The Properties and Use of English Spoken by Non-English Majors in China

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Abstract

At present, China enjoys the largest number of English learners in the world. Moreover, English is used in a variety of domains. There are even signs that English used in China distinguishes itself from Standard English at different linguistic levels. However, the overall low level of competence in the learners' speech and the limited use of English in intranational communication are at odds with the spread of English in this age of globalization. The complex sociolinguistic profile of English in China raises questions regarding the degree of nativization and the variety status of English within the framework of World Englishes.

To answer these questions, this study has adopted the corpus linguistic approach. Oral data and questionnaires were collected from 96 undergraduate students from Wuhan University and the Wuhan University of Science and Technology between September 2014 and December 2014. This study applies the sociolinguistic approach to describe the sociolinguistic profile of English in China and is orientated on the four modified parameters of Schneider's Dynamic Model (2003, 2007, 2014) for the Expanding Circle.

The sociolinguistic profile of English from the Qing Dynasty to the People's Republic of China demonstrates that English has been alternatively promoted and demoted for either economic or political reasons. Attitudes towards English have been ambivalent throughout China's history, though at present it is viewed more positively than before. However, even though learning and teaching English have benefited from changes to the sociolinguistic conditions, English has not reached the depth and range to qualify as an ESL. The different sociolinguistic conditions have had different structural effects on English, for example: Chinese Pidgin English, educated varieties of English, and a potential Chinese variety of English.

A wide range of features can be identified at the levels of phonology, morphosyntax, and lexico-semantics in 46 transcribed interviews and 46 recordings of a reading passage (*The Boy Who Cried Wolf*). Due to the infrequent occurrence of the majority of the identified phonological features, it can be said that these features have not nativized or entrenched.

The data collected from the attitudinal and supplementary questionnaires show that English is valued highly, even though English is not used frequently outside the educational environment. Moreover, while the importance of different varieties is acknowledged, the preferred teaching model is still oriented towards exonormative models.

With respect to the variety status of English in China, reading the findings from the sociolinguistic profile, the oral data, and the questionnaires with the help of the major models of World Englishes, it is found that English in China is neither strictly an EFL nor an ESL, though it has more similarities with an EFL. Therefore, the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and the Three Circles Model cannot accurately define the current status of English in China. The application of the Dynamic Model to English in China shows that English in China has undergone the foundation phase (1664-1895) and lies at the stabilization phase (1895-present). However, the regression of English (1949-1990s) points to the fact that English does not strictly follow a linear development. In addition, events such as the introduction of English in formal education during the Qing dynasty and the promotion of English in the 1990s show that the evolution of English is not necessarily initiated by exonormative forces alone. The application of Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces addresses the problems of initiators for the development of English in the expanding-circle countries such as China and unearths other important extra- and intra-territorial forces such as political and cultural factors in the development of English in China, but the model fails to explain the untypical "linear" development of English in China.

The examination of the linguistic features and the assessment of the variety status of English contribute to our understanding of the complex sociolinguistic profile of English in China from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective. The enquiry of the extent to which the major models of World Englishes are applicable to China demonstrates the limitations of the major models of World Englishes to explain the spread of English in China, and this calls for more research on English in the expanding-circle countries.

Keywords: English in education; language attitudes; nativization; features; sociolinguistic profile; variety status; World Englishes

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Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction

Due to colonization and globalization as well as other sociopolitical factors (Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017; Schneider, 2014), English has become a world language, with many former colonies and non-English colonies developing their own varieties of English. These are known as World Englishes.

Within the framework of World Englishes, China is not a former British colony and over the past centuries relations between China and western powers have varied. This has affected how English has been accepted in China. In recent times, English in China has witnessed a rapid increase in the number of English learners, an expansion in its intranational use, as well as manifestations of features at different linguistic levels over a relatively short time (Bolton *et al*., 2015; Schneider, 2011b, 2014; Wei and Su, 2012; Xu, 2010). One question is whether these new changes have influenced the variety status of English in China.

However, when reflecting on the unprecedented spread of English in China, the competence levels of these English learners are called into question (Wei and Su, 2012). English learners do not necessarily develop into competent English users. The greatest differences between English learners and users are most apparent in the largest body of English learners, students who do not have English as a major (non-English majors). Essentially these students have a limited exposure to English and fewer opportunities to use English compared to Chinese students who do major in English (English majors). Although this largest group has been identified as important role players in the future development of English in China (He and Li, 2009), little attention is paid to how they actually use English outside of their university courses.

Therefore, in order to examine the current variety status of English in China and how English is used by non-English majors compared to English majors, this study investigates the sociolinguistic profile of English in China[1], identifies and describes features of spoken English within a cross-section of non-English majors at universities in China, and situates English as it is spoken in China within the framework of World Englishes.

[1] Here China refers to the mainland, China. The author is aware of the changing meanings and territories of China throughout history as well as disagreements on the meaning of the mainland.

1.1 Motivations for the study

The main motivation for the study is generated by Schneider's (2011b) observation on areas of research focus on English in China. He comments that much more has been written on general teaching strategies, language policy, and pedagogical theory than on what can be really observed in the classroom, i.e., which features characterize English as taught and used in China? This motivation is reinforced by the discussion of central research issues of English in contemporary China by Bolton and Botha (2015a). In the context of the limited use of English in a few domains by a relatively small number of English learners and the popularity of English in China, Bolton and Botha (2015a: 171) point out that "one central, and at times perplexing, research issue is – given the astonishing statistics of English in mainland China in terms of numbers of learners – how exactly is English actually used (experientially as well as imaginatively) within Chinese society".

A related motivation comes from the complex sociolinguistic profile of English in China today and the need to make a distinction between English users and English learners in China. The number of English learners in China amount to over 390 million (Wei and Su, 2012), surpassing the total number of English speakers in the Inner Circle. Despite the huge number of English learners in China, only 7.3% of these English learners use English often (Wei and Su, 2012). However, it is this group of users of English that are essential to the legitimacy of a Chinese variety of English[2] as a developing performance variety, as Bruthiaux (2003: 168) writes that variety status cannot be granted to any group of users of English who shouts "me too!". Rather, this variety only begins to come into being "if a group of speakers use it with great competence frequently so that new norms are implicitly beginning to set" (Mollin, 2006: 31).

The third motivation is further driven by the insufficient attention paid to spoken English in China. Most previous research tends to pay more attention to written English by Chinese learners (Jiang, 2002; Kirkpatrick and Xu, 2002; Wei and Fei, 2003; Xu, 2010). Even the most comprehensive research on linguistic features of China English relies more on the written corpus, though the research is based on spoken corpus and written corpus (Xu, 2010). In addition, the same study does not take the phonological features into consideration. When it comes to nativization,

[2] This term, a Chinese variety of English, does not mean that English in China is homogeneous. Given the diversity of linguistic landscape and uneven economic development in China, the use of English naturally varies from one region to another.

Yang (2006) states that the widespread use of the spoken language is an indicator of nativization rather than the use of the written language. Besides, phonological features are the chief indicators of nativization of spoken English (Schneider, 2007) and phonology is an aspect seldom touched upon by Chinese scholars (Ao and Low, 2012). To better understand the properties of spoken English, my study focuses on spoken English, and identification of phonological features is an important part of my study besides identification of lexico-semantic features and morpho-syntactic features.

The fourth motivation arises from the observation that few research touches on the variety status of English in China even though it enjoys a long history and manifests new developments in the age of globalization. Kirkpatrick (2007) makes the first attempt to assess the current status of English in China by resorting to Schneider's Dynamic Model. Since China was not a colony and [colonial] settlers were absent (note: there were missionaries and traders), he believes that Schneider's first two phases are not properly applicable to China, but the next three phases may accurately describe the processes that English is undergoing in the country accurately. Drawing on the new developments reported in earlier studies, Kirkpatrick (2007: 183) argues that English in China is "currently somewhere between Schneider's phase two and phase three". Schneider (2014) tests the applicability of the Dynamic Model to the Expanding Circle (including English in China) by removing the first and last phases and modifying the four parameters. He points out the limited applicability of the model to non-PCEs, but does not determine the specific phase in which English in China situates though it seems that English in China currently shares more similarities with the components of phase two rather than phase three. The two studies only mention the current status of English in China. Neither of them explores the variety status of English from a diachronic perspective. In the analysis, both studies remove the foundation stage. This does not match the development of English in China, as English must have been brought to China through certain forces. Therefore, it is rewarding to explore how English was brought to China and how it has developed till now.

1.2 Aims of the study

This study aims to answer the following questions pertaining to linguistic features of China English and the placement of English in China within the framework of World Englishes.

1. What are the linguistic features of English spoken by non-English majors in China?

2. To what extent are the features nativized in students' oral English?
3. Where should English in China be located within the framework of World Englishes?

1.3 Theoretical framework

Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model is applied to illustrate the sociolinguistic profile of English in China and to place English in China within the framework of World Englishes.

Although it has been argued that the Dynamic Model is not an ideal model to explain the spread of English in the Expanding Circle (Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017; Edwards, 2016; Schneider, 2014), the four core parameters (the sociopolitical and historical background of a country, identity construction, sociolinguistics of contact, use, and attitudes, and linguistic developments and structural changes) embodied in the model have been adopted and adapted in the application of the Dynamic Model to the Expanding Circle. The four core parameters are renamed as "language policy and English in education", "attitudes to English", "sociolinguistic conditions of learning and using English", and "structural effects" (Schneider, 2014: 17). They imply each other unilaterally. The following study use these four parameters to illustrate the sociolinguistic profile of English in China.

The first parameter language policy and English in education reflects the driving forces behind the implementation of these policy reforms and the governments' attitudes towards the language or languages. Changes to language policy reforms impact on people's attitudes towards the language. In a similar vein, people's attitudes influence their willingness and efforts to learn and use English in specific sociolinguistic conditions. Learning and using English in specific sociolinguistic conditions inevitably lead to structural effects, which manifests in localized phonological, grammatical, lexico-semantic and discoursal-pragmatic features of different degrees.

Based on the components of the four parameters at different phases, the status of English in China is assessed from a diachronic perspective and a synchronic perspective. Unlike the modified model (Schneider, 2014), the foundation phase and the differentiation phase are retained, as Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) argue that English must be brought to non-PCE countries through certain forces and that there is no hard fact against the development of non-PCEs beyond phase 3. In the light of this, the paper classifies the phases that English in China has experienced from the foundation phase by considering the manifestations of the four core parameters.

1.4 Methodological framework

The study mainly adopts the descriptivist approach (Wolf and Polzenhagen, 2009: 16) to collect spoken data in China as well as identify and analyze linguistic features embodied in the data of a reading passage and interviews. Since the main aim of my study is to investigate the features of English spoken by non-English majors in China and existing corpora do not contain the data of interviews with non-English majors (Spoken and Written English Corpus of Chinese Learners and College Learners' Spoken English Corpus and The English Speech Corpus of Chinese Learners) (Wen, 2006), I conducted face-to-face interviews with college students between September 2014 and December 2014. Following the corpus linguistic approach, I selected and transcribed 46 recordings of all the interviews on the basis of the quality of the recordings and the length of transcripts. Then I annotated these recordings together with the 46 recordings of the reading passage in order to be able to retrieve the frequency of the features identified in the data. To ensure reliability of the transcripts, I double-checked the transcripts by listening to the recordings repeatedly.

Since the spread and use of English are inseparable from the sociolinguistic situation in China (Bolton and Botha, 2015a), the sociolinguistic approach is employed to give a sketch of the sociolinguistic profile of English in China (Chapter 3). To give a description of the sociolinguistic profile of English in China, I first review different language policy reforms implemented by the governments in different periods, which determine the diffusion of English to a great extent. Then I describe people's attitudes towards English that are impacted by the governments' changing language policy reforms. After that, I present the sociolinguistic conditions of learning and using English that are affected by people's attitudes towards English. To conclude, I summarize the structural effects that arise from the changing sociolinguistic conditions of learning and using English.

The sociolinguistic approach is also used to gain information about students' attitudes towards English via the attitudinal questionnaire. The attitudinal questionnaire is mainly based on the language attitudes questionnaires used by Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) as well as by He and Li (2009). Participants were asked to read 34 statements concerning attitudes towards the importance and use of English, attitudes towards different varieties of English, and attitudes towards English teaching models in China, and rate on a 5-point Likert scale how strongly they agree or disagree with these statements. The other questionnaire of language use is derived from Buschfeld (2013)

and has been adapted to the context of China. In this questionnaire, participants were asked to indicate which languages they use in situations like at school, at home, with friends, on the phone, writing emails.

1.5 Outline

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical framework for this study and discusses the case of China within the framework of World Englishes. Section 2.1 first gives an account of and evaluates two older but still widely used models concerning the spread of English around the world: the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and Kachru's (1985) Three Circles. The chapter then introduces and points out the limitations of two developmental models: Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model and Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces. The strengths and weaknesses of these four models are discussed respectively. Section 2.2 turns its attention to the interface between second-language varieties and learner Englishes, in which the gaps and parallels between the two types of varieties are discussed. This section also makes a summary of criteria for ESL variety status based on previous studies, namely, expansion, nativization and institutionalization.

Chapter 3 describes the sociolinguistic profile of English in China from the Qing dynasty (1636-1912) to the People's Republic of China (1949-present). Each section covers a key parameter of the Dynamic Model that has been modified for the Expanding Circle (Schneider, 2014). Section 3.1 illustrates the changes of language policy and English in education from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China. In the Qing dynasty, official translation institutes and missionary schools were established. English was mainly promoted for acquiring science and technology from the West. In the Republic of China (1912-1949), the schools expanded and the American education system was adopted. In the People's Republic of China, English was removed from and reintroduced into school curriculum for several rounds during the first three decades. After the introduction of the Reform and Opening up Policy, English has been enhanced through a series of political decisions. Section 3.2 tracks the attitudes of people and the government towards English in the course of the spread of English from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China. On the whole, attitudes towards English remain ambivalent throughout the development of English in China, but English is viewed more positively than before. In general, English is regarded negatively when it involves politics and nationalism whereas English is valued more positively

when it is associated with economic development. Section 3.3 sketches sociolinguistic conditions of learning and using English in China from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China. In the Qing dynasty, the use of English was mainly limited to education, trade, media and diplomacy. In the Republic of China, English was used primarily in the main domains as in the Qing dynasty, but the range and depth of use of English expanded. During this period, bilingualism spread among the Chinese elites that were westernized. In the People's Republic of China, the use of English was mainly restricted to diplomatic affairs and education in the first four decades. Since the 1990s, the number of English learners has been increasing and English has spread quickly in the domains of education, media, business, tourism, and international events. Section 3.4 presents structural effects identified in previous research from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China. In the Qing dynasty, constant contact between English-speaking traders and *compradore* gave rise to Chinese Pidgin English and a number of Cantonese words entered into Chinese Pidgin English. In the Republic of China, the articles and books written by Chinese elites that were westernized represented an educated variety of English, Shanghai English (Bolton, 2002). In the People's Republic of China, during the first four decades, textbooks were featured by political propaganda and most loanwords were associated with politics. At present, various features have displayed at the level of phonology, morpho-syntax, lexico-semantics, discourse and pragmatics (Cheng, 1992; He and Li, 2009, Kirkpatrick, 2007; Kirkpatrick and Xu, 2002; Schneider, 2011b; Xu, 2010).

Chapter 4 presents the methodological procedure employed in this study. Section 4.1 introduces the background of the participants of my study and explains why they were chosen as research subjects. Section 4.2 describes three types of data: the reading passage, interviews and questionnaires. Section 4.3 demonstrates how the collected recordings were selected and transcribed as well as how the selected recordings were coded according to the markup manual for spoken texts offered by the International Corpus of English. To conclude, Section 4.4 sketches how I identified phonological features via impressionistic listening, morpho-syntactic features in reference to *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk *et al*., 1985), and lexico-semantic features via borrowing, loan translation and semantic shift. Then it shows how salient features are determined. This section also presents how I calculated the data from the choices of a five-point Lickert scale and how I analyzed the questionnaires.

Chapter 5 presents the phonological features identified in the data of the reading passage, the

morpho-syntactic and lexico-semantic features identified in the data of the interviews. Section 5.1 reports on around 20 phonological features identified in the data of the reading passage, and presents the relative frequency of each feature to indicate their prominence. Section 5.2 displays the morpho-syntactic features identified in the interview data ranging from pronouns to word order. Section 5.3 exhibits the lexico-semantic features identified in the interview data, which are categorized into borrowing, loan translation and semantic shift.

