原著論文

The Future of English

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Abstract: **The Future of English** *examines probable phonetic, syntactic, vocabulary and computer-mediated communication changes in world English usage as the number of L2 English users continues to increase, especially in Asia. Predicted changes are based on patterns and precedents from the language's steady 1,600-year evolution from Old English, Middle English and Modern English into humanity's first global lingua franca. Wherever possible, examples of newly adapted usages, pronunciations and neologisms will be given. The current effects and likely trajectories of digitized English use, primary school English education as a "basic skill," and possible Black Swan mobile translation devices are also examined.*

Ⅰ．Introduction

To more accurately predict how English may continue to evolve as the number of L2 and L3 users further overshadows the proportionally much smaller group of L1 (native speaker) users, it is helpful to briefly review the major twists and turns in the development of English, as we know it today. The English language has adapted greatly from its obscure Germanic roots in southern 5th century Great Britain, to become the closest our human species has ever come to having a single viable global lingua franca successfully facilitating better communication and understanding

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around the world.

The rise of initially insignificant English to its current, and likely future, position of unprecedented global popularity is not due to any intrinsic strength or linguistic beauty, but the direct result of the following three overlapping historical phenomena. First was the 16th century global spread of English with the exploration and colonialism of lands in North America, the Caribbean, South Asia, South East Asia, Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific Islands and East, West and South Africa. Unlike the earlier Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and French colonial powers' overseas territories, from their inception English-speaking settlements, actually called plantations, were intended to operate as profitable permanent agricultural enterprises. Their other important (political) function was to transplant English culture, religion, and language to these far-flung outposts.

Secondly, by the late 18th century, after of the establishment of these tiny toeholds around the globe, Great Britain and later North America, pioneered the adapting of scientific discoveries to industrial production that led the world into the Industrial Revolution. Steadily, the early mechanization of textile production, interchangeable parts, the steam engine and the creation of factories, morphed into mammoth steel plants. In a later Industrial Revolution phase, Henry Ford introduced mass production in the US. (This burgeoning industrial ability resulted in a tremendous multiplication of military power. For example, at the Battle of Omdurman in 1898, the small British force with 40 Maxim guns slaughtered 11,000 Sudanese natives while only losing 47 of their soldiers.)

Additionally, the Industrial Revolution forever changed land, sea (and eventually air) transportation and created the beginnings of today's consumer society. Initially the UK, and from the late 19th century the US,

had both the military might to take what they wanted and the productive capacity to make and sell the world the latest "must have" products (e.g. machine guns, railroads, cars, refrigerators, TVs, iPhones and so on). This also led to huge concentrations of industrial expertise and wealth in the UK and US.

A third factor, sometimes called the "Digital Revolution" or the "Third Industrial Revolution," came about with the intersection of the globalization of commerce and digitized Information Technology. This came 45 years after successive World War I and II victories and resulted in the US becoming a superpower. (Although rivaled from the 1950s through the 1980s by the USSR, the latter's demise left the US as the only—albeit struggling—hyperpower.) Today's convergence of the Internet, robots, new materials, 3D printers, global supply chains, AI, and nanotechnology is the urbanized world we now live in.

On a personal level, being two years away from retiring from Hakuoh University I am happy to revisit, update and further extrapolate on my first research paper published by the university *World Englishes: Reflections from Hakuoh* (白鷗大学論集第15巻第2号). In my 17 years at Hakuoh, I have had remarkable opportunities to meet and discuss key issues with leading scholars in the World Englishes field: David Crystal, Jennifer Jenkins, Geoffrey Leech, Kumiko Murata, Barbara Seidlhofer, Larry Smith, Henry Widdowson, and Yasutaka Yano. It has also been satisfying to have created and taught the course English-Speaking Area Studies to English Education and ambitious Early Education majors every year. Finally, it was an honor to have brought so many Hakuoh students to the UK four times, visiting William Shakespeare's homes in Stratford-upon-Avon (as well as to various universities in the US 15 other times). The students' first-hand English cultural and linguistic experiences abroad will last a lifetime.

Ⅱ. The First 1,000 Years of English Language Changes

Humans have lived in what is now the UK and Ireland for 40,000 years or more, and by about 2,500 years ago Celtic people from central Europe had settled in Britain. It was these Celts whom the invading Romans fought and partly conquered when they invaded southern Britain about 2,000 years ago. Some Celts in England cooperated with the Roman rulers and adopted their ways, while others fled to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. However, after about 360 years of Roman rule, increasing powerful barbarian attacks on Italy itself forced the Roman military legions to leave England in 410 to defend Rome. Afterward, from about 450, various Germanic-speaking people including the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons came from northwestern Europe and settled in England.

Their language, Anglo-Saxon or **Old English** (450-1066), a mix of Germanic tongues in which word order was not very important, as word endings showed word functions left us some 4,500 words still used today. A few Celtic (London, Thames, and crag) and more Roman (bath, street, and wine) words came into Anglo-Saxon. Old English was written with 29, mostly Roman letters. However, now few non-scholars can make out their meaning. Today, although Old English words have been up to 85 percent replaced by new words mostly of French and Latin origin, in Modern English about half of our most commonly used English functional words are from Anglo-Saxon. For example: *and, at, baker, be, but, brother, child, come, daughter, drink, earth, eat, field, fight, for, friend, go, he, home, horse, house, in, is, laughter, live, love, man, miller, on, of, she, sleep, sun, time, the, to, use, what, wife, word, work, you* and many others are Old English. (Miller, 2002, p. 204-5) The Old English rhythm, cadence, and grammar structure is still widely found in today's language.

From the 8th century, Norse (i.e. Viking or Danish) raider cum settlers

also came to eastern Britain. They stayed because of the fertile land and mild climate. These Norse people too spoke a Northern Germanic language that was close to Old English. In the late 8th century, Anglo-Saxon King Alfred the Great successfully fought them resulting in a divided England according to the Danelaw (from London to Chester, above Wales). Old English was used in the west and south, but Old Norse in the east and north.

Over time, the two peoples mixed, and Old English became simplified as many complex word endings gradually disappeared. Plurals began to use "s-es," (unlike children, the older form). About 1,000 Norse words are still in use, including many functional pronouns e.g. *anger, birth, die, get, give, husband, kill, knife, law, leg, skin, their, them, they, want* and many others. Thus the evolving English of the time was enriched by similar words such as "wish-sick" and "want-ill" from Old English and Old Norse respectively, that expanding the vocabulary added meaning, depth and subtlety. Then, in 1066 the ruling Anglo-Saxon King Harold was defeated and killed by William the Conqueror of Normandy (northwestern France).

The greatest changes to English occurred in the 400 years between William the Conqueror and William Caxton the printer. From 1066 many Anglo-Saxon leaders lost their lands to the French Normans. As a result, French-speaking rulers controlled the government, each village and the churches in England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland for 250 years. Though English was still spoken by the people, all official communication was in French or Latin. However, after the Norman rulers lost their lands in France, written English use gradually returned and English was used to open Parliament in 1362.

However, **Middle English** (1066-1550) was poles apart from Old English. The grammar was far simpler and 10,000 new French words,

three-quarters of which are still used today, entered English. Examples of French loanwords include *accuse, baron, city, court, damage, felony, govern, jury, justice, library, marriage, merchant, nervous, parliament, popular* and *prison.* (Miller, 2002, p. 205) Interesting plate versus field French-English word pairs arose, including beef-cow, poultry-chicken, pork-pig, mutton-sheep and venison-deer among others. Also, English *ly* and *ful* endings were added to French words to make the English adverb *gently* and adjective *beautiful.* The Old English *like* was probably first used as a suffix, as in *soft-like* that with years of use was gradually shortened to Modern English's *ly* as in *softly.* (McWhorter, 2016, p. 119)

Writer Geoffrey Chaucer (1343-1400) also wrote in French and Latin, but comparing the first three lines from his *The Canterbury Tales* masterpiece in Middle English and a modern translation shows how much closer Chaucer was to the English we now use.

Whan that Aprille with his shoures soote   Original Middle English
The droghte of Marche hath perced to the roote,
And bathed every veyne is swich licour

When in April the sweet showers fall   Modern English translation
That pierce March's drought to the root and all
And bathed every vein in such liquor

After Chaucer's death, Britain's first printer William Caxton (1415-1492) used the Oxford-London-Cambridge southern dialect to standardize English spelling in his works. This is how we know that, at that time the "k" in *knee*, "w" in *wrong*, and "l" in *would* were all pronounced, Finally, between 1350 and 1700 the Great Vowel Shift resulted in English vowel

pronunciation became much longer. This was partly caused by the much greater social and geographic mobility after the Black Death had killed one-third of the people. By 1500, English had adapted, grown and been so simplified that it was ready to go abroad and begin to become the modern global language of today.

Ⅲ. English Evolution from Elizabeth I to Elizabeth Ⅱ.

During Elizabeth I's reign (1558-1603), 5-6 million people used English, 99% of whom lived in Britain or Ireland. By Elizabeth II's reign (1952-today), only 13.7% or 68.5 million of the approximate 500 million world English native speakers live in the UK or Ireland. Over the past 400 years we have experienced the simultaneous explosions of: global colonization, scientific know-how, and the English spread that began under Elizabeth I. During this time English was brought to America, Canada, the Caribbean, and later to Australia, New Zealand, West, East and South Africa, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and other places. In each of these areas, the language offshoots of British (and later American) English have developed in different ways making the "global English whole" much greater than the mere "sum-of-its-various-parts." These far-flung linguistic-cultural hubs were linked together as networks helping English to become the first worldwide language.

Modern English (1550-now) has been greatly influenced by the works of William Shakespeare (with Marlowe and other writers) and the King James Bible. Shakespeare's 37 plays, 154 sonnets, and two longer poems demonstrated the heights that English could achieve to decorate the bare Elizabethan stage, describe the human condition, and fire the imagination. Shakespeare's 20,000-word vocabulary, as counted by dictionary headwords, is larger than any other writer's. Among the over 1,700 new

English words Shakespeare created by changing nouns into verbs or verbs into adjectives, connecting words never used together before, adding prefixes and suffixes, and devising words wholly original are *advertising, amazement, bedroom, bet, champion, critic, dawn, excitement, fashionable, generous, gloomy, hint, hurried, impede, jaded, lonely, marketable, negotiate, outbreak, pedant, radiance, secure, undress, varied, and zany*! (Fortuitously, the printing press had made books cheaper and literacy more prevalent.)

After Elizabeth I's 1603 death, her Scottish cousin became King James I, uniting England and Scotland. He had 47 scholars retranslate *The Authorized Version of the English Bible*. This *King James Bible* was read at churches, schools, and homes and, with *The Book of Common Prayer*, greatly influenced the evolution of English. However, unlike Shakespeare, the *King James Bible* used less than 6,000 words, included old forms like *ye* (we) and *thou* (you). Two quotations, the former archaic, the latter modern – both profound are "Judge not, that ye not be judged" and "Love one another." Also included were commonly used expressions as "the apple of one's eye" (most liked), "the salt of the earth" (very honest), and "by the skin of one's teeth" (just barely successful).

Modern English has dropped the old *thee/thou/ye* forms, and the "th" suffix in *loveth* which became *loves*. Also in Modern English, *its* became used for things without gender as *its leg* rather than *his leg* for a chair. Additionally, the "k/w" sounds in *knee* and *write* became silent. Likewise, the use of *do* became common; so instead of saying "I know not" people said, "I do not know." The spelling of some words, like s<u>c</u>issors, dou<u>b</u>t, and pe<u>o</u>ple were changed, adding *c, b, o* because Latin had those letters.

During the 1,100 years from the beginnings of Germanic Old English in 450 to the start of Modern English in about 1550, the language had been in constant motion shifting word meanings, pronunciation, and grammar

while absorbing tens of thousands of French, Latin, Greek and other words. To visualize some of these elements of change please look at the matching pairs of ten drawings below. The words below the ten drawings on the left are modern versions of the Old English words that were used for that thing. The drawings to the right show the Modern English words for those things.

