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The unprecedented spread of the English language from England across the globe and into probably every country (to a greater or lesser extent) is a fact that has been commented on from many perspectives and by many schol-ars (e.g. Crystal 1997, Graddol 2006). Following this spread, English has gained the status of an international medium of communication, allowing for interactions across individuals who do not share the same first language, for example in politics, in academia, in humanitarian aid organisations, but also in everyday life. In many of these interactions, participants have mother tongues other than English. Graddol (2006) and other scholars have pointed out that the majority of interactions conducted in English today even take place without the presence of an English mother-tongue or first-language speaker. In these cases, English is functionally used as a lingua franca.

From English as a lingua franca to Interactions across Englishes

Meierkord and Knapp (2002: 10) emphasised that when a language is used as a lingua franca it often assumes highly heterogeneous forms across its diverse users. With regard to English, this heterogeneity had much earlier been addressed by Braj Kachru, who at the time explained that the spread of English resulted in many different Englishes, since

a significant segment of the world's population uses it as their *other* tongue (as a *second* or *foreign* language). Such use varies from broken English to almost native (or ambilingual) competence. (1982: 2, italics in original)

Interactions in which English is used as a lingua franca involve contact between such different Englishes, which may be what have traditionally been labelled English as a Second Language or English as a Foreign Language, but also pidgins and creoles. In the original sense of the term lingua franca, such interactions would not include native speakers, and at the *inter*national level, an interaction conducted in English as a lingua franca[1] might include Pakistani, Japanese, and Kenyan participants. Or, at an *intra*national level, for example in South Africa, it might include speakers of South African

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Indian English, Cape Flats English (a variety spoken by the coloured[2] popu-
lation of Cape Town), and Black South African English. All of these have in
common that the individual participants bring diverse varieties of English
into the interaction.

To better understand the processes in such contexts, I propose to approach
these interactions as *Interactions across Englishes* (IaEs; Meierkord 2004,
2005a, 2005b, 2006b, 2007a). The core assumption of this concept is that
the different Englishes potentially merge in these interactions and that this,
also potentially, result in the development of new emergent varieties. Given
the heterogeneity of the functions which English performs as a lingua franca
and the diversity of the possible constellations in such interactions, this will
not be *one* stable or even codified variety, but rather a heterogeneous array of
new linguistic systems.

The aim of this volume is twofold. On the one hand, it develops the theor-
etical frame for descriptions of how the diverse Englishes mix and blend, as
well as what the resultant varieties used in these interactions look like at the
levels of phonetics, phonology, morphosyntax, the lexicon, and discourse. At
the same time, the volume links these theoretical considerations to descrip-
tive accounts of those processes which others and myself have observed in
*intra*national and *inter*national interactions.

Interactions across Englishes throughout
the history of the English language

The discussions in this volume are embedded in an understanding that
such contacts across Englishes are neither new nor unique developments
(Chapter 2). In fact, they have existed for a long time: throughout the his-
tory of the English language, different Englishes have been in contact, and
frequently this has resulted in the development of new varieties – initially
in the British Isles, and later in the different colonies outside Europe (see
Trudgill 1986 and the papers in Hickey 2004). Historical instances of lingua
franca communication, and thus of IaEs, can be witnessed in earlier stages
in the history of the English language, for example between tradespeople
in the Middle Ages. Similar processes can also be found with non-English
lingua francas (e.g. the Mediterranean Lingua Franca (Sabir), Kiswahili,
Malay, Persian, and Quechua). In later stages in the history of the English
language, especially in the colonisation period, mixing and levelling were
the major linguistic outcomes of dialect contact in many settlement colonies
(see e.g. Trudgill 2004, Schneider 2007). At the same time, however, areas
such as the American East Coast have remained linguistically diverse; and
the prestige associated with some varieties, e.g. rhotic varieties introduced to
the New York area at later stages (see individual papers in Schneider 1996,
Algeo 2001, and Murray and Simon 2006), has been of great impact there.
Studies of the socio-historical situation in Australia (see individual papers

in Blair and Collins 2001, Leitner 2004a and 2004b, Fritz 2007), Canada (see the papers in Clarke 1993), New Zealand (see individual papers in Bell and Kuiper 2000), and South Africa (individual papers in De Klerk 1996, Mesthrie 2002a) have further explained how and why new varieties arose in contact between first-language dialects of English and other languages (see also Baugh and Cable 1993, as well as individual papers in Cheshire 1991, Burchfield 1994, Watts and Trudgill 2002, or Hickey 2004).