Chapter 6 presents the analysis of the attitudinal and supplementary questionnaires. Section 6.1 reports how the students view the role and usage of English in China. The analysis shows that English is valued more than Chinese by the students. Furthermore, the use of English has expanded, and English learners and users should be differentiated in the context of China. Section 6.2 examines students' attitudes towards different varieties of English. It is found that the students express a more favorable opinion of standard Englishes but they accept non-standard varieties of English, including a Chinese variety of English. Section 6.3 presents what the students think about exonormative and endonormative models of English teaching in China. The results show that exonormative models are preferred.

Chapter 7 discusses the status of China English within the framework of World Englishes. Section 7.1 brings together findings from chapters 3, 5 and 6 with respect to criteria for ESL variety status and explores the applicability of the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and Kachru's (1985) Three Circles to English in China. The results show that the two models are not flexible enough to explain the current development of English in China. Section 7.2 combines findings from chapters 3, 5 and 6 in regard to the four modified parameters (Schneider, 2014) and applies the modified version of the Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2014) to English in China. The application demonstrates that the parameter "language policy and English in education" does not fully explain why the spread of English in China occurred from the Qing dynasty to the present-day China and that language attitudes towards English do not change in general. In addition, English in China does not follow a prototypical linear pattern of the development predicted in the model. Section 7.3 attempts to determine the status of China English on the basis of findings from Buchfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces. The attempt reveals that though the presence and influence of extra- and intra-territorial forces vary at different periods, they work throughout the development of English in China. It also shows that more sets of extra- and intra-territorial forces (i.e. economic factor, political factor) play a role in the spread of English in China than the

suggested four sets in the EIF model. Section 7.4 summarizes the results of applying the above four models to English in China and concludes that English in China is neither a prototypical EFL nor an ESL. It has undergone phase 1 and can be placed at phase 2.

Chapter 8 summarizes the findings of the research with respect to the three research questions. The study finds that a relatively large number of phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexico-semantic features have been identified in the data of the interviews but only two phonological features meet the requirement of 50% threshold of nativization. When English in China is discussed with respect to the four models, that is ENL-ESL-EFL distinction, Kachru's (1985) Three Circles, Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model, and Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces, it is found that the first two models fail to explain the changing status of English in China while the latter two models fail to explain the exact developing route. English in China is at transition, from EFL to ESL, but showing more affinities with an EFL. It remains a question as to whether it will reach phase 3, though it has exhibited signs of moving from phase 2 to phase 3.

Chapter 2 World Englishes research and the case of China

This chapter first introduces and evaluates the four main models of World Englishes (section 2.1): the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction (section 2.1.1), Kachru's (1985) Three Circles (section 2.1.2), Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model (section 2.1.3), and Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra- and Intra-Territorial Forces (section 2.1.4). The chapter then presents an overview of the interface between second-language varieties and learner Englishes (section 2.2).

2.1 The main models of World Englishes

This section presents the four major models in the field of World Englishes and discusses their respective advantages and disadvantages. Section 2.1.1 traces the origin of the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction to Group A, B, and C speakers, as well as its development. The distinction's attempt to explain the development of English around the world is acknowledged, and its inability to explain effectively the changing status of English around the world is discussed. Section 2.1.2 sketches Kachru's Three Circles Model and assesses its advantages over the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and failings to account for the complex linguistic situation of English around the world, and its perceived superiority of the Inner Circle over the other two circles. Section 2.1.3 focuses on Schneider's Dynamic Model (evolutionary processes, the four parameters, and the interaction between the settler and indigenous strands) and discusses the merits and drawbacks of the model compared to the two static models (the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction). Section 2.1.4 describes the Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces and discusses its improvements over the Dynamic Model.

2.1.1 The ENL-ESL-EFL distinction

The well-known tripartite model of ENL-ESL-EFL dates back to the classification of English communities into Group A, B, C speakers by the historical linguist Barbara Strang in the 1970s (Strang, 1970). She defines Group A speakers as those who speak English as a mother tongue and mainly live in the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Group B speakers are those who learn English from an early age and live in communities where English has a special status (whether or not it enjoys the status of an official national language) and plays an important role in "advanced academic work" and "participation in the affairs of men at the international, and

possibly even the national level". Group B speakers live mainly in Asia (especially India) and Africa (especially the former colonial territories). Group C speakers are foreign language speakers of English who often learn English through formal education, "though the language has no official, or even traditional, standing in that country" (Strang, 1970: 17−18).

Two years after Strang's classification of English users into Group A, B, C speakers, Quirk *et al*. (1972: 4−5) adopted a similar tripartite classification but shifted the focus from three groups of English speakers to three primary categories of use: "as a native language", "as a second language", and "as a foreign language" (Quirk *et al*., 1972: 3). In the later works and publications, the categories were systematized as "English as a Native Language" (ENL), "English as a Second Language" (ESL) and "English as a Foreign Language" (EFL) (McArthur, 1998: 42). English as a Native Language refers to English which is acquired as a native language and whose speakers live primarily in the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. It should be noted that some ENL territories have the presence of multilingualism. English as a Second Language means that English is learnt in early childhood in countries where English has a special status (whether or not it has an official status). In these countries, English is not only widely used in international communication for science and technology, but also necessary in intranational communication such as official, social, commercial, or educational activities. The speakers who use English as a second language are usually residents of postcolonial countries such as India, Malaysia, and Nigeria. English as a Foreign Language is mainly learnt through formal education in countries where English has no official status or historical standing and is mainly used for international communication. Speakers belonging to this type typically reside in countries like China and Russia.

The ENL-ESL-EFL distinction certainly provides "a starting point for understanding the pattern of English worldwide" (Graddol, 1997: 10) and it has been one of the most applied categorizations in describing English around the world due to its simplicity and clear delineation. However, the usefulness of the terminology is questioned regarding the description of English usage in the 21st century. Graddol (1997:10) predicts that the future of English is decided by communities who speak English alongside other languages. His prediction is validated by the changing status of English in traditional ESL and EFL countries. The status of English in Singapore is moving from ESL to ENL (Bruthiaux, 2003; Buschfeld, 2017), and the status of English in the Netherlands is shifting from EFL to ESL (Edwards, 2016). Even in the traditional sense of an EFL country like China, the role of English is not limited to international

communication any more. More and more domains have seen an increasing presence of English in intranational communication, especially in tertiary education. The status of English is not always enhanced in the course of time. The trend might be reversed as demonstrated in regions such as Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2013), where the status of English is reduced from ESL to EFL. The ENL-ESL-EFL distinction describes the patterns of English in the 1970s. It does not foresee the spread of English in ESL or EFL countries or the regression of English in ESL countries. The static nature of the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction obviously fails to capture the dynamic development of English and the synchronic description of the use of English limits the vision and flexibility of the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction.

Another drawback of the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction lies in its simplistic abstraction of English use on the nation state. This basis causes neglect of linguistic diversity within the states in that the three categories might coexist in a given nation. In countries such as South Africa, there are ESL and EFL communities simultaneous to ENL communities. With regard to the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction, it is impossible to place South Africa in the category of ENL or ESL just based on the nation state. There are even ENL and ESL communities in the expanding-circle countries. Doubt is similarly cast on the basis of the nation state when the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction is applied to China. According to Thirusanku and Yunus (2012), it is more appropriate to make a distinction between city and countryside (as the ESL versus EFL distinction) than to classify China as an EFL country. Their claim is grounded on the fact that city dwellers, especially those in big cities, have more opportunities to learn and use English than their counterparts in rural areas. In the light of this, English for city dwellers is more like ESL rather than EFL. Or more specifically, the use of English in big cities in China diverges from prototypical use of English in EFL countries. Consequently, the basis of the nation state obscures the different roles of English for different speech communities in a country.

The basis of the distinction on the nation state produces the impression that native speakers from ENL countries are more proficient than speakers from ESL and EFL countries. This assumption obviously goes against the realities at present. In general, the overall proficiency of ENL countries might be higher than that of ESL and EFL countries. But it cannot be denied that some ESL and possibly EFL speakers have a higher English proficiency[3] than their counterparts

[3] A high English proficiency refers to proficiency that is beyond advanced level (cf. ACTFL).

in ENL countries. The indiscriminate treatment of speech communities leads to high regard for ENL countries and low regard for ESL and EFL countries.

The third drawback of the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction concerns the norm orientation of English learning and teaching in ESL and EFL countries. The status of mother tongue endows ENL countries with the privilege of setting up their own models as standard models and providing models for other countries to learn and use, disregarding sociolinguistic conditions in ESL and EFL countries. Since the sociolinguistic conditions in ESL and EFL countries differ greatly from those in ENL countries, it is unrealistic to expect people in ESL and EFL countries to use English exactly like people in ENL countries. In addition, transplanting exonormative models without any modification to ESL or EFL countries only increases burdens for language teachers and learners (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

2.1.2 Kachru's (1985) Three Circles

Nearly a decade after the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction was advanced, a second tripartite model, known as the Three Circles, was proposed by Kachru. The model is designed to explain the spread of English in view of the types of spread, patterns of acquisition and functional domains of use. The Three Circles takes particular interest in how English is used across cultures and how it interacts with other languages. Where the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction was predominantly limited to the 1970s, Kachru's Three Circles focused on world Englishes in the 1980s. In essence, the Three Circles follows a similar line as the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and classifies the spread of English into the Inner Circle, the Outer Circle, and the Expanding Circle.

The Inner Circle refers to countries where English has its traditional bases and is spoken as the primary language. Englishes in the Inner Circle are said to be "norm-providing" (Kachru, 1985: 16) in that they "have traditionally been recognized as models since they are used by 'native speakers'" (Kachru, 1985: 16) and they provide models for the Expanding Circle and the Outer Circle to learn. These norm-providing countries typically include the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

The Outer Circle encompasses countries where English was introduced during the earlier phases of colonization and has experienced institutionalization in non-native contexts as a result of linguistic, political and sociocultural effects. In this circle, English is spoken a bi- or a multi-lingual society may be considered a second language for most of its users. In functional terms,

English in the Outer Circle is marked by three characteristics. First, English is widely used in "traditionally 'un-English' cultural contexts" (Kachru, 1985: 13). Second, English has a wide range of use in social, educational, administrative, and literary domains by users at different levels of society. Third, English incorporates local literary traditions into different genres and develops nativized traditions. Englishes in the Outer Circle are referred to as "norm-developing" (Kachru, 1985: 17), because these English varieties have institutionalized and developed their own norms even though the attitudes towards norms and the actual usage of English are not consistent. Norm-developing countries include India, Singapore and Malaysia.

The Expanding Circle consists of countries where English has no colonial history and is mainly used for international communication. But the widespread use of English has resulted in numerous performance varieties. Englishes in the Expanding Circle are considered to be 'norm-dependent' due to the fact that there is no localized variety and speakers in this circle have to depend on the norms in the Inner Circle. Norm-dependent countries typically include China and Russia.

Although the Three Circles model has much in common with the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction, it has at least two advantages. First, it shifts a monolithic view of English to a pluricentric view. English is no longer thought of in terms of a singular notion, but as a plural notion. Thus, "one English becomes many Englishes" (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 28). Second, the localized varieties are "equally valid for their own contexts" (Kirkpatrick, 2014: 34) and one variety is not superior to others in linguistic terms. As Kachru (1976: 236) argues, the strength of the English language rests upon presenting the uniqueness in a variety, that is, "presenting the Americanness in its American variety, and the Englishness in its British variety", and "the Indianness of its Indian variety".

Ever since the introduction of the Three Circles, it has inspired linguists to debate the legitimacy of newly developed English varieties and to challenge the norm orientation in traditional ESL and EFL countries. Nonetheless, this model has similar shortcomings to the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction. As a nation-based model, the Three Circles draws on "historical events which only partially correlate with current sociolinguistic data" (Bruthiaux, 2003: 172), leaving aside other sociolinguistic variables such as "identity construction, language attitude and use, and heterogeneity in language use among speaker groups" (Buschfeld, 2013: 70). The different status of English in Malaysia and Singapore provides an example for the overreliance on historic events and under-reliance on current sociolinguistic data. As categorized by the Three Circles, Malaysia

and Singapore belong to the Outer Circle, but the roles of English in these two countries differ significantly due to different language policies pursued by the respective governments post-independence. English in Singapore is not only an official language, but also serves as a lingua franca among interethnic communication. However, English is not the common language between the different ethnic groups in Malaysia, even though Malaysia is a former colony and English used to be an official language alongside Malay until 1967. In this regard, the Three Circles model fails to explain the variation of status and use within the same circle.

A further shortcoming that the Three Circles model shares with the ENL-ESL-ESFL distinction is its categorization of particular communities. South Africa is a case in point. It has three major varieties of English: White South African English, Black South African English, and South African Indian English. While White and Black South African English can be allocated to the Inner Circle and the Outer Circle, respectively, South African Indian English fits neither of these circles (Bruthiaux, 2003). Consequently, South Africa fits none of the three circles neatly.

The model is further challenged by the changing roles of English in the Outer Circle and Expanding Circle. English in the Outer Circle might be shifting to ENL, as in the case of Singapore (Bruthiaux, 2003) or to EFL, as in the case of Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2013). Likewise, English in the Expanding Circle might be moving from EFL to ESL, as in the case of the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016). Even in China, the roles of English are changing. English is not learnt solely for the purpose of international communication, but also to promote education, intranational trade and computer technology (cf. section 2.3 and section 3.3.3). The changing status of English in the traditional outer- and expanding-circle countries points to the weakness of the static nature of the Three Circles model.

In addition to criticism leveled against the Three Circles model for the way it classifies the spread of English concentrically, the actual labels applied to the three categories are criticized for being ethnocentric in nature. They are seen to be more prejudiced than the ones provided by Quirk *et al*. (1972: 3), since "a center of native speakers is certainly implied in the notion of an 'inner circle'" (Jenkins, 2003: 17). Ironically, this implication runs counter to Kachru's intention of embracing all the Englishes on an equal footing.

2.1.3 Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model

Schneider's Dynamic Model adopts an evolutionary perspective to describe the development of English in postcolonial countries. The model assumes that English in these countries undergoes "an underlying, fundamentally uniform evolutionary process" (Schneider, 2010a: 33). This process features a progression of five major stages: foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativisation, endonormative stabilization and differentiation. Each stage is characterized by four parameters that are decisive to the development of English in postcolonial countries, namely, the socio-political background of a country, the identity construction of the settlers' strand (STL) and the indigenous residents' strand (IDG), sociolinguistic conditions of language contact, language usage and language attitudes, and the linguistic developments and structural changes. These four parameters imply each other unilaterally. The political history of a country shapes the identity construction of the settlers' strand (STL) and the indigenous residents' strand (IDG), which in turn gives rise to sociolinguistic conditions of language contact, language usage and language attitudes, which together determine the linguistic developments and structural changes.

In addition to the four parameters, a central part of this process is the interaction of two competing yet complementary speech communities (the STL and IDG strands) upon the development of language. At the beginning, when the STL strand first moves to a territory occupied by the IDG strand, the two strands perceive each other as two separate groups. However, the original distinct and separate identities of the two strands gradually move closer towards each other and grow merged into one speech community in the course of "continual co-existence, increasing collaboration, and nation building" (Schneider, 2014: 4). Along with identity rewritings, previously distinct English usage gradually adopts local vocabulary from basic to expansive use, and increasingly mingles with local accent, language structures and culture. By the time the two strands merge into a single speech community, a new variety of English has come into being and is embraced by the two less distinct strands.

Along with the four parameters, the interaction between these two strands modulates the evolution of English in postcolonial countries. Schneider sets out the following phases to describe the evolution of English in the former colonies.