At that time *meat* was a more abstract word meaning food. "What we call *meat*... was called *flesh*. The word *bread* was used for pieces, bits and crumbs of food in general; what we call *bread* was called *loaf*. Vegetables were called *wort*, the rather marginal word we now use only for certain herbs. *Apple* was a generic word for fruit.... What Old English speakers called *loaf* we now call *bread*, while *loaf* refers to a single table's serving of said bread. A word *crumb* meaning 'fragment' now occupies the slot *bread* once did. New words can also come from other languages *vegetable* and *fruit* came in from French.... [W]e have *fuel* and *nourishment* to express what *food* once did." (McWhorter, 2016, p. 80-82)

WORDS ON THE MOVE
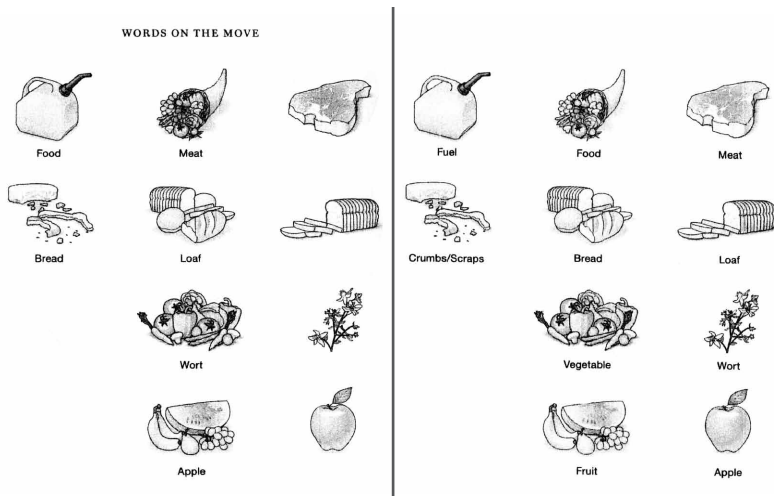
(McWhorter, 2016, p. 80−1) **OLD ENGLISH**　　　　**MODERN ENGLISH**

By the 1800s, unlike in Shakespeare's times, how one used English became a mark of social class and education. As a result, dictionaries and grammar books became popular guides to correct English. Dr. Johnson's dictionary divided words by groups including "cant" used by only one group and "low" informal and unsuitable for writing. Others, like Irishman Thomas Sheridan, focused on pronunciation while the American Noah Webster pushed US spelling reforms. In 1879, Scotsman James Murray began work on the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*). The first 12-volume edition was completed in 1928, the second 20-volume edition in 1989, with the third edition due in 2018. The *OED* best documents the many changes in English we have seen over the years.

Many of these changes have come from the US (with 70 percent of all English speakers). English came to America in 1607 with the first diaspora to British emigrants, and by 1650 there were over 50,000 English settlers, including some slaves. By the time of independence (1776), there were about 2.8 million Americans, 14.2 percent being Scots-Irish. Since then, people from all over the world have immigrated to the US. The steady arrival of African slaves until the 1865 end of the Civil War, saw varieties of African-American English develop in the US, Canada, and many Caribbean islands.

George Bernard Shaw said that the US and the UK are "separated by a common language." Including varying pronunciations like schedule, privacy, controversy; spelling as of color/our, program/me, center/re (US/UK); but mostly in vocabulary like apartment/flat, bathrobe/dressing gown, can/tin, cart/trolley, clobbered/nobbled, cookies/biscuits, desserts/ puddings, elevator/lift, fight/row, fire/sack, first/ground floor, freeway/ motorway, line/queue up, mom/mum, movies/cinema, nurse/matron, public/comprehensive school, right/straight away, Santa Claus/Father

Christmas, soccer/football, sneakers/trainers, sweater/jumper, subway/ underground (tube), trashcan/dustbin, truck/lorry, toilet/loo, two weeks/ fortnight, while/whilst, won't/shan't, vacationing/holidaying, and You should talk. / Bit rich coming from you (US/UK). Over 4,000 words and phrases are used differently in the UK and US.

Similarly, Australian English, with its London Cockney pronunciation echoes, as well as the English varieties used in Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, South Asian, many Caribbean islands, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Papua New Guinea and other places create a rich symphony (or cacophony, depending on your point of view) of unique forms linked to Standard UK English or US English.

Although the US now has the largest number of L1 English users, the influence of UK English is much more widespread than its limited landmass and population might indicate. This is the result of the former British Empire, which in 1914 incorporated 25 percent of the land area and people of our globe. The British Empire's 400 years of steady expansion and English dissemination through two diasporas brought the language to many places through the four conduits of UK settler colonization, slavery, trade and exploitation colonies, and globalization. (Galloway and Rose, 2015, p. 8) As many of the former British colonies became independent, the old empire was replaced with the 53-nation 2.328 billion people Commonwealth of Nations. Today this new Commonwealth makes up one-quarter of our planet's landmass and one-third of its total population. Like its predecessor, even now the sun never sets on British English!

Dr. Samuel Johnson defined the adjective *English* as, "Belonging to England; thence English is the language of England," in his 1755 *Dictionary of the English Language*. In March of 2005 – exactly 250 years after Dr. Johnson's dictionary – *Newsweek* magazine featured a six-page special

edition entitled "Who Owns English?" (or "英 語 は 誰 の も の ?" in the Japanese translation edition of April, 2005). "Within a decade, 2 billion people will be studying English and about half the world (in 2005)–some 3 billion people–will speak it, according to a recent report from the British Council." (*Newsweek*, 2005, p. 41) The article says that "[l]inguistically speaking, its a whole new world. Non-native speakers of English now outnumber native speakers by 3 to 1 according to English-language expert David Crystal.... There's never before been a language that's been spoken by more people as a second than as a first.... In Asia alone, the number of English-users has topped 350 million–roughly the combined populations of the United States, Britain, and Canada." (ibid., 2005, p. 42)

That was, of course back in 2005, and today the trends of 12 years ago are even more pronounced. For instance, the 1:3 ratio of native speakers to non-native speakers in 2005 had risen to 1:4 by 2010, and to 1:5 in 2016, with expectations that the current trend will continue. Furthermore, the "new English-speakers aren't just passively absorbing the language–they're shaping it. New Englishes are mushrooming the globe over." (ibid., 2005, p. 42) What will happen inside and outside of the language as the balance continues to shift from L1 English users to L2 and L3 English users? Is there a critical L1 English mass that needs to be maintained to avoid fragmentation into incomprehensibility (as classical Latin did between the sixth and the ninth centuries, by splitting up into the different Romance languages)?

Also included in the 2005 *Newsweek* feature article was a graphic of McArthur's Circle of World English, dividing it into eight Standard English parts of British and Irish; American; Canadian; Caribbean; West, East and South African; South Asian; East Asian; Australian, New Zealand and South Pacific in an attempt "to organize the unruly language. In the middle is

an idealized formal language. Further out lie the regional varieties that either have a standard usage or are developing one, and on the fringe lie burgeoning, freely evolving regional dialects." (ibid., 2005, p. 43). Although the chart is valuable for being clear and all encompassing in its geometric tidiness, it can also be misleading. "For example, Hong Kong English has much more in common historically, politically, and linguistically with British English than Japanese English." (Galloway and Rose, 2015, p. 17)

In his 1980 poem "North and South," Sir Derek Walcott 1992 Nobel Prize for Literature winner wrote about his Caribbean postcolonial language experience, "It's good that everything's gone, except their language, which is everything." Then, in 1982 Sir Salman Rushdie, the Booker Prize winner of 'the best winner of all winners,' wrote an article called "The Empire Writes Back with a Vengeance" about how English is now used by decolonized people to upend the old racial, cultural and linguistic order. By 1998 Scottish journalist and editor of *The Economist* Andrew Marr wrote, "...we no longer control English in any meaningful way, It is no longer our ship, but the sea." Not only had English spread and been adapted by different peoples around the globe, but it was being pulled, stretched and bent in creatively new ways to suit the demands of the 21st century people who need it to conduct their lives.

IV. From Today's to Tomorrow's English(es)

The expanding ways that English is being used internationally today provide the best indicators of how it is likely to be used tomorrow. Also, how English has adapted over the past 15 centuries shows how it could change in the future. Therefore, I will examine four elements linked to how tomorrow's Englishes that are likely to develop, depending on future events: (1) New Words (Neologisms) Entering English, (2) Future English

Syntax and Pronunciation Changes, (3) English Computer-Mediated Communication and (4) Future Global English Use.

⑴ New Words (Neologisms) Entering English.

At the 2003 annual meeting of the Japan Association of College English Teachers in Sendai, David Crystal was the keynote speaker. We were all amazed when he told us that, like his almost exclusively Japanese audience, English was not his first language! (It was Welsh.) Maybe he was predicting our planet's future – where English is everyone's second language. Crystal went on to use Mt. Fuji's shape to stress that language learning is 80 percent vocabulary mastery. (The 20 percent Mt. Fuji-like base is the language's basic grammar.) If English speakers from 1803 could have been there in Sendai, they would have been able to easily understand Professor Crystal's English pronunciation and grammar, but would have been very confused by the many (several hundreds of thousands of) new English words that had been added to English over the last 200 years.

Most new English words are scientific, technical or from popular culture (like the 2014 *OED* addition of *hashtag*, a social media identification marker). Actually, in addition to the 615,100 words listed in the 1989 *OED*, are 500,000 unusual scientific terms that are not cataloged. Totally, about 65 percent of English new words combine two existing terms (Viney, 2008, p. 43): like *fingerprint* (first *OED* citation 1859), *download* (1980), and *Hongkonger* (2014). Latin and Greek roots also gave us *helicopter* (1872) and *videotape* (1992). These word mash-ups are also called portmanteaus and can even include a product name, such as a *podcast* (2004) coming from i<u>Pod</u> (the product) and to broad<u>cast</u>.

Another new word from a proper noun, but not a combination, is the verb to *google* (1999) from the famous computer search engine Google.

There are also old words like *pilot* (1907), originally used for persons who navigate ships, and *cassette* (1960), which used to mean a small box. Another common way to make new words is to add prefixes and suffixes, sometimes very creatively as in *unputdownable* (1947, a thrilling book like the Harry Potter series that one can't stop reading), *touchy-feely* (1972, too emotional), or *selfie* (2014), a photo self-portrait taken with a smartphone.

On the other hand, some new words are shortened versions of older longer words, like *photo* (1860) for *photograph* (1836) and *plane* (1907) for *aeroplane* (1874). In such cases, Australian English is the world's undisputed leader for its many abbreviations or diminutives like: *arvo* (afternoon), *Aussie* (Australian), *barbie* (barbecue), *cuppa* (cup of tea), *deli* (delicatessen, also common in the US), *mobes* (mobile phone)* and *uni* (university). Roland Sussex, formally of the University of Queensland, has compiled a dictionary or about 5,000 diminutives. [*Interestingly, the "Germans use 'handy' for a mobile phone and on a Lufthansa flight you will be asked to 'turn your handies off'." (Bragg, 2003, p. 308)]

In 2014, *ICYMI* (in case you missed it), *SMH* (shaking my head), *WDYT* (what do you think) and *YOLO* (you only live once) were added to *Oxford Dictionaries Online*. These show just how ubiquitous texting on a cellphone or computer in chatrooms and message boards has become. The following four examples of ingenious abbreviations are used in such text communication (including an early emoticon, *emoji*, character).

r u alryt? (*Are you alright?*) / **im good thx**☺ (*I'm good, thanks*)
thx 4 ur msg. How r u? (*Thanks for your message. How are you?*)
im fine. c u @ work (*I'm fine. See you at work.*) (Viney, 2008, p. 49)

Therefore, many future new English words will certainly be related to computers, computer-mediated communication, and improved health innovations (that are also increasingly related to Information Technology). Surprisingly though, only about five percent of new English words come from foreign languages, like *emoji* (2013) and *mitsuba* (2014) two of the over 500 loanwords from Japanese now in the *OED*.

As Asia plays a greater role in the increasingly post-American world, more loan words from Chinese, Hindi/Urdu, Indonesian, Japanese and other languages will be added to English. "[I]t has been argued that second-language learner varieties tend to be more intelligent and communicatively successful than sophisticated, but hard-to-follow native-like forms.... I suspect [the Chinese-created] *working time* and *run time* are in fact more transparent and more immediately accessible than, say, *operating hours*." (Jenkins, 2009, p. 217) Waseda professor emeritus Yasutaka Yano points out that "[i]n Southeast Asia, being sensitive is 'onion- skinned' and what makes your body hot is *heaty*, for example: 'Don't tease my daughter. She is an *onion-skinned* girl'; [and] 'Durian is *heaty*, so don't eat too much.'" (Murata and Jenkins, 2009, p. 209)

In Japan therefore, it seems quite possible that *wasei eigo* (Japanese created English) expressions like: *image up* (meaning to boost one's image or social standing) and used online in the US as, "Image Up Magazine" and "Image Up Studio" will gain wider usage. There is already a local opposite, *Image Down* used sarcastically as the name of a Japanese rock group (originally "Boøwy Image Down"). Furthermore, online I was able to locate other examples of *level up*, *level down*, and *skill up*. These examples include, "Skill Up – Free Staff Training," Walsall College, UK and "Skillup your workforce with Skillup Australia." Could some or all of these eventually enter global English? The Japanese suffix for the English word *up* ~アップ

~appu means to upgrade or improve and it can also be added to Japanese words like *seiseki-appu* (成 績 ア ッ プ, improved academic grades) and *kibun-appu* (気分ア ッ プ, becoming more hopeful). Even more recently *shashin-appu* (写真アップ) meaning to post or upload a photograph to a page on Facebook has appeared.

Nine common *wasei eigo* creations (from the letters A to D) <u>not</u> readily understandable to most English L1 users are: アイス *aisu* (an abbreviation of ice cream), アメフト *amefuto* (a shortened form of American football), バックネット *bakkunetto* (a baseball backstop), ベッドタウン *beddotaun* (suburb or a bedroom community), チアマン *chiaman* (a male cheerleader), コラボ *korabo* (a shortening of collaboration), ダンプカー *danpukā* (a shorter version of dump truck), 電子レンジ *denshirenji* (a microwave oven), and デパート *depāto* (a short form of department store).

Their lack of communicativeness among L1 English users stems from extreme abbreviation, like *aisu*, *korabo* and *depāto*. Another problem, as seen in *amefuto*, comes from the combinations of the first syllables of two words (a practice common in Japanese, as in *Todai* being the normal diminutive for *Tokyo Daigaku* or the University of Tokyo). A third difficulty arises from the mixing of two English words that are not usually collocated, from the L1 perspective; such as *bakkunetto*, *beddotaun*, *chiaman* and *danpukā*. Finally, we have *denshirenji* that combines the Japanese pronunciation for the Chinese characters used for electric (*denshi* or 電子) with the English loanword *range* (*renji* or レンジ). The post-World War II dependence on American technology and finance has "introduced some 20,000 English words into regular use in Japan." (McCrum et al., 1986, p. 43) However, as these words are often modified in line with Japanese syntax they may lose their understandability, or become part of a new wave of Asian English.

⑵ Future English Syntax and Pronunciation Changes

Non-native English learners tend to view Standard UK or Standard US English as a monolithic idealized whole, when actually across the world, there is a huge variety of nonstandard English being used every day, as the following nine examples (Viney, 2008, p. 57) show.

I'm ganen doon the toon the day.

	(*I'm going into town today.*	Northern England)
Dinna fash yourself.	(*Don't upset yourself.*	Central Scotland)
They work hard, isn't it?	(*They work hard, don't they?*	Wales)
I'm after seeing him.	(*I've just seen him.*	Ireland)
Y'all come here!	(*Come here everyone!*	Southern US)
It's a beaut!	(*It's wonderful!*	Australia)
She sings real good.	(*She sings very well.*	Jamaica)
I am not knowing.	(*I don't know.*	India)
Make you no min an.	(*Take no notice of him/her.*	Nigeria)

Professor Yasutaka Yano, quoted earlier, cites a Filipino linguist who said, "If Americans can say, 'I have butterflies in my stomach,' why can't we say. 'I have a mouse in my chest'?" (Murata and Jenkins, 2009, p. 210) Even 32 years ago in Great Britain, both jargon (words for new things) and slang (words to identify one as a group member) were finding new creative usages and pronunciations as shown in John Agard's 1985 humorously, ironic poem "Listen Mr Oxford Don."

Listen Mr Oxford Don

Me not no Oxford don

Me a simple immigrant

> From Chapham Common...
>
> I ent have no gun
>
> I ent have no knife
>
> But mugging de Queen's English
>
> Is the story of my life
>
> I don't need no axe
>
> To split/ up yu syntax
>
> I don't need no hammer
>
> To mash/ up yu grammar...   (Crystal, 2010, p. 156)

Such unorthodox English provides many other examples of new usages; for example, *I don't want no dinner* (I don't want any dinner), *them books* (those books), *she ain't come* (she hasn't come), and from African-American grammar; *she come* (she's coming) and *you crazy* (you're crazy). All of these have now spread outside their original identity niche. Could these too become standard someday?

Pronunciation is (as it always has been) also in flux, and "[p]erhaps a new simpler kind of 'World Standard English' will develop from the regional varieties…. If a sound is hard for people to make and the words can be understood without it, then it could disappear. For example *th* is difficult for many speakers, and does not have to be pronounced as [θ] or [ð], so this sound could change…. As the number of second- and foreign-language speakers of English grows larger…. [e]xtremely large numbers of words from other languages will probably continue to cross into English at great speed." (Viney, 2008, p. 71-2)

(3) English Computer-Mediated Communication

Today's ubiquitous use of email and the creation of the 1991 World

Wide Web have revolutionized human interaction in our world due to what is called English computer-mediated communication (or CMC). Although the origins of speech are lost in prehistory, writing began about 10,000 years ago. Then came printing, the telegraph, the telephone, radio (with BBC English), TV and now the computer (in its many forms, e.g. smartphones), all of which have expanded the way we communicate. We have a cheap, instantaneous connection to Sir Tim Berners-Lee's Web of "the universe of network-accessible, information, an embodiment of human knowledge." (Crystal *The Language Revolution*, 2004, p. 66) This computer-based system quickly led to our *24/7* (*OED* 1983) world of (inescapable) email, hypertext, chatrooms, online forums, Social Networking Services (SNS), Short Message Service (SMS) texting and *emoji*.

There are of course, "major differences between [English] CMC and face-to-face conversation. The first is a function of the technology – the lack of simultaneous feedback.... [When speaking, we use] nods and smiles to work along with a wide range of vocalizations, such as *uh-huh*, *yeah*, *sure* and *ooh*.... Imagine the difficulty in face-to-face conversation if both visual and auditory feedback were missing. But this is how it is in e-mail and chatgroup interaction." (ibid. *The Language Revolution*, 2004, p. 69-70) Also, email and chatgroup messages are sent as a complete unit (allowing the sender to revise and correct), this makes e-communication quite unlike anything we had ever used before! Chatrooms, for example, allow for multiple persons to respond on a single theme. The resulting lags between responses are very different from 'normal' turn-taking (first you speak, then I speak) spoken interaction.