There is, however, a need to re-think these processes following the world-wide spread of English (its globalisation – in the literal, non-dogmatic, sense of the word) and increasing transmigration of its speakers. The former implies that the number of Englishes which potentially come into contact has increased. Interactions in which participants do not share either of their mother tongues abound today, and the processes of IaEs have become more complex (see Meierkord 2007a): they no longer involve English only, but – indirectly in the form of transfer from, for instance, Xhosa linguistic structures into Black South African English or from Cantonese structures into Hong Kong English – also other languages. This complexity might present a special challenge to the individuals engaging in an interaction conducted in English. Depending on the circumstances, a Turkish speaker of English might be completely unaware of the fact that the English spoken by a Japanese is unlike her or his own English and also unlike the standard varieties of English s/he has encountered in the classroom. It is therefore important to look in detail at the contexts in which such interactions occur, but also at statistics on the current usage of English worldwide. The latter issue addressed above, transmigration, entails that processes of migration no longer result in permanent settlements. As a result, speech communities of the traditional type, that is, fairly stable groupings of individuals 'who are in habitual contact with each other by means of speech which involves either a shared language variety or shared ways of interpreting the different language varieties commonly used in the area' (see Mesthrie *et al.* 2000: 38), do not constitute themselves as much as they did with previous forms of migration.

Interactions across Englishes and the ecologies of Kachru's three circles

Today then, Interactions across Englishes take place in very diverse ecologies. They range from interactions between an Indian-born chef and a Polish waitress at a hotel in Cornwall, via a Xhosa and a coloured speaker in South Africa, to conversations between a Japanese and a Brazilian participant at an international trade fair in Italy. These interactions differ in that the first takes place in an environment which is predominantly English speaking, whereas the second is characterised by societal multilingualism, and the third takes place in a transitional space and community involving linguistically highly diverse individuals.

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To understand the different ecologies of this vast array of possible interactions, it seems useful to start from Kachru's (1985) attempt to capture the different contexts of English usage and its ensuing types and functions. Kachru originally distinguished between an Inner Circle, which covers Britain and the original settlement colonies (the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and anglophone South Africa), an Outer Circle, which includes the previous trade and exploitation colonies of Africa and Asia, and an Expanding Circle, which contains all areas where English has not played an official role. In this seminal paper, he describes the three circles as follows:

The current sociolinguistic profile of English may be viewed in terms of three concentric circles … The Inner Circle refers to the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English. The Outer Circle represents the institutionalised non-native varieties (ESL) in the regions that have passed through extended periods of colonisation … The Expanding Circle includes the regions where the performance varieties of the language are used essentially in EFL contexts. (Kachru 1985: 366–7)

In Kachru's (1992) own visualisation of his model, the circles are represented by oval shapes. The lowest, empty, circles represent earlier stages in the history of the English language (i.e. Old English, Middle English etc., see Figure 1.1), giving the model a historical character.[3]

As Kachru himself (1982: 38f.) explained, the boundaries between performance varieties and institutionalised varieties are permeable. Performance varieties, i.e. those varieties which are used as foreign languages in what Kachru (1985) established as the Expanding Circle, 'have a highly restricted functional range in specific contexts; for example those of tourism, commerce, and other international transactions'. The institutionalised varieties in the Outer Circle, by contrast, 'have an extended range of uses in the sociolinguistic context of a nation', and develop nativised registers and styles as well as a body of nativised English literature. But, importantly, every 'institutionalized variety always starts as a performance variety, with various characteristics slowly giving it a different status'. Today, in times of increased migrations, many countries are host to several different Englishes: Britain currently witnesses a huge influx of Polish workers, who speak their particular, often unstable, interlanguage, English, and the country has a history of integrating individuals speaking various second-language and creolised varieties of English. And in, for example, Germany, approximately 100,000 British and American expatriates speak English as their mother tongue, whereas – despite the prominence of English in the media and in advertising – English is still predominantly learnt as a foreign language by the majority of the population.

