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The Status, Functions and Features of Asian Englishes
A Critical Review of

Andy Kirkpatrick and Lixun Wang. 2021. *Is English an Asian Language?* Queensland and Hong Kong: Cambridge UP. viii + 238 pp. ISBN: 978-1-107-13468-3.

Kingsley Bolton, Werner Botha and Andy Kirkpatrick, eds. 2020. *The Handbook of Asian Englishes*. New Jersey: John Wiley and Sons. xvii + 928 pp. ISBN 978-1-11-879165-3.

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The English language has been growing in use as a native/first language (NL/F1), a second language (L2) and a foreign language (FL) in, respectively, the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle (Kachru 1992), since it was "thrust upon" or "invited into" societies where it was not spoken originally (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 70). According to the Kachruvian Three Circles model (Kachru 1992), Asian countries fall into one of two categories, namely the Outer Circle—India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Malaysia, Brunei, Singapore, Hong Kong and Philippines—and the Expanding Circle—China, Macau, Japan, Korea, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam. Currently, the number of multilingual English-speaking people in Asia (around 773 million) nearly doubles that of native English speakers (about 390 million; Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 11). Multilingual English speakers differentiate the functional nativeness of English from the genetic nativeness of English, thereby establishing the autonomy of English in Asia in that English is actually liberated in Asia, and its "liberated" uses and functions (functional nativeness) have to be separated from its non-liberated uses and functions (genetic nativeness; Kachru 1998, 103). As a result, in Asia, "the English language, as any other present or earlier transplanted language, is facing its ecological karma, and is woven into

the nativized webs of language structure and its functional appropriateness." (Webster 2005, 256) In Asian societies, English serves not merely as a lingua franca (LF) for communication but as "an Asian and Asia-centric language" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 5) for identity-marking as well. Inspired by this context, increasing numbers of researchers have enthusiastically investigated the emerging Asian varieties of English (i.e., Asian Englishes, AE) from the perspectives of linguistics, critical linguistics, applied linguistics, descriptive linguistics, sociolinguistics, English language teaching, etc. They have actively described the status, functions and characteristics of diverse AE, including Indian English(es), Malaysian English, Singapore English, Brunei English, Hong Kong English and Philippine English, since such studies began in the 1980s (Bolton et al. 2020, 4). As a result, World Englishes (WE) has become an independent academic domain. The topics discussed in WE align with those of interest to *ATLANTIS: Journal of the Spanish Association of Anglo-American Studies*, covering bilingualism, code-switching and mixing, cultural contact, language policy, linguistic (bilingual) creativity, literary expression, multilingualism and multiculturalism, language politics, linguistic standards, discourse analysis, intelligibility, language attitudes, lexicography, linguistic landscapes, popular culture and much else (Bolton and Davis 2006; Webster 2015; Bolton 2017, 2018; Bolton et al. 2020, 5).

Two works have considerably advanced academic inquiry into WE, one exclusively dealing with context-specific AE, the other with country-specific AE. The former is *The Handbook of Asian Englishes*, edited by leading scholars in the fields of WE and LF (particularly English as an LF), Kingsley Bolton, Werner Botha and Andy Kirkpatrick and published by John Wiley and Sons. The other is *Is English an Asian Language?*, authored by Andy Kirkpatrick and Lixun Wang and published by Wiley Blackwell. According to both works, English has become a language both *in* Asia and *of* Asia (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 214). The chapters in these two books focus on the distinctive linguistic features of AE in terms of phonology (accent), lexis (vocabulary) and grammar (morphology and syntax; Bolton 2012), the utilization of local rhetorical, pragmatic and cultural styles of AE, the use of AE in diverse settings (e.g., law, religion, education, literature, popular culture, etc.) and the use of AE as LF among Asian multilingual speakers. Taking into consideration these facts, the authors of both works reflect on the status of English in Asia: Is it an Asian language or an LF? They address this issue by presenting the development of English in the Asian region and demonstrating the reshaping of English by Asian users to serve their linguistic and cultural purposes.

In the scene-setting introductory chapter of Bolton et al. (2020), "Asian Englishes Today," the editors position this edited volume within the domain of intellectual inquiry into WE. It is pointed out that "'areal' or features-based' studies of Asian Englishes account for only part of the agenda" (Bolton et al. 2020, 4). Another factor is that "[t]he world is rapidly becoming more urban and more middle class—both of which are encouraging the adoption of English [...], an increasingly urban language, associated with growing middle classes, metropolitan workplaces and city lifestyles"

(Graddol 2006, 50). Similarly, the spread of English in Asian countries of the Outer and Expanding Circles has been shaped by many sociopolitical dynamics, including historical (previously-colonized; Schneider 2007), educational, social, economic and technological factors (Graddol 2006). Therefore, "compiling a handbook detailing the spread of English and the status, functions, and features of Asian Englishes is one of considerable complexity" (Bolton at al. 2020, 5). To this end, "the particular linguistic ecologies and specific sociolinguistic realities of individual societies throughout the region" (Bolton et al. 2020, 5) are considered in this volume. Therefore, drawing on Kachru's (1992) Three Circles model, the editors have organized the discussions in the thirty-eight chapters (contributions), in the hope of making some valid generalizations. This is especially true for parts two and three. Part two focuses on eleven countries of the Outer Circle in eleven chapters (chapters ten to twenty), and part three on ten countries of the Expanding Circle in ten chapters (chapters twenty-one to thirty). However, this organization does not necessarily indicate that all countries in the Outer Circle or the Expanding Circle are identical but entails "striking differences between individual societies, where particular and often unique linguistic ecologies have determined the precise details of English acquisition and use within such societies" (Bolton et al. 2020, 6).

