South African English, Three Circle Model