Besides the fact that diverse types of English can be encountered in each of the three circles, English has also come to perform new functions in many countries that Kachru placed in the Expanding Circle. Several countries
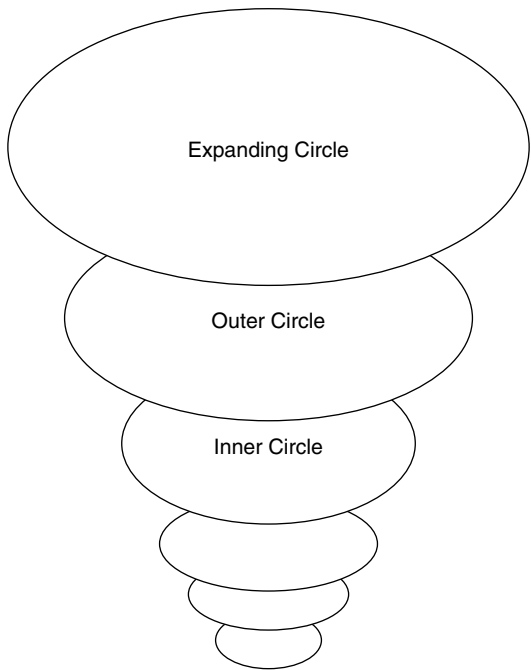
Figure 1.1 Visualisation of Kachru's model adapted from Kachru (1992)

which had originally been included in the Expanding Circle, because English did not perform significant functions in *intra*national communication, do now use English in tertiary education, business, or advertising, in ways that qualify them more for inclusion in the Outer Circle (see e.g. Ljosland 2007 on Norway). Looking at the role of English as a lingua franca, Kirkpatrick (2007: 29) finds that Kachru's model 'underestimated the roles that English would come to play in Expanding Circle countries, although the term "expanding circle" suggests that the roles of English would develop in these countries'. In fact, Graddol (1997: 11) had already pointed out that English has come to be used as a medium of instruction in higher education, or for administrative purposes, in a number of traditionally Expanding Circle countries (Argentina, Belgium, Costa Rica, Ethiopia, Honduras, Lebanon, Myanmar, Nepal, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Somalia, Sudan, Surinam, Sweden, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates), indicating that these seem to develop into nations in which English has the status of a second language.

Focusing on IaEs, we furthermore need to note that in today's world it is not only speech communities in the traditional sense that use or appropriate English to meet their communicative needs, but also groups of speakers that

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can be modelled as discourse communities (e.g. Swales 1990), as communities of social practice (Lave and Wenger 1991), or simply as social networks (Milroy 1980). Frequently, the members of these groups have a number of different mother tongues and use English as a lingua franca to interact with one another (Chapter 7). This is the case with the academic discourse community or the community of European Parliament members, but also with the community of parents of children suffering from cystic fibrosis or the social network which emerges in an international student hall of residence. Such groups might be inter- or transnational and thus extend across the different circles, on another layer, as it were. Within such groups, speakers may have various degrees of competence, and in fact, a speaker from an Expanding Circle country may possess a more diverse vocabulary or more refined grammatical competence than a native speaker of English.

The picture gains additional complexity from the fact that speakers are often multilingual, making it problematic to identify either of their languages as first (L1), second (L2), or foreign language (FL). Also, as a result of multilingualism, new varieties and codes which cannot easily be placed in the model emerge in all three circles. For example, constant language contact in Kenya has led to two distinct mixed codes, Engsh and Sheng. Whereas the latter involves a mixture of Kiswahili syntax with lexical items from local languages, Kiswahili, and English, the former has English syntax and a lexicon which takes its stock from English, local languages, Kiswahili, but also other European languages and American slang (see Abdulaziz and Osinde 1997, Meierkord 2009).[4] Increased exposure to English has also influenced language use in the Expanding Circle. Kirkpatrick (2007: 30) emphasises that 'some Chinese are now choosing to use English when sending emails to each other' and suggests that a local Chinese variety of English is emerging in China.

Despite these developments and the complexity of today's realities in many nations, Kachru's model serves, in this volume (as in much of the literature to date), to focus on two potentially different contexts in order to allow informed comparisons between those IaEs which take place *intra*nationally in the Outer Circle countries and the *inter*national IaEs which also involve participants from Expanding Circle countries. Also, we must bear in mind that in both contexts the speakers may have unequal levels of competence, and note both similarities and differences between IaEs in the individual circles. Kachru's 'metasociolinguistic conceptualisation of World Englishes' (Bolton 2003: 334) provides a frame of reference against which the individual ecologies can be compared in a more fine-grained manner: the functions which English assumes in a particular community (national, or transnational) determine the extent and range in which it is accessible to the majority of individuals in the community and, consequently, which features individuals encounter. In Outer Circle ecologies, individual local varieties have come to be institutionalised and to perform a significant function in administration, and are, therefore, highly represented in public domains.

At the same time, these contexts are often characterised by a continuum of Englishes, including pidgins, creoles, and mixed codes, but also exonormative standardised varieties (i.e. British or American English). Often the latter enjoy overt prestige whilst the former have covert prestige. In the Expanding Circle, the varieties encountered in schools are frequently different from the ones which individuals encounter in the media or in interactions with various speakers of English. Normally, syllabuses focus on teaching the traditional L1 varieties only.