As shown about five pages earlier in the brief discussion of SMS texting, (im good thx 😊 = *I'm good, thanks*) the inclusion of smiley or *emoji* ideograms are a rather feeble attempt to add emotional content to a

written message. Sometimes we see unusual textual or punctuation as in *Thank you VERY much*, or *Thank you **very much***, or *Thank you very much!!!!!* In person, we would usually communicate these feelings with our tone of voice or facial expressions. However, I wonder how well these textual/ punctuation oddities or *emoji* can offset any inadvertently offensive remarks?

Although much email is like a loosely 'written conversation' lacking planning, the platform does allow for very innovative new communication techniques, such as "framing." This is when the email answer to a question is written immediately below the original question (framing the question and answer). The answer can be quite long, or in a different color, or in ALL CAPITAL LETTERS. This allows the initial sender to easily see the response to his/her original query. Furthermore, there is a continuous history of the replies to the replies. Moreover, as entire passages from the Web can be cut-and-pasted into the "framed" answer, the technique has become invaluable. (However, some university students use the cut-and-paste command to download text sections from the Web, and pass them off as their own work, without proper citations!)

Because Internet text can be copied and altered, sent to many users simultaneously (for example, as *spam*), linked by hypertext to other text pages, accompanied by embedded digital photos, voice recordings, and video clips – David Crystal uses the word *Netspeak*, his neologism (like *Airspeak* for pilots or *Seaspeak* for ships) to describe English CMC. "There has never been anything like this in the history of human written communication....The hypertext link is the most fundamental functional property of the Web, without which the medium would not exist. (Crystal, *The Language Revolution*, 2004, p. 78)

Texting was already briefly discussed a few pages ago, but I should

mention when rereading Crystal's 2004 *A Glossary of Netspeak and Textspeak,* I came across alt., CMC, emoticon or smiley, eye candy, flame, JPEG, spam, streaming and troll but found no references to Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Linkedin, Pinterest, Tumblr, Instagram, Reddit, Flickr or Snapchat. Such rapid changes in e-communication have become the norm, and are accelerating. However, the most revolutionary CMC idea about global English's future comes from Nicholas Ostler's *The Last Lingua Franca*, *English Until the Return of Babel*, from which I have extensively quoted from below.

"[A]s the print revolution changed the ground rules of communication among Europeans in the sixteenth century, so modern electronic technology is set to change the ancient need for a single lingua franca. When electronics removes the requirement for a human intermediary to interpret or translate, the frustrations of the language barrier may be overcome without any universal shared medium beyond compatible software.... the world is moving not to English monolingualism, but a much more multilingual,... [T]he spread of English will soon peak, and the sequel will be a long retrenchment, as auxiliary English comes to be less widely used, but no single language takes its place." (Ostler, 2010, p. xix)

"In a world where digital technology is cheap and ubiquitous, evidence suggests that no single language will inherit the mantle of global lingua franca." (ibid, 2010, p, 266) "As each major nation discovers that it can guarantee its global markets without the use of English, and rely rather on technological support to supplement its own language, it will lose interest and motivation in continuing to invest in learning this traditional lingua-franca of the twentieth

and early twenty-first centuries. International English will tend to die out, and English, like modern Greek 〔a Byzantine Middle Ages lingua franca〕, will find itself thrown back on heartlands where it is spoken natively." (ibid., 2010, p. 286)

As Ostler specifically mentions Google Language Tools, Yahoo's Babel Fish, and Microsoft Bing Translator as the leaders, I went into the Net to update his 2010 digital technology translation ideas. Still the biggest, the 2006 free site Google Translate can convert text, speech, images, sites, or real-time video into 103 languages. It was used by over 200 million people daily in 2013 and, according to Wikipedia, translates "whole sentences at a time, rather than just piece by piece. It uses this broader context to help it figure out the most relevant translation, which it then rearranges and adjusts to be more like a human speaking with proper grammar." Yahoo's 1997 Babel Fish was the oldest free online translation service (for 13 languages) but was transferred to Microsoft's Bing Translator in May of 2012, and Microsoft's Bing Translator offers translations into 60 different languages, as of February 2017. However, I was not able to find any clear evidence of a major digital translating breakthrough yet, but it certainly could happen. (In 2016 Panasonic developed a megaphone for use after natural disasters that can translate simple Japanese into English, Chinese and Korean.)

⑷　**Future Global English Language Use**

Language shifts away from local tongues and toward English are a major political identity question here in Japan, in various parts of India, elsewhere in Asia and around the globe. British colonies were historically either settlement types (US, Canada, among others), or exploitative types

(India, Nigeria, and others), with only the former becoming L1 English nations. Ireland was still mostly Irish speaking in 1800, but after the Great Famine (1845-1852) the stress on English as the "language of the future" steadily undermined Gaelic and produced the 90 percent English-dominant Ireland of today. In nearby Germanic-based northern Europe, with shared Anglo-Saxon roots, now English is extensively used in education, and popular US culture has created high levels of European "mid-Atlantic" English fluency. (Compare the examples of selected European and Asian 2012 TOEFL national averages four paragraphs below.)

In the very different location of South Africa, officially an English L1 nation, there are actually more users of Zulu, Xhosa (Nelson Mandela's mother tongue), Sotho, Pedi and Afrikaans (although it is declining rapidly) than English. However, a clear English preference was part of the antiapartheid political movement. As in post 1947 independent India, South Africa will probably move toward English as a more neutral language that is not anyone's first language.

Here in Asia, Singapore (in the years after its 1965 independence) saw Malay L1 speakers swing toward English and Chinese L1 speakers shift from Hokkein to Mandarin, with many Chinese families recently shifting to English. This is not surprising as in a "1975 survey only 27 percent of Chinese people over age forty claimed to understand English, whereas among fifteen- to twenty-year-olds, the proportion was over 87 percent." (Crystal, 1998, p. 51) In the, formerly US-held, Philippines English is losing ground to Taglish, the mash up of Tagalog and English. Throughout the rest of Asia, English is keenly studied in Mongolia, Korea, China, and Japan, but with some postcolonial hesitation in Malaysia. The long shadows of UK imperialism and US hegemony have finally disappeared from English as our 2017 global lingua franca.

The following are national score averages from selected European and Asian countries on the 2012 ETS TOEFL showing their relative English strength: the Netherlands 100, Austria 99, Singapore 98, Germany 96, the UK 94, Sweden 93, India 91, Italy 90, Pakistan 90, Spain 89, France 88, the Philippines 88, Malaysia 88, South Korea 81, Hong Kong 81, Taiwan 78, Indonesia 78, North Korea 78, China 77, Vietnam 73, Japan 70, and Cambodia 63. Of course, TOEFL being a test mainly for L2 young people who want to study in a US university, the results are clearly self-selecting, as only those who wish to go abroad take the test, so they do not represent a national average of all English learners in that country.

English's current global dominance is often likened to Latin's strength some 400 years ago. However, the presence of 500 million living L1 active users and our 21st century world's high level of electronic interconnectedness, make it unlikely that English will break up into unintelligible languages as Latin did. That said, we should not forget that "English, the world's lingua franca, corresponds to Latin, the long-established European lingua franca, which seemed to have everything going for it in the sixteenth century, when the world was opening up to European enterprise." (Ostler, 2010, p. 265)

Remember that Sir Isaac Newton published his *Philosphiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* in Latin in 1687 but *Opticks* in 1704 in English. As shown in the preceding *(3) English Computer-Mediated Communication* subsection, Nicholas Ostler sees English as the last global lingua franca before either machine translation technology allows us all to use our first languages or "the self-assertion of newly rich powers such as China, India, Brazil and others, will have sufficient balance to allow no single linguistic bloc to dominate." (ibid., 2010, p. 285)

Ten years after writing *The Future of English* in 1997, David Graddol

revisited the theme in his excellent *English Next* arguing that "the growth of China would have a significant impact on the world in which English was used and learned [and] that countries like India in which English is spoken extensively as a second language will play a major role in the development of global English." (Graddol, 2006, p. 9) However, he sees a chaotic postmodern 2016-2021 period of rising nationalism, economic migration, and backlash against globalization's outsourcing when the western economies will begin to lose their competitive edge. At this time, the world will shift from the old English as a Foreign Language model to the new English as a Global Language model.

This 25-year disruptive transitional stage will also see large numbers of young people around the world studying English from elementary school, thus making it a "basic skill" like reading, writing (both in their mother tongue), mathematics and computer (or Information Technology) literacy. Despite shifts in globalization, urbanization, and technology the rapid growth of an expanding middle class in Asia will keep demand high for global English. "Where the global importance of languages used to depend on the number and wealth of native speakers, now the number of people who use it as a second language is becoming a more significant factor." (ibid., 2006, p. 64).

Although this current world wave of EYL (English for Young Learners) will favor early adaptors, paradoxically it will yield fewer benefits for later learners as English becomes an expected basic skill. Conversely, the lack of English will be a serious disadvantage. Furthermore, Spanish, Hindi/ Urdu (one language written in two scripts), Mandarin (普通话, Pŭtōnghuà) and Arabic will all grow powerful in different regions challenging English. Graddol posits 2010 as the "peak of the graph represent[ing] the point at which learners of all ages [we]re studying English." (ibid, 2006, p. 99)

Twenty years earlier he had written about "economic trends, such as those that show Asia will hold 60 percent of the world's wealth in 2050 as opposed to 21 percent in 1990." (Graddol, 1997, p. 29) Some of this has, of course, already been achieved with China's steady economic rise during the past twenty years.

"Globish" is a commercial adaptation from Graddol's compelling *English Next* research that asks, "What if 50% of the world badly needed a certain communication tool, but only 5% could have it?... [It] must be a kind of English which can be learned easily – not like Standard English.... [Because learners] cannot spend enough time or enough money to learn all of English." (Nerrière, 2009, p. 5) French businessman Jean-Paul Nerrière, a retired IBM vice president who had worked in Japan and Korea, has identified 1,500 basic English words that are enough for simple communication and founded the successful company Globish.com on his ideas. "You will not say 'my nephew'.... You will say instead 'the son of my brother.'" (ibid., 2009, p. 36) Globish learners are encouraged to supplement task-specific words to their basic 1,500-word vocabulary list. Scholar Robert McCrum identified Nerrière's realization "that non-native English speakers in the Far East communicated more successfully in English with their Korean and Japanese clients than competing British and American executives, [as the] formulat[ion of] the idea of a 'decaffeinated English'." (McCrum, 2010, p. 11)

Nerrière points out that in 54 counties and 27 non-sovereign entities "English is an official language, but not everyone speaks English, even where it is an official language. Only 12% of the global world has English as a mother tongue.... (and in tourist interactions) that only 4% of international communication is between native speakers from different English-speaking nations." (Nerrière, 2009, p. 10) By eliminating most

idiomatic and sociolinguistic references "Globish does not aim to be more than a tool, and that is why it is different from English. English is a cultural language." (ibid., 2009, p. 41) Also, the Globish learner makes "Fast Early Progress" toward a "Clear End Point" with a high "Return on Effort." (ibid., 2009, p. 55)

David Crystal's 2012 *A Story of English in 100 Words* lists the final ten words (first five from the 20th century, last five from the 21st) as: *webzine, app, cherry-picking, LOL, jazz / sudoku, muggle, chillax, unfriend*, and *Twittersphere;* hinting at likely types of future English word growth. He writes that, "English is a vacuum-cleaner of a language, whose users suck in words from other languages." (preface, xiii)

I agree with Crystal, Graddol, Horobin, Jenkins, McCrum, McWhorter, Nerrière, Ostler, Viney, Widdowson and Yano that tomorrow's English will remain our global lingua franca and continue to be used for 25, or more, years mostly by L2 speakers. Furthermore, global English will keep on absorbing many new expressions from other, especially Asian, languages. It is also very likely that syntax and pronunciation will be simplified for easier English L2 use, until mobile digital translation devices possibly allow us to use our mother tongues for effective communication.

V. J. Miller's Predictions about the Future of English

Now, as they have continuously been for the past 1,600 years, English 'words are on the move' (to playfully reference John McWhorter's excellent 2016 book). Usually the changes have been *glacierly* (to try my hand at coining a neologism) slow, but somewhat predictable. For example, the steady replacement of *th* endings with *s/es*, so *cometh* became *comes*. (However, the American Eugene O'Neill playwright set his 1946 "The Iceman Cometh" in 1912, but he was linking the plot to Matthew 25:6 in the

old fashion language of the *King James Bible*, among other things.) Recently though, the pace and scale of English changes seem to be considerably quicker, more like they were between the heady years of 1550 and 1650.

However, no one foresaw the 2015 Oxford Dictionaries Word of the Year 2015 selection of the non-word *emoji* called "Face with Tears of Joy" or 😂 to be "the 'word' that best reflected the ethos, mood, and preoccupations of 2015." (blogoxford, 2015) Nor could anyone have imagined the twin 2016 Anglo-Saxon nativist revolts of Brexit in the UK and Donald Trump in the US, that would together give us the Word of the Year 2016 – ***post-truth*** – for "denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief." (blogoxford, 2016) What will the *OED* Word of the Year 2017 be, and why will that word have been chosen?

In 1780 John Adams, the second US president (1797-1801) prophetically said, "English is destined to be in the next and succeeding centuries more generally the language of the world than Latin was in the last or French is in the present age." In 1898 Germany's unifier, Otto von Bismarck, was asked what would be the most significant event of the 20th century. He answered, "The fact that the North Americans speak English." In the March 2005 *Newsweek* magazine article "Who Owns English?" (see the earlier part *III: English Evolution from Elizabeth I to Elizabeth II*) an unnamed "12-year-old self-taught English-speaker from China's southwestern Sichuan province says, 'If you can't speak English, it's like you're deaf and dumb.'" (*Newsweek*, 2005, p. 42)

Adams and Bismarck are long dead, but that Chinese girl from Sichuan would now be a 24-year-old woman. I believe that she clearly represents the answer to "Who Owns English?" – it is in short, all L2 English users who are highly motivated (mainly those living in greater Asia)! In Japan,

many companies (e.g. Bridgestone, Honda, Fast Retailing, Lawson, Nissan, Panasonic and especially Rakuten) have stressed English as an official company language. Rakuten's employees must reach set TOEIC scores to be promoted. The founder and CEO, Hiroshi Mikitani, has even coined a word *Englishnization* to describe the process. Chinese tech giant Lenovo made English its lingua franca many years ago, and the same goes for Nokia, Audi, Airbus, Aventis, Daimler-Chrysler, Renault and Samsung, among others.

Two pages ago, I wrote that English would remain the global lingua franca for "25, or more, years." Allow me to show why I think so with a fictitious example. Mentally picture a 24-year-old Singaporean man (an imaginary twin to the now 24-year-old real *Newsweek* girl/woman). He is probably ethnically Chinese, but he could be Malay or Indian or Eurasian. According to 2015 census data, if he is Chinese, at home he speaks Mandarin 46.1%, or English 37.4%, or another Chinese dialect 16.1%. (At their homes, all Singaporeans usually spoke: English 36.9%, Mandarin 34.9%, other Chinese dialects 12.2%, Malay 10.7%, or Tamil 3.3% according to the same 2015 data.)

Under Singapore's bilingual education policy the 24-year-old man would have been taught in English in school, but would also have studied his mother tongue (Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil) as a second language. Also in 2015, Singapore was top ranked, of the 72 OECD nations, on the PISA test of science, math and reading ability. After completed his tertiary education he would get a local job. At work he would use proper Singaporean English (or Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil depending on the firm), at home he would use his mother tongue, but while relaxing with friends he would slip into *Singlish* (a colloquial Singaporean English) as an expressive identity marker. But if an outsider were to join the group, everyone would

code-switch into more standard English. Few places are as polyglot as Singapore, but like our imaginary 24-year-old example, people around the world are naturally able to use their first language at many different register levels to correspond to the proper social milieu. What has changed is that today we are increasingly able to do so in simplified versions of L2 English, as well. (Or as a *Singlish* local might say, "Dat Singapore man speak English good, lah!")

Across our planet, and especially in Asia, L2 English users will become the driving force behind English changes during the quarter-century (2017-2042), and beyond. Expanded world bi- and multilingualism, coupled with English being taught from elementary schools as a basic skill, is producing billions of humans able to function in English, to some extent. This L2 group's critical mass is key to how English pronunciation, syntax, and vocabulary will be transformed. The *th* sound will also be pronounced as *s* or *t* (so *think* becomes *tink* or *sink*), as the function articles *a*, *an* and *the* do not exist in some Asian languages they could be dropped (e.g. "This is pen!"). Similarly, unusual plurals like *informations* may become common.

At Aoyama Gakuin University in November of 2014, scholar Henry Widdowson spoke wisely about the difference between the adoption of actual English and adaption of virtual English – and how the former seeks conformity, while the later accepts nonconformity. This seems to me to be the direction in which the L2 and L3 English world is rapidly moving. We should remember that multilingualism and hybrid tongues are not in any way a uniquely Asian phenomena, the 2014 US Census Bureau data revealed that one out of five Americans speaks another language than English at home; mostly it is Spanish, but that is followed by Chinese.

Increasing, non-native speaker initiated adaptations and changes to English will also put pressure on L1 English speakers to strip away much

of the opaque idiomatic and cultural content from their language, shorten and simplify sentence structure, avoid tricky pronunciations, and generally restrict vocabulary to standardized words (as we already find in *Airspeak*, *Seaspeak* and Jean-Paul Nerrière's *Globish*). These L1 English speaker changes will make communication with non-native speakers easier. Furthermore, Globish itself could be more widely used as the entry level tool for adult L2 English learners who missed the English-as-a-basic-skill approach that has been so unevenly taught in elementary schools.

Although a Latin-like break up of World Englishes into several different unintelligible tongues is very unlikely, clearly Mandarin, Spanish, Hindi/Urdu, and fast growing Arabic will challenge English's dominance in their respective areas of influence. However, English will continue to be widely used as a neutral lingua franca, and as so many people have already learned it as a basic skill, they will be reluctant to start all over again learning a different language. On July 3, 2014 a blogger form *The Economist* succinctly summed up what probably lies ahead in his linguistically beautifully title "future English,.. Simpler and more foreign."

The biggest and most intriguing riddle is the possibility of some Black Swan CMC translation technology totally eliminating the need for a lingua franca! Now there are two billion monthly Facebook active users (China and India's combined population for 2017 is only 2.675 billion). The 2015 world cellphone use was about seven billion, of a total population of 7,324,782,000! As manifestations of technology already dwarf nation states and play havoc with entire industries, how inconceivable is it that they could be equally disruptive in the field of human communications? If author Nicholas Ostler is correct and cheap, quick, accurate hand-held device translation is successfully developed there will be a rapid shift away from spending the considerable time, effort and money in mastering

English (or any other foreign language). Until that happens, however, we hard working learners and teachers should enjoy humanity's first global lingua franca – English.

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