Phase 1: Foundation. English is brought to a territory by a group of English-speaking immigrants through a variety of activities like trading with locals, establishing military outposts, and running missionary stations. The relationships between the groups representing the STL and

IDG strands may be anything from friendly to hostile. There are clear boundaries between them. The members of each group regard themselves as “us” while the other group means “others” to them. This distinct identity construction encourages interaction within “us” and discourages communication between “us” and “others”. Hence, language contact operates predominantly at a cross-dialectal contact level within the settlers, but language contact also takes place between the settlers and a minority of the indigenous community who acquires English. The cross-dialectal contact within the settlers gives rise to koinezation, especially in settlement colonies. This process is weaker in colonies that are established for trade and exploitation purposes, because the settlements typically have a smaller number of English immigrants and a lower degree of sociolectal homogeneity (Schneider, 2007). Concerning the contact between the STL strand and the bilinguals of the IDG strand, their communication takes place mainly for utilitarian purposes. Since their communication is limited to utilitarian purposes, the indigenous languages do not influence English extensively, one exception being in lexical borrowings, especially place names that colonists adopt.

Phase 2: Exonormative stability. Mostly under the British dominance, the political environment in colonies becomes stabilized and colonies are established. English is spoken regularly in the new territory and is formally used in domains such as administration, education, and the legal system, “at least in some regions and strata of society” (Schneider, 2007: 36). Even though members of the STL group still regard themselves as outposts of their nation of origin, their colonial experience adds local flavor to their identity. They are commonly known as “British-cum-local” (Schneider, 2007: 37). However, in time a certain tension arises because on the one hand the STL group remains attached to their mother country, and its language is still oriented to exonormative norms, but on the other hand, due to their efforts to adapt to the local environment, their spoken language forms begin to move toward a local language form with continuous borrowing. A change also takes place in the identity of the local elites who know English. These local elites perceive themselves as members of the local community, but their ability to communicate in English sets them apart from the locals who have no knowledge of English. Accordingly, their identity is expanded to “local-plus-English” (Schneider, 2011ba: 34). In the meanwhile, bilingualism continues to expand among the elite in the IDG strand. Continuous contact between the STL group and the expanding local bilinguals causes an increase in linguistic changes. On the part of the STL strand, lexical borrowing is expanding from fauna and flora terms to cultural terms, especially in

settlement colonies, and customs and food, especially in trade and exploitation colonies (Schneider, 2007: 39). On the part of the IDG strand, some transfer phenomena on the levels of phonology and structure begin to emerge, but develop slowly. The grammatical innovations are restricted to spoken vernaculars.

Phase 3: Nativization. This phase is "the most interesting and important, the most vibrant one, the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation" (Schneider, 2007: 44). It is characterized by the emergence of a new variety. This often occurs after political independence or during the striving for independence. While a growing number of STL strand groups detach themselves from their mother country, certain STL groups still associate themselves with their mother country culturally and psychologically. However, the need to get along with each other pushes the two strands to interact more closely and directly. Thus, the boundaries between "us" and "others" become blurred, and an increasing number of people are moving into "us". By this time, it is common for a large number of people in both groups to interact regularly. Nonetheless, "the labor of mutual approximation tends to be assumed by primarily members of the IDG strand group" (Schneider, 2003: 247). They go through a process of linguistic and cultural assimilation, which contributes to widespread bilingualism among the IDG group. On the part of the STL strand, two different views towards norms arise, with one group more open to a localized variety of English while the other group remains conservative. Even though it is not uncommon to observe the "complaint tradition" of debates and worries about the deteriorating and "corrupt" usage of a localized variety (Schneider, 2003: 248; 2007: 43), the willingness to accept a localized variety is growing even in formal contexts. At this stage, the most conspicuous linguistic effect takes place in vocabulary. Not only does lexical borrowing continue to expand in cultural terms, but also loan words spread in everyday vocabulary and become widely used and noted. The effect on phonology is also noticeable. The IDG speakers' spoken English is marked with a local accent, which is usually caused by transfer from the phonology of the indigenous languages. What is more interesting and profound is that the English language is grammatically and structurally accommodated to indigenous and innovative patterns and rules. On top of these changes, the gap between the first-language and second-language forms of English gradually reduces and a shared variety accepted by both strands emerges.

Phase 4: Endonormative stabilization. This phase is marked by the acceptance of local norms and literary creativity in a new variety. During post-independence, possibly after Event-X−a quasi-

catastrophic political event, the STL strand communities realize their limited value to the mother country and the importance of the new country to them. Therefore, they detach themselves from the former mother country and develop a truly independent identity that is associated with the new country and the IDG community. In addition, both strands regard themselves as members of the new nation and the boundaries between "us" and "others" merge to a great extent. The unification of the new identity results in the recognition and acceptance of local forms of English to express the new identity. English at this stage shifts from "English in X" to "X English" (Schneider, 2007: 50). This shift demonstrates that the new variety is granted with the status of a distinct type, not just a variant without a discrete character of its own. The acceptance of the new variety is reflected in the emergence of local literary creativity. At this phase, the new variety is characterized by its homogeneity while heterogeneity is downplayed. This homogeneity is further strengthened by the codification of adapted indigenous words in English dictionaries, usage guides and grammars.

Phase 5: Differentiation. By this stage, the insecurity of a new young nation is replaced by a sense of confidence and self-reliance in the stable young nation. With no threat from external powers, the citizens of the young nation no longer view themselves as a unified entity in relation to the former colonial power, but as a composite of subgroups with different identities shaped by sociolinguistic parameters like age, gender, city (Schneider, 2003; Schneider, 2007). As the identification with their social network takes precedence over their "collective identity", the interaction with certain social groups leads to "group-internal linguistic accommodation" (Schneider, 2007: 53). In turn, the language use marked by social network gives birth to dialectal variation within the variety.

Schneider's Dynamic Model has been applied to many post-colonial countries since its first advancement. Certain studies employ the model to assess the status of a given variety in a post-colonial country such as Mukherjee's (2007) exploration of Indian English, Bekker's (2009) examination of South African English, Borlongan's (2011) assessment of Philippines English, Thusat *et al*.'s (2009) application to English in Maltar, and Weston's (2011) research on English in Gibraltar. A few studies identify Event X that contributes to the integration or the separation of STL and IDG strands besides identifying the status of a variety, such as Evans' (2009) study on Hong Kong English, and Buschfeld's (2013) research on Cyprus English. Some other studies make a comparison of different varieties by examining the co-occurrence of certain constructions or their complexity. These studies include Bautista's (2010) comparison of the subjunctive in Singaporean

English and Philippines English, and Brunner's (2015) comparison of NP complexity in Singaporean English and Kenyan English. A handful of studies even modify the Dynamic Model and attempt to determine the phases of English in non-postcolonial countries such as Ike's (2012) attempt to investigate Japanese English and Edwards' (2016) study on English in the Netherlands. The wide application of the Dynamic Model to New Englishes demonstrates its advantages and usefulness as a theory to describe and explain the development of English across many countries.

Brunner (2015: 29) attributes the huge popularity of the Dynamic Model to "its wide theoretical scope". First, it adopts a diachronic perspective to trace the development of Englishes from the initial stage of foundation to the last stage of differentiation. This makes it possible to view English from an evolutionary and dynamic perspective rather than from a static perspective as done in the tripartite models. Thus, the model is flexible enough to capture the transitional stages of English varieties, whether English is moving out of the Outer Circle and into the Inner Circle as seen in the case of Singapore (Bruthiaux, 2003), shifting from the Expanding Circle to the Outer Circle, like English in the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016), or reversing from the Outer Circle to the Expanding Circle as in the case of Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2013). English is no longer permanently confined to a certain circle nor is it always defined as either a second or a foreign language.

Second, the model incorporates four distinct parameters to analyze the sociolinguistic profile of English in postcolonial countries, which avoids the reliance on a single socio-historic parameter as done by the Three Circles. In this way, firstly it presents a more complete picture of factors that affect the spread of English, and how it is used in different contexts, and secondly it offers a means to better understand the characteristics of English as a universal language. Moreover, the cause-and-effect relationship between the four parameters not only reveals how language is affected by extra-linguistic factors step by step, but also makes it easier to identify specific reasons for differentiating the stages of English and explains the development of different varieties of English. The emphasis on linguistic developments distinguishes the model from the tripartite models, because they are direct manifestations of what makes one variety different from another.

Third, the model integrates two strands of speech communities, which allows a more adequate description of intranational differentiation than done by the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and the Three Circles (Schneider, 2003). The adoption of the two strands effectively eliminates many of the difficulties to classify multilingual speech communities, and takes language minorities into account. To return to the example of South Africa, where English plays different roles in

different speech communities in South Africa, we showed that it cannot be classified as either an inner circle or an outer circle country according to the implied criteria proposed by the two tripartite models. However, in the light of the Dynamic Model, it is possible to assign ENL, ESL, and EFL statuses to different speech communities. At the same time, "it is also possible to speak of an entity to be labeled 'South African English'" (Schneider, 2003: 243).

Fourth, the model has "a predicative power" (Schneider, 2003: 272), which is a hallmark of a sound theoretical framework. This power derives from the holistic approach to the spread of English. In other words, the model combines a diachronic perspective and a synchronic perspective to explain the spread of English. The unification of the two perspectives allows the model to predict or locate the stages of English varieties by relating to the specific manifestations of the four parameters embodied in the model.

Despite its wide application, the model has received some criticism. The criticism centers primarily on the appropriateness and application, especially of socio-historic and identity construction parameters. First, it is asked whether it is appropriate to include the Inner Circle and Outer Circle in the same framework. Mestrie and Bhatt (2008: 35) point out that the conditions surrounding the installation of English in the inner-circle countries like Australia and New Zealand certainly differ from how it was installed in an outer-circle country such as Fiji. Their opinion is echoed by Evans (2016: 7), who adds that "the processes of colonisation and the patterns of language use in the two categories of society were/are significantly different".

Second, the notion of identity as "a 'public' concept in terms of nationhood" (Mestrie and Bhatt, 2008: 35) is questioned. Mestrie and Bhatt (2008: 35) argue that other aspects of identity like class and status are downplayed in the differentiation of English varieties. For instance, class and status lead to an early opposition between vernacular and Standard English, and later give rise to "a continuum between 'general', 'cultivated' and 'broad' colonial L1 Englishes".

Third, the significance of "Event X" on vernacular usage is contended. Mestrie and Bhatt (2008) question how much influence Event X exerts on vernacular usage though it might have some impact on the acceptance or rejection of an external standard.

Fourth, it is asked whether the progression of English varieties has to be bound in fixed stages. The Dynamic Model predicts that English varieties proceed from stage n to stage n+1. Mestrie and Bhatt (2008) argue that it is for example possible for a variety to skip a stage and jump from stage 3 to stage 5. They point out that English in West Africa seems to follow the pattern of English

becoming nativized, but subsequently differentiated into sub-dialects, bypassing the stage of a commonly accepted endonormative standard.

Fifth, the application of the Dynamic Model to Africa and South Asia is questioned. This criticism is grounded on the fact that the model builds upon an analysis of the Asia Pacific region. Its application to areas outside the Asia Pacific Region is drawn into doubt. For example, the position of English in India is now driven by factors like elite formation rather than "identity construction vis-à-vis the colonizing power" (Mestrie and Bhatt, 2008: 36). The dynamics of the driving forces behind Indian English indicates that once important component of the Dynamic Model is replaced by other factors, which renders the Dynamic Model incapable of fully explaining the development of English in the present Indian situation.

In his reaction to Mestrie and Bhatt, Schneider (2014) concedes that like most theories that cannot avoid the pitfall of simplification, because they are abstracted from reality, a model like the Dynamic Model highlights some aspects and disregards others. While he contends that most of the criticism leveled against his model by Mestrie and Bhatt are granularities of their perspectives, even from the inception of the model, Schneider (2003) has extended an open invitation to test the model against global realities and propose further refinements.

Indeed, intrigued by some scholars' (Ike, 2012; Edwards, 2016) attempts to apply the Dynamic Model to non-postcolonial countries and noticing the need to address the rapid spread of English in the Expanding Circle during the first decade of the 21st century, Schneider (2014) tests the applicability of the Dynamic Model to the Expanding Circle, which has implications for my study on the growing status of English in China.

Schneider (2014) mainly modifies two points of the Dynamic Model. One modification concerns the four parameters. He (2014: 17) keeps the four parameters of the Dynamic Model but renames them as "language policy and English in education", "language attitudes", "sociolinguistic conditions of learning and using English", and "structural effects". These four parameters also imply each other unilaterally. The other modification involves the phases in which non-PCEs are supposed to go through. Since colonial history and the settler strand are absent in the Expanding Circle, the "foundation" and the "differentiation" stages are removed from analysis. Consequently, Schneider proposes that English in the Expanding Circle proceeds along the lines of exonormative stabilization, nativization, and endonormative stabilization.

Schneider's results of applying the modified version of the Dynamic Model to the expanding-circle countries demonstrate that there are fewer similarities and more differences between the realities of English in these countries (including China) and the constituent components drawn from the Dynamic Model. Therefore, Schneider (2014: 28) concludes that "in essence, the Dynamic Model is not really, or only to a rather limited extent, a suitable framework to describe this new kind of dynamism of global Englishes". He proposes a different conceptualization to account for the current development of English around the world, which is called the Transnational Attraction. In this conceptualization, English is used whatever/regardless of what communicative purposes are at hand, and unrestrained by any particular norm. Furthermore, it is driven primarily by utilitarian considerations, which might be replaced by a multi-cultural resource, dissociated from western and English/American cultural contexts, and in this way enables English to assume new roles and reinforce its long-standing role in the long run (Schneider, 2014).

2.1.4 Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces

With an aim to integrate PCEs and non-PCEs in the same framework and to address the development of English in today's globalized world, Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) propose the Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces as a further development of Schneider's Dynamic Model.

The central idea of Buschfeld and Kautzsch's model is that the development of English is the joint result of extra- and intra-territorial forces. These forces impact how English is used in both PCEs and non-PCEs, irrespective of differences in how English was installed in these countries. The model assumes that these two strands of forces interact with each other and together steer the development of English throughout the whole process. However, this does not imply that all the forces come into play. There are different situations in the various countries and the forces do no have a uniform impact. Instead, the presence and impact of these forces hinge upon the specific socio-linguistic context and the specific phase of development that English finds itself in.

According to Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017), five major categories of extra-territorial forces can be distinguished. These are "colonization", "language policies", "globalization", "foreign policies", and "socio-demographic background". The five corresponding categories of intra-territorial forces include "attitudes towards the colonizing power", "language policies/language attitudes", "the 'acceptance' of globalization", "foreign policies", and "the sociodemographic

background" (Buschfeld and Kautzsch: 113−114). When the model is applied to non-PCEs, the first pair of forces is removed, because non-PCEs clearly do not have a colonial history. This leaves the remaining four pairs of forces applicable to English in non-PCEs. It should be noted that Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) do not claim that the suggested categories of extra- and intra-territorial forces offer a complete account of the forces that drive the development of English around the world. They rather see their proposal as a rough guideline.

When the interplay of the two strands of forces are considered in this manner, it can be argued that PCEs and non-PCEs share a similar developmental route. As a further development of Schneider's Dynamic Model, it is asked if both PCEs and non-PCEs are subject to the same five stages: foundation, exonormative stabilization, nativization, endonormative stabilization, and differentiation. However, Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) recognize situational differences between PCEs and non-PCEs and thus they challenge Schneider's (2014) reconceptualization of the four parameters for the Expanding Circle. Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) argue that major differences in the development of non-PCEs are to be found at the foundation and stabilization stages. The EIF model they propose then accepts that the foundation stage for non-PCEs is not necessarily brought about by "language policy and English in education", but can be set off by "political decisions" or "trade relationships" (Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017: 116), as seen with the foundation of English in the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016: 160−163). Furthermore, the EIF model posits that stabilization in non-PCEs is not necessarily caused by the same external forces that are typical in the case of PCEs. Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) show that intra-territorial forces like internal language policy decisions, access to English and attitudes on the side of the local population may also play an important part in the development of non-PCEs. These intra-territorial forces are identified at phase 2 of English in both the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016) and Namibia (Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017). Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017: 118) suggest that phase 2 "exonormative stabilization" should be relabelled as "stabilization" to accommodate the different situations faced by PCEs and non-PCEs.

The EIF model also engages with the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and its understanding of how English has developed into a world language. In essence, Buschfeld and Kautzsch argue that the developmental pattern of PCEs and non-PCEs follows a similar course to the developmental line from EFL to ESL and potentially to ENL. In reaction to the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction, the new EIF proposes that the development of English is not necessarily monodirectional. English may

experience a reverse development from ESL to EFL. However, it remains an open question as to whether non-PCEs can reach the status of ENL.