Dialect contact, language contact, and feature pools

In any ecology, IaEs involve contact between different Englishes. From a theoretical perspective, research on dialect contact and language contact can be applied and appropriated to explain IaEs as involving contact between different linguistic systems (Chapter 3). Depending on the individual ecology, other languages may also be involved in the process, either directly (as in the formation of pidgins, creoles, or mixed languages and codes) or indirectly (when represented through transfer at the various linguistic levels, as in the case of, for instance, Irish English or Indian English).

Various processes and outcomes have been identified to pertain to dialect contact (see Trudgill 1986 and 2004 as well as Auer *et al.* 2005). Levelling, regularisation, feature diffusion, simplification, reallocation, etc. frequently result in new dialect formation and koinéisation. IaEs are similar to traditional contexts of dialect contact in that they imply contact between two or more varieties of English which are likely to be mutually intelligible.[5] These findings can be related to recent contexts where the Englishes (such as Nigerian English or English spoken by a Japanese) that are in contact may not easily be labelled dialects and are also characterised by additional particularities, such as a hybrid lexicon and grammar, or hybrid discourse structures.

Since these Englishes are also subject to transfer from the other languages spoken by their multilingual speakers, empirical and theoretical advances in the field of language-contact research may be able to inform our understanding of the processes which take place in IaEs. Recent approaches to language change (e.g. Croft 2000) aim at integrating both formal and functional aspects and combine arguments for language-internal motivations for change with others focusing more on the language user. Internal forces such as the existence of a functional 'gap', structural similarity, or morphotactic transparency (see the individual papers in Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006 or Hickey 2003a, but also Heine and Kuteva 2005) are situated in the particular ecologies of the individual instances of IaEs and need to be approached from within sociolinguistic, variationist models of language change (e.g. Labov 2001) and the insights offered from within contact linguistics (e.g. Thomason 2001).

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The processes which characterise IaEs as dialect and language contact can be conflated into a single, powerful approach when related to Mufwene's recent (2001, 2008) feature pool model (Chapter 4). Originally devised to explain the formation and restructuring processes that produced creoles and pidgins, Mufwene's model assumes that in situations of language contact the features of input linguistic systems (i.e. languages or dialects) compete in a feature pool from which some of the competing features are then selected into the emergent linguistic system. In IaEs, I argue, it is the features of the highly diverse Englishes which speakers potentially bring into the interactions that contribute to the feature pool. Interactions across Englishes can be regarded as involving varieties that are each characterised by a particular set of features, some of which are shared across these varieties while others are unique to individual varieties. These features potentially enter the feature pool and thus become available for selection by participants in such interactions, but some of them might be excluded from the feature pool. As in other contact situations, speakers may then, consciously or subconsciously, select from those features and recombine them into new linguistic systems, e.g. for purposes of identity construction.

The different Englishes which are potentially used in IaEs are the possible inputs to the feature pool. However, it is uncertain whether, for instance, a speaker of Indian English or Nigerian English would bring all the features usually associated with her/his variety into such interactions. In fact, the results of my own research (e.g. Meierkord 2004, 2005a) indicate that they hardly do so at the level of the lexicon and only to a very limited extent at the level of morphosyntax.

Various factors influence selections from the feature pool by individual speakers. These include linguistic factors associated with markedness[6] at a structural level, but also social factors usually discussed in applied linguistics. One case in point is noticing, a term which refers to conscious attention to a particular linguistic form. There is a fair bit of discussion as to whether noticing is necessary for a particular feature to be acquired by learners, and the chapter will discuss findings from second-language-acquisition research and their potential to explain whether individual features in the speech of one speaker, and thus input into the feature pool, will be selected by another speaker. I propose that a feature can only be adopted by a speaker if s/he has noticed it before; whether or not this needs to be a conscious process is debatable.

The various outcomes of IaEs as choices from the feature pool (be they attested outcomes or potential products) are essentially of two kinds. They are either occasional accommodation processes (see Giles *et al.* 1991), which characterise interactions between individuals who have never, or only seldom, interacted with each other before. Or they involve the emergence of in-group conventions, when interactions take place regularly and in more stable user communities. Factors such as prestige, solidarity, power relations,

or the forces of the linguistic market, but also second-language-acquisition processes then determine whether individual emergent features are adapted by a critical mass of speakers and over a sufficiently prolonged period of time to eventually become part of a new variety. Such a variety may emerge in groups of various sizes: for example, Sutherland (1994) observed that an in-house variety developed in Japanese companies, where German and Japanese employees have interacted over years and developed a code which includes words and phrases from English, German, and Japanese.

