

Chapter II

Literature Review

1. World Englishes Study

English has always been the most studied and researched language in the world (Kyto, Ryden, & Smitterberg, as cited in Schreier, Trudgill, & Edgar, 2009). English is also the most used language, either as an international language, an official language, the first language, or any other statuses, which should be better viewed from the historical context. This phenomenon gave birth to varieties of English from around the world as well as to the term “World English” and to theories about models of World English. (Bauer, 2002; Kachru & Nelson, 2006).

1.1. Brief History of Englishes

The origin of English has many views. Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008) argue that English was formed from several Germanic dialects – the most famous ones being Angles, Jutes, and Saxons – during sometime in AD 450. This Old English had various standards-less structures and suffered a lot of contacts with other dialects, namely the Celtic languages. French and Latin also gave some contributions as they were prestigious languages of the Roman Catholic Church at that time. Until sometime during 1000s, a standard for English came into consideration around

Winchester (Fisiak, as cited in Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). However, this standard grew slow and became real only after the reign of Elizabeth I.

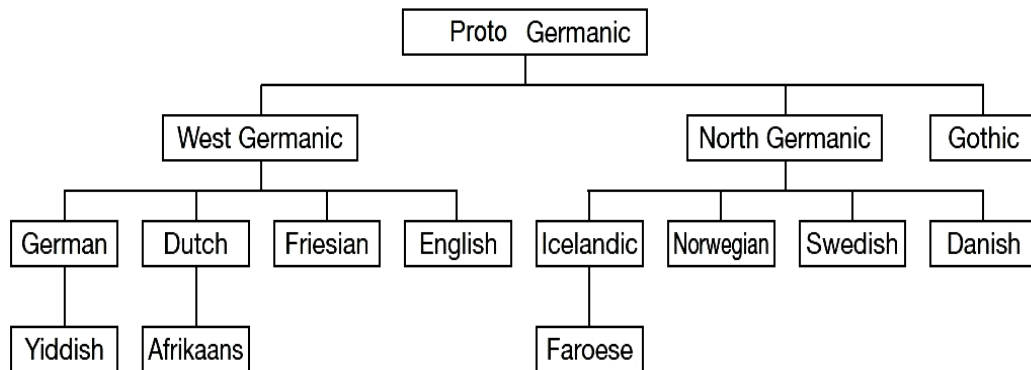


Figure 2.1. Bauer's Hypothesis of the Origin of English I

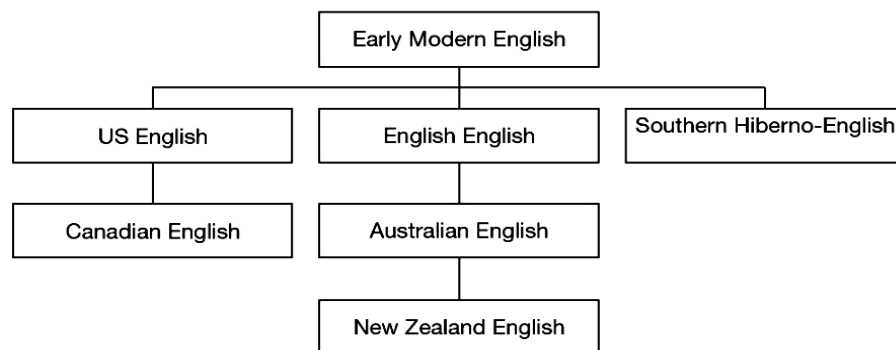


Figure 2.2. Bauer's Hypothesis of the Origin of English II

Bauer (2002) provides a simplified hypothesis of the origin of English is that it came from West-Germanic language, which is a descendant of Proto-Germanic – together with Dutch, German, and Friesian language, as pictured by Figure 2.1. Bauer then argued that this Early-Modern English was further divided – as the success of

the British Empire – into three: US English, English English, and Southern Hiberno English – each of it having its own descendant/s too (See Figure 2.2).

The spread of English has always been divided into two causes. The first cause is the expansion of Englishmen to areas nowadays known as North America, Australia, and New Zealand. The second is the diffusion of English speakers with people around the world for trading, politics, evangelism, as well as colonialization sakes (B. Kachru, as cited in Kachru & Nelson, 2011). The phenomena are attributed to the success of the empire of Britain and later its former colonies. This resulted in the huge influence owned by them to the world.

During the First Elizabethan era (1533-1603), the number of English speakers did not even pass seven million. Instead of English, Dutch was more popular. However, by the reign of Elizabeth II (1926-), the number of English speakers has multiplied into around 350 million as the British Empire gained its golden age. English was considered a language of power and opportunity, mainly in colonial countries. After the World War, English strengthened its position as the lingua franca thanks to the economic power and political status of the United States. Entering the twenty first century, the spread of English continues because of the combination of industrial, exploration, military, and learning purposes. Crystal (as cited in Lauder, 2008) states that there are currently around 1.500 million speakers of English worldwide who communicate in English to ‘a useful level’; hence making English as the “world’s pre-eminent language” (Bauer, 2002; Lauder, 2008; McKenzie, 2010).

1.2. Terms Related to World Englishes

1.2.1. Pidgin, Creole, Dialect, Accent, and Variety

Pidgin is a kind of language that has not fully developed or standardized yet. It has no native speakers, though it may subsequently gain one over complex progress. It emerges from trading and other forms of contact. English-based pidgins – e.g. West African Pidgin English, is often considered as a member of English family because English is the source of most of their vocabulary. While creole is a fully developed speech form, which has been restructured so much that it is barely showing similarities to its source languages. Creole comes from mixed languages, meaning that its grammars and lexicons are from different sources. Although a variety like Jamaican Creole is structurally an independent language, it has overlapping membership with many other mixed languages in terms of its vocabulary and the possibilities of being influenced by English (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

Dialect is often associated with geographical pattern, e.g. Southern American dialect. It is sometimes understood as referring to rural speech. However, there are variations of language which are not based on regions or areas but are called as dialects, and vice versa. One example is the Cockney dialect in the United Kingdom which has a class basis. Meanwhile, accent often refers to the sounds produced, i.e. the stress, intonation, or the rhythm. Accents vary even more than dialects since every person could have his own accent, or his own way of sounding sounds. Bauer (2002)

defines dialect as a set of vocabulary items and grammatical patterns which is usually spoken with a particular accent.

Since those terms produce many interpretations, linguists avoid them and use “variety” instead to refer to any kinds of diversity a language has. Varieties of a language include differences based on area, structure, speakers, status and functions as well as on standard. The term “variety” gives a neutral position (Bauer, 2002; Kachru & Nelson, 2006). This study would also use the term “variety” and “varieties” on English onwards.