The EIF model holds several advantages over the three older models. One advantage is that it successfully explains the development of PCEs and non-PCEs in the same model from diachronic and synchronic perspectives. This model avoids the "colonial trappings" (cf. Edwards, 2016: 187) that are characteristic of the Dynamic Model without blurring the distinction between PCEs and non-PCEs.

Apart from engaging with established models, the EIF model incorporates valid principles from the secondary literature. For example, Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017: 121) replace or rather expand on Edwards' (2016) notion of the foundation of English taking place through the process of globalization by including it as an extra-territorial force. In this way they are able to counter Schneider's suggestion to abandon the foundation phase, because globalization substitutes one dimension of the missing settler-strand in non-PCEs. Globalization is identified as an important factor in the expansion of English in both the Expanding Circle and the Outer Circle (Schneider, 2014; Edwards, 2016; Bushfeld and Kautzsch, 2017). The advantage is thus that the EIF model is able to retain a foundation phase without compromising the distinctions between PCEs and non-PCEs.

Another advantage of the EIF model is that it recognizes the role that intra-territorial forces may play in the development of non-PCEs at the stages of foundation and stabilization. For instance, the foundation stage for non-PCEs might be initiated by "political decisions" and "trade relationships", which are identified as intra-territorial forces (Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017: 116). The identification of such forces behind the development of non-PCEs makes it possible to explain different manifestations of the development of PCEs and non-PCEs.

Despite its improvements over the previous models, the EIF model is not without its limitations. One limitation concerns the model's categorization of extra- and intra-territorial forces in PCEs and non-PCEs. The suggested five sets of forces for PCEs in the model are not clearly distinguished in themselves. For example, there is some overlapping between colonization and foreign policy. Expansion of modern colonization (1763−1945)[4] is a consequence of foreign policy mainly adopted by European powers to expand their territories and exploit resources in

[4] The classification is based on Encyclopedia Britannica (European expansion since 1763). Retrieved from https://www.britannica.com/topic/colonialism/European-expansion-since-1763#ref25942.

other countries. Listing colonization and foreign policy as two separate forces in the set of extra-territorial forces neglects the connection between colonization and foreign policy.

Another limitation of the EIF model lies in its categorization of extra- and intra-territorial forces, which derives from the categorization of forces and their influences across the separate phases. The way that these forces are arranged in the table leaves the impression that they have a lasting and consistent influence throughout the whole process of English developing as a world language. However, Buschfeld and Kautzch (2017: 116−117) are aware of this issue and indeed point out that "this does not suggest that all forces are equally at work in all countries at all times". This important distinction is not explicitly reflected in the table. The misunderstanding might be avoided if the forces were categorized in another way. Forces like colonization, globalization and foreign policies are major factors that influence the formulation of language policies. Of the three forces, colonization is more of a historical factor in bringing English to a country and has a lingering effect. Globalization is mainly an economic factor as well as a historical and political fact that contributes to the spread of English in a world of increased trade relations. Foreign policy is mainly a socio-political factor that influences any particular government's attitude towards a certain language. These forces are neither exclusive nor do they act in isolation. It may rightly be argued that globalization is a historical reality, just as foreign policy and economic interests contributed to colonization. Considering their roles in affecting the implementation of language policy, it might be more reasonable to arrange these three forces under the same parameter. The advantage of such as arrangement is that if another force that has an influence on language were to be identified, it would be much easier to incorporate the new force into the model. Another advantage of this arrangement is that the unilateral relationship embodied in the Dynamic Model can be kept in the EIF model. The importance of the unilateral relationship is self-evident, because the emergence of an English variety would not be systematically investigated without the cause-and-effect relationship between the four parameters in the Dynamic Model. However, it is hard to explore a uniform relationship between extra- and intra-territorial forces that work through different stages, because their presence hinges on specific contexts and conditions. But keeping or modifying the parameters from the Dynamic Model evades the task.

A second limitation of the EIF model is found in its exploration of possible extra- and intra-territorial forces that promote the development of non-PCEs. While this exploration of possible forces is certainly a strong feature of the model, how these potential forces are manifested at the

different phases is not illustrated. Take the force of language policy for example. The EIF model does not illustrate that how different language policy is when it is implemented at the foundation stage from when it is adopted at the stabilization stage. To better illustrate this point, the manifestations of the first parameter "sociopolitical background of a country" that are placed at the first two stages in Schneider's Dynamic Model need to be considered. At the foundation stage, the parameter manifests itself in the introduction of English to a colonial territory by the STL strand and in the use of English in a non-English speaking country. At the exonormative stabilization stage, the STL communities stabilize and English is regularly spoken and formally established as language of administration, education and legislation. The lack of illustration on the concrete manifestations of extra- and intra-territorial forces poses problems for the delineation of different stages of an English variety. This is because it is difficult to categorize stages if there are not enough references on the manifestations of each stage. The fact that this aspect is untouched in the model might be due to its focus of the model. As the model's name indicates, it aims at unearthing extra- and intra-territorial forces that drive the development of English around the world. This emphasis on concrete forces rather than on the common manifestations of these forces at each stage might lead it to brush over the different manifestations of some forces at the different phases. But the description of typical manifestations of these forces would certainly benefit if the model were applied to more countries and the similarities between the forces in these countries were established.

A third weakness of the EIF model is that it has only been properly tested on Namibia, which is not a typical expanding-circle country. Most of its territory was colonized by the German Empire in 1884. After World War I, the League of Nations mandated it to the United Kingdom, who left its administration to South Africa. South Africa treated it as an extra province until it was granted independence in 1990. Prior to independence the official languages were English, German, and Afrikaans. Post-independence, the official language is English. It is evident from the country's history that extra-territorial forces have played a significant role and even though Namibia, except for Walvis Bay and the Penguin Islands (annexed by the British colony, Cape of Good Hope, in 1887) itself never fell under direct British rule, it shares more similarities with former British colonies than with non-postcolonial countries. Further, English assumes a special role: it is the only official language, though there ae 8 recognized national languages (Afrikaans, German, Otjihereo, Khoekhoe, Oshiwambo, Kwangali, Setswana, Silozi). The role of English in Namibia

provides further proof for the country as a non-prototypical expanding-circle country. Indeed, as ascribed non-PCEs, there are significant differences between English in China and English in Namibia. English in China does not function as an official language, though it is the most important foreign language and the importance use of English continues to grow. The case study of Namibia demonstrates the complexity of distinguishing between PCEs and non-PCEs, which points to the necessity of being tested further. This is certainly the case when it is compared to the test cases performed by the Dynamic Model to test its accountability. Schneider (2003) looks at seven cases: Fiji, Hong Kong, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand. Furthermore, these typical cases represent different stages of English (e.g. English is moving from phase 4 to phase 5 in Singapore; English is at phase 5 in Australia and New Zealand). This comparison leads us to the critical observation that compared to Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model, the EIF model of Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) is based fundamentally stronger on theoretical reflection than on empirical research.

2.2 The interface between second-language varieties and learner Englishes

Applying the above-mentioned four models to English in China raises the question of the distinctions between second-language varieties and learner Englishes, especially since the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and Kachru's Three Circles separate learner Englishes from second-language varieties and do not allow a transition from learner Englishes to second-language varieties or the reverse, whereas Schneider's Dynamic Model and Buschfeld and Kautzsch's Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces allow such a transition.

Second-language varieties are traditionally regarded distinct from learner Englishes in the field of WEs, while they are grouped together in the field of second-language acquisition (SLA). The differences of treating second-language varieties and learner Englishes in these two fields lie in their different interpretations of the goals, input, functions, and motivations of learning English, and transfer (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986). According to SLA, the goal of learning English is to "imitate the native speaker perfectly" (Mestrie and Bhatt, 2008: 25), which means full imitation of pronunciation and grammatical norms as well as the range of speech acts, styles, and register differentiation (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986). This goal is based on the assumption that a full range of speech acts, styles, and register differentiation is accessible to English learners and that English is mainly used to "effectively communicate with native speakers with the language" (Sridhar and

Sridhar, 1986: 5). To achieve this goal, integrative motivation must be utilized, which involves "admiration for the native speakers of the language and a desire to become a member of their culture" (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986: 3). Since learners' performances are evaluated with reference to native norms, any deviations from native norms are regarded as errors. These deviations are often attributed to negative transfer from the mother tongue and can be fossilized, which are seen as interlanguage, which is an "intermediate [variety] between the speaker's native language and the target language" (Trudgill, 2003: 65), and not a target in itself (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1992).

Contrary to SLA, the native-speaker norm is not the primary goal of learning English from the perspective of WEs, because its main argument is that second-language varieties are acquired primarily with other speakers of second-language varieties and these speakers do not necessarily or "completely identify with the culture of the native speaker" (Sridhar, 1992: 93; Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986: 5−6). Furthermore, in reality, communicating in English is more about non-native speakers speaking with other non-native speakers than native speakers speaking with non-native speakers (Smith, 1983). Hence, the main use of second-language varieties questions the necessity of integrative motivation for successful learning in English (Shaw, 1981). In fact, it has been found that an instrumental motivation is effective in promoting English proficiency, for example, in the study of Lukmani (1972) on a group of "non-Westernized" women in Bombay and Gardner and Lambert (1972) on Filipino learners of English. Since learners' performances are not evaluated against native norms, linguistic structures that deviate from native norms are not considered errors, rather, they are viewed as innovations or features, which are used widely and systematically within the speech community and accepted by the speakers. In the contexts of shared bi- or multilingual societies, non-native-like structures may be utilized to accomplish "social and interactional ends" (Firth and Wagner, 1997: 292). Accordingly, transfer, which is a main factor in producing non-native-like structures, is seen as a positive cognitive strategy to facilitate communication effectively (Sridhar, 1992).

Even though there are discrepancies between second-language varieties and learner Englishes, empirical research has found parallels between the two variety types (Meriläinen and Paulasto, 2017). Similar linguistic structures are reported to be employed in second-language varieties and learner Englishes. For instance, new verb-preposition collocations like *comprise of*, *discuss about*, *enter into*, *invite for*, and *return back* are identified across second-language varieties (ICE-

Singapore and India) and learner Englishes (ICLE-4L1: German, French, Finnish, and Polish) (Nesselhauf, 2009).

These parallels between the two varietal types originate from similar psycholinguistic processes and production principles at work, especially at the early phase of acquiring a language (Williams, 1987; cf. Buschfeld, 2013). One of the major mechanisms that operate on the development of second-language varieties and learner Englishes is the transfer of linguistic structures from the native language (L1) to a second language.

The similarities between second-language varieties and learner Englishes point to the fact that the two varietal types should not be neatly divided. In fact, growing efforts have been made to integrate WEs and SLA ever since Sridhar and Sridhar's call for bridging "the paradigm gap that has prevented research on second-language acquisition theory and indigenized varieties of English from making substantive contributions to each other" (Sridhar and Sridhar, 1986: 3). One such effort is a compilation of studies that explores second-language varieties of English in conjunction with learner Englishes (Mukherjee and Hundt eds., 2011). In this collection, Biewer (2011) investigates the usage of modals and semi-modals of obligation and necessity in second-language varieties of English (Fiji, Samoa, the Cook Islands, the Philippines, Singapore and Ghana) and questions the suitability of the ESL-EFL distinction. Gut (2011) attempts to answer the question of whether structural changes should be classified as innovations or errors in World Englishes and finds that the classification rests upon the speakers' and speaker communities' norm orientation and attitudes. Van Rooy (2011) examines the so-called extension of the progressive aspect to stative verbs and the use of "can be able to" in Black South African English as well as the complementation of "enable" with the bare infinitive clause in East African English and arrives at the conclusion that those features may have originated as errors but later become stabilized and conventionalized in the context of second-language varieties. These studies together with others in the collection provide further evidence for the argument that "the EFL/ESL distinction is not a clear-cut dichotomy but a continuum" (Gilquin and Granger, 2011: 76) and that the classification of linguistic structures as innovations or learners errors depends more on the speakers' norm-orientation and attitudes (Gut, 2011). In essence, it is postulated that extralinguistic grounds rather than linguistic grounds label a linguistic structure as an error or an innovation.

Taking into account the differences and similarities between second-language varieties and learner Englishes and trying to bridge the gap between the two fields, a criteria catalogue for ESL

variety status has been developed by Mollin (2006; 2007), supplemented by Buschfeld (2011; 2013) and further improved by Edwards (2014; 2016). The catalogue assesses systematically whether a new variety has become an ESL variety.

The first step towards a legitimate variety of English is considered to be expansion in use and functions (Mollin, 2006; 2007). Widespread bilingualism in a community heralds expansion in use and functions (Moag, 1992). Without this, it is impossible for English to be used widely by its speakers. Furthermore, it indicates that English is not only spoken by "a few high-ranking bureaucrats and some scholars" but also by "a sizeable segment of the population" (Kloss, 1966: 15; cf. Buschfeld, 2011: 89). According to Kloss (1966: 15), this sizeable segment of the population should include at least one of the following four groups: (1) "all adults", (2) "all breadwinners", (3) "all literate adults", or (4) "all secondary school graduates". Moag (1992: 247) reasons that "in a modernizing society Kloss's suggestion of 'all literate adults' and 'all secondary school graduates' seem to adequately define the segment of the population which will be bilingual". However, societal bilingualism does not imply that groups of speakers share the same proficiency in the second language. Rather, groups of speakers display a cline of proficiency. Thus, it is necessary to differentiate bilinguals from non-bilinguals. Since the aim of being a bilingual is to communicate with other people, a bilingual should at least possess the ability to conduct conversations in English (Buschfeld, 2011; Mollin, 2006).

With wide societal bilingualism, an English variety will not have the chance to develop if it is not used across a wide spectrum of domains in a community (Mollin, 2007). An important step for EFL to ESL progression is the use of English in education (Mollin, 2006). The use of English in education does not mean that English is taught as a subject like in EFL countries. Rather, English serves as a medium of instruction for other subjects, which are taught from primary to tertiary level. Only in this way can it be possible for English to progress and stabilize as an indigenous variety. It is also important for English to be employed in administration (Kachru, 1992a; Moag, 1982). The use of English in administration not only demonstrates official approval of using English but also enhances the status of English by the prospect of obtaining positions in official bodies and by the incentives to communicate better with official bodies (Mollin, 2006). Furthermore, English cannot fulfill a broad range of functions for ESL status if it is not used voluntarily at the grassroots level (ibid.). Media is such an indicator of English received at the grassroots level, because it is market-controlled and is able to reach a large audience. Mollin (2006:

48) emphasizes how important it is that English is used as a contact code "linking people with different first languages meeting for business or privately, in the street or at home". Another strong indicator of a second-language variety is reflected in creative writing, which manifests attitudes towards the local variety within a community (ibid.).

With English used in more domains, the acquisition of English is no longer limited to formal classroom instructions as found in traditional EFL countries. It can be acquired "in a broad range of daily activities outside school" (Moag, 1992: 248) or before formal education commences.

The second criterion that is considered a step towards a legitimate variety of English is the nativization of linguistic features. This criterion involves "the approximation of a language to the linguistic and discoursal characteristics of the native (or dominant) language of the area into which it has been transplanted" (Kachru, 1992b: 235). Nativization of linguistic features occurs on several levels: phonology, lexicon, grammar, as well as discourse style (Bolton, 2003; Davies, 1999; Kachru, 1986; Schneider, 2003; Strevens, 1992). Although there is no clear threshold for the appropriation of features to indicate that nativization of a variety has taken place, it is certain that "the mere development of a few new lexical items does not suffice to satisfy the nativization requirement" (Mollin, 2007: 172). The manifestation of linguistic features on different levels does not guarantee nativization if these structures are used randomly and occasionally. Therefore, to achieve nativization, linguistic features should be used widely, systematically and stably in an extended register and style range (Buschfeld, 2011; Edwards, 2014; Mollin, 2006) so that "the new variety is not only a collection of deviations from an exogenous norm but a closed system in itself" (Mollin, 2007: 172). Till now, a specific threshold for systematic use has not been agreed upon. Based on the ratings adopted by Kortmann and Lukenheimer (2012) and Buschfeld (2013) (cf. section 4.4.1), it has been decided tentatively that 50% use of linguistic features of all structurally equivalent options should serve as the threshold for nativization.