Interactions across Englishes in present-day ecologies

The main Chapters, 5 to 8, of this book describe what input, selection, and outcome look like in *intra-* and *inter*national IaEs. Whilst Chapters 5 and 7 explain the character of *intra-* and *inter*national IaEs at a more general level and draw on a diversity of research findings, Chapters 6 and 8 zoom in on one particular ecology each. They provide detailed accounts of selected processes that my own research has observed in two major research projects: one which focuses on South Africa, and one which studied interactions in an international hall of residence in Great Britain.

*Intra*national IaEs have taken place in the countries of Kachru's Outer Circle throughout the histories of these nations. When the British and, later, also the Americans further expanded their spheres of influence to include trade and eventually exploitation colonies, this involved contacts not only between varieties of English but also between English and indigenous languages. The result of this expansion is nativised varieties of English, which have been described in a vast number of recent publications (e.g. the papers in Kortmann and Schneider 2004a and 2004b, Kirkpatrick 2007, Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008). Due to the artificial placement of the colonies' borders, English in post-colonial nations often does not assume one homogeneous form. Rather, English is spoken in more than one variety in many post-colonial nations. Frequently it is a second language to speakers of different first languages, which often belong to typologically different language families (e.g. the Indo-Aryan languages Hindi and Bengali and the Dravidian languages Tamil and Malayalam in India). This use of English as an *intra-*national lingua franca implies that there are IaEs (Chapter 5).

After a concise review of research that has examined IaEs in relation to post-colonial contexts, I draw on my findings on current developments in South Africa (Chapter 6). During the country's long history of race segregation, various L2 varieties developed in the different isolated communities. Following the collapse of the apartheid regime, speakers of these varieties have been increasingly in contact. I concentrate on contact between lower-middle-class and working-class speakers of Black South African English and Cape Flats English (the English spoken by coloured people in the Cape Town area) in South Africa. It seems that the increased contact has resulted

in influence of the black speakers' variety on the one spoken by the coloured population. For example, at least part of the coloured communities use the progressive form in functions which were previously only attested in Black South African English, i.e. they extend the use of the progressive beyond the meaning of 'ongoing at the time of reference' towards contexts in which an activity or even state is experienced for an extended period of time or repetitively (Meierkord 2007b). Also, there is convergence as regards some of the vowel sounds which used to distinguish the two varieties. Interestingly, the behaviour of the lower-middle class and the working class seems to differ from that of the upper-middle class, for which Mesthrie (2009) observed convergence with White South African English.

Contexts of *inter*national IaEs differ from the above *intra*national ones in that, typically, contact between the speakers of the various Englishes is less constant and rather short-lived. For the individual participants, such conversations often entail encounters with varieties of English they have never encountered before. Following a summary of the most recent research findings on communication extending across the individual circles in Chapter 7, Chapter 8 discusses my own investigations of informal interactions between non-native speakers of English from a variety of different language backgrounds.

Drawing on interactions between speakers of very heterogeneous L1s, this chapter reveals the multiplicity of input to IaEs and describes the participants' behaviour as regards their use of grammar and vocabulary as well as their interactional strategies. At the level of syntax, the conversations are characterised by an overwhelming correspondence to the norms of L1 Englishes, transfer phenomena, developmental patterns, nativised structures, simplification, regularisation, and levelling processes. The lexicon used in these interactions has only very limited uptake from indigenised Englishes, such as Kenyan English or Pakistani English. At the same time, the type–token ratio and the lexical density are low, as are the numbers of derivations and compound lexical items, phrasal verbs, and idioms. At the discourse level, speakers frequently use supportive back-channels and gambits. Also, pauses and laughter are used to replace verbal strategies to indicate topic shifts or changes. At the same time, overlaps tend to be shorter and phatic speech acts are realised with a low amount of variation in their wording. The discussion of these particularities includes an assessment of the contributions made by the different theoretical paradigms which have addressed varieties of English in the Outer and Expanding Circle: the World Englishes paradigm, which discusses these Englishes in their own right, and the Second Language Acquisition paradigm, from within which they are approached as learner languages.

The similarities and differences between those processes that can be observed in *intra*national IaEs and the ones found in *inter*national IaEs will be summarised in the concluding Chapter 9. As we shall see, IaEs are highly heterogeneous in both types of ecologies. This heterogeneity seems to be