1.2.2. Nativity and Standards of English (RP and GA)

Since English has become a global language with many varieties, questions around nativity arose. Linguists have been debating for long around it; what the characteristics are needed to decide nativity. Some say that nativity in English refers to speakers coming from countries which were discovered the earliest by the Englishmen, i.e. America, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada (See Figure 2.2). Others say that nativity refers to speakers who acquire English without any formal instruction at a very early stage of life – i.e. the age of 0 until 8, and could use it automatically (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; McKenzie, 2010). The basic principle is whether the exposure to English starts at very early childhood and for a sufficiently long time or not.

However, there are cases too complex to be classified based on only those views. For example, although English is the official language of Singapore stated in its official law, some of its residents have just started acquiring English as the second language at a later stage of life for official purposes; while some others as their first language right when they were born because their family has always been using English. Another example is in Quebec; having English as its official language, and French as its first language, people in Quebec simultaneously acquire the two (and use them automatically in different occasions) since early stage of life (McKenzie, 2010).

Jenkins (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) therefore argues that it is inappropriate to give non-native label to speakers who have acquired English as a fluent official language just because they are not coming from several countries. Trugdill (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) notes that the concept of native speaker is not between yes or no, but a degree of more or less; some people could be more native than others. Davies (cited in Kachru & Nelson, 2006) also puts a thought on this by proposing that it is possible, but plausibly difficult, for a speaker whose mother tongue is not English to be native if ‘contingence issues’ are filled; the examples are ‘contact with other native speakers of the language, opportunities for active use of the language, and attitudinal evaluations of the user’s language by others.’

Another important issue regarding World Englishes is which English is the standard one. No formal institution, in fact, has ever formed to create standards for

English. Instead, standards are being revised as dictionaries and linguists emerge. Most dictionaries put at least two varieties of English as the “standard”, which are Standard British English and General American English.

A description of pronunciation of Standard British English is the RP (Received Pronunciation); in books by Daniel Jones (1918) and Gimson (1962). It was once the upper-class accent of London required by most schools and employments in Britain and even taught overseas. Until the 1970s, this model began to loosen up (Bauer, 2002; Kachru & Nelson, 2006). While GA (General American) is an idealised version of and the most widespread pronunciation of English words in the United States; in books by Larsen and Walker (1930), and by Kenyon and Knott (1953). It marks the speakers as coming from New England, New York, and the Southern linguistics part. These two are chosen as the reference varieties because: (1) they are considered prestigious in each place, (2) are the easiest for most English linguists to relate to, and (3) are very well described (Bauer, 2002).

There are two arguments opposing these reference varieties. The first is that both actually come from closely related origins, hence share larger amount of similarities than of differences. The second is that their prestigious origins are dubious. RP was originally only spoken by the minority population. Although considered an upper-class accent, it actually comes from London and shares the same origin with the Cockney (also from London), but grew through different ways; meanwhile nowadays Cockney is considered a variety and RP a reference (Bauer,

2002; McKenzie, 2010). Nevertheless, these two reference varieties are still considered as a “standard” for most linguists.

1.2.3. Statuses of English: ENL, ESL, EFL, EIL

English as the native language (ENL) is held by countries which only speak English, meaning that there is no other language spoken there, or even if there was, it is a variety of English. Meanwhile, English as a second language (ESL) is the status for English typically in countries where it was introduced via colonialization or via face-to-face way various purposes. This variety of English grew out of the hands of some settlers. This English plays an important role in literature, government, law, politics, and other formal fields. In contrary to it, English as a foreign language is for countries which English comes externally, meaning that it doesn't involve a sufficient number of settlers and is not face-to-face. This English is used for international purposes, rather than *intra-national* ones. Countries with both statuses may have their own local languages; but compared to ESL, countries with EFL status do not produce literature works in English (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). Also, ESL users study English more intensely and can speak it more fluently than EFL users (Kachru & Nelson, 2006).

The term English as an international language (EIL) has the same application as the term English as a lingua franca (ELF), i.e. the main function of English is as a tool for international communication. EIL needs not nativity and native cultures to

internalize in using it; while EFL requires native-like competence as well as the model and cultures (Jenkins; Smith & Nelson, as cited in Kim, 2007). EIL believes that any variety of English only needs to fulfil the function of being an international tool. In relation to this study, the term of EIL and ELF are the closest one with the definition and the aim of World Englishes study.

1.3. Models of World Englishes

Linguists has been long trying to picture the spread of and categorize world Englishes as good as possible. Here are some of the most famous models of world Englishes.

1.3.1. Tom McArthur's Model

Tom McArthur introduced his “wheel model” of English in July 1987 on “English Today.” McArthur’s wheel is centred on a circle called “World Standard English”; which is plausibly the ideal English found mostly in written English, although there are still some variations among norms of written English (See Figure 2.3). The next layer contains generalization of regional Englishes from parts of the world, which are either in the process of standardizing or already standardized. The most outer layer contains Englishes from smaller regions which either includes or are closer to contacts with creoles, e.g. the Tok Pisin Creole. McArthur’s model views

English as a set of differing standards which could develop into a totally different language than English itself.

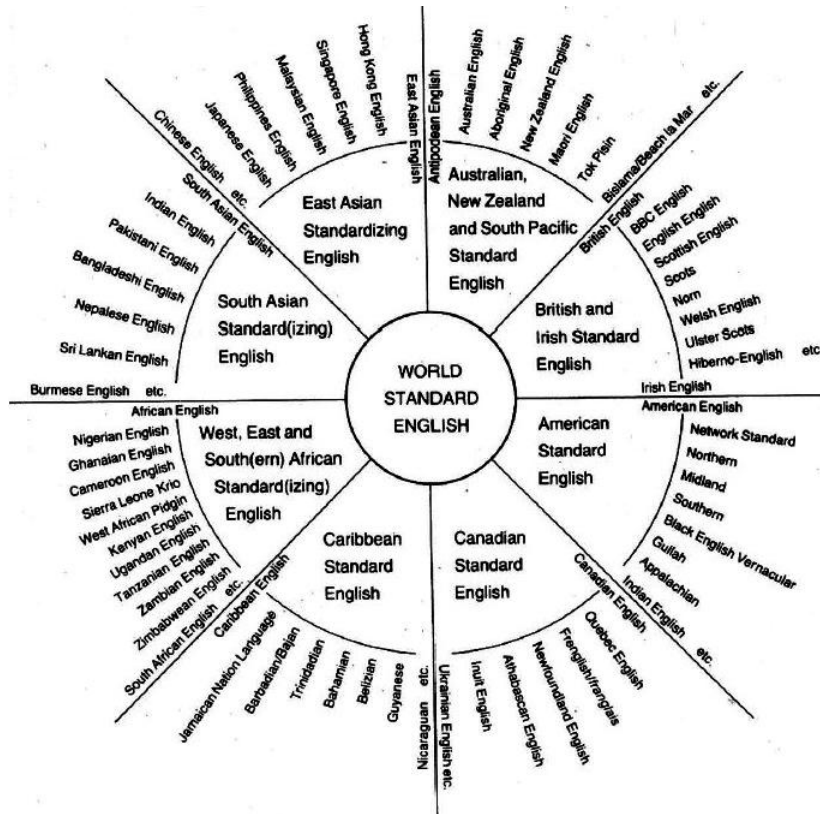


Figure 2.3. McArthur's Model of World Englishes

However, this model fails at showing divisions among English functions, i.e. whether each standard is spoken as the first language, second language, or foreign language. Another problem is that this model somewhat doesn't include Englishes in European regions. Also, most linguists believe that creoles cannot be put in to a single division; instead, they are overlapping in most layers (Bauer, 2002; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

1.3.2. Manfred Gorlach's Model

Manfred Gorlach proposed his model in 1988 on “English Today,” which is pictured in Figure 2.4. His model goes from international English (in the centre) to the most local varieties of English (the outer layer). The similarity of Gorlach's and McArthur's models is that both don't include English varieties in the Europe. The differences, some of them being unintentionally answering problems of McArthur's model, are in the number of layers, the position of mixed varieties, and the inexistence of varieties of English spoken as a foreign language.

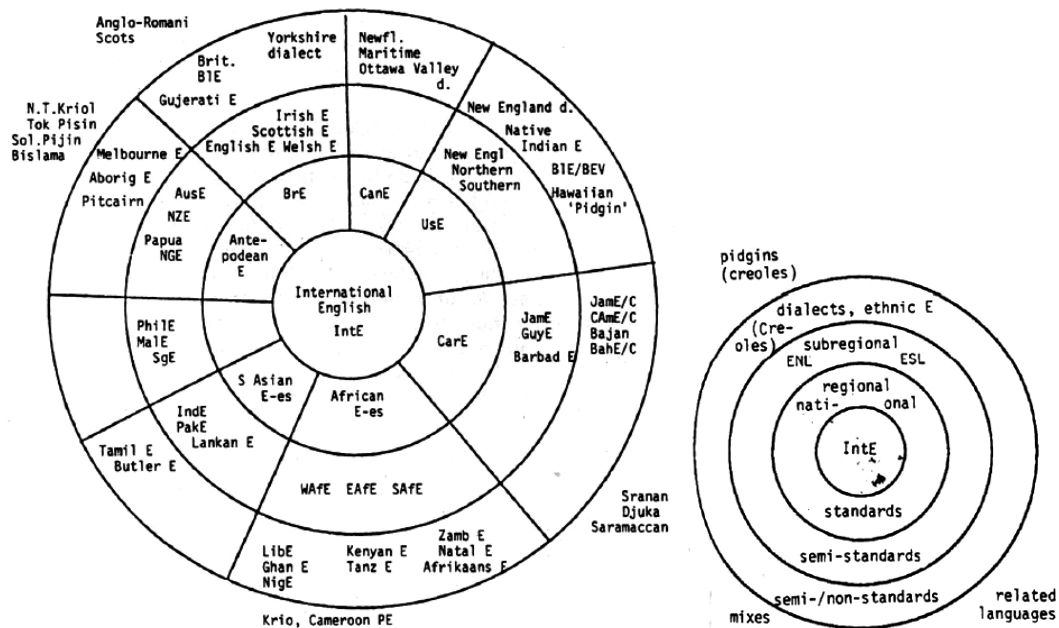


Figure 2.4. Gorlach's Model of World Englishes

Gorlach doesn't see the centred circle – International English – as the ideal English but as the most widespread variety of English. He also made a fourth layer in his model in which dialects exist. Outside of the outer layer exist pidgins and creoles

again as well as other mixed varieties of English. Those met the critics from McArthur's model. However, as it doesn't include varieties of English spoken as a foreign language, his model is considered incomplete (Bauer, 2002; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

1.3.3. Braj Kachru's Model

B. Kachru's Three Concentric Circles of English (1988) – as pictures in Figure 2.5³ – presented a model of English differently than the previous two still on “English Today.” The circles are based on the history, political status, and functions of English in the countries. Kachru also excludes European English, but the unique thing is that he makes no single centred circle; instead, the circles grow broader as the countries included increase.

The first circle, being The Inner Circle, has five countries which in where English was shaped. It is primarily England with its respective isles forming The Great Britain, who carried English to the United States of America – North America at first – then Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. English in these countries has the status of ENL – English as Native Language – and is often monolingual. It is “endo-normative”; it provides norms of correctness and appropriateness which are managed through education and language planning. The people are considered influential speakers (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; McKenzie, 2010; Kachru & Nelson, 2011).

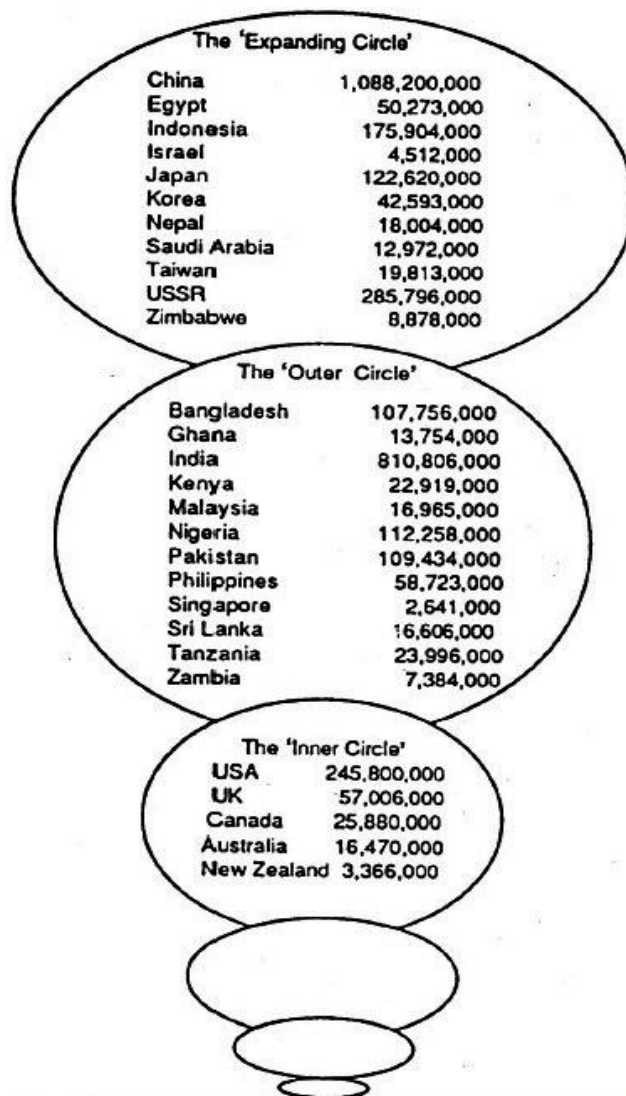


Figure 2.5. Kachru's Model of World Englishes³

The Outer Circle as the second circle comprises countries³ in which English became their official language stated in the official law. These countries were mainly colonials of the Great Britain Empire; some are commonwealths now. Some of them have their own mother tongues, but imposed realities during the colonialization era

³ The placement of Zimbabwe (known as Rhodesia before) is an error, as this is (similar to South Africa) an Outer Circle country, not an Expanding Circle one (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008, p. 31).

has made English more available than any language for people from sub-regions with any kinds of cultural background. It became the medium of educational, administrative, and formal situations at first, which then continued to be the medium of the society. English in these countries holds the status of ESL – English as Second Language. Jenkins (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) states that its English is “norm-developing,” which means it is currently developing its own standards. It is also the most affected one by conflicts from linguistics norms and behaviours as it is considered prior by the countries’ people yet inferior by countries from other circles. Regardless of that, from these countries came many writers who have been awarded prestigious literary awards for their creativity in English literature.

The Expanding Circle comprises countries in which English holds the status of EFL – English as Foreign Language and is used for international communication. This is caused by political power of the previous English-using countries. Here, English has limited but quite prestigious roles in higher educational, technological, and some other fields. However, these limited roles might change as more countries decide to introduce English as the second language to their people to face the globalization era. In regards of that, the Expanding Circle could be said to also include any other countries not categorized in the Inner or Outer Circle. English of the Expanding Circle is “exo-normative”; it looks up to the norms of and tends to aim a particular variety from the Inner Circle (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Kachru & Nelson, 2011).

Although Kachru didn't put European English in his first model, it is easier to categorize varieties of Englishes in Europe in his model (either in the Outer or Expanding Circle) than in the previous models. However, there are several critics for Kachru's model. Firstly, it lacks of explanation for mixed varieties inside each circles, e.g. American English vs. Australian English (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; McKenzie, 2010). Secondly, the division based on status of native and non-native is still over debates (See Section 1.2.2). Thirdly, the division based on Inner and Outer is also debatable since historically all varieties of English other than English English is transplanted. Fourthly, investigations upon varieties of English have been long focusing very much on the Inner and Outer Circle, leaving the Expanding Circle behind. Kirkpatrick (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) explains the reason for this as: the escalating role of English in the Expanding Circle was unpredictable during the time of the development of the World Englishes model in the 1980s. Nevertheless, Kachru's Three Concentric Circles has always been seen as the most useful shorthand for categorizing Englishes in worldwide context (Bruthiaux, as cited in McKenzie, 2010).

1.3.4. Schneider W. E.'s Model

Schneider W. E. (2003) proposes his theory of five-step characterizations of the spread of English in attempt to overcome issues coming from circle-formed models of English. He avoids categorizing varieties of English based on only

geography and history, hence incorporates language contact processes and identity construction made by indigenous populations and the settlers. Schneider also creates this model to enable any variety applied in any step could move forward to the next step sometime or even backward. However, this model is hardly able to fit varieties of English spoken as foreign language, like those of Asians (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

In the first step, *Foundation*, English is getting in to a new territory for several purposes over a long period of time. Language contacts between English and local languages as well as between different varieties of English of the settlers gave result in a new variety of English. Bilingualism is rare; capable local people become interpreters. Borrowings are limited to lexical items. In the next step, *Exonormative Stabilisation*, the settlers have become politically stable under the rule of Britain. The need of English increases and the speakers look to England for formal norms while continue to adopt local vocabulary. Bilingualism increases and knowledge of English becomes an asset among the populations. An example variety of the second step comes from Fiji.

Nativization is the third step. A new identity of English based on local realities arisen from the mixture of both the settlers and local people. This identity has also had a stable system consisting of substrate effects, interlanguage processes and features adopted from the settlers' English. Debates over local forms of English and the more prestigious English norms occur. An example variety of this step comes from Hong Kong.

In the fourth step, *Endonormative Stabilisation*, local norms of English has been gradually accepted as a result of growing linguistics confidence of local people. Politically, indigenous populations are no longer under the British Empire. The evolution of English is a product of a language policy specifically espousing ‘English-based bilingualism’. National dictionaries as well as literary works on local English begin to flourish. Singapore is an example of this variety.

The last step, *Differentiation*, can be seen from a complete change of identity as indigenous populations as a young nation gradually stop defining themselves based on the former British Empire. This change is triggered by ‘event X’; a pivotal event which force the nation to grow a distinct identity for self-sufficiency reason. The nation’s English now has greater differences. Also, local varieties of English from inside the nation are starting to form. This variety includes Australia and New Zealand (Schneider, as cited in Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008).

1.4. Variations in World Englishes

Another aspect of varieties of English would be described below from the lexicon, grammatical, and phonological differences. They are taken from various English scholars cited in Bauer (2002), Kachru and Nelson (2006), and Schreier, Trudgill, et al. (2009). These are not the only descriptions available, but would be considered enough for this study.

1.4.1. Vocabulary

Variations on vocabulary focus on differences in English lexicon and semantics which relate to variations of words. These come from various linguistics processes, e.g. borrowing, coining, clipping, bending, and imitating⁴. The main reason of why they happened is because English applied in a different environment than its original would need new words to describe new phenomena.

The word *koala* refers to Australian animal with such descriptions familiar to most speakers of English; but in Australia itself, *koala* and *bunyip* must be distinguished as they look the same, are from the same animal kingdom, but are different species. The word *billabong*, meaning ‘blind creek’, is originally a borrowing from Wiradhuri language.

South Asian English has new words like ‘buggi’ for *carriage*, ‘botheration’ for *inconvenience* and ‘batch-mate’ for *fellow student*. In China, the word *intellectual* refers to a class rather than a thinker, scholar, or an academic. Singaporean’s *actsy* means ‘show off,’ while Philippine’s *studentsy* ‘male student’.

In Africa, *a whole person* means ‘an adult’ and *footing* means ‘walking.’ Compound words *chicken-parlour* means ‘commercial place where chicken, fish, and meats are sold’. The English “whereabouts” has a pair which is *wheretos*. There is also this sentence: *He has nothing coinable which means He has no money*. In South Africa, once seen a sentence *What is all these huhudious media coverage?;*

⁴ For further elaboration of the terms, please see the sources mentioned beforehand.

huhdious coming from *huhudi* meaning ‘blow hot air’ in Akan language and suffix – *ous* as the marker of adjective.

Variations of English words result in heteronym (one item referred with various words) and polysemy⁵ (various words refer to one item). An example of heteronym in English is: *panties* (United States), *knickers* (England), and *pants* (Australian and New Zealand) which all refer to ‘lower underwears’.

Variations also exist between the word spelling of British English and American English – the so-called standards. Some brief examples of them are: (1) the /y/ vs. /i/ in *syrup* and *sirup*, (2) the /ise/ and /ize/ between *generalise* and *generalize*, (3) the /e/ in *ax* and *axe* or *gray* and *grey*, (4) consonants doubling in *worshipping* vs. *worshipping*.

1.4.2. Grammar

Grammatical variation focuses on differences in the syntax. It happens mostly because of the influence coming from the syntactical structure of the mother tongues. Simplification is also a reason, such as in the usage of the word *yet*. Common phenomena happened are code-switching and code-mixing⁴ between English and speakers’ first language. Here are an example of a code-mixing between English and Hindi:

You take a small bit of *āṭ ā* and *belofy* it and then *talo* it to make *puris*.

‘You take a small bit of the dough and roll it out and then fry it to make puris.’

In Asia generally, uncountable nouns often become countable ones, e.g. *a hard work* and *equipments*. Idioms get additions from or even replaced with local values, as in *The play had gone bad, like pickle in the monsoon*. In South and Southeast Asia, reduplication is regularly used to emphasize things, e.g. *Cut into small small pieces*. In Southeast Asia specifically, tense markers in the verbs are inconsistent, yet the adverbs often help more, like in the sentence *Her fiancé at that time brought over some canned ribs, pork ribs, yes, about ... twenty eight cans of them. And then we return about fourteen of them*. In China, using “because ... therefore...” as a conjunctive pair is usual.

African English lacks very much on articles. “Furniture”, “property”, “chat”, and “noise” always occur in plural forms. Another distinct feature of African English is the redundant pronouns. The examples respectively are: (1) *I'm going to (~~the~~) event*, (2) *I can hear noises of laughter and chats*, (3) *Thank you for the letter which you wrote it*. South African English has this sentence “Jane is pretty but you are worse,” which positively means “Jane is pretty but you are even prettier”.

Australia is famous for its derivational suffixes *-o* and *-ie* suffixes, i.e. *relies* for ‘relatives’ and *journo* for ‘journalist’. American speakers tend to use -ed format for past participle such as *kneeled* and *shined* for *knelt* and *shone*, respectively, compared to British speakers. The semi modal *ought* presents interesting varieties, such as these sentences:

- (i) You didn't ought to do that.
- (ii) You oughtn't to do that.

(iii) You oughtn't do that.

Most British, American and Australian speakers would use (ii) and not recognized (i), while (iii) is seldom heard. The word *yet* appears inconsistently in varieties of English, like in the sentence “Have you eaten yet?” and “Did you eat yet?”.

1.4.3. Pronunciation

Pronunciation variation focuses on differences in sounding English words. Similar to the other variations, pronunciation ones happen mostly because of the influence from the pronunciation of the mother tongues.

Speakers from Asian usually do not distinguish tense and lax vowels, as in *deep* vs. *dip* or *seat* vs. *sit*. South and East Asian speakers add vowels /ə/ in some consonant clusters and after final consonants so that *sport* is sounded as /sə port/ and *nice* as /naɪ sə/. Malaysian English simplifies diphthongs, e.g. *make* is pronounced with /e/.

For South African's variations in pronunciation, Gough (as cited in Kachru & Nelson, 2006) describes that ‘some features can be attributed to specific native language influences’, as the /ch/ of *church* being pronounced /sh/ by Zulu speakers for whom ‘/t/ is a marginal phoneme’.

While British speakers would pronounced goat with diphthongs /ou/, American pronounced it with just /o:/ and Scottish with /o/. The word *schedule* would be pronounced with /ʃ/ by British speakers and with /sk/ by American ones. Interestingly, Canadian speakers are well known for distinguishing the vowels in *lout*

and *loud* (/ləʊt/ and /laʊd/ respectively) in a way which does not happen in standard varieties elsewhere. *Alan* and *Ellen* are homophonous for most New Zealand and Australian speakers; while they are pronounced distinctively for other speakers. The same case applies the words *sad* and *said*.

Another point from pronunciation aspect is the rhoticity⁴, i.e. the realization of the /r/ sound. General American (GA), Canadian, Scottish and Irish varieties of English are rhotic (/r/-full); while British English, Australian, New Zealand and South African Englishes are non-rhotic (/r/-less). This rhoticity has one unexpected product, which is the tendency from speakers of non-rhotic accents trying to imitate GA accent to put an /r/ on the end of a word like *data*, which in fact has no /r/.

2. Language Attitude Study

Language attitude study is a cross-disciplines study of psychology, sociology, and linguistics. It attempts to reveal speakers and/or listeners opinions, values, beliefs, motives, ideologies, and any other terms related to attitudes and how they impact behaviours and decision-makings either individually or of a society. The first documented study on language attitude is presumably from Pear's (1931) study on investigating BBC's audiences' personality profiles of several voices heard on BBC radio. After that, a great amount of work on this field follows, creating various approaches, methods, and measurement techniques (Davies & Elder, 2004; McKenzie, 2010).

2.1. Attitudes and The Approaches

Bohner and Wanke (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) defines attitude as “a summary evaluation of an object or thought” (p. 19). Baker (as cited in Siregar, 2010) states that attitude refers to “a hypothetical construction used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour” (p. 72). It means that attitude could only be inferred by observing responses. Attitudes, in the field of language attitude study, are considered stable and measureable for information and conclusions taking.

Oppenheim (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) differentiates four levels of attitudes: opinions, attitudes, values, and then personality. Opinions as the first level are considered the most superficial, meaning that they are the easiest to investigate but could be faked easily by the owner to create wanted image or for other purposes. Contrary to it, personality as the fourth level is the deepest, most stable one. Personality is the hardest one to investigate, could not be faked, and takes a very long time to be changed. Attitude falls into the second level, meaning that it is relatively stable but needs thorough investigation to reveal.

Although attitude is an individual thing, it relates to the society in which it exists. Attitude is not inherited but is learnt (Siregar, 2010). Collective attitudes create an ideology. Ideology is a natural set of assumptions and values of a particular social or cultural group with certain patterns (Garret et al., as cited in McKenzie, 2010). Language ideology has been a focus of sociolinguists in recent years because

it is considered helpful to understand the politics of language in multilingual situations, especially when there are language variations and changes.

2.1.1. Behaviourist and Mentalist Approach to Attitudes

There are two general approaches to attitudes: the behaviourist and mentalist approach. Both believe that attitudes are acquired from the society; although some psychologists started to argue that several attitudes may also be inherited. Behaviourism is a theory stating that all human activities consist of behavioural units, including attitudes. Behaviourists believe that attitudes can be understood through how an individual responds to a social situation and are independent variables – meaning that it has a direct, perfect correlation with behaviours. It often gains critics because research conducted from this approach were applied straight-forwardly – it does not require self-reporting from the respondents, thus making them easily result in mis-categorising and wrongful explanations. Since the links between attitude and behaviour amongst humans' population are hard to observe, confident assumptions on them could not be achieved in a straight-forward way. Besides, attitude is just in the second level which means it is relatively easy to be faked, e.g. one's attitudes toward smoking are negative, but he tends to not warn smokers in public. Perloff (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) argues that, however, behaviourist view must not be completely discredited because most behaviour is still directly influenced by attitudes (McKenzie, 2010).

Meanwhile, a mentalist views attitudes as mental readiness which would be realized in responses when being aroused by some stimuli. Mentalists believe that attitudes cannot be observed without the respondents' introspection. This approach applies the tripartite model of attitudes formation: the cognitive, affective, and conative components. Bohner and Wanke (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) further stated that not all three components must exist in an attitude and they are not always distinguishable.

The cognitive component encompasses – it either supports or goes against – an individual's beliefs towards something. For example, an Indonesian may believe that proficient English would help him getting a good job. Cognitive component often triggers and relates to stereotypes of a particular object which are not always near the realities, e.g. an Indonesian knowing a person with proficient English would expect the person to have good job. Tajfel (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) states stereotypes function at an individual level and group level. Stereotypes make the complex social realities easily perceived by individuals. For groups, stereotypes have two functions: “social-explanatory” function by which groups create and maintain their ideologies; and “social-differentiation” function by which an individual as a member of a group could be distinguish based on favourable differences. Stereotypes also function as storage of common senses and a filter through which social life revolves (Garett et al., as cited in McKenzie, 2010).

The affective component involves an emotional response towards the object. Affective component can be verbal and non-verbal. Verbal affective components are in the forms of expressions of love, disgust, or anger, amongst others. Non-verbal affective components involve bodily reactions, e.g. changes in heart rate or production of sweat, and are hard to measure. Perloff (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) argues that an attitude often has strong affective components.

The conative component refers to the tendency to behave in a certain way towards something, e.g. to attend or to not attend an English class. One difficulty with this is that the real behaviours may consciously or unconsciously disguise the real attitudes (Bohner & Wanke, as cited in McKenzie, 2010). Some evidences also suggest that continuous behaviours on something may change attitudes.

An advantage of the tripartite model of mentalist theory of attitudes is that it can explain ambivalent attitudes caused by the complexity of humans' reality. Ambivalence happens when there is a conflict between attitude components (McKenzie, 2010). An example is, the case given before, when one's attitudes toward smoking are negative, but he tends to not warn smokers in public.

Another important attribute to attitudes is intensity. The intensity of an attitude refers to the depth of it held by the individual (Oppenheim, as cited in McKenzie, 2010). For example, someone whose attitude is strongly positive towards the need of English may voluntary take a night English lesson despite the tiresome of the day, and vice versa. Both show positive attitude towards the need of English but

have different intensity. Perloff (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) proposes that attitude intensity is important because intense attitude tends to: affect judgements, guide behaviour, persist, and be resistant to change.

2.2. Language Attitudes and Related Variables

Language attitudes are the feelings and other internal things people have towards a language, either their own language or a foreign language (Crystal, as cited in McKenzie, 2010). Attitudes towards a language from the side of the listeners reflect their perceptions towards the speakers of the language (Edwards, as cited in Siregar, 2010). Related to English and its varieties, “speakers of standard varieties are often valued while speakers of non-standard varieties are often disparaged because of their speech” (Renoud, as cited in Siregar, 2010, p. 72). Language attitudes easily change due to personal evaluation, experience, or exposure to social influence of the language’s benefits and are automatically activated from the memory. Attitudes towards an international language like English are often as strong as attitudes towards ethnic groups or popular celebrities (McKenzie, 2010). “The study of attitudes is an essential part of a world Englishes approach to language use” (Friedrich, as cited in Siregar, 2010, p. 73).

Language attitude is a broad field of study involving a number of possible empirical studies with various target attitudes. Baker (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) points out eight major areas, which are: attitude towards language variation, dialect

and speech style; attitude towards learning a new language; attitude towards a specific minority language; attitude towards language groups, communities and minorities; attitude towards language lessons; attitude of parents towards language lessons; attitude towards the uses of a specific language; and attitude towards language preference.

Giles, Ryan, and Sebastian (as cited in Davies & Elder, 2004) proposed two theories on language attitudes from listeners' perceptions. The first is that it should be based on two dimensions: (1) standard vs. non-standard and (2) increasing vs. decreasing vitality. Standard refers to codified form of the language which the elite power prefers; vitality refers to the importance of the language's practical use. Their second proposal is that interpreting perceived language attitudes are based on: (1) status vs. solidarity ratings and (2) person vs. group-centred.

Cargile et al. (as cited in Davies & Elder, 2004) argued that listeners' emotional state and particular social goals affect much on the outcomes of language attitudes research. On the speakers' side, once perceptions towards a language show deficiencies, the way the speakers speak the language would alter in order to follow the mainstream (Hewstone; Kelleys; Giles & Powesland, as cited in Davies & Elder, 2004).

Edwards (as cited in Davies & Elder, 2004) identifies three underlying patterns of speech variation judgement: (1) internal linguistics classification between superior and inferior speeches, (2) internal aesthetic values, and (3) social convention

and preferences. However, contrary to (1) it is unfair to categorize languages into better/worse, as well as beautiful/ugly like (2), and even prestigious/poor like (3). There is no strong sociolinguistics and/or aesthetical basis available for these. Here, the power of a variety considered as “the standard” takes role.

Research proven that an individual tends to be judged from his English, preferably if it was considered-standard English such as RP. Teachers evaluate their students’ background and personalities based on their speech style. Speakers with RP accent are associated more with “white-collar” crimes, while speakers with unfamiliar accent with crimes of violence. The importance of speech characteristics lessens as the position of the job vacancy lowers (Seligman, Tucker & Lambert; Seggie; Hopper & Williams, as cited in Davies & Elder, 2004).

Research also shown that among new varieties of English, there is hierarchy. In Spain, Ryan, Carranza, and Moffie (as cited in Davies & Elder, 2004) found that the heaviest a variety is accented, the lowest its rank is. Besides the rank of preferences, there is also research revealing the sense of solidarity. Luhman (as cited in Davies & Elder, 2004) found that Standard American accent has higher status but lower solidarity quadrant, and vice versa with the Kentucky-accented English.

Tong, et al. (as cited in Davies & Elder, 2004) found that language attitudes in Hong Kong – which are mostly Cantonese and Mandarin speakers – reflected listeners’ adjustments to their new and old identities after the Colony returned to Republic of China. This means that language attitudes relate closely to social and

political environment in which the language exists and may change due to them. Other variables related to language attitudes research have found are prejudice on social class of the accent, lexical diversity, visual cues, and message contents (Davies & Elder, 2004).

2.3. Approaches to Language Attitudes

Pertaining to language attitudes assessment, McKenzie (2010) discusses varieties of methods and techniques available on three categories: (1) the societal treatment approach, (2) the direct approach, and (3) the indirect approach. All approaches are supposed to be obtrusive. Each approach has its own advantages and disadvantages.

2.3.1. Societal Treatment Approach

The societal treatment approach applies either content analysis on societal documents or ethnographic study on the respondents' observed behaviours. Sociologists see this approach as incomplete and should only be used under limitations on space, time, and/or conditions. Others see this approach as a useful one for preliminary study of more rigorous sociolinguistics studies. An example study would be a study of the use of foreign languages in advertising as symbols of prestige (McKenzie, 2010).

2.3.2. Direct Approach

The direct approach aims to collect respondents' direct responses of variables related to language attitudes, either word of mouth or written responses (Henerson, et al., as cited in McKenzie, 2010). Techniques that call for word of mouth responses are surveys, interviews, and polls. Techniques that call for written responses are questionnaires and attitude scales. An interview is a face-to-face questioning and answering session between the researcher and the respondents using flexible pre-determined questions; while a survey is a highly structured interview, with less flexible pre-determined questions, which does not have to be face-to-face and involves larger number of respondents. A poll is a headcount of responses towards a set of limited options. Questionnaires contain questions which are designed to investigate and score several concerns. An attitude scale is a special type of questionnaire with specific variables having specific concern but would yield one overall attitude. Another feature of an attitude scale is the inexistence of erratic items, i.e. ambiguous questions which can produce inconsistent information.

There are several points in terms to the questions that a researcher needs to pay attention to when using direct approach, besides the erratic items mentioned before. *Strongly slanted questions* tend to pressure respondents to answer in a particular way because they contain 'loaded' words, e.g. "democratic," "black," or "modern." *Hypothetical questions* – i.e. questions asking how the respondents would react to future events – are unlikely to be good predictors. *Multiple questions*,

including double negative questions, should also be avoided because their answers could cause confusion. An example question would be “Would you prefer to learn with American or British teacher?” – This question depends much on ethnicity issues.

Other intervening problems are biases and paradoxes of the respondents as well as the researcher. *Social desirability bias* is the tendency of the respondents to give the most socially acceptable or mainstream answers, while *acquiescence bias* is the tendency of the respondents to be reluctant to evaluate questions whole fully thus making the responses shallow or flat. Regarding the paradoxes, *the Pygmalion effect* may raise from the researcher’s own judgements and expectations of the respondents; while *the Hawthorne effect* is when the respondents adjust their attitudes due to their perceptions on the study and the researcher (Oppenheim; Garrett et al.; Schuman & Presser, as cited in McKenzie, 2010).

2.3.3. Indirect Approach

The indirect approach involves more subtle techniques of measurement in order to penetrate deeper than the direct approach, to the level of below the respondents’ consciousness and social façade. It is considered more useful in evoking internal ideas which are unproductive to investigate through direct approach. It goes by hiding the realities of the study from the respondents – i.e. making them believing that it is about other aspects than the language itself – and observing them without their awareness. Therefore, it is usual to reveal the realities of the study **after** the

experiment in order to comply with ethical issues of conducting research (McKenzie, 2010).

2.3.3.1. Matched-Guise Technique

The most frequently applied technique in indirect approach is the matched-guise technique (MGT), which was developed in Canada by Lambert and his friends in the 1950s. It was to reveal implicit attitudes towards different speech varieties and also the speakers by indirect means and under laboratory condition. MGT makes the respondents to listen to several single speakers sounding on prepared text then evaluate them on a scale of semantically bi-polar personality traits, e.g. friendly/unfriendly. The text differs only in one aspect: the accent, because in fact those ‘several single speakers’ are actually one person sounding the text in different guises – or accents. The respondents should only know this **after** the experiment. Respondents’ scores of the personality traits are considered to be representatives of their stereotyped judgements of the language variety.

MGT is designed to minimise all other intervening variables. It is found to ensure neutrality, a scale of seven-point in the optimum scale for most purposes since fewer and larger points disturb the respondents and are more unproductive (Lemon, as cited in McKenzie, 2010). Semantic-differential scale is advantageous in sense that it is relatively: (1) easy to be tested and re-tested for validity and reliability issues, (2) easy to set up and manage, and (3) best on measuring attitude intensity (see Section

2.1.1) (Osgood et al.; Heise, as cited in McKenzie, 2010). Furthermore, the order of the traits are often 50% scrambled to avoid *ordering effect* of the respondents, i.e. from eight negative adjectives, four are in the left and four in the right. During the recording the guises, prosodic and paralinguistic aspects – such as pitch, rate, voice quality, and hesitation – are maintained to hardly have any differences. Attention is also paid on the features of the guises so that they would be perceived as real speeches by respondents.

MGT has help establishing an interface among inter-disciplinary studies. It also has been producing numerous findings on attitudes towards languages and language varieties around the world. This has enabled comparisons among studies in different contexts, helping the development sociology, linguistics, and psychology (McKenzie, 2010).

However, there have been critics towards MGT. Garrett et al. (as cited in McKenzie, 2010) pointed them out as:

- Salient vs. perception problem: Attempt to expose guises to some listeners may either make the guises sound more salient, distinguishable, that they really are in real life; or fail due to unfamiliarity with or misperception on a particular variety.
- Authenticity problem: Problems around authenticity may occur when (1) there is no single speaker who could appropriately mimic all the intended guises, (2) there are inaccuracies in the guises related to the text, (3) one speaker mimicking different guises result in elimination on supposedly important paralinguistic

features of the guises instead, (4) “read text” is doubt to be able to yield listeners’ attitudes involving real life usage of the language or language varieties.

- Neutrality problem: Effects of a text to each listener may vary in terms of the meaning of it or the perception on the speakers.
- Community authenticity problem: The labels used to call the guises may affect differently to each listener and may lead to misinterpretations.

2.3.3.2. Verbal-Guise Technique

Another well-known technique applied on language attitudes study is the verbal-guise technique (VGT). All other procedures of it are principally the same with MGT but on one aspect: in the verbal-guise technique, a number of speakers are used to provide the guises and aims to overcome issues related to the authenticity problem of the matched-guise technique, instead of a single speaker. Therefore, filtering adequate speakers and controlling recording environment are pertinent to employ VGT to ensure comparable voice qualities. Some research even chose to use spontaneous speech of different speakers to meet the natural, real life issue of the speech; or to create a situation similar to those met in real life. For example, the guises would be on a situation where someone gives directions to reach a specific place. An interesting suggestion has been made to use commercially translated dialogs available on DVDs which use multiple languages (McKenzie, 2010).

Dialect recognition has come into consideration following VGT to see whether the guises and the labels are accurately perceived. Dialect recognition refers to the ability of a listener to identify features of a speech and map them cognitively based on recorded known norms of the speech usage. It would show whether stereotyping over a speech exists and how its structure is; and would allow investigation over speech varieties which have never been successfully identified. Moreover, in cases of language attitudes of non-native or second language speakers and listeners, a dialect – or variety – recognition is arguably important. Firstly, it is because the speakers and listeners may have less exposure to the language or language varieties; hence easily fail to recognise it. Secondly, non-native or second language speakers and listeners' attitudes have been rarely investigated and not much is known about their ability to recognise speakers' origin solely from their speech (McKenzie, 2010).

3. English in Indonesian Context

Indonesia had only been a colony of the British Empire for a short time and limited regions, preceded by The Dutch and followed by Japan. The Dutch, whom occupied Indonesia for over 350 years, had always kept Indonesian people uneducated purposely, thus providing very little means of education. The privileged class of Indonesia who received education grew up learning Dutch mainly and a little bit of English. In 1930, the literacy rate in Indonesia was merely 6.4% and in 1940,

there were only 37 senior high schools across the country. The same, or perhaps worse, case happened with Japan. Japan prohibited the usage of, let alone education on, any language beside Japanese (Gregory; Tilaar, as cited in Lauder, 2008).

It was only five years after the proclamation of independent of Indonesia that a stable Republican government – which was established in August 17th, 1950 – could put their attention on socio-cultural matters. It was decided early on that English, instead of Dutch, would be the first foreign language of Indonesia for international purposes along with Bahasa Indonesia for intra-national purposes. There was once consideration to use English in a situation similar to the neighbouring countries, such as Singapore and Malaysia, but it failed since Indonesia had never been a colony in the way those countries were (Dardjowidjojo, as cited in Lauder, 2008). The first formal mention of English in Indonesia is in 1955 by the first head of *Central Inspectorate of English Language Instruction* in the Ministry of Education, stating that English could never be used in daily life in Indonesia, or even be the second official language; instead, it should be the first foreign language (Komaria, as cited in Lauder, 2008).

Based on Kachru's model of English, Indonesia falls into the Expanding Circle which status of English is an international or foreign language (EIL/EFL). Based on McArthur's model, Indonesia falls in between the category of South and East Asian English. While in Gorlach's and Schneider's models, Indonesia does not fit any categories at all. Although English has limited roles in Indonesian society, it is

still seen as the most important foreign language (Simatupang, as cited in Lauder, 2008). Hence, it is not easy to make a generalized conclusion about English in Indonesian context where it is seen as an important language for international communication purposes yet having limited roles in daily life.

Experts have put several potential purposes of English in Indonesian context (Dardjowidjojo; Huda; Renandya; Simatupang, as cited in Lauder, 2008). Firstly, English is the main tool for international communication in all situations. Secondly, it is the medium through which the knowledge of science, technology, and even cultures can be assessed. Thirdly, it is one of the sources for vocabulary development and modernization of Bahasa Indonesia (related to borrowing and other language contacts). Lastly, it is a mean of expanding intellectual horizons of other foreign languages, cultures, and literatures.

However, there is some ambivalence between the need of English to communicate in internationally and the fear of too much influence of English. Some experts on education have long been worried that the widespread of English would give undesirable influence to Indonesian culture, especially to Bahasa Indonesia, in a sense that foreign cultural beliefs and values cannot be separated from English during its introduction and learning. English loan words in books cannot be avoided either since most of modern and technological terminologies are in English (Halim, as cited in Lauder, 2008). Moreover, these beliefs and values are considered related to “liberality” as the most popular western ideology which is the opposite of Indonesian

ideology, Pancasila. This is called language schizophrenia by Kartono (as cited in Lauder, 2008), i.e. such attitudes representing irrational dimensions of national language policy of a certain foreign language which might result negatively in national development.

These worries might have come from current phenomena involving English, its shifting status, and post-colonial imperialism. Gunawan (as cited in Lauder, 2008) stated that English has a prestigious status among Indonesian which even surpasses Bahasa Indonesia to some extent. Knowledge of English is a requirement for many jobs and to promote to higher positions. Elite figures tend to code-mix English and Indonesian to appear in a positive light and it is followed by civil people. Some higher educational institution use English as the medium of instruction and they are considered the most popular ones. Media business uses English in their products and programs to mark modernity. The tendency of English to be seen as a symbol of education, modernity, and sophistication is believed a signal of the decline of nationalistic idealism. It has been suggested that the status of English should be reclassified as an “additional” rather than “international” language (Halim; Lowenberg; Philipson; Alwasilah; Simatupang; Renandya, as cited in Lauder, 2008).

The highest rank of law mentioning the status of English in Indonesia is Undang-Undang⁵ 1988. It gives English a place as the *first foreign language* and

⁵ *Undang-Undang* or The Law is the third hierarchical level of laws in Indonesia, while *Peraturan Pemerintah* or The Government Regulation is in the fifth level (Lauder, 2008).

makes it one of the main subjects to be taught at SMP⁶ (also allowing other languages to be taught), but allows it to be taught from the fourth grade of SD⁶. In Undang-Undang⁵ 1989, Chapter IX, Section 39, Verse 3, English is specified as a main subject, part of the Basic Curriculum. This is supported by Peraturan Pemerintah⁵ Number 28, 1990. In addition, Undang-Undang⁵ 1989 on Education, Chapter XI, Section 42, Verse 2 allows for the possibility of using English as a medium of instruction, with the condition that this is needed for developing knowledge of a particular subject or vocational skills (Komaria, as cited in Lauder, 2008).

4. Theoretical Framework

English has become a global language with a great number of speakers, either as the first, a second, or a foreign language. New varieties rise, followed by attempts to categorize them and arguments among experts around them. The terms *nativity* and *standard* become problematic. This gave birth to World Englishes study.

The emergence of varieties raises questions on how they are perceived either by speakers or listeners. This gave birth to Language Attitudes study which was originally a socio-psychological study on humans' perceptions. Only until recent years that Language Attitude study have started to focused also on considered "non-native" countries, or countries speaking English not as the first language, including Indonesia.

⁶ SMP is in the same level as secondary level school, while SD is elementary school.

In Indonesia, English is the first foreign language. It is a symbol of education, modernity, and prestige. However, some experts start to worry that if this symbolism of English continued, Bahasa Indonesia would be in danger. This phenomenon points out the need to re-investigate the actual need of English for Indonesia.

This study attempts on encountering previous phenomenon. This study would refer a lot to Kachru's Three Concentric Circles, despite its shortcomings, since it is seen as the best model that could fit Indonesia – in the Expanding Circle. It aims to investigate the attitudes of Indonesian university students of English towards varieties of English speech from several pointers using a combination of direct – questionnaire – and indirect – the verbal-guise test – methods of language attitude study. The attitudes of Indonesian university students of English are expected to portray those of general educated people in Indonesia because they are considered more knowledgeable in English. The results of this study are hoped to reveal valid and reliable attitudes as well as preferences, awareness, and their socially related variables (if any). It would also try to give suggestions on the status of and governmental policies on English in Indonesia.