The third step towards a legitimate variety of English that has been identified is institutionalization. Behind this criterion lies the argument that a variety cannot be established as an ESL unless it is accepted by its speakers. The acceptance of the new variety begins to set in when members of particular speech communities do not aim for exonormative models, but orientate themselves towards endonormative models, or at least, "the division between the linguistic norm and behavior is reduced" (Kachru, 1992a: 56). This endonormative orientation is reflected in local creative writing, teaching and media (Kachru, 1986; Moag, 1992; Mollin, 2007).

Mollin (2007: 172) emphasizes that speakers should truly identify themselves with the new variety as well as its label, since "a variety can only be ESL if its speakers want it to be". As opposed to speakers' open acceptance, whether the new variety gains official recognition is of minor importance to the establishment of ESL variety status, since a variety can be still classified as an institutionalized variety if it is endorsed by its speakers but not by official bodies (Mollin, 2007). But there can be some signs of authoritative codification, which can be represented by compiling dictionaries and grammars that are documented in the local variety.

In summary, according to the theorists, a variety can be called an ESL variety only when expansion, nativization and institutionalization have taken place in that particular order, even though nativization might take place concomitantly with expansion. A catalogue of ESL criteria is summarized in table 2.1.

Table 2.1 A catalogue of ESL criteria

Criteria for ESL
1. Expansion in use
(1) spread of bilingualism
(2) expansion in intranational use of English in several domains (i.e. education, administration, media, and for interethnic communication)
(3) acquisition of English in a wider society
2. Nativization
(1) phonological, morpho-syntactic, lexico-semantic, discoursal and pragmatic features
(2) widespread, systematic, stable use of features
3. Institutionalization
(1) recognition/acceptance of local variety
(2) endonormative orientation
(3) codification

Chapter 3 A sociolinguistic profile of English in China

This chapter sketches the sociolinguistic profile of English in China from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China with respect to language education, language attitudes, sociolinguistic conditions and structural effects. Section 3.1 presents language policy and English in education in the Qing dynasty (1636-1912), the Republic of China (1912-1949) and the People's Republic of China (1949-present). Based on previous studies, Section 3.2 traces the changing attitudes towards English from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China. Section 3.3 illustrates the sociolinguistic conditions of learning and using English from the Qing dynasty to present day China. Section 3.4 summarizes the structural effects that emerge from the Qing dynasty to present day China.

3.1 Language policy and English in education in China

Language policies in China closely tie to the political, social, and economic dynamics within the country and its relations with the outside world (Pride and Liu, 1988). Section 3.1.1 describes language policy and English in education in the Qing dynasty. Section 3.1.2 illustrates language policy and English in education in the Republic of China. Section 3.1.3 presents language policy and English in education in the People's Republic of China.

3.1.1 Language policy and English in education in the Qing dynasty

The first contact between British traders and the Chinese took place as early as 1637 when four ships under the command of John Weddell arrived in Macao and Canton[5] (Bolton, 2003). This initial contact was brought to a halt after six months, as they were forced to leave China (Bolton, 2002). Contact was resumed in 1664 when the British set up a trading port in Canton (Pride and Liu, 1988). At that time both the Chinese and the British were reluctant to learn each other's language, the Chinese did not learn English in its full form and the British modified their own language to serve the needs of communication (Pride and Liu, 1988).

The formal study of English was not introduced until the arrival of English-speaking missionaries, who saw English training as "the path of least resistance through which to bring the

[5] It is also called *Guangzhou* in Mandarin. With a view to respecting history, names are adopted according to their accepted forms as they appear in literature.

hearts and minds of the Chinese people to God" (Ross, 1993: 18; Adamson, 2004: 26). At first, the missionaries were prohibited from residing in the hinterland of China. Following the signing of the Treaty of Nanking after the First Opium War in 1842, missionary schools were legitimately established in China. Foreign languages, western manners and ways of life were taught in these schools. The presence of missionary schools increased as more ports were opened to foreigners. But these missionary schools were not widespread. By the 1870s, there were 20 missionary schools, hosting about 230 students (Bolton, 2002).

The official study of English was not allowed until the establishment of the Tongwen Guan (an interpreters' college) in Beijing, which resulted from the defeat of the two Opium Wars. In the eighteenth century, trade surplus was in Qing's favor. China found little need for the industrial products of the West while the West had surging demand for Chinese goods such as tea, silk, rhubarb and other articles. The imbalance of trade led to large quantities of taels[6] of silver flowing into China. To reverse the trade deficit, the first capitalist country Great Britain began trading in opium in China. The trade in opium was successful. However, this trade not only caused millions of taels of silver to flow out of China, but also made millions of Chinese addicted to opium. Out of moral and economic concerns, the Qing government banned the trade. The conflicts that resulted from the opium trade finally led to the Opium Wars. After being defeated in the two Opium Wars, supporters of a self-strengthening movement were acutely aware of their lack of military strength and technical skills. They thus realized the importance of learning English to acquire the necessary technical skills and military prowess from western countries to protect Chinese sovereignty against foreign influences. One of their first initiatives was to request Guangzhou and Shanghai to send two linguists to Beijing. These men were expected to understand spoken and written foreign languages and would be commissioned as consultants (Teng and Fairbank, 1979). On 13 January 1861, imperial approval of this proposal led to the establishment of the Tongwen Guan. The college was founded as a subordinate sector to the department of foreign affairs, the Zongli Yamen (Ross, 1993). At first, only English was taught there, but later other foreign languages like Russian, German and Japanese were introduced (Hung, 2002). In addition to foreign languages, the Tongwen Guan offered courses in western technology including anatomy, chemistry, geology, mineralogy and physics. However, the significance of the Tongwen Guan does not lie in the courses it offered, but it signals a fundamental change of attitude towards foreigners and their

[6] It refers to the Chinese tael, a part of the Chinese system of weights and currency.

languages (Ross, 1993). This was the first time in China's history that a formal, court-sponsored foreign language training was offered. The training was aimed to develop the required skills for diplomatic affairs for the Zongli Yamen to conduct its diplomatic affairs. In the following years, similar institutions were established in Shanghai and Guangzhou.

More radical reforms in education were implemented in 1902 after Qing's defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War[7] (1894−1895) and the disastrous aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion[8] (1900). The traditional system of schooling marked by education with classic works[9] and linked to the imperial civil service, was rejected and a model based on the Japanese system of education was adopted as "a suitable model for grafting Western ideas on to an Oriental culture" (Adamson, 2004: 28; Ross, 1993: 29). English or Japanese became a compulsory subject along with Chinese and mathematics in the secondary school curriculum (Adamson, 2004; Ross, 1993). Moreover, foreign languages (predominantly English and Japanese) were taught more hours per week of the secondary school curriculum than any other subject. In 1905, the imperial examination system that had lasted for more than a thousand years was abolished.

3.1.2 Language policy and English in education in the Republic of China

During the era of the Republic of China (1912-1949), English continued to play an important role in both official and missionary schools.

The system of schooling implemented between 1912 and 1923 was largely inherited from the late Qing. More time was allocated to foreign languages (predominantly English) than other

[7] It is called the War of *Jiawu* in China. This war was primarily over influence of Korea. Japan's economic development and reliance on Korea's raw materials led to its involvement in Korea's political coups. Unable to protect itself, Korea asked for Qing's help. But Qing's deteriorating power since the two Opium Wars, the lack of discipline in the military, a standstill of development in modern military as well as forces dispatched to suppress internal revolts contributed to its defeat by modern and powerful Japanese naval. Qing's failure to protect its tributary state Korea had a lot of repercussions on the political arena, which include the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the shift of regional dominance in East Asia from China to Japan, a catalyst for a series of political upheavals led by Sun Yat-sen and Kang Youwei,

[8] It is also called Boxer Uprising or *Yihetuan* Movement (1899−1901). The movement arose from uprisings against foreign powers' control in China and associated Christian activities. It was first supported by the Qing government, but after the Eight-Nation Alliance (Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States) defeated the Imperial Army and arrived in Beijing, the Qing government turned their back against the militias. At last, the movement was suppressed by the foreign powers and the Qing government. The consequences of the failure of the movement include Qing's signing of the Boxer Protocol with the Eight-Nation Alliance plus Belgium, Spain and the Netherlands, a severe blow to the Qing's reign over China and a crush on foreign powers' plan to carve up China. The treaty signified the status of Qing being subject to semi-colonial and semi-feudal society.

[9] Classic works mainly refer to the Four Books and the Five Classics (Great Learning, Doctrine of the Mean, Analects, and Mencius; Classic of Poetry, Book of documents, Book of Rites, I Ching, and Spring and Autumn Annals). These works are essential to understand the authentic thought of Confucianism.

objects in the secondary school curriculum (Fu, 1986; Ross, 1993). One relatively short yet significant change in English education was that elementary schools were instructed to offer English courses in line with the schools' local conditions (Niu, 2013). Its significance lies in the fact that English was introduced into elementary schools for the first time in the history of China.

A more significant change in language education took place with the replacement of the Japanese system of schooling by the US system of schooling in 1922. This reform was a manifestation of the New Cultural Movement, which was initiated by intellectuals, especially returnees from western countries and which aimed to introduce a new culture to China. Disillusioned by the failure of the republic, the intellectuals concluded that the decline of China was derived from its feudal thoughts. Consequently, to root out feudalism and create a new culture, science and democracy had to be advocated. This gave rise to a new wave of learning from the West.

Language was a primary issue in the New Cultural Movement, which affected the status of English in China. The key question for the curriculum was what direction Chinese language education should take, and two positions were debated: the vernacular and oral-focused *baihua* version or the classical, literary-focused *wenyan* version (Adamson, 2004: 30). The Republic abolished the feudal system, but even so the issue of *Hanzi* as a linguistic heritage remained untouched. *Hanzi*, the written symbol of Chinese civilization, was deemed to be far too complicated for common people to master. In contrast, *baihua*, the syntax of which imitated the spoken word, was much easier to acquire. Therefore, *baihua*, by not being a product of the established order, was embraced by the intellectuals to express new and unorthodox ideas and disseminate the ideas to a growing population. The status of English then became a particular issue in this politicized and cultural debate, as attitudes towards Western knowledge were still ambivalent. A compromise was reached. It was decided that one of the three core subjects in the secondary school curriculum would be English or another foreign language. However, restrictions were imposed as English and other foreign languages were not advocated as a medium for accessing philosophical, economic, social and political ideas by traditionalists. Indeed, some extreme traditionalists requested that English and other foreign languages should be removed from the school curriculum (Bolton, 2004).

The visits by internationally renowned educators such as John Dewey, Paul Monroe and other foreign experts greatly influenced the modernization process of Chinese education (Hodgkin,

2015). Particular attention can be drawn to Monroe under whose influence American English prevailed over British English. Monroe researched Chinese education and his conclusion of the problems in the system of schooling implemented in China facilitated the adoption of the US system of schooling (Zhou and Chen, 2007), and thus Chinese education became more and more Americanized (Niu, 2013). Concurrently, Chinese educators who had been abroad adapted textbooks and reference books to the needs of Chinese and initiated the study of comparative literature (Fu, 1986; Ross, 1993), which facilitated the process of indigenization that had begun in the Qing dynasty (1644-1912). This meant that English taught in the schools was predominantly orientated on American English, but the teaching methods and supporting materials used were adapted to facilitate Chinese educational preferences.

A result of the education reform is that missionary schools continued to expand in the Republic of China (1912-1949). During the 1920s and 1930s more and more parents sent their children to receive education at missionary schools. By 1925, more than 250,000 children were being educated in 7,000 Christian elementary schools, and around 26,000 in middle schools (Deng, 1997; cf. Bolton, 2002).

The expansion of missionary schools was punctuated with setbacks in conflicts between China's nationalists and foreign powers when Chinese nationalism was on the rise. Several conflicts led to the demise of foreign languages in China. For example, after learning the terms of the Treaty of Versailles (1919) which transferred German holdings in Shandong to Japan, Peking students staged a protest against the unfair transfer. Their protest was soon supported by all walks of life and spread quickly all over the country. It soon evolved into what is known as the May Fourth Movement. The anti-Christian sentiments intensified as university students and teachers working in Chinese colleges attacked missionary education fiercely in 1922. Some anti-Christian organizations were set up in Guangzhou, Nanjing, Hangzhou, and Beijing, and campaigns against Christianity continued to develop and expand over the next five years. Missionary schools met with more hostility when a Chinese worker was shot dead and others were injured at a demonstration in the British concession in Shanghai on 30 May, 1925. The incident led many students to quit the Christian colleges and launch demonstrations and protests at St John's, Lingnan and Yali (Bolton, 2003; Deng, 1997).

In an attempt to control and to reclaim the "educational rights", the local governments took strong measures against missionary schools (Bolton, 2003: 238; Ross, 1933: 34−35). In 1924-25,

the Beijing government issued new regulations and requested missionary secondary schools to be registered. In addition, the principals of these schools had to be Chinese citizens, religious instruction became optional, and teaching in these schools had to follow the guidelines issued by the government. The Canton government issued similar regulations. By the end of 1928, the most important administrative positions in missionary schools were handed over to Chinese staff. Most of the missionary schools were thus secularized, and foreign influences were minimized.

The nationalist government that was established in Nanjing in 1927 imposed stricter control over missionary schools in an effort to integrate missionary schools into the national education system. Political instructors were appointed and sent to mission school to guarantee the implementation of government policies. Missionary schools were allowed to continue teaching, but compulsory religious teaching was banned, and administration of schools and colleges were Sinicized.

The tight control of missionary schools strained the relationship between missionary schools and the government, but their relationship improved again before the onset of the Anti-Japanese war in 1937. From 1937 to 1941, a number of colleges managed to carry out teaching in Japanese-controlled areas while others moved to Chengdu in Sichuan province (Deng, 1997). Immediately after WWII, missionary schools enjoyed a revival. Missionary schools in the cities of Shanghai, Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Nanjing, Beijing, and Suzhou trained 40% of China's secondary school students. However, the missionaries' efforts to consolidate their activities were soon disrupted by a wave of anti-American sentiment and by the spread of communism in China (Bolton, 2003; Ross, 1993).

Foreign languages were also capitalized on by different political groups as they were seen as a tool for human struggle and transformation (Ross, 1993). In 1920 Communists established a Foreign Language Center (Shanghai chuangban de waiguoyu xuexiao) in Shanghai to train political cadres in Russian and Marxism as well as English, French, German and Japanese (Ross, 1993: 35). Though the number of students was not significant, the students included prominent forerunners of communism such as Liu Shaoqi and Mao Zedong.

The US system was literally abandoned as the nationalist party tightened its control over national education. But foreign language training programs continued to draw support from both the Nationalist and Communist parties for military and political purposes. Two specialized schools run by the Nationalist government trained translators and foreign affairs officers while the school

run by the Communist party offered formal language courses for military translators and communist cadres as well as informal evening lectures for learners who wished to acquire language skills as "a new voice for the revolution" (Fu, 1986: 101−102; Ross, 1993: 35).

3.1.3 Language policy and English in education in the People's Republic of China

When the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established in 1949, "the new government, in view of the world situation and New China's needs for economic construction, pursued a pro-Russia foreign policy" (Pride and Liu, 1988: 42). After its defeat in the Civil War (1945-1949), the Kuomingtang (KMT) retreated to Taiwan, taking with it a large amount of money and many talents. The CCP was left with meager resources and thus compelled to solicit help to reinforce its position and rebuilt the economy that was destroyed by the Civil War. At that time, the world was subjugated to the cold war between the Soviet Union and the US-led Western alliance (Pan, 2014: 68). The US, "who had supported the KMT during the Chinese Civil War and who were ideologically opposed to the Soviet Union" (Adamson, 2004: 36; Gil and Adamson, 2011: 28), not only did not recognize the legal status of the new China, but also imposed an economic blockade and stationed the Seventh Fleet across the Taiwan Strait to prevent the CCP from completely defeating the KMT, which "brought about serious antagonism and open conflict between the two countries" (Pride and Liu, 1988: 42). Under these circumstances, the CCP was left with no choice but to rely on its ideological ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR or the Soviet Union). The Soviet Union was one of the first countries to acknowledge the legal status of the new nation and offered military support as well as technical and economic aid to the new China (Lieberthal, 2004; cf. Airey and Chong, 2011). Consequently, Russian was promoted at all levels of education (Pride and Liu, 1988). Much of the Soviet education model was borrowed, including textbooks, teaching techniques and examination methods (Fairbank and Merle, 1992). The status of Russian was further strengthened when Russian language courses were introduced into the syllabi of secondary and higher education in 1952 (Yao, 1993). Many former English teachers switched to teaching Russian (Adamson, 2004). Two years later, the Ministry of Education announced that only Russian would be taught in secondary schools in order to reduce the demands of the curriculum on students (Adamson, 2002; 2004; Löfstedt, 1980). At the same time, English was removed from the secondary education syllabus. Nonetheless, English was not completely abolished. Academics were encouraged to read journals and books in English in order to access

developments in science and technology, reflecting that the lessons learned in the Opium Wars were not forgotten. Diplomats needed English for their work (Adamson, 2004; Gil and Adamson, 2011).

English experienced a short revival in the late 1950s when relations between the Soviet Union and the new China became increasingly tense. The Chinese government rebuked the policy introduced by the new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, the so-called "three peacefuls" (peaceful competition, peaceful coexistence, and the peaceful transition from bourgeois parliamentary democracy to socialism) as well as his denunciation of the deceased Soviet leader Joseph Stalin. By the end of the 1960s, the ideological differences between the Soviet bloc and the CCP had diverged to such an extent that the Soviet Union decided to retaliate and withdraw all help, "leaving many collaboration projects stranded and unfinished" (Pan, 2014: 69). As a result of the deteriorating relations with the Soviet Union, the government began to look towards the West for economic partners. Unsurprisingly, "the orientation of foreign policy was quickly followed by the reorientation of foreign language policies" (Pan, 2014: 69).

The status of Russian and English was reversed in "the back-to-English movement" (Lam, 2005: 74). Training in Russian was reduced from 1957 onwards while training of majors in English and other languages was increased. From 1959 to 1960, the better schools were requested to teach foreign languages in the junior secondary years. One third of the schools taught Russian and two-thirds taught English and other languages (Lam, 2005). The importance of English was further stressed in tertiary education in 1962 when English was extended to science and technology university students (Lam, 2005) and in 1964 English was established as the primary foreign language in higher education (Niu, 2013). During the 1960s, an important tradition in foreign language learning in China was resumed, namely, establishing foreign language schools (Lam, 2005). By 1965, there were 14 foreign language schools across the country that were training learners in foreign languages from Primary 3 onwards (Lam, 2005), and 75 universities had English departments (Zhang, 2000). To meet the shortage of foreign language teachers, foreign teachers were imported, and Russian teachers were retrained to teach English.

However, the revival of English was interrupted by the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), launched by Mao. Mao's concern for the welfare of Chinese peasants on the one hand, and personal privilege and corruption among China's new ruling class on the other, made him fear that the ruling class' domination over the villagers would be revived (Fairbank and Merle,

1992). However, his ever increasing and more immediate concern was the persistent and widespread criticism that liberal intellectual levelled against his radical policies such as the Great Leap Forward and people's communes. What added to his concern is transition of governments in the Soviet Union, which made him believe that revisionism could endanger China's popular revolution as well. Consequently, he prioritized class struggle. Mao wished to establish a new society, therefore he had to destroy any other cultures (Gray, 1990). He staged a campaign against what he called the "four olds" (old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits of exploitation) and punished everyone who took "the capitalist road" (Boden, 2008: 68; Gray, 1990: 336; Guo, 2013: 79). During this period, farmers and workers were honored and traditional scholars were distrusted (Lam, 2002; 2005). Foreign languages, because of their associations with the bourgeoisie, came under attack. Consequently, foreign books, films and broadcasts were banned (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996; Yao, 1993) and anyone who could speak a foreign language was considered a "foreign spy" (Zhang, 2000: 54). The prevailing slogans that denounced the need to learn English included "I'm a Chinese. Why do I need foreign languages?", and "Don't learn ABC. Make revolution!" (Adamson, 2002: 238).

The fate of English was changed in 1968 when Mao openly expressed his personal regret for not learning English when he was younger (Adamson, 2004). His revelation was later published in national newspapers, and the English language started to reappear on school curricula (ibid.). In the same year, 1968, Zhou Enlai instructed the Foreign Affairs Ministry to send remaining foreign language majors to a few selected work camps. He thus succeeded in protecting students of foreign languages and deployed them to jobs related to their foreign language training (Lam, 2005).

Despite the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution, China was able to forge closer relations with western countries. In 1971, the new China, governed by the CCP, was formally recognized as a member of the United Nations, taking the seat held by Taiwan since 1945. Furthermore, Kissinger's talks with Zhou Enlai were fruitful, paving the way for the normalization of Sino-US relations. In 1972, Nixon paid a state visit to China. This visit led China to reorient itself towards the West (Lynch, 1998). Better ties with the West led to the revival of the slogan, "red and expert" (learning foreign matters to serve the people as an expert) for foreign language training that same year (Lam, 2002). In 1974, English became the most studied foreign language in China (Pan, 2014: 71). Nonetheless, in the same year, anti-culture (whether Chinese or foreign) sentiments were on the rise. Slogans such as "Don't learn ABC. Make revolution!" (Adamson, 2002: 238) became

even more widespread. In spite of the turbulence, the plan to compile Chinese-foreign languages dictionaries crystallized in 1975. With Mao's death in 1976 the Cultural Revolution finally came to an end and this was open for initiatives and modernization.

The end of the Cultural Revolution heralded the shift of priority from class struggle to economic development. By the time that Deng Xiaoping resumed power, regions in East Asia that were associated with the old Chinese culture (South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore) had managed to replicate the Japanese economic miracle. The prosperous economy in these places made it clear to Deng Xiaoping that economic wealth was essential to the maintenance and stability of a country, and thus should be sought for China. In the light of the international situation and the internal situation in China, Deng Xiaoping initiated the Policy of Four Modernizations to modernize agriculture, industry, defense, and science and technology. The Policy of Four Modernizations soon evolved into the Reform and Opening Up Policy (Lam, 2005). The international stance that was adopted in this policy naturally symbolized China renewing ties with the West and simultaneously severing its former ties with the Soviet Union (Pan, 2014).

Since it was believed that English was vital to the implementation of the Reform and Opening Up Policy, English was promoted extensively (Lam, 2005). The status of foreign languages was enhanced in 1978 with the announcement that foreign languages would be taught from Primary 3 onwards and continuity from primary school through to university was emphasized. Foreign teachers were recruited. The status of English was further reinforced when it was made the main foreign language in secondary schools in 1982. Additionally, English PhD and master degree students were allocated higher quotas than what was offered to other foreign languages in 1981. Furthermore, centers for training teachers for English majors and non-English majors were established in the following years. In addition, English for non-English majors underwent a process of standardization. In 1984, the College English syllabus for Science and Technology students was completed and was implemented in the following year. In that same year, 1985, it was announced that standardized examinations for College English would be implemented in 1987.

The reforms certainly brought about economic growth and improvements to the living standards of most people in China. But there were still limits as to how much reform China's leaders would allow. The persistence to uphold the communist ideology and socialism with Chinese characteristics led the party leaders to increasingly worry about negative impacts of reforms on China and the Chinese people, which deteriorated into what is known as the anti-

spiritual pollution campaign in 1983. Though the campaign did not develop into any large-scale or radical control on liberalism, it did cause certain films and works of art to be banned (Mackerras *et al.*, 1998; Spence, 1990). Foreign languages also came under scrutiny. They might have been regarded essential for modernization but their utility did not change the fact that "foreign languages remained symbols of nonindigenous modernity" (Ross, 1993: 41) for their potential "ideological contamination" (An, 1984: 4) or "ideological pollution" (Yue, 1983: 22), while mathematics and science became "Chinese modern" as early as 1903 (Ross, 1993: 41).

The side impact of these reforms led students to ask for more political, economic and social reforms, which resulted into the Tiananmen Square Massacre of 1989. The Tiananmen Incident was grievous for the whole country and drew international criticism. Fortunately, the incident did not derail the country from the Reform and Opening Up Policy and plunge the country into ruthless class struggle. However, China needed an opportunity to gain international recognition. This opportunity came in with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the disintegration of the Soviet Union, which symbolized the end of the Cold War and struck the balance of power in the global arena. China began to develop an international stance and take more initiatives in world trade and world affairs.

From the 1990s, China has engaged in many international activities. China successfully held the Asian Games and the International Women's Conference. In 2001, China joined WTO. The same year also saw the successful bidding of the 2008 Olympic Games. In the following year, China succeeded in bidding for the 2010 Shanghai World Expo. In 2005, China signed a landmark trade agreement with 10 South-East-Asian countries, which account for one fourth of the world's population in a free-trade zone. With deepening reform and integration with the rest of the world, China's economy saw unprecedented growth in the 1990s with an annual growth rate over 10% though the economic growth has slowed down to around 7% in the 21st century.

Along with the economic growth, the demand for English skills has increased dramatically. New English reforms were announced accordingly. In 2001, the Ministry of Education instructed that English should be the medium of instruction for subjects like information technology, biotechnology, finance, foreign trade, economics and law. Moreover, English should be used for instruction in 5-10% of university courses within two years (MOE, 2001). In addition, English started from Grade 3 in primary school instead of Grade 7 in junior middle school. In reality, some

schools offer English courses from Grade 1 and some provide English courses even in kindergartens.

From the 2010s, China has started to play an even greater role in the development of the world's economy. In 2010, China overtook Japan to become the second largest economy in the world. In 2013, China unfolded the One Belt One Road Initiative to revitalize countries in Asia and Europe along the Silk Road. In the same year, China proposed the establishment of the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank, which has been in operation since the end of 2015 with 57 founding state members.

On the other hand, due to China playing a more active role in globalization and its growing economic force, English in education has been inevitably reassessed. The announcement of the newest English reform in 2013 follows such an assessment. Instead of promoting the study of English, the new policy seems to have placed the status of English in question. According to the new policy, the score of English would be lowered from 150 to 100 while the score of Chinese would be raised from 150 to 180 in *Gaokao*[10]. This change affected the balance of the status that English had held in relation to Chinese and Mathematics in *Gaokao* since 1983. The greater weight given to Chinese suggests that English should not be as important as Chinese. The new policy has generated many debates among scholars and the public. One group that supports the move holds that the change can calm the blind mania for English nationwide and reorient English teaching and learning (Kaiman, 2013; Zhao, 2013). But the other group voices concerns, because for them the move will weaken foreign language abilities and impede globalization and internationalization of higher education (Ni, 2013; Zhao, 2013).

Contrary to the government's attempts to encourage Chinese at the expense of English, and the perceptions noted above on English losing its value, the lowering score of English in *Gaokao* does not change the fact that English retains its importance in terms of globalization and internationalization. The continuous importance of English can be drawn from the introduction of oral tests in Beijing and Shanghai. In 2017, Shanghai introduced an oral English test. Beijing will follow Shanghai's footstep in 2022. The introduction of oral tests signals a shift from exam-orientation to communicative competence as well as sustained promotion of English in China.

[10] It refers to the National Higher Education Entrance Examination in mainland, China.

3.2 Language attitudes towards English in China

Language attitudes toward English have been ambivalent since it was introduced in China two centuries ago. Section 3.2.1 provides an account of the changing attitudes towards English in the Qing dynasty. Section 3.2.2 relates the conflicting attitudes towards English in the Republic of China. Section 3.2.3 describes the varying attitudes towards English in the People's Republic of China.

3.2.1 Language attitudes towards English in the Qing dynasty

In the Qing Dynasty (1636-1912), English was not held in high esteem though it received some appreciation later. In the early days of trade with foreigners, *compradores* were the only people who could communicate with foreigners, but they were not respected by others even though they were financially prosperous. Few people were willing to have contact with *compradores*. They were socially ostracized.

Following the treaty of Tientsin between the British government and the Qing government, missionary schools were set up legitimately in China, but these schools were mostly attended by students from poor families, because the education and food offered by the missionary schools were free and other family members could benefit from subsidies (Li *et al.*, 1988). The unpopularity of missionary schools was reflected in their slow expansion during this period. By the 1870s, there were only 20 missionary schools and these schools had around 230 students.

The first government-run foreign language school, the Tongwen Guan, suffered similar stigmatization when it was first established (Pan, 2014). The cause for its stigma was rooted in the belief that "sound knowledge of Chinese would endow students with a status and position in society, whereas knowledge of English promised only an uncertain future" (Pan, 2014: 62). It was not until the late 1870s that the situation began to change when graduates from Tongwen Guan could gain positions within the civil service or diplomatic posts abroad (Spence, 1999).

The official attitude towards English was explicitly expressed in the slogans "Shi yi chang ji yi zhi yi (To learn from the barbarians to check barbarians)" and "Zhong xue wei ti, xi xue wei yong (Chinese knowledge as the foundation and western knowledge for utility)" (Pan, 2014: 61). English was assumed to be a weapon against imperialism and strengthen the nation. This utilitarian stance was seen in the establishment of official translation offices. By setting up official translation offices, the government could impose firm control over the spread of foreign languages in China

and prevent uncontrolled multilingualism, because in these official offices students were allowed to have exclusive access to foreign language resources while at the same time they were forced to learn the Chinese classics (particularly the Four Books and Five Classics) (Pan, 2014)

3.2.2 Language attitudes towards English in the Republic of China

During the years of the Republic of China (1912-1949), the general attitudes towards English were still ambivalent. This ambivalence was conspicuous in debates involving the role of English during the New Cultural Movement (cf. section 3.1.2). The role of English was mainly restricted to serving as "a useful tool similar to mathematics or physics and without any potential cultural implications" (Pan, 2014: 66). The traditionalists' resistance to a wider role for English revealed their consciousness of potential cultural implications brought about by learning English and doubt of benefits of learning English even though English assumed the role of introducing new ideas from the West to China and the introduction of American educational system encouraged use of English in general. Despite the traditionalists' resistance, American influence on language and popular culture was widespread in China (Adamson, 2004). Furthermore, the ruling party, the KMT, was very much pro-USA.

The expansion and setbacks of missionary schools reflected such ambivalent attitudes as well. On the one hand, the number of missionary schools increased, and a large number of students attended the missionary schools. On the other hand, missionary schools and colleges were seen as defenders of foreign control and privilege that went against the creation of national pride and identity, especially during the conflicts between China's nationalists and foreign powers (Bolton, 2003; Deng, 1997). Many students quit the Christian colleges and staged demonstrations and protests against missionary education. In an effort to gain control, the local governments took measures to control education and many of the most important administrative positions in the Christian colleges had been taken over by Chinese staff.

3.2.3 Language attitudes towards English in the People's Republic of China

On the whole, while language attitudes towards English in the People's Republic of China continues to be ambivalent, positive attitudes outweigh the negative. But for the first three decades after the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949-1976), the government's attitudes towards English were more fluid than those of the previous regimes: the promotion and demotion of English hinges on China's relations with the former Soviet Union, the US as well as the

perceptions of priorities (cf. section 3.1.3). Since the late 1970s, with the promotion of English across the whole nation, attitudes towards English have become more positive.

These growing positive attitudes towards English are evident from research conducted by Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) as well as He and Li (2009). The two studies show that the recognition of a Chinese variety of English increases while the negative association of being exposed as Chinese decreases. Of 171 Chinese university students in Kirkpatrick and Xu's (2002) study, 28.1% believe in the emergence of a Chinese variety of English while the same idea was shared by 60.5% of 998 participants (non-English majors and teachers of college English) in the study of He and Li (2009). Concerning the negative association of being exposed as Chinese, 60.8% indicate they care in the study of Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002). Comparatively, 53.2% in the study of He and Li (2009) indicate that they disapprove of being identified. The differences between the two studies from different times, 2002 and 2009, illustrate the changing attitudes of Chinese towards their identity, their increased confidence as non-native speakers, and their openness towards the idea of a Chinese variety of English.

Despite the increasing awareness for and acceptance of a Chinese variety of English, the majority of participants in the studies of Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) and He and Li (2009) prefer an exonormative, native speaker-based model of English as a teaching model. The surveys conducted by Hu (2004; 2005) and Chen and Hu (2006) reveal the same preference for a pedagogical model. The preference for the exonormative model runs counter to the scholars' call that a Chinese variety of English should be a legitimate model for ELT in China (He and Li, 2009; Hu, 2004; Xu, 2010). The contrast between people's acceptance of a Chinese variety of English and their stated preference for an exonormative model of education implies that their attitudes towards a localized variety of English are still ambivalent.

The ambivalent attitudes are also reflected in the government and scholars' concerns. The government, though promoting English, has remained attentive for its supposed potential influence on people's behaviors and minds. The changes in the education policy of 2013 (cf. section 3.1.3) were understandably intended to promote Chinese language and culture, they could be to the detriment of English. Further, these last changes illustrate how the status of English in China has fluctuated constantly over the years due to variance in governments' attitudes. Scholars like Niu and Wolff (2003) and Ruan (2002) have constantly voiced their concerns about the negative effects of learning English on the study of Chinese. Li (2000) even expresses his worry that the

internationalization of English is making Chinese a dialect, and thus he believes that English poses a threat to Chinese, given the dominance English holds in the age of the Internet.

The public, though enthusiastically learning English, does not seem to embrace the use of English in Chinese programs. Li Anqi, a Chinese-American woman, who is the wife of a former Chinese gymnast, Li Xiaopeng, persistently spoke English when she was interviewed by Chinese journalists or took part in Chinese TV programs even though she could speak Chinese fluently. Her language choice not only incurred the aversion of other guests but also caused great anger among common people on social media. Concerns about the possible negative effects of using English in China contrast with more positive attitudes towards English. This contrast between skepticism and positivism demonstrates that people's attitudes towards English are still ambivalent in China.

3.3 Social conditions of learning and using English in China

This section summarizes the social conditions of learning and using English from the Qing dynasty to China today. Section 3.3.1 illustrates the role of English in education, business, media and diplomacy in the Qing dynasty. Section 3.3.2 describes the role of English in education, media and diplomacy in the Republic of China. Section 3.3.3 presents the role of English in education, media, business, tourism and international events in the People's Republic of China today.

3.3.1 Social conditions of learning and using English in the Qing dynasty

During the Qing dynasty (1636-1912), many foreigners came to China for trade and several ports were forced to open following Qing's defeats in the Opium Wars and other wars China fought against foreign powers. To protect China against foreign powers and strengthen the nation, self-strengtheners initiated a series of reforms (1861-1895). Generally speaking, trade, wars and reforms gave rise to the increasing presence and use of English in domains such as education, business, media and diplomacy.

Education

The first Chinese to learn English in the Qing dynasty were probably the *compradores*, also known as "linguists" (Adamson, 2004: 23). They were local business agents who were registered with local authorities. Since the *compradores* learned English through private study (Adamson,

2004), possibly with the help of English language textbooks produced for the benefit of "linguists", their knowledge of English was limited to the names of commodities, numerical figures, some slang expressions and simple grammatical structures (cf. Teng and Fairbank, 1979: 51).

Formal education of English was realized through two types of schools: missionary schools and official translation institutes. The missionaries preached the Christian faith through teaching English to Chinese, though this practice was hotly debated. The official institutes, at first, only recruited students from the Eight Banners (Manchu's administrative or military divisions), later they were open to students of other ethnic groups. Students at official institutes had to study the Chinese classics together with foreign languages (Teng and Fairbank, 1979; Pan, 2014).

A new trend of education that emerged in this period is study abroad sponsored by the Qing government. Following the approval of Yung Wing's suggestion, the Qing government sent 120 students aged 12 to 15 to the US, starting from 1870 under the Chinese Education Mission. Though the mission was discontinued in 1881 due to the opposition of conservatives in the Qing court, many of these students later became leading professionals in the country's civil service, science and engineering. Some of the most prominent figures include Tang Shaoyi, the first premier of the Republic of China, Tang Guoan, the first president of Qinghua University, and Zhan Tianyou, the "Father of China's Railway" and "Father of China's Modern Engineering" (Zhang, 2011).

Media

During the Qing dynasty, around 200 coast newspapers were published, with a majority of them printed in English. In contrast to the relatively large number of the newspapers, most of them were short-lived. One of the influential newspapers was *The North China Herald* (1850-1941), which mainly offered extracts from other China-coast newspapers, a summary of the weeks' news, and commercial information (King and Clarke, 1965). At its peak, it had a circulation of 7,817 copies. Another newspaper that distinguished itself was *South-China Daily Journal* (1905-1907). It was a Chinese owned and edited bilingual newspaper. The English section of the newspaper contained news mostly dealing with Chinese internal affairs (King and Clarke, 1965).

Compared with the large number of English-language newspapers, there were not so many English-language periodicals published during this period. The published periodicals generally fell into three categories: missionary journals, journals of sinology, academic and literary journals. Missionary journals were represented by *The Chinese Recorder* (1867-1941), *The West China*

Missionary News (1899-1943), two of the most famous missionary periodicals published in China before 1949. Journals of sinology included pioneering sinology journals *Notes and Queries on China and Japan* (1867-1869), *The China Review: or Notes and Queries on the Far East* (1872-1901). Academic and literary journals were typified by *Canton Miscellany* (1831), *Educational Review: continuing the monthly bulletin of the Educational Association of China* (1907-1938).

It is unclear how many Chinese actually read the English-language newspapers and periodicals during the reign of the Qing government. Some Chinese officials might have read the translations of some newspapers to obtain information about foreigners (King and Clarke, 1965). Lin Zexu was one of these officials. He hired a number of bilingual Straits Chinese to glean information from English-language newspapers and make detailed notes (Wagner, 2012). Zongli Yamen also translated relevant excerpts for internal circulation (Wagner, 2012).

Business

English, or more specifically Chinese Pidgin English, was mainly employed by *compradores* to conduct business with foreign traders along the ports that were forced to open. The Qing government required that the communication between foreigners and Chinese be supervised by *compradores*. On the other hand, Chinese people and the English-speaking traders were reluctant to learn each other's language while the English-speaking traders modified their own language for utilitarian needs (Liu and Pride, 1988).

Diplomacy

English was used by the Chinese government to engage in diplomacy with the Western powers (Adamson, 2004). Following the defeats of the Opium Wars, the superior status of Chinese was lost to English. The official use of English was explicitly requested by the British government, which was stated in the Treaty of Tientsin (1858):

> All official documents, addressed by the Diplomatic and Consular Agents of Her Majesty the Queen to the Chinese authorities, shall, henceforth, be written in English. They will for present be accompanied by a Chinese version, but it is understood that, in the event of there being any difference of meaning between the English and Chinese text, the English Government will hold the sense as expressed in English text to be the correct sense. This provision is to apply to the Treaty now negotiated, the Chinese text of which has been carefully corrected by the English original. (Clause L, Treaty of Tientsin; cf. Pan, 2014: 60)

In response to the stipulation and in view of the need to learn science and technology from the West, the Qing government established the Tongwen Guan in 1861 to train its own translators, which enabled the government not to rely on foreigners to conduct diplomatic affairs.

3.3.2 Social conditions of learning and using English in the Republic of China

With greater involvement in international affairs and more influence from western countries, English continued to play a more important role in the domains of education, media, and diplomacy.

Education

The adoption of the US system of schooling in 1922 partly contributed to the US' returning most of the remaining excess indemnity that was received from the Qing government following the Boxer Uprising (Bieler, 2004). Part of the money was allocated to the establishment of educational institutions in China, many of which had American missionaries (Adamson, 2004). Part of the money was used to sponsor the study abroad of Chinese students.

The Chinese elites who were westernized further boosted English learning in missionary schools. The elites were typified by the Soong sisters in Shanghai, Ailing, Qingling, and Meiling (Adamson, 2004). Ailing married Kong Xiangxi, the administration and finance minister of the Nanjing government as well as a banker and a wealthy businessman; Qingling married Sun Yat-sen, the foremost leader of the Xinhai Revolution and the first president and founding father of the Republic of China; Meiling married Chiang Kai-shek, the leader of the Nationalist Party. The three sisters were educated in a girls' academy run by Western missionaries. Such missionary schools were preferred by other rich families who had the hope of enhancing their commercial dealings with industrialized nations and helping their children pave the way for overseas study (Adamson, 2004; Cleverley, 1991).

Media

Foreign newspapers, journals and films were available in major cities in China, which increased the popularity of English learning (Adamson, 2004). Some of the important English-language newspapers that covered comprehensive information were represented by *Peking Daily News* (1914-1917), *Shanghai Times* (1914-1921), *China Weekly Review* (1917-1953), *Canton Times* (1919-1920), and *The China Press* (1925-1938). Major English-language newspapers that

published critiques on politics and economy included *Peking Gazette* (1915-1917), *Peking Leader* (1918-1919), *Shanghai Gazette* (1919-1921), and *China Critic* (1939-1946).

Major English-language periodicals that were first published in the republican period included academic and literary journals such as *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking* (1926-1934), *The China Critic* (1928-1946), *T'ien Hsia Monthly* (1935-1941), and *The Yenching Journal of Social Studies* (1938-1950), as well as journals of sinology such as *The New China Review* (1919-1922), *The China Quarterly* (1935-1941), and *The China Year Book* (1912-1939).

Printed books were another source for English usage. Intellectuals who had studied overseas introduced the ideas of Thomas Huxley, John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Paul Monroe, Adam Smith and Charles Darwin, among others, which fueled the New Cultural Movement (Adamson, 2009: 29; Hsü, 1990). Some intellectuals wrote articles and books in English. One of the prominent representatives at this time was Lin Yutang. He not only contributed articles to English-language publications, the weekly *China Critic* and *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, but also wrote a number of translations, books and short stories in English. One of his translations was *Six chapters of a floating life* (1935). His books in English were represented by *My country and My People* (1935), *A Moment in Peking* (1939), *A Leaf in the Storm* (1942), and *Chinatown Family* (1948). His short stories in English included *The Importance of Living* (1937) and *With Love and Irony* (1940) (Bolton, 2002).

Diplomacy

English played an important role in China's striving for equal treatment in international affairs and attempt to gain more support from the US. Chinese diplomats successfully persuaded the West to give up some of their treaty privileges and return most of the concession areas which they gained from unequal treaties dating back to the time of the Opium Wars. To reconcile the conflicts between imperialist powers in East Asia and the Pacific areas and make the Open Door Policy international law, all of the attendees at the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-1922 signed the Nine-Power Treaty (6 February 1922). The treaty signified China's political independence and territorial integrity, at least on paper (Adamson, 2004). The Chinese First Lady, Song Meiling, partially played the role of a diplomat by making full use of her English proficiency during the wartime with Japan. Her eloquent English speech convinced the US Congress of the urgency to deliver aid to China. In a meeting with Claire Lee Chennault who was recruited to oversee the

Chinese Air Force, her English, characterized by a rich Southern drawl, left a deep impression on General Chennault who was an American southerner general, and enhanced his commitment to the Chinese cause (ibid.).

3.3.3 Social conditions of learning and using English in the People's Republic of China

With China's present economic growth and the influence of globalization, the presence of English is felt in a number of domains such as education, science and technology, media, business and tourism (Gil, 2008; Gil and Adamson, 2011; Pride and Liu, 1988; Zhao and Campbell, 1995).

Education

Education is the major domain of the expansion of English in present day China, especially in higher education (Kirkpatrick, 2007; Botha, 2014; Bolton and Botha, 2015b; Bolton and Graddol, 2012; Zhao and Campbell, 1995). Universities provide college English courses for non-English majors from the first grade to the second grade. From the third grade on, these non-English majors have to take English courses targeted at their majors. Though students are not required to pass College English Test[11] Band 4 (CET4) as a prerequisite to obtain their degree since 2010, these non-English majors usually spend extra time studying English and pass CET4 and CET6 irrespective of their study programs. In addition to ordinary college English courses, more universities offer courses in English such as courses on traditional Chinese medicine for Chinese students and degree programs for international students (Bolton and Botha, 2015b; Botha, 2014; Kirkpatrick, 2007: 30). Moreover, an increasing number of students and visiting scholars have been pursuing study overseas, especially in English-speaking countries (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996). A report released by the Ministry of Education on 25 March, 2016 revealed that more than half a million Chinese students received overseas education and between 70% and 80% of these students returned to China after graduation. According to a related survey of 25,000 returnees, the top three destinations remain the US, the UK, Australia. Of these three, the US was noted to be the most-popular choice for PhD studies.

Comparable to the increase of English usage in official education, English training is increasing in private education. One of the famous private training schools in China, New

[11] It refers to a national English as a foreign English language test for non-English majors in mainland, China. It includes two levels ─ CET4 and CET6.

Oriental[12], primarily provides English tutoring services in domestic tests such as CET4 and CET6 and international tests such as TOEFL and IELTS. Its services meet the needs of the growing number of English learners who want to improve their language proficiency or go abroad for further education so that more than 31.6 million students have enrolled for its services, with over 4.9 million enrollments in the fiscal year 2017 alone. Over 23,200 teachers have been recruited in 66 cities. Other training schools that do not enjoy the same national prestige as New Oriental have established footholds in local areas or have found means to take advantage of the zeal for English and run their English orientated schools as profitable business in almost all cities across the nation. Enrolling in physical private training schools is not the only means to gain access to schooling in English. Some learners access English through other channels such as purchasing online courses, watching television programs, listening to radio programs, and taking part in associations for English learning (Gil and Adamson, 2011). In universities, participating in "English corners" is a common practice for students to practice their oral English. "English corner" refers to a place (often in a park or in front of a building) where people meet and speak in English (Gil, 2008; Gil and Adamson, 2011; Zhao and Campbell, 1995).

Media

English is used extensively in the media, with the result that it is regarded as "a second language in the media, ranking next only to Chinese" (Pride and Liu, 1988: 52). It is present in various forms of media like newspapers, magazines, journals, radio broadcasts, television, wire service and internet sites (Guo and Huang, 2002).

English radio services are mainly provided by the only state-level radio China Radio International (CRI) (Scotton and Hachten, 2010). As one of CRI's most important divisions, China Radio International's English Service provides news reporting as well as a variety of feature programs (CRI). Currently, the English Service is run by two departments: China Plus and EZFM (Easy FM), with China Plus targeting international audiences and EZFM (Easy FM) catering for the needs of the growing bilingual population in China. The service attracted about 60 million listeners around the world in 2008 and it is considered a useful medium for international listeners and English learners (Scotton and Hachten, 2010). With the increasing number of foreigners

[12] The information is cited from the website of New Oriental Education & Technology Group (Retrieved on Dec. 14, 2017 from http://www.neworiental.org/english/who/201507/8213540.html).

visiting China, some cities have developed their own regional radios or English radio programs alongside their main Chinese programs such as Shanghai Calling and Radio Guangdong "Touch English" (Gil, 2008; Pan, 2005; Scotton and Hachten, 2010: 184). Some foreign radio services are very popular in China, especially to English learners. A large number of English learners regularly tune in to BBC, CNN, VOA, and other foreign radio stations in order to access authentic English-language materials or gain different perspectives on what is happening around the world.

There are many English language television programs in China. Some programs that focus on English teaching and learning include *Follow through* and *Follow Me* produced by BBC and CCTV and English courses broadcast regularly by China Education TV (Zhao and Campbell, 2011). Some other English programs that are not aimed at English teaching and learning, but provide more comprehensive information include the only state-funded English Channel, CCTV-9, which broadcasts 24 hours every day, and presents a number of programs such as documentaries, entertainment and news, all-English channels operated on a regional basis such as Guangzhou English Language Channel, and English language programs on non-English channels such as travel guides or English movies with Chinese subtitles (Gil, 2008).

English-language newspapers and magazines play a role in the expansion of English in China as well. *China Daily*, the first and only national English-language newspaper in China, covers a wide range of topics such as politics, business, entertainment, cultural events, and sports. The newspaper, along with the English-language *Global Times*, targets international audiences and English learners. The online English edition of *China Daily* contains one of the largest English language forums in China. There are also newspapers designed for English learners such as *21st Century*, an English educational weekly published by the China Daily Newspaper Group. In addition to national newspapers, some big cities have their own local English-language newspapers such as *Shanghai Star* and *Beijing Weekend*. The first multilingual news weekly in China, *Beijng Review*, first published in 1958 as *Peking Review* (Scotton and Hachten, 2010), focuses on politics and current affairs like another popular magazine that was launched in 1952, *China Today* (Gil, 2008). Other magazines touch on a range of topics, which include the *China Pictorial*, *Women of China* and *Shanghai Pictorial* (Gil, 2008; Pan, 2005). Some of the top-end tourist hotels offer copies of popular imported magazines, including *Time*, *Newsweek, Far Eastern Economic Review*, and *The Economist* (Mayhew *et al*., 2002).

Some specialized English journals are also available in China (Scotton and Hachten, 2010). Some of new English journals, mostly in fields such as science, technology and medicine, exert big influence in global science (Matthews, 2016). 185 English journals were included in the *Thomson Reuters Journal Citation Report*, which lists the world's most cited journals. China's own English journal data base has collected 295 titles of key academic English journals published in mainland China, covering fields such as natural sciences, engineering, agriculture, philosophy, medicine, social sciences, and humanities (CNKI, China National Knowledge Infrastructure). Most Chinese scholars have to read English-language journals to keep track of the latest research results in their relevant fields and to update their knowledge. It is estimated that scientists and technologists spend 9.69 hours per week reading English materials (Yang, 1990; Zhao and Campbell, 1995).

Printed English books are another source for the expansion of English in China. Most printed English books are originally written in English, covering topics ranging from academic studies to popular western novels (For more examples, see Gil, 2008). Writings translated from Chinese into English form another important reading source. Much Chinese literature and the works of important political leaders are usually translated into English and circulated on the market (Gil, 2008). Though many of these translated works are targeted at foreigners, the translated works are increasingly aimed at Chinese English learners who use the translated works as an aid to learn English (Hung, 2002). This practice corroborates the comment made by Guo and Huang (2002: 221):

> domestic audience members tend to approach English media with the explicit purpose of improving their English. They view the media content as a product of trained professionals, offering handy English equivalents to prevailing Chinese concepts. A way of describing current events in English, and a collection of simple and straightforward English expressions.

In addition to the traditional media, the new media, the Internet, is becoming a strong force in popularizing English. By the end of 2016, there were over 731 million Chinese Internet users, exceeding half of China's overall population (1.3 billion), and the number of Internet users who used mobiles reached 695 million (39th report by CNNIC, China Internet Network Information Center). At the same time, the number of websites in China rose to 4.27 million, including English-language websites. The English-language websites involve domains such as state and regional organs, economy and trade, culture, education, tourism, society, and media. Chinese Internet users

use the Internet to study English (Luke *et al.*, 2011). Although the Chinese government controls the Internet through censorship, a number of Internet users have their way to bypass the government's restriction and access the websites they want to visit. The availability of Chinese-English browsers enables Internet users who have insufficient knowledge of English to browse English websites and obtain more information ("China's Unique Browser", 2001). Moreover, it seems that it has become a fashion for Chinese Internet users to apply code-switching in online communications (Szajna-Wegrzyn, 2014). Hence, it is not uncommon to see sentences like 感觉她是一个很 nice 的人([I] feel she is a very nice person). Employment of code-switching not only emphasizes the users' higher language skills and possibly higher social status, but also conveys a sense of internationalism (ibid.)

Films, music and TV series contribute to more exposure to English in China. With the popularization of the Internet, computers and other technologies, it is far more convenient for people to enjoy foreign pop culture, especially US and UK pop culture (Brzeski, 2017; Strampler, 2013). Through the use of English, Chinese film and music industries are trying to enter the international market. China's first potential international pop star Jane Zhang also sung in English on her first album targeting an international audience (Chen, 2016). "The Great Wall", the first blockbuster Chinese film, was predominantly delivered in English, even though it was directed by a Chinese director and was mainly financed by Chinese companies (Xu, 2016). The voluntary use of English by the Chinese entertaining industry certainly supports Crystal's (2003) observation that in order to break through into the international arena, singers need to be singing in English. This also holds true for film and TV industries.

English is making its way into advertising in China as well. Li (2012) investigated real estate advertisements with code-switching from four major Chinese newspapers that were circulated in mainland China over 2007. Representative headlines in Li's (2012) data of the 71 real estate advertisements with code-switching include *BOBO International BOBO* 国际 [Guoji, lit. international] (Bobo City); *Dali Architecture, World Outlook* (Dali Vista); *Huzhou, Always Be Remembered By The World* (Tian Yi Villa); and *Master opens the international horizon of the financial street* (C-Park). According to Li (2012), 24 out of the 71 residential housing advertisements (33.8%) use the English words "global", "international", or "world" as one of their core words in their headlines. The fact that these advertisements are orientated towards a global

community, and following the current trend, we may presume that more and more Chinese companies will make use of English in order to enter the international market.

However, some other facts reveal a slightly different picture of the use of English in the media. Some English services are provided for the sake of facilitating communication temporarily or improving the image of cities that hold international events. For instance, some English programs have ceased to operate after the host of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. The obvious gap between wider coverage of English and predominant use of Chinese in the media becomes more apparent in the number of English-language and Chinese-language media. There are "only two English-language TV channels (CCTV-9 in Beijing and ICS in Shanghai), one English radio service (part of China Radio International, CRI), nine English-language dailies and weeklies and about 10 English magazines as well as a dozen English-language websites" (Scotton and Hachten, 2010: 195). In sharp contrast, there are "1,900 Chinese radio and TV stations, 1,931 Chinese newspapers, 9,468 periodicals as of 2007 as well as nearly two million Chinese websites" (Scotton and Hachten, 2010: 195).

Business

Many businesses and banks in China demonstrate how they use bilingualism for promotional purposes. Displaying their names in Chinese with English equivalents not only attracts international clients but demonstrates their international status to their Chinese customers. Examples of such companies and banks include *China telecom*, *China Unicom*, *China Mobile*, *Bank of China*, and *Commercial and Industrial Bank of China* (Gil, 2008; Gil, 2016; Gil and Adamson, 2011). It is not surprising to see many foreign chains such as *Starbucks*, *KFC*, *McDonald*, and *Pizza Hut* retain their English names while they are operating in China. A number of local stores in cities follow similar practice and have English equivalents alongside their Chinese titles, demonstrating how the bilingual trend has become localized.

In addition to bilingualism in businesses' names, English is mostly the working language in foreign-funded enterprises, including foreign-owned companies, Sino-foreign joint ventures and representative offices in China (Yin, 2014). According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China (2016), foreign investment has reached more than $ 120 billion in 2015 and the money has been invested in more than 26,575 projects. Such a huge amount of foreign investment in China entails a lot of interactions between Chinese and foreign counterparts. English is inevitably

adopted in such interactions. A survey by Yin (2014) of foreign companies in Shanghai reveals that English is often used in written formal documents, business meetings, emails, business contracts, phone calls and daily conversations. However, the depth and range of using English depends on the people involved in the conversations, occasions and the types of companies.

The prosperity of E-business in China has given English in China a boost, too. Since 2013, China's web sales have overtaken US web sales, making it by far the world's largest e-retail market. Alibaba Group Holding Ltd. reported that 33% of Chinese consumers bought items from international brands during the 24-hour Singles' Day event Nov. 11, 2015, with US goods ranking top in the list. More foreign goods sold in China means more cooperation between Chinese companies and foreign companies. More cooperation is naturally facilitated by the use of English.

In the age of globalization and internationalization, Chinese companies have reinforced their efforts to invest in foreign territories and internationalize their companies for the purpose of enhancing their competitive edge. Their efforts are consolidated in two projects (the running of the Asian Infrastructure Investment bank and the implementation of One Belt, One Road Initiative) that were recently initiated by the Chinese government. These projects will usher in new opportunities for China to cooperate with other countries and stimulate economic growth, which in turn calls for more people who are able to communicate with foreigners in English. The growing contact between China and the rest of the world will make more Chinese realize the growing importance of English and the need to master English to do business with other people.

Tourism

According to the 2016 National Statistical Yearbook, about 26 million overseas tourists visited China in 2015, among whom about 4.11 million people came from the traditional Inner Circle countries (the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) and about 3.72 million visitors from the traditional Outer Circle countries (India, Malaysia, Philippines and Singapore) (National Statistical Yearbook 2016). The large number of overseas tourists demand services oriented to this group of tourists. English is usually adopted as the most common foreign language to facilitate services in hotels, tour groups, travel agencies and some other service industries (Gil and Adamson, 2011; Gil, 2016). One evidence is the opening of English language emergency hotlines in cities such as Nanjing, Wuxi and Suzhou in the Jiangsu province (Gil and Adamson, 2011).

English is also seen or heard in public transport in major cities. Important public announcements are usually made in both Chinese and English. At the domestic and international airports, announcements on departure and boarding time, turbulences and safety demonstrations are made in Chinese and English (Gil, 2016). Further examples that demonstrate how bilingualism has merged local and tourist orientated interests include public transport such as buses, subway trains, light rail vehicles relating to announcements about stops or information related to the weather (Gil, 2016; Gil and Adamson, 2011). Apart from English being employed alongside Chinese in travel guides and on various signs (Gil, 2008; Gil, 2016; Gil and Adamson, 2011), some of the English translations from Chinese tend to be too literal and do not always heed the Chinese idiom. For instance, there are written instructions or precautions at the Giant Panda Breeding Research Base in Chengdu:

> PLEASE PROCEED QUIETLY
> AND STAY ON TRAILS
> ANIMALS FRIGHTEN EASILY (Gil, 2008: 8).

One would expect the last clause to read, "Animals are easily frightened". The intention is certainly not that animals will frighten or scare any tourists who dare make noise or venture off the trails. From the Chinese the translation is based on, it is evident that the translator has paid less attention to intended meaning and more to word equivalents, and offers insight into the English idiom used, where the copula *be* (are) is omitted and the verb is not changed into its corresponding passive form.

English might be spoken more frequently by street vendors and stall holders in tourist spots and in cities than one would expect. Even though many of these vendors have no formal education in English, they are able to use English words and phrases sufficiently to approach foreign tourists and bargain with them (Gil, 2008; Gil and Adamson, 2011; Gil, 2016; Pride and Liu, 1988; Zhao and Campbell, 1995). Their ability to speak English certainly generates more business and income since most foreigners do not speak *Putonghua* (Zhao and Campbell, 1995). The frequent use of English by peddlers in these situations gives rise to a unique variety of English in China, known as peddlers' English (Gil and Adamson, 2011; Zhao and Campbell, 1995) or grassroots English (Schneider, 2016).

With the increase in living standards in China, many Chinese visit foreign countries during holidays. The number of Chinese outbound tourists reached 122 million in 2016 ("Chinese

outbound tourism statistics in 2016", 2017). The top seven outbound countries that Chinese tourists visited in 2016 included Thailand, South Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, and the United States. At present, more than 50% of Chinese outbound tourists still choose package tours, but an increasing number of tourists choose to go on independent tours. The fact that more people are willing to go on independent tours means that more Chinese tourists are inclined to communicate with local people. Such communications probably increase the chances that Chinese tourists communicate with local people in English and keep contact with friends that they make during their travels after they return to China.

International Events

Since the 1990s, China has held a number of high-profile international sports games, economic forums and exhibitions, which have had an impact on the expansion of English in local areas as well as on a nation scale. Holding international sports games in China has not only stimulated people's interest in sports, but also provided more opportunities for people to learn and use English. The preparation for the 2008 Olympic Games is one such example. To successfully hold the first Olympic Games in China, the central government mobilized a large group of people to learn English by increasing English language programs through different media. Other high-profile sports events such as Asian Games and top sports events held in China have similarly increased the chances for Chinese locals to interact with people from different countries (Zhou, 2017).

International sports events are not the only type of events that strengthen the use of English in China. Due to economic and technological development in China, Chinese trade fairs have become increasingly important and have provided further impetus to interactions between Chinese and foreign businessmen. China's top five trade fairs attract thousands of foreign business people (Van Hinsbergh, 2017). The Canton Fair (China Import and Export Fair) attracts more than half the attenders from other Asian countries per session. The other four trade fairs (the Yiwu Commodities Fair, Beijing International Auto Show, Bauma China, and East China Import and Export Commodity Fair), though on a smaller scale, draw tens of thousands of visitors from other countries annually.

International conferences, economic forums and exhibitions offer other opportunities for people to use English. From March till the end of December 2017, China held more than 170

international conferences in the fields of science and technology, education, social science and humanities, health and medicine, economics and finance (Conference in China, 2017).

However, it should be noted that despite the increase in the international events being hosted, they are often held in economically developed or tourism-oriented cities in China.

3.4 Structural effects

This section presents the findings of previous research with respect to structural effects of English covering the time between the Qing dynasty and present China. Section 3.4.1 focuses on the contact variety - Chinese Pidgin English in the Qing dynasty. Section 3.4.2 looks at the educated varieties of English in the Republic of China, notably Shanghai English. Section 3.4.3 reports the main features of the Chinese variety of English at different linguistic levels in China today.

3.4.1 Structural effects in the Qing dynasty

The most prominent structural effect in the Qing dynasty is the emergence of Chinese Pidgin English (CPE), which arose from constant contact between *compradores* and English-speaking traders. It formed between 1720 and 1839 (Bolton, 2003), and spread over ports that were opened to foreign powers following Qing's defeats in the two Opium Wars, but gradually died out due to greatly increased access to formal education and people's distaste for Pidgin English by the early twentieth century (ibid.). Some Chinese borrowings entered into Pidgin English before 1800 such as *cumshaw* (gift, bribe), *chin chin* (worship, greeting), *hoppo* (senior customs officer), *sampan* (kind of boat), *typan* (supercargo), *samshu* (liquor) and *fanquei* (European, literally, foreign devil). Most of these words relate to trade-related activities. More Chinese borrowings made inroads into CPE after the nineteenth century, but it was a rather small number of Cantonese loan words that calqued into CPE as a whole (Baker and Mühlhäusler, 1990; cf. Bolton, 2003: 162−164). Common Chinese calques in English include *fukki* (friend), *swan pan* (abacus), and *man* (slowly). However, regarding direct and literal borrowings from foreign languages, CPE adopted many Portuguese- and Anglo-Indian words and expressions alongside the English (Baker and Mühlhäusler, 1990). Substrate influence, especially Cantonese, has also manifested in the phonology and morpho-syntax of CPE (cf. Bolton, 2003: 162−164). For instance, in Cantonese, lateral [l] does not occur in word-final position. English words with a final [l] are written in CPE with the addition of *o, a*

or *um,* e.g. as in *hola* "whore", *lillo* "little", *callum* "call" (for more examples, see Baker and Mühlhäusler, 1990, cf. Bolton, 2003: 162−163). Though "the phonology of CPE is heavily influenced by Cantonese", it is not systematically affected there (Baker and Mühlhäusler, 1990: 98). Cantonese influence on the morpho-syntax of CPE can be noted in forms such as *what fashion* (how), *so fashion* (thus, in this way) and *how fashion* (Baker and Mühlhäusler, 1990, cf. Bolton, 2003: 163). One unique factor that sets CPE apart from other pidgins is that it was not restricted to face to face interaction, because it could be acquired through the use of "printed chapbooks as primers, for self-study or as a textbook for use with a teacher" (Baker and Mühlhäusler, 1990: 109).

3.4.2 Structural effects in the Republic of China

Due to the limited literature on English within the Republic of China, the structural effects during this period are determined by an educated guess. In the late 1920s and 1930s, "an indigenous English-language intellectual culture of a kind did develop" (Bolton, 2002: 9). Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the spread of elite bilingualism and the expansion of schools might have given rise to some educated varieties of English. Shanghai English is one prominent variety. Several intellectuals such as Lin Yutang, John Wu, and Sun Fo wrote and published articles or books in English. Given their educational background (most of them studied in the United States), their English was mostly influenced by American English. Since one of the main aims of these intellectuals were to interpret China to the West rather than the reverse (Bolton, 2002), it can be deduced that some expressions with Chinese characteristics were inevitably adopted in their works.

3.4.3 Structural effects in the People's Republic of China

In the People's Republic of China, a significant phenomenon with respect to structural effects is the emergence of a Chinese variety of English. Previous research on the Chinese variety of English has shown that salient linguistic features are observed on the levels of phonology, morpho-syntax, lexico-semantics, discourse and pragmatics (Cheng, 1992; He and Li, 2009, Kirkpatrick, