

DOES VIETNAMESE ENGLISH OR VIETLISH REALLY EXIST IN VIETNAM?

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ABSTRACT

English has been becoming more and more popular all over the world. Nowadays, English is not the property of the British, nor is it the property of the American or the Australian. English is, in broad sense, the property of the people of any country who use it with its own features of the people in that country. In Vietnam, English is one of the most popular foreign languages, and it is so popular that I wonder whether English will become the second official language in Vietnam besides Vietnamese.

In this paper, I discuss a new variety of English in Vietnam coined Vietlish in terms of the circumstances that lead to its birth, all the in-depth features of Vietlish including Grammar, Lexis, Phonology, and Pragmatics, the future of Vietlish, and the implications for English language teaching in Vietnam.

1. Introduction

English began its diversification in the 18th century. Since that time, English has been widespread throughout the world thanks to trade, settlement, and military reasons. As a result, English has become Englishes. Kachru (1992) divides World Englishes into three concentric circles, the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. According to Kachru's three circle model, Viet Nam belongs to the third circle, i.e. Expanding Circle which also includes China, Egypt, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Nepal, etc. Therefore, it is likely that Vietnamese English or Vietlish does exist in Vietnam.

In this paper, I would like to clarify the doubt of the existence of the so-called Vietlish in the world of Englishes. To begin with, I briefly describe the features of a new variety of English. Then I discuss the probability of the existence of Vietlish in Vietnam through the analysis of the Vietnamese contemporary history, all the features of Vietnamese English and the traits of Vietnamese English in terms of grammar, lexis, phonology, and

pragmatics. Finally, I will elaborate my discussion related to the future of Vietlish, and the implications for English language teaching in Vietnam.

2. Features of a new variety of English

According to Llamzon in "Essential features of new varieties of English" (Noss, 1981), four main categories of features of new varieties in English, which are ecological features, historical features, sociolinguistic features, and cultural features, cohabit. In light of the first feature category, ecological features consist of three characteristics including code selection by the speaker, frequent use of code-switching as well as code-mixing, and the replacement of known English words by words from local language. Moreover, there is an introduction of new words related to local cultural aspects from local language to English. Next, historical features emphasize the comparatively brief historical development from the parent variety which can be British English or American English. This occurrence can be the result of colonialism or neo-colonialism. Sociolinguistic features

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describe the areas of use and functions in societal communication. The new variety can be used via Internet, trade, education. Finally, the growing number of works by novelists, poets, playwrights, musicians, teachers, journalists, etc. using the new variety sets the demarcation of the new variety of English to the world of Englishes or we call this the cultural features of the new variety of English.

Now we go further to examine each category of features to see whether Vietnamese English does exist or not.

3. Features of Vietnamese English

3.1. Ecological features

English in Vietnam is still considered as a foreign language. In everyday conversation, code selection by Vietnamese speakers is Vietnamese. They do not use English to communicate with each other except for the workplaces where foreign people are working and the schools where English is taught as a second language or a foreign language. Still, the Vietnamese with frequent use of code-switching as well as code-mixing between Vietnamese and English are considered as weak language users. Such code-switching and code-mixing are not favored and not encouraged by the teachers of English. However, code-switching and code-mixing do exist in academic environment where Vietnamese teachers of English work and in the social life. Such code-switching and code-mixing in academic contexts are used to facilitate the Vietnamese learners. However, code-mixing and code-switching are also used by the Vietnamese youth to show that they are very stylish. In the article “Vietnamese in a three-generation family” by Phạm Thành Nhân (2009), Professor Trần Quang Hải, the son of a very famous Professor and Doctor of Philosophy Trần Văn Khê, criticized the code mixing of the journalists who interviewed him. Professor Trần

Quang Hải quoted the sentence “Anh send hình qua mail giùm tôi” (Please send the photos to my mailbox), and the phrase “số mobile” (mobile phone number). Instead of saying “Anh gửi hình qua hộp thư điện tử giùm tôi”, the journalists replaced “gửi” by “send” and “thư điện tử” by “mail”. Here, code-switching only occurs within Vietnamese language, which means using some English words to replace some Vietnamese words in a grammatical Vietnamese sentence structure. Moreover, the use of English by the youth at public places such as the following conversation at a coffee shop is also frowned upon by Professor Trần Quang Hải.

Man A: “What do you want to drink?”
(Bạn muốn uống gì?)

Man B: “Coffee” (cà phê)

Man A: “Yeah, I like coffee too. It’s good”.
(Tôi cũng thích cà phê. Nó ngon)

Then the conversation goes on and on with a lot of “oh yeah”, “wow”, and “woah”. They used the kind of Vietnamese English with each other and Vietnamese with the waiters and waitresses there. (Phạm, 2009)

According to Professor Trần Quang Hải, such code-mixing and code-switching pollute Vietnamese language and are discouraged by Vietnamese well-educated people.

3.2. Historical features: The history of the existence of English in Vietnam

In 1954, the world witnessed the victory of Vietnamese soldiers over the French colonists at Dien Bien Phu battle field and the French colonists had to retreat themselves out of Vietnam. The retreat also put an end to the official status of French as the official educational language. According to the 1954 Geneva Accord, Vietnam was divided into two regions, North and South, with different political directions of development.

(Do Huy Thinh, 2006). The Agreement turned over the North of Vietnam to the communists and marked the end of French colonial rule. However, the communists in the North increased their pressure on the South of Vietnam and the government of the South of Vietnam asked for the great support from American government to resist the pressure.

In terms of language policies, before 1975, in the North, although Chinese and Russian were promoted, English was also taught as a weapon for the fight against the US for the reunification of Viet Nam whereas; in the South, English was taught as a means for better jobs, for more earnings, and for overseas studies. After 1975, English was taught as a means for the reflection of the victories and fights against the US for the reconstruction of newly reunified Viet Nam in the North and, in the South, English was taught via textbooks written by Vietnamese teachers in the North. At this time, English was considered a weapon for the fight against the US, the invaders, the neo-colonialists, for political purposes and for the history of newly reunified Viet Nam. During that time, the percentage of foreign languages taught at schools in the South is allocated as follows: 70% Russian, 20% English, and 10% French or Chinese (in special areas). Later, UNESCO funded programs for English language teachers to further their studies in Australia and the UK. The Soviet Union also offered programs for English language studies at Universities in Moscow.

While the country of Vietnam has gone through “Đổi mới” (“renovation”) to being a market economy and establishing diplomatic relations with America, as well as signing a trade agreement with them, the people of Vietnam have also gone through various stages, rushing and elbowing their way through to learn

an international language as a means of relating meaningfully to the wider world. This has created what could be called “English fever”. English classes have mushroomed. It’s hard to imagine how many public and private schools, and how many centres are running English training courses throughout Vietnam. People can see courses and examinations advertised everywhere. Students as well as public servants, who have been approved for overseas training, also have to improve their English, in order to get marks to reach admission levels allowing them to study at universities where English is used as the medium of instruction.

3.3. Sociolinguistic features: The Background for Nourishing Vietnamese English

Workshops and courses for English teacher training

Since 1989, there have been a lot of training workshops for the Vietnamese teachers of English. For example, in 1989, OSB (Overseas Service Bureau) from Australia came into Vietnam for ELT national workshops, and each lasted 3 weeks in 3 regions (North, Centre, South). Thanks to these workshops, English language teachers from university to secondary schools refreshed & enriched their learning and teaching with communicative approach. In 1991, British Council workshops on ELT trainings ran in 3 regions. Communication skills were highly promoted and new techniques were introduced to classroom teaching and learning. From 1992 to 1994, the American supported for ELT workshops with handbooks on communicative methodology and American culture. Each workshop lasted 3 months focussing on applying communicative approach and cultural enrichment. Extra curriculum activities were also highlighted with

learning stations. In accordance with the upgrades of teaching methodologies which were geared to communication in English. From 1994 to 1996, Aus AID programs for higher education in Australia with the 10 month and 18 month programs upgraded the human resource by furthering international cooperation. After the training, key people from these programs became leaders in education and other fields for the renovation. In 1996, SEAMEO RETRAC centre was born in Vietnam with ELT training programs of in-service training for EL teachers and officials using English at work. In 1999, the first joined programs between RETRAC and RELC (Singapore) for ELT diploma in Vietnam to provide basic human resource for innovation in education came to birth. From 2000 till now, Australian Victoria University of Technology offshore program was built up in Vietnam via MATESOL/TEFL program with Vietnam universities, and then other programmes have been further developed. These programmes provided key persons in many fields from the North to the South of Viet Nam. Thanks to these programs, a very strong Vietnamese teaching staff of English helps English become widespread throughout Vietnam and flourish. They also spread out their usage of English in Vietnamese style. Undeniably, no matter how good at English Vietnamese teachers are, they are Vietnamese and their English usage is much influenced by their mother tongue. This is one of the key elements to nourish the existence of Vietnamese English or Vietlish.

English textbooks written by Vietnamese scholars in the field of linguistics

One of the most important aspects worth being taken into consideration is that English text books from Grade 6 to Grade 12 written in Viet Nam by Vietnamese scholars were for Vietnamese

students. According to Nguyen Cao Phuc (2009), in 1992, new textbooks, written by Vietnamese teachers after training from the States and focusing on communication in English, were also launched into the monotonous English classes. American accents and spelling were gradually introduced in the pilot tested secondary schools. From 2001 to 2007, tested textbooks in English “Tieng Anh” for grade 6-12 were piloted. From 2002 to 2008, new textbooks for English differentiated two titles: “basic” and “advanced”. Obviously, these textbooks contain a lot of Vietnamese culture, and Vietnamese words. Therefore, Vietnamese English also came into birth through English textbooks for Vietnamese students and this is the second key element to prove that Vietnamese English does exist.

The number of international schools has mushroomed in Vietnam

Recently, there are too many international schools in Vietnam ranging from primary schools to universities. Nếu xét theo góc độ tích cực thì đây là một tín hiệu tốt, thể hiện VN hòa nhập tốt với xu hướng phát triển của thế giới. This is the good signal to prove that Vietnam can integrate well with the developing trend of the world. At present, there are 15 international schools located in Ho Chi Minh City. Hoàng Hương (2009) also reported that the students at those international schools strictly followed the study syllabus of English subjects and had intensive class for training English in the afternoon. The test results of the Vietnamese subjects are not used to evaluate student performance. Therefore, the Vietnamese students can speak English fluently but they cannot speak Vietnamese, their mother tongue, in Vietnam. Hoàng Hương (2009) also cited that many student parents could not communicate with their own children and could not tutor them at

home because their English proficiency is not as good as their own children. Luckily, this phenomenon only occurs in large and prosperous cities like Ho Chi Minh City or Ha Noi where a considerable number of wealthy families have sound finance to support their beloved children during their twelve-year school lives. Công Nhật (2009), he cited the words of Allan Edwin Hunt, a lecturer and entrepreneur in Vietnam, who supported the educational trend of sending Vietnamese students to the international schools in Vietnam but he also emphasized the importance of the fluency of Vietnamese. Allan Edwin Hunt pointed out that English in Singapore was threatening Chinese. There are many families in Singapore where children do not like to use Chinese in family communication any more. Besides the language policy of the Singaporean government, trade advantages, and educational advantages, the affluence of the Singaporeans and the small population are helping English become the dominant language. From the current social trend of English education in Vietnam, English is still considered as a foreign language in general. In a long run, approximately three or four decades, Vietnamese English, or the so-called Vietlish, will become very popular and widespread throughout Vietnam.

The popularity of cable television in Vietnam

Due to the cost reduction, cable television has become very popular in Vietnam. The Vietnamese people now are accustomed to the concept of commercial television. Now, Vietnamese people can watch English channels including True Sports, Star Sports, Cartoon Networks, Animax, MTV, HBO, Star Movies, Cinemax, Discovery Channels, National Geographic Channels, AXN, Star World, Animal Planet, Travel and Living, Bloomberg, BBC, CNN, Australian Network, Disney Channel, ESPN, etc. at any time a day and some Vietnamese

channels in English. Everyone in Vietnam can have a chance to enjoy cable television, especially in big cities like Ha Noi, Da Nang, Hai Phong, Ho Chi Minh City, etc.

3.4. Cultural features: the works in English by Vietnamese authors

Significant works in Vietnamese English by Vietnamese authors have not been in existence. However, Vietnamese English can easily be found on a series of newspapers in English version published in Vietnam including Viet Nam News, Nhan Dan newspaper, Sai Gon Giai Phong newspaper, Tuoi Tre newspaper, Viet Nam Net Bridge, Saigon Times, Ba Ria-Vung Tau newspaper, Asian Observer – Vietnam newspaper, Dan Tri newspaper, Ha Noi Moi newspaper, Lao Dong newspaper, Quan Doi Nhan Dan newspaper, Thanh Nien newspaper, Vietnam Economy newspapers, and Saigon Times weekly magazines. The majority of the articles of those newspapers and magazines are mainly translated from Vietnamese to English and some articles are written directly in English. As the viewpoints of the readers, well-educated Vietnamese people may find Vietnamese newspapers in English more familiar, easier to read and understand than the English newspapers from those countries in the Inner Circle where English is the native languages such as America, Britain, Australia, etc.

In a nutshell, literary works in English in circulation are predominantly the translated versions from Vietnamese. To some extent, such literary works play a very important part in the formation of Vietnamese English at present and in the near future.

4. Description

4.1. Grammar

Vietnamese English is in the period of pregnancy. However, we can point out some grammatical traits of the future

Vietlish in five categories: Wh-questions, clauses with adjectives and adverbs for comparison, exclamatory sentences, sentence patterns, the omission of articles and auxiliary verbs, and the popular usage of three tenses in Vietlish including simple present tense, simple past tense, and simple future tense.

Firstly, the positions of Vietnamese questions words appear at different positions in comparison to those in Standard English. Let's have a look at the following examples:

Example one:

Vietnamese: Bạn muốn mua **gì**?

English: **What** do you want to buy?

Vietlish: You want buy **what**?

Example two:

Vietnamese: **Chừng nào** anh đi thành phố Hồ Chí Minh?

English: **When** are you going to Ho Chi Minh City?

Vietlish: **When** you go City Ho Chi Minh?

In the first example, “gì” means “what” and it stays at the end of the sentence; whereas, “chừng nào” means “when” and it stands at the beginning of the sentence.

Secondly, clauses with adjectives and adverbs for comparison are different from those in English. Also, the omission of inflections like –s, –es in the third singular form is another trait of Vietlish. Let's analyze the following examples.

Example one:

Vietnamese: Anh ấy học hành **không chăm chỉ bằng** bạn.

English: He **doesn't** study **as hard as** you.

Vietlish: He study **not hard as** you. (–s tends to be omitted in Vietlish)

Example two:

Vietnamese: Cuốn từ điển này **dày bằng** cuốn kia.

English: This dictionary is **as thick as** that one.

Vietlish: Dictionary this **thick as** dictionary that.

or: This dictionary **thick as** that dictionary.

Thirdly, the exclamatory sentences in Vietlish can show the difference in word order between English and Vietlish illustrated by the following example.

Example:

Vietnamese: Lam Trường ca hay quá!

English: How beautifully Lam Trường sings!

Vietlish: Lam Trường sing beautifully!

Fourthly, some differences in sentence patterns appear in Vietlish. The first difference is the position of adverb in present perfect tense

Vietnamese: Tôi **chưa bao giờ** nhìn thấy một con hổ thật.

English: I have **never** seen a real tiger.

Vietlish: I **never** (have) seen a real tiger.

According to Nguyễn Thị Châu Anh (2005), the second difference lays in relative clauses. In Vietlish, there is the tendency that relative pronouns are omitted. Let's analyze this example.

Vietnamese: Người tài xế **gây ra tai nạn** đã bỏ chạy.

English: The driver **who caused the accident** drove away.

Vietlish: The driver **caused the accident** drove away.

Third, the omission of auxiliary verbs and the order of question words are also good traits to differentiate Standard English and Vietlish. For example:

Vietnamese: Cuộc họp kéo dài trong bao lâu?

English: How long **did** the meeting last?

Vietlish: How long the meeting last?
or The meeting last how long?

Fifthly, there is the tendency of omission of articles and auxiliary verbs in Vietnamese English. Let's have a look at the example:

Vietnamese: Anh đang đọc sách hả?

English: **Are** you reading **a** book?

Vietlish: You reading book?

Finally, Vietnamese people who are not well-educated tend to use three tenses in all sentences, i.e. simple present tense, simple past tense, and simple future tense. The following example will illustrate this characteristic.

Vietnamese: Tôi đã không gặp lại
nàng từ năm năm về trước.

English: I **haven't seen** her since
five years ago.

Vietlish: I **not see** her since five year ago.

4.2. Lexis

The vocabulary and word usage also reflect the effect of local culture on English. Trinh (2002) gave some examples to illustrate the word usage in Vietnamese English.

The first example is "indispensably necessary". Expert users do not write "indispensably necessary" to describe something which is most necessary. Instead, "necessary" is enough, but if it needs emphasis then they write "absolutely necessary".

The second example is "knowledge is received". When referring to knowledge which is gained, they do not say "knowledge is received". They say "knowledge is acquired".

The third example is "opened a wedge". When referring to a particular situation which has caused a division or split between some group and another,

"caused a rift" should be used instead of "opened a wedge". Even if the translator or writer wished to use the word "wedge", in English, "wedge" does not co-occur with "open". A "wound" can "open" but a "wedge is driven" or "introduced". When talking about a wound which takes time to heal, people do not say "the wound healed poorly and late", but "the wound healed badly".

The fourth example is "serving time". At the base of the board, the phrase: "Giòphụcvụ" was rendered into English as "Serving time". Grammatically speaking, there is nothing wrong with this, and nothing to blame as far as word meaning goes. "Giò" means "time" and "phụcvụ" means "serving". The only problem is that the term "serving time" suggests in the English speakers' mind the time served in prison or time served in military service. In this context, people should write "Business hours/Hours of business", "Trading hours", "Opening hours", "Operating hours", or in the case of an office, "Office hours". In the case of "Serving time" at a doctor's surgery, it would be "Surgery hours" or "Consulting hours".

The above mistakes among thousands of mistakes cited were made by Vietnamese writers. When writing, those writers with a sound knowledge of English thought in their mother tongue, and then translated it into English. As a result, their writing does not sound as natural and idiomatic as the type of English that American, Australian or for that matter English people would use in such a context. They are very typical of Vietnamese English or Vietlish.

Besides the word usage, vocabulary is also a good trait in Vietlish. Recently, many Vietnamese words have been used and become a part of English. These words originated from the Vietnamese

dishes or Vietnamese musical genres or Vietnamese dresses which are famous in the world. Some words listed here are “aodai” (the Vietnamese traditional long dress), “nonla” (the conical hat), “pho” (Vietnamese noodles with beef), “banh xeo” (fried pancake), “cailuong” (Vietnamese traditional music), etc.

4.3. Phonology

Pronunciation in Vietlish is strongly affected by Vietnamese, a very melodious language with monosyllabic words, which is quite different from English not only in grammar but also in its pronunciation.

According to Dương Thị Nụ (2009), Vietlish can be formed by four characteristics: (1) Failure in distinguishing the differences, (2) Influence of the mother tongue, (3) Perceptions of mistakes, (4) Inadequate drills and practice.

Vietnamese people tend to omit the final sounds /s/, /z/, /tʃ/, and /ʃ/. Instead of pronouncing the word “apples” as /æplz/, they pronounce /æpl/. The word “applause” which is pronounced /əˈplɔ:z/ and the Vietnamese people tend to pronounce that word /əˈplɔ:/. The word “watch” is pronounced /wɒtʃ/ by native speakers and pronounced /wɒ/ by the Vietnamese. Another example is the word “wash” /wɒʃ/ pronounced as /wɒ/ by the Vietnamese. Therefore, a listener will have difficulty in recognizing the words “watch” and “wash” pronounced by the Vietnamese.

Dương Thị Nụ (2009) also pointed out the sound pairs that the Vietnamese often find confused:

1. /s/ and /ʃ/
2. /Z/ and /z/
3. /dZ/, /z/ or /s/.
4. /tʃ/ and Vietnamese /c∇/

For example, the word “she” /ʃi:/ is pronounced as /si:/ in Vietlish. The same mistakes occur with the words “international”, “intonation”, “**sh**ould”, “**sh**ut”, “**push**”, “**sh**are”, “**finish**”, “**astonish**”, etc.

Many Vietnamese also fail to pronounce /Z/ and they pronounce it as /z/ in the words “measure”, “pleasure”, etc. Instead of pronouncing /ˈmedz/, /ˈpledz/, the Vietnamese pronounce /ˈmedz/, /ˈpledz/.

The Vietnamese often change /dZ/ into /z/ or /s/. For example, “judge” /dʒʌdʒ/ is pronounced /zʌdʒ/ or /zʌs/. The problem is also recognized in the words “job”, “general”, “danger”, “object”, “age”, “village”, etc.

The Vietnamese sound /c∇/ which is produced by the contact of the blade of the tongue against the front part of hard palate, voiceless and aspirated can be found in the words “**ch**o” (give), “**ch**ết” (die), sách (book), etc. When the Vietnamese pronounce the word “chair” /tʃeə/, it sounds like /c∇eə/. The mistake can also be found in the words “**ch**ease”, “**ch**icken”, “**fu**t~~u~~re”, “**qu**est~~i~~on”, etc.

The aforementioned topics are quite typical and obviously there are more mistakes related to pronunciation. While studying English, those mistakes of pronunciation are often ignored and they have gradually formed the characteristics of Vietlish. There are two reasons for the ignorance of those mistakes. The first reason for this is that the mistakes do not cause any communication breakdown and the native speakers of English can understand what the speaker says. The second reason is that those mistakes are culturally accepted by the Vietnamese speakers of English. The so-called Vietlish will really exist and become popular in Vietnam.

4.4. Pragmatics

Vietnamese English has the following pragmatic features.

The first feature is the combination of “Explanation” and “Compliment Downgrade” or “Disagreement” in any responses (Tran Giao Quynh, 2008). For example:

A: Trời ơi, mặc áo đầm đẹp quá!

(Vietlish: Gosh, you wearing beautiful dress!)

B: Đẹp gì! Mới mua đó!

(Vietlish: not beautiful! Just bought!)

In Vietnamese culture, being humble is highly appreciated. Therefore, they hate boasting and if they are commended for anything, they simply smile modestly and show compliment downgrade or disagreement.

The second feature is Mr, Ms, or Mrs accompanying the first name is used to show the respect to teachers, leaders, and so on. To be specific, Vietnamese students often call their teachers “Mr. Tuấn” or “Ms. Huyền”. Actually, “Tuấn” and “Huyền” are the first names. This is completely different from Standard English which uses Mr., Ms., or Mrs. with the last names.

The third feature is greetings in Vietlish. The greeting tends to be indirect and it depends on each situation. The following example can illustrate the feature:

A: Chị đi chợ à?

(Vietlish: You going to market?)

B: Ừ. Hôm nay chợ đông quá.

(Vietlish: Yes. Today market crowded)

The question “You going to market?” is not the question but it is the way of greeting in Vietnam.

5. Conclusion

5.1. The future of Vietnamese English

English has become popular in Vietnam for five decades. The reasons why English came into existence in Vietnam are due to neocolonialism, the usage of English in trade and education all over the world especially the developed countries like America, Australia, Britain, Canada, etc. Those stimuli help English quickly be widespread and become the dominant foreign language in Vietnam. With the mushroom of the number of foreign

language centers throughout Vietnam and the English teaching at nurseries and elementary schools in Vietnam, English sooner will become the second language in Vietnam. Vietlish is situated in the third circle of three Circles of Kachru and it can probably move towards the second circle in a few decades. At that time, there are two kinds of English co-existing in Vietnam, Standard Vietnamese English, which is mutually intelligible with all other national and international forms and is also different from the others and nonstandard Vietnamese English, which might cause difficulty in communicating with the people who come from the countries in the Inner Circle but it will be mutually intelligible among the Vietnamese.

The uses of those English depend on the contexts. Standard English will be used at academic institutions, at governmental as well as private organizations, at religious institutions, in writing, on mass media and so on, whereas Vietlish will be used in informal contexts like at home, at parties, at restaurants, in friendly conversations among friends.

5.2. Implications for English language teaching in Vietnam

Although Vietlish does exist in Vietnam, it is still at the early stage of development. At present, the Vietnamese Ministry of Education adopts two exonormative native speaker models at the same time. British English and American English are chosen as the models for English language teaching in Vietnam. All the English textbooks at the bookstores are of two kinds of models. The majority of foreign language centers in Vietnam tend to choose British models for English children programs. Children and teenagers are trained for the examinations like Cambridge Flyers Test, KET, PET, FCE, CAE, and CPE while adults are trained to sit for the exams including IELTS

and TOEFL. The new series of English textbooks for the sixth graders to the twelfth graders also follows the American English model. Such models privilege the teachers coming from the countries of the Inner Circle including Britain, America, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand.

These teachers are mainly responsible for helping students improve listening and speaking, whereas Vietnamese teachers of English are mainly responsible for teaching reading, grammar, and writing. Through the teaching, these Vietnamese teachers of English help form the Vietnamese English in generations of students in Vietnam. They help spread the Vietnamese culture and tradition among Vietnamese students.

This is also the Vietnamese governmental policy, i.e. studying Vietnamese culture and history in English in order to keep the value of the Vietnamese people and develop the patriotism. According to Andy Kirkpatrick (2007), the advantage of government of accepting local teachers is particularly significant in the context of the fear that the learning of English brings with it the learning and adoption of alien values and cultures. Therefore, although the exonormative native speaker model is preferred in Vietnam, the endonormative nativised model parallel exists and proves its important role in speeding up the developmental process of standard Vietnamese English in Vietnam.

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