The remaining thirty-seven contributions of Bolton et al. (2020) are grouped under four headings: a) part one: The History and Development of Asian Englishes (chapters two to nine); b) part two: Englishes in Outer Circle Asian societies (chapters ten to twenty); c) part three: Englishes in Asia's Expanding Circle Societies (chapters twenty-one to thirty); and d) part four: New Frontiers of Research (chapters thirty-one to thirty-eight). Parts two and three focus on areal, country-specific studies of AE, whereas parts one and four deal with sociolinguistic issues that traverse the Asian region.

Part one describes various aspects of the historical and current macro-sociolinguistic dynamics of English across Asia. It opens with Coupe and Kratochvíl's chapter, "Asia before English," which presents the linguistic landscape in South Asia and Southeast Asia before Europeans colonized these regions, after which English was gradually adopted as an important LF. This chapter presents the languages used by various local ethnic groups before the arrival of European traders and missionaries in the sixteenth century, to derive historical evidence for language contact from the languages spoken locally at the time, and to comb through explanations for borrowings and convergences emerging from that contact. Chapter three by Bolton and Bacon-Shone, "The Statistics of English across Asia," reviews studies relevant to the spread of English throughout South, Southeast and East Asian societies. First, a review of census and other data concerning the numbers of English speakers in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Asian societies is provided, followed by a discussion of the comparative English proficiency levels of speakers in and between diverse Asian societies and of the various methods used to calculate and calibrate proficiency scores for specific Asian societies. This chapter offers a glimpse of the regional sociolinguistics and dynamics of Asian societies, contextualizing the use and spread of English in complicated multilingual contexts. In chapter four,

Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat first briefly review developments in status planning and corpus planning. Status planning is concerned with the social and official roles that languages have in political systems. Corpus planning relates to the standardizing of languages so that they can better perform specific functions. A range of issues are then reviewed in terms of "language-in-education policies" (Bolton et al. 2020, 81) associated with the choice of language, programs, personnel and pedagogy. Several case studies follow that demonstrate the linguistic and cultural diversity in the region and the overall trend that regional language-in-education policies are prioritizing the respective national language and English as the two languages both *in* and *of* education, often at the expense of regional and local languages. Next, Low comments on the status and teaching of English in schools in ten Outer Circle countries and ten Expanding Circle countries in chapter five, "English in Asian Schools." In her review of these twenty countries, the emphasis is on three major aspects; more particularly, "historical context, English in schools today, and issues surrounding English language teaching in schools" (Bolton et al. 2020, 108). This chapter ends with a meta-analytic discussion of the similarities and differences in the issues identified in the two groups of focal countries, which may point to areas for future research in the domain. In chapter six, "English in Asian Universities," Bolton and Botha give an overview of the *status quo* and roles of the spread of English in tertiary education, the increasing adoption of English as an academic LF and the popularization of English-medium instruction (EMI) across Asia, based on a review of the literature and the empirical research on this topic in Singapore and various other settings across Asia. Chapter seven presents the morphosyntactic characteristics of AE in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle societies from a functional-typological perspective that involves current theorizations of different varieties of AE. In this chapter, Botha and Bernaisch also discuss the typological classification and the categorization of AE based on linguistic features (Croft 2002). In chapter eight, Gardiner and Deterding give an account of the phonological features of Englishes used in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle countries. Part one ends with chapter nine by Lambert, which describes the lexicographical characteristics of AE in Outer Circle and Expanding Circle societies regarding the history of dictionaries covering Asian varieties of English (AVE).

Parts two and three (chapters ten to thirty) present areal studies on AE used in the Outer and Expanding Circle countries that revolve around the uses, development, status, roles and implications of country-specific AE. Part two begins with chapter ten "Indian English," in which Sridhar presents the development of Indian English. He points out that "India is using English on its own terms, both structurally and functionally" (Bolton et al. 2020, 272), and that it "has been integrated into the multilingual fabric of India and thrives in a lively symbiotic relationship, influencing and being influenced by Indian languages" (Bolton et al. 2020, 272). This integration is manifested by the evolution of Indian English with distinctive phonological, lexical, syntactic and pragmatic features and by the emergence of hybrid Minglishes. In the following chapter (eleven), Rahman reviews English in Pakistan and Pakistani English

by discussing the multilingual context, the history of English in the country, the status, roles and characteristics of English, literature in English and current debates on the relationship between English and other Pakistan languages. In chapter twelve, Hamid and Hasan investigate the sociolinguistic reality of English in Bangladesh from the perspective of WE by describing the penetration and functions of English in various domains as a way of understanding its status in the local linguistic ecology and providing examples of innovations in English use. They also highlight certain linguistic and non-linguistic factors that may significantly impede emerging Bangladeshi English, including the lack of resources and expertise, linguistic carelessness and discourses of linguistic purism. Chapter thirteen by Giri mainly examines the variations in attitudes and policies towards English changing from "an elite language" to "everyone's language" and from an FL to a "primary language" or "alternate language" (Bolton et al. 2020, 331) for "locally relevant instrumental and practical purposes" (Bolton et al. 2020, 331) in most domains in Nepal. What is also discussed is recent debates in English language education about whether English ought to be given *de jure* official status. In chapter fourteen, Akanayaka discusses the macro-sociolinguistic landscape, with special reference to language policies, English language education, social classes, varieties of Sri Lankan English and the linguistic features of Sri Lankan English and "code-merging" (Bolton et al. 2020, 337) in Sri Lankan speech and popular music. Chapter fifteen, by Aye, mainly deals with the linguistic ecology of Myanmar, the transplantation of English into Myanmar, the changes in the status of English and the teaching of English in recent historical periods due to the adoption of educational and language policies, the features of Myanmar English and the future of English in the changing political landscape of Myanmar. Chapter sixteen by Azirah provides an overview of the historical introduction of English into Malaysia, language policies that provide an understanding of the status and functions of English in relation to other languages, the contemporary use of English in government and law, the school system and tertiary education and the "basilectal, mesolectal, and acrolectal" (Bolton et al. 2020, 393) features of Malaysian English. Chapter seventeen by McLellan focuses on the official contempt for code-switching between Malay and English, which implies low proficiency in Malay, the inability to distinguish languages and the pollution of the purity of Malay. Paradoxically, this official contempt for Malay-English code-switching starkly contrasts with the high frequency of code-mixing in reality. Chapter eighteen by Cavallaro et al. describes standardized versus colloquial Englishes in Singapore. In the new language world of Singapore, Singapore English is not only "a curiosity in an environment of multilingual diversity, but a variety that has taken root and taken over the linguistic psyche of the society and the people" (Bolton et al. 2020, 419). Chapter nineteen by Bolton et al. surveys various issues in the study of Hong Kong English, including the sociolinguistic background of and multilingualism in the Hong Kong speech community, the status and functions of English in Hong Kong, language policies, the use of languages in the domains of government, civil service, law,

education, employment and media as well as the phonological, lexical and grammatical features of Hong Kong English—"Kongish"—as a newly recognized form of code-mixing and code-switching, and the controversies over the perception of Hong Kong English as a distinctive Asian variety (Pang 2003; Evans 2016; Li 2018). Finally in part two, chapter twenty by Martin gives a brief account of the sociolinguistics of Philippine English in a diverse multilingual society. Functionally native in various domains, including government, law, mass media, business, education, etc., Philippine English is increasingly marginalizing local languages.

The ten chapters in part three report on Asian Expanding Circle contexts in East Asia (chapters twenty-one to twenty-five) and Southeast Asia (chapters twenty-six to thirty). Chapter twenty-one by Bolton et al. reviews the status, functions and features of English in contemporary China. Some factors have contributed to the increasing role of English in China, including the official promotion of English teaching and learning, the aspiring people, especially the middle classes, who regard English as "a liberating and rewarding language" (Osnos 2014) and an instrument for their migratory ambitions, etc. Chapter twenty-two by Botha and Moody provides an overview of the status and functions of English in Macau, where it is "instrumental" (Harrison 1984, 486). The focus is on the status of English as an L2, its roles in education, mass media, tourism and international business and its localized phonetic and grammatical attributes in the Macau context. Chapter twenty-three by Kobayashi presents the use of English in the multilingual ecology and sociolinguistic profile in contemporary Taiwan, where Mandarin-Hokkien-English code-mixing is widely accepted, English is commonly used in education, the media and the medical profession and English serves as a *de facto* co-official language. In this context, English in Taiwan can be viewed as an emerging variety of WE with distinct phonological, lexical and syntactic attributes. Chapter twenty-four by Seargeant describes the growing role of English in Japan. English has considerably affected Japanese, especially in terms of nativized loanwords, thereby resulting in English-Japanese hybridity. Chapter twenty-five by Lee gives a brief historical overview of English in Korea and discusses its current use, particularly in cultural domains, in contemporary Korean, concerning issues of globalization, educational migration and language ideologies and attitudes. Chapter twenty-six by Lauder investigates the status and roles of English in Indonesia, where it functions as an FL. Chapter twenty-seven by Pechapan-Hammond surveys English in Thailand, where the hybrid "Thai English" (Bolton 2003) has been created. Thai English integrates elements of the Thai culture and the western vernacular, serving to display the key attributes of the unique Thai culture. Chapter twenty-eight by Moore and Bounchan reviews the growing importance, dynamic usage and status of English in multilingual and multicultural Cambodia. Chapter twenty-nine by Achren and Kittiphanh aims to ascertain the contribution of English to social and economic development in Laos. Part three ends with chapter thirty by Sundkvist and Nguyen, which describes the significant status of English as the most taught and learned FL in Vietnamese society and

the Vietnamese education system and as the language of international communication. English used by Vietnamese speakers displays distinctive linguistic features as regards pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and pragmatics.

The eight chapters in part four, "New Frontiers of Research" (chapters thirty-one to thirty-eight), poses issues concerning current AE studies. In chapter thirty-one, "Globalization and Asian Englishes," Saraceni stresses the obvious connection between globalization and English, that is, the direct association of some core aspects of globalization with the spread, roles and representations of English across the world, particularly in the Asia region. Chapter thirty-two by Kirkpatrick, "English as an ASEAN Lingua Franca," presents English as an LF in the Asian region. The status of English as an LF and a medium of primary, secondary and higher education in Asian societies promotes communication within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), international communication, trade volume and economic growth. In chapter thirty-three, "Corpus Linguistics and Asian Englishes," Mukherjee and Bernaisch briefly introduce the major tenets of corpus linguistics before providing an overview and typology of corpora of AE currently available. According to them, charting AE as regards their pronunciation, lexis, syntax, semantics and pragmatics continues to be "a central desideratum" (Bolton et al. 2020, 756) in the domain of WE, and integrating sociobiographic speaker information into the description of AE in a statistically valid manner "promises to paint a more sociolinguistically sound picture of the intricacies constituting Asian Englishes" (Bolton et al. 2020, 756). Chapter thirty-four by Moody, "English in Asian Popular Culture," provides some generalizations about how English is used in Asian popular cultures based on the review of a growing body of literature on the roles of English in these popular cultures. Chapter thirty-five by Lim et al., "Asian literatures in English," gives a detailed and theoretically rich description of key topics and concepts that have emerged and are emerging in Asian literature in English, underscoring "the historically contentious position of English and Anglophone literature in decolonizing and post-colonial Asian territories during the mid-twentieth century" (Bolton et al. 2020, 806). Chapter thirty-six, "English and Asian Religions," reviews significant concerns and debates about the relationship between the English language and Asian religions. This relationship may constitute an essential topic for ongoing and future research from the perspectives of the WE paradigm and others. Chapter thirty-seven by Bolton et al., "English in Asian Linguistic Landscapes," introduces theories on global linguistic landscapes, reviews the literature on linguistic landscape research and provides a relevant case study in current-day Hong Kong. Part four ends with chapter thirty-eight, "English in Asian Legal Systems," in which Powell reviews "the current *de jure* and *de facto* positions of English in jurisdictions" (Bolton et al. 2020, 864; italics in the original), presents language contact patterns, and clarifies the role of English in implementing accessible, impartial and effective justice in the Asian region.

The second work under review (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021) addresses the issue of whether English used in the Asia region should be defined as an Asian language or an

LF. This book begins with an introduction by the authors that presents the highlights and organization of the volume, and then consists of three parts plus a conclusion. Part one provides a brief review of the historical evolution and the similarities and differences of AE (chapter one); part two introduces the Asian Corpus of English (ACE) and, by contrasting the characteristics of AVE—e.g., Indian English, Singaporean English—with English as a lingua franca (ELF), argues English is indeed an Asian language (chapters two to five); and part three examines code-mixing in AVE, non-standard morphosyntactic forms in AVE and ELF, and the functions of English in Asian communities (chapters six to ten). Lastly, the book concludes with chapter eleven.

Part one (chapter one) introduces the fact that English is now fulfilling increasingly more significant functions as distinct Asian varieties in the Outer circle and as an LF in the Expanding circle in Asia. In fact, "we are fast moving into a world in which not to have English is to be marginalized and excluded" (Graddol 2010, 10). Specifically, Kirkpatrick and Wang (2021) describe the introduction and development of English in various Asian social contexts, as well as the formation and similarities and differences of distinctive AVE. What is common among these varieties is their growing role in Asian countries, whereas what differentiates them is their institutional role in the Outer Circle countries versus their less institutional role in the Expanding Circle countries. Readers also learn that when ASEAN chose its working language(s), only English was selected, because the group claimed that English is "a language of the group and not necessarily external to it" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 12).

Chapter two, the beginning of part two, deals with the compilation of the ACE, which comprises a wide range of speech events (e.g., interviews, press conferences, service encounters, seminar discussions, etc.), and the use of ACE as data in the whole book. This corpus of naturally-occurring ELF provides first-hand data for various academic and pedagogical purposes, especially for examining the use of ELF and the reshaping of it into an "Asia-centric" language by Asian multilinguals (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 5). For example, the topics that Asian multilinguals discussed in English varied from light-hearted ones (e.g., different qualities of various brands of Thai and Malaysian rice and the significance of coffee to the Vietnamese) to relatively serious ones (e.g., the treatment of Burmese refugees, ways of raising Islamic finance and prejudice towards ethnic minorities in Hong Kong; Kirkpatrick et al. 2013). The use of English for such local linguistic and cultural purposes has reshaped English into characteristic Asian Varieties. In chapter three, a contrast is made between AVE and ELF: AVE is typically a combination of code-mixed varieties that people with shared linguistic and cultural repertoires use as identity markers, whereas ELF, with far less code-mixing from the speakers' vernacular languages, functions primarily as a communication medium across linguistic and cultural boundaries. AVE had been "thrust upon" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 70) local communities by force, while ELF had been "invited in" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 70) these societies by native multilinguals. Chapter four uses data from ACE to demonstrate that English is an

Asian and "Asia-centric" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 5) language, exemplifying the use of ELF by Asian multilingual speakers to talk about Asia-centric topics on formal and informal occasions. The topics discussed give insights into ELF used by Asian multilinguals, providing further evidence that "English is a language both in Asia and of Asia" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 214). This chapter also introduces the key concepts of register and levels of formality by demonstrating the use of different speech styles and types of interaction to cater to different topics. These findings have pedagogical implications for English teaching regarding the selection of teaching materials and the design of curricula. Specifically, "English should be taught as an Asian language, with Asian multilinguals acting as teachers and models for the students, with Asia-centric teaching materials, and with communicative success as the major goal, rather than adherence to native-speaker norms" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 200). Chapter five illustrates that English is an Asia-centric/Asian language once again because it involves the transfer of pragmatic norms, words and grammatical items from the speaker's L1. According to the authors, AVE is characterized by code-mixing and pragmatic transfer (e.g., code-switching to model the speakers' L1 and the use of discourse markers) from the speaker's L1 and other languages in their linguistic repertoires. To achieve successful communication in AVE in this context, people need to apply appropriate "speaker and listener strategies" (Kirkpatrick 2010), including spelling out the word, repeating the phrase, being explicit, using paraphrases and the avoidance of idiomatic references.

Part three centers on the use of AVE in diverse communicative situations and its corresponding implications. When using AVE to talk about living experiences and local cultures, Asian people frequently borrow words and idioms from their local languages that reflect local phenomena of one sort or another, as the authors argue in chapter six. In the same vein, when writing about their societies, Asian writers have "stretched" and "adapted" English to reflect their living experiences and cultural values (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 8) and acculturated the language in their Asian contexts of use (Kachru 1998, 105), making it "theirs" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 111). This was the "appropriation of the English language by postcolonial writers" (Saraceni 2020, 713), who believed that to conquer English may be to complete the process of making themselves free (Rushdie 1992, 17). As such, transforming English into vernacular varieties (Ashcroft 2016, 126) and adapting the language in literary works are two overriding factors in making English an Asian and Asia-centric language. Chapter seven focuses on the use, contexts and frequency of non-standard morphosyntactic forms that result from two pragmatic mechanisms, i.e., simplification and regularization in AVE and in ELF. The Asian speaker's L1 or substrate has been shown to be significant in creating distinctive, non-standard morphosyntactic forms (Kirkpatrick and Subhan 2014). ACE turns out to be important for investigating the comparative frequencies of distinctive morphosyntactic forms and the significance of register and levels of formality. Speakers from different linguistic and cultural contexts utilize the same

non-standard forms, resulting in no communication failure or misunderstanding. Chapter eight focuses on a series of roles of English in Asian communities where English is being increasingly used in popular cultures. For example, English is playing an increasingly significant part in law, religion, popular culture and business across Asian societies, showing that Asian people are adopting English for their cultural practices and purposes. English-speaking Asians, the youth in particular, have been adapting and reshaping English in innovative ways, creating distinctive vernacular ELF and AVE. "'I'on' for 'I won't,' 'askd' for 'asked,' 'needd' for 'needed,' 'thin' for 'thing,' and 'brin' for 'bring'" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 160) are examples of a locally developed vernacular variety as a rebellion against standard English. Chapter nine gives a brief account of the role of English as a language of education in primary, secondary and tertiary education across East and Southeast Asia. This chapter takes a critical look at language education policies implemented in the countries under scrutiny and the growing role of EMI in tertiary education across universities in the Asian region, asserting that it is imperative to implement language education policies holistically and consistently throughout all levels of education to avoid replacing local languages with English as the medium of education and academic research. Focusing on some arguments and proposals for English teaching in ASEAN, chapter ten describes the current state of English teaching throughout ASEAN. On this basis, the authors point out critical issues and great challenges in English teaching in the context of English being an Asian and Asia-centric language. In such contexts, the LF approach to English language teaching (Kirkpatrick 2014, 2018a) should be proposed to ensure not only the successful learning of English by Asian multilingual speakers but the preservation of local languages as languages of education as well.

The concluding chapter, chapter eleven, summarizes the thrust of the whole book and concludes that English has become a language not only *in* Asia but *of* Asia as well. It is predicted that this nativized language will most likely play more and increasingly significant roles across Asia, as more and more Asian people are becoming highly proficient English speakers and adapting English to their domains of use and cultures, which should attract the attention of language and education policymakers in terms of preserving local languages across Asia.

Overall, these two volumes under review are very valuable in terms of adding to the growing scholarship in WE, especially considering that areal or feature-based studies of AE "account for only part of the agenda" (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 4). Comprehensive and systematic descriptions and discussions of key issues, various topics, dominant debates, preeminent themes and diverse contexts associated with the Asian strand of WE from a global perspective by world-leading scholars contribute to the academic significance and potential of these works, which both display theoretical, methodological and pedagogical depth and breadth. The introductory chapters and the introductory sections of the other chapters of the two reviewed volumes contextualize them in a broader academic paradigm of WE. The retrospective and prospective

approaches to macroscopic sociolinguistic issues, developments and dynamics of AE present the historical development and current status of English in Asia, the implications of English for local language and education policies, the morphosyntactic, phonological, pragmatic and lexicographic characteristics of AE and the directions for future research in respects of globalization, ELF, corpus linguistics, popular cultures, literature, religions, linguistic landscapes and legal systems. In addition, Kachruvian areal studies provide country-specific overviews of the developments, status, uses, roles and implications of AVE across Asia. Informed by the "functional nativeness" (Kachru 1998, 103) of AE, these areal studies touch upon not only the growing roles of English in various social contexts, including communication, education, law, culture, literature, religion, business, etc., but also the increasing relevance of English to diverse topics, covering linguistic features, language education, language ideology, language policy, etc. As such, these two volumes can greatly contribute to the academic domain of WE, which has established its disciplinary credentials (Seargeant 2012), and more specifically to AE, by providing adapted English "paradigms relevant and appropriate to multilingual and multicultural societies" (Kachru 1998, 104). Such contextually appropriate adaptation "has been the fate of most human languages, particularly those that have crossed their historical boundaries and were planted in other linguistic and cultural ecologies" (Kachru 2005, 255). As a result, the adapted English varieties in the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle Asian countries have greatly contributed to the pluralism of WE. As Kachru argues, "World Englishes represent certain linguistic, cultural and pragmatic realities and pluralism, and that pluralism is now an integral part of world Englishes and literatures written in Englishes [...]. The pluralism of English must be reflected in the approaches, both theoretical and applied, we adopt for understanding this unprecedented linguistic phenomenon" (Kachru 1992, 11). Particular and unique linguistic ecologies in strikingly different Asian societies have determined the precise details of the use and acquisition of the English language in these societies (Kachru 1992, 6). The increasing use of English in diversified settings, "attitudinal, creative, formal, functional, historical, and sociocultural" (Bolton et al. 2020, 3), in Asian societies, naturally results in emerging functionally-nativized vernacular AE with acculturated, "liberated" uses and functions (Kachru 1998, 103) in Asian contexts and on Asian terms, thereby making AE distinctive varieties of English and thus enriching WE.

These two volumes under review also contribute to sociolinguistics, and more specifically to "an important strand in the sociolinguistic development of the Asian region" (Bolton and Bacon-Shone 2020, 49). Currently, the number of Asian people learning and speaking English is considerably higher than ever before and the total number of English-knowing Asian people is estimated at over 800 million (Bolton 2008; Herscovitch 2012, qtd. in Bolton et al. 2020, 49). This large English-knowing Asian population can most likely contribute to the already remarkable multilingualism of many Asian societies: over a hundred recognized languages are spoken in Indonesia, India, China, Philippines, Malaysia, Nepal, Myanmar and Vietnam, fifteen to eighty-

three languages in Brunei, Japan, East Timor, Bhutan, Singapore, Taiwan, Cambodia, Bangladesh, Thailand, Pakistan and Laos, and only five societies—Hong Kong, Sri Lanka, Macau, South Korea and North Korea—use less than ten languages (Ebhard et al. 2022). Thoroughly indigenized, English "has long been the key 'other tongue' of millions" (McArthur 2003, 21). It is not merely the LF that Asian people now share with one another and with the rest of the world, but an Asian language in its own right as well, resulting in the fact that "the centre of gravity of English as a second language or lingua franca is manifestly Asian (especially in the South and East)" (McArthur 2003, 22). Some twenty years later, this statement of McArthur's appears to have been justified, as claimed in the introduction of Bolton et al. (2020, 9). In this context, English continuously alters the linguistic behavior of people worldwide, and it is currently "the major instrument of initiating large-scale bilingualism" across the world (Kachru 1996, 138). Just as Bolton et al. (2020) so aptly put it in their introduction (Bolton et al. 2021, 9), English is still displaying its global vitality currently, although Kachru made the description more than twenty years ago. However, this "ecstasy" of English (Kachru 1996) is accompanied by the "agony" of English (Kachru 1996), which is concerned with its imperialist legacy and concerns about the power and politics of English. There are increasing concerns about the influence of English on the public education systems and the wider ecology of languages in many Asian communities (Bolton et al. 2020, 9). According to many critical linguists, the global power of English is related to the worst respects of neoliberalism, Anglo-American politics, the threat of English to linguistic and cultural diversity and the perceived inequality of languages and Englishes across the world (Tupas 2014). Take globalization for instance. There is a lasting controversy over whether globalization is a euphemism for Americanization (Bolton et al. 2020, 9). Globalization has been regarded as a crucial contributing factor to the spread of specific forms of English across Asia, as claimed by Bolton et al. in their introduction (2020, 9). Due to globalization, the influence of American media and popular culture has been prevalent in almost every Asian country, and the prevalence of "US-inflected" or at least "US-influenced" varieties of English can be expected to increase in the coming years in many Asian societies (Bolton et al. 2020, 10). What is more, the prevalence of English is unlikely to decrease in the foreseeable future due to globalization and regionalization in the context of ASEAN adopting English as its official language (Kirkpatrick 2012).

Both works reviewed here also contribute greatly to scholarly inquiry into ELF. As the primary use of English currently, ELF has established itself as an independent, vibrant academic domain (Mauranen 2018). ELF used in the Asian contexts aligns well with, provides more evidence for, and proves an addition to the current dynamics of and conversations on ELF research. ELF is inherently multilingual, as demonstrated in the two reviewed works. As a speaker's linguistic resources are all constantly active, multilanguaging is an important theoretical underpinning of the concept of ELF (Mauranen 2018). Jenkins (2015) proposes English as "a multilingual franca" where the fundamental multilingualism of ELF occupies a central position. The social settings

in which ELF is employed are frequently multilingual with several languages present that play different roles (Mauranen 2018). ELF in the Asian contexts investigated in the two reviewed books draws attention to the way we perceive language and its function in human communication. Studies on ELF have inspired scholars dealing with English, as well as other languages, to regard languages as interconnected, drawing from a common pool of communicative resources, rather than as self-contained, and to appreciate language change and language perception as a result of its use by L2 speakers, their constant mobility and omnipresent language contact (Mauranen 2018). In this sense, "[t]hese lines of thinking have also been brought to the fore in world Englishes and translanguaging, and the growing awareness of the diversity of repertoires, language, and similect contact, and the role of speakers as the agents of language change" (Mauranen 2018, 115). ELF stems from contact between *similects*, that is, lects displaying recognizable similarities (Mauranen 2012). ELF is a diffuse type of languaging that drives change in English. ELF, together with WE, influences English as a whole in its various manifestations (Mauranen 2018). According to Laitinen (2016), ELF is closer to WE rather than to learner language. Some features identified in WE, including the diminishing count/mass noun distinction, non-standardized article use and inversion in indirect questions (Schneider 2007), are also prevalent in ELF, which may point to "angloversals" (Mair 2003), or imply ongoing developments in contact-triggered change (Mauranen 2018). To better understand ELF, we need to further discuss three aspects that follow: a) the conceptualization of ELF; b) the research areas in ELF; and c) the pragmatic strategies related to ELF.

ELF has been subjected to several lines of conceptualization. In the first it has been integrated within multilingualism research (Jenkins 2015), and it "entails sociolinguistic processes of identity, cultural and ideology signaling, code-switching, accommodation, and language variation" (Parise 2021, 50). This conceptualization underscores the transcultural character of multilingual English speakers, who adapt their multilinguistic repertoire to the interactive context, switching from one language to another or translanguaging to make discursive practices effective (Parise 2021). A second line of conceptualization aligns well with the classical Saussurean distinction between *langue* and *parole* (Vetchinnikova 2015). In this sense, English serves as the supporting underlying structure (*langue*) of ELF (*parole*). This approach differentiates native use from multilingual speakers' use. ELF functionally utilizes the possibilities inherent in the virtual language (*langue*) in a completely natural way, which is how language develops in generating linguistic forms based on users' communicative needs, as claimed by Seidlhofer (2011). Third, Mauranen (2015) focuses on the use of English by speakers from an increasing number of linguistic contexts worldwide. This line of conceptualization defines ELF varieties as similects, which is an example of "second-order language contact" (Mauranen 2012) and results in bilingual creativity. The special characteristics of these contact similects stem from the cross-linguistic transfer (Parise 2021). The fourth conceptualization of ELF points to the complexities of language and communication more holistically (Baird et al. 2014).

According to this approach, ELF language practice is an emergent phenomenon and a social act. Its interpretation entails how communicators associate with and react to social constructs, expectations, norms and meaning, in addition to their correlation with their physical, immanent interlocutors (Parise 2021).

The research areas in ELF mainly focus on the inquiry into business ELF (Kankaanranta et al. 2015) and academic ELF as EMI (Jenkins and Leung 2014), based on both large and smaller-scale corpora, like ACE, which is employed in the two books reviewed here. Studies in these two areas have reported findings in communicative contexts concerning asylum seekers (Guido 2008), teacher training (Dewey 2012) and language assessment (Jenkins and Leung 2014). Other aspects investigated include uncooperativeness (Kenks 2012), miscommunication (Deterding 2013), humor (Pullin 2019), idiomaticity and creativity (Pitzl 2019), written ELF (Horner 2019), regulation in ELF (Hynninen 2016), intercultural negotiation of norms between English users across cultural and linguistic borders (Zhu 2015; Baker 2019), attitudes and orientations in ELF interaction (Jenkins 2007; Cogo 2016; Parise 2020) and language ideologies in ELF and multilingualism theoretical paradigms (Cogo and Yanaprasart 2018). Most of these ELF-related topics are discussed in the Asian context, where the areal investigations of ELF reveal various domain-specific settings, where speakers are continually exposed to cultural and linguistic heterogeneity (Parise 2021). In these situations, displaying a multicultural outlook constitutes a pragmatic strategy to achieve successful intercultural communication; and reciprocal accommodation to ensure understanding shows ELF speakers' positive attitudes toward strategic, effective interaction (Parise 2021), as exemplified in the chapters of the two reviewed volumes. As such, users perceive ELF as an effective linguistic resource to meet the challenge of the *super diverse reality* (Vertovec 2015) of contemporary times and to bridge the gaps in cross-cultural communication.

Pragmatic strategies function to pre-empt and resolve communicative turbulence (Kaur 2011) to achieve ELF communication in the Asian and global contexts. Chapters four and five in Kirkpatrick and Wang (2021) and chapters six, ten, nineteen, thirty and thirty-two in Bolton et al. (2020) present such strategies, involving spelling out the word, repeating the phrase, being explicit, using paraphrase and the avoidance of idiomatic references (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021), among others, "to co-construct interaction in a purposeful and meaningful way, taking into account socio-cultural and pragmatic dimensions of the speech situation and event" (Galaczi 2018, 226). In ELF communication, stress is put on achieving understanding, rather than correct forms, through the most appropriate and effective communicative strategies, including repetition, paraphrasing, self-correction, parallel phrasing, etc. (Parise 2021). The minimum number of ELF miscommunications observed can be partly due to the speakers' ability to pre-empt potential communicative problems in linguistically demanding contexts (Mauranen 2006; Kaur 2009) by using these strategies. In ELF talk, referring to other languages and primarily to the speakers' NLs is a common multilingual practice. Therefore, sociolinguistic research has classified multilingual practices

into multilingualism and ELF referring to their nature and their explicit or implicit emergence in language (Parise 2021). This classification differentiates covert from overt multilingual phenomena (Cogo 2018). In overt multilingual phenomena, two or more languages are involved in ELF discourse and diverse communicative roles in discourse. "They can be used as code-switching or similar aspects (e.g. transfer, approximation as a form-based approximation and semantic approximation, approximate idioms and collocations, new word formation, new idiomatic expressions) or they might come from a more fluid approach to multilingual practices, such as translanguaging" (Parise 2021). Covert multilingual phenomena are covered by the speaker's use of grammatical aspects and additional linguistic items influenced by other languages, highlighting ELF speakers' abilities to use multifarious resources to convey meaning (Parise 2021). This differentiation supplements ELF studies with bilingualism and multilingualism studies (Heller 2007), where ELF is asserted to complement other linguistic resources to achieve particular communicative purposes (Cogo 2010) rather than replace them or challenge their national and international use in speakers' sociolinguistic behavior (Parise 2021). As such, ELF communication involves knowledge construction and negotiation, meaning expansion and identity construction in linguistically and culturally diverse contexts. Investigating pragmatic strategies used in ELF communication in the Asian context can provide evidence for ELF speakers' awareness and proactive efforts to substantiate communicative effectiveness (Mauranen 2007).

The two books under review can also provide important implications for English teaching, EMI and language planning and policies in the Asian region. In the context of English becoming an Asia-centric language, what needs to be dismissed is the Foreign Languages paradigm that regards distinctive language forms in ELF communication as errors or proficiency deficiencies (Jenkins 2014). L2 English use needs to be not merely assessed in correctness and characterization of L1 interference and fossilization (Parise 2021). Instead, what needs to be advocated is an assessment system legitimizing "systematicity, frequency, and communicative effectiveness" (Jenkins 2009) in intercultural communication, which enables speakers to apply their intercultural competence, that is, "the ability to co-construct interaction in a purposeful and meaningful way, taking into account socio-cultural and pragmatic dimensions of the speech situation and event" (Galaczi and Taylor 2018, 226). "Highlighting the effectiveness of communicative resources in naturally occurring communication, WE and ELF have certainly contributed to reaching this result benefiting users and their language capability validation" (Parise 2021, 58). ELF speakers' use of multiple strategies to pre-empt and resolve communicative turbulence (Kaur 2011) stands in stark contrast to the second language acquisition (SLA) point of view on communicative strategies (i.e., various compelled actions to repair problematic moments in conversation, Bialystok 1983). ELF naturally occurring conversation data could be used as teaching materials for SLA, to enable students to use negotiation of meaning and co-construction of understanding to solve communicative turbulence

(Parise 2021). Such data could make up for the shortage of supportive, natural language environments, appropriate and sufficient English teaching materials, qualified teachers proficient in English and motivate English learners proficient and literate in their FL (Cenoz 2009, 189; Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 184). Various strands of L2 research can draw on ELF research. L2 users can utilize their learned language to serve their real-time purposes in the way that people use indigenized varieties or ELF to meet their social and cultural needs (Mauranen 2018).

EMI is defined as "[t]he use of English to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English" (Macaro 2018, 19). EMI across Asia is positioned in contexts of considerable complexity and linguistic diversity (Kirkpatrick 2018a), especially given that Asia is an area of immense linguistic diversity and many diverse language families, including the Austronesian, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Sino-Tibetan and Tai-Kadai languages (Bolton et al. 2020, 137). Many book-length studies on EMI in tertiary education in Asia have been published in recent years, including Hamid et al. (2014), Fenton-Smith et al. (2017), Park and Spolsky (2017) and Barnard and Hasim (2018). The two volumes under review, together with these publications, inform readers of various EMI-related topics, including language policies and their implementation in a range of Asian higher education systems, case studies from various EMI programs in Asian societies, issues related to both EMI and English language teaching, theoretical discussions and analysis from leading scholars in the field including Barnard, Lin, Kirkpatrick, etc. These topics are most likely to provide important implications for education policies for and practices of EMI in higher education.

The voice of dismissing "the earlier the better" (Cenoz 2009, 189) practice of integrating English into language curricula and the EMI practice in Asia points to the fact that English conflicts with Asian NLs in early language acquisition and overemphasizing English is most likely to cause decreasing recognition and even the end of NLs. It is therefore imperative for language policy-makers and language planners to change the current language-in-education policies in most Asian societies, as proposed by Kirkpatrick and Liddicoat (2019). As a result, local languages can be taught and serve as mediums of instruction in primary school while postponing English teaching until second and tertiary education, when it can be taught as an Asia-centric language serving many roles across the Asian region (Kirkpatrick and Wang 2021, 201). As such, proficient multilingual speakers could be cultivated in Asia, and Asian NLs could be preserved in Asia.

Alongside the aforementioned strengths, the two books under review, however, also have certain drawbacks. First, a concluding chapter should have been added to both volumes. The missing conclusive chapter in each book could synthesize, compare and contrast the status, roles and characteristics of diverse AVE on the one hand, and point out methodological, theoretical and empirical achievements, strengths and weaknesses and requirements and directions for future research, to shed more new light on those

interested in AE studies. In addition, the scenarios of English varieties in the '-stan' countries of Central Asia are not covered in either of the books reviewed, as Bolton et al. themselves acknowledge (2020, 6). This omission is most likely to disappoint those scholars who seek to synthesize the linguistic ecologies and sociolinguistic realities across Asia. However, these two drawbacks are minor, compared to the significant contributions and important implications of the two works under review.

Overall, the two works reviewed focus on AE in the diversified sociolinguistic and sociocultural ecologies in Asia and its contextual manipulations as a crucial facilitator in education, language acquisition, hybridization, creativity, socioeconomic development, migration, etc. They are helpful guides for those interested in academic engagement in one of the diverse, dynamic and developing Asian societies and the role of AE within them. They deserve exclusive positions in the growing body of WE scholarships owing to their specialized focus on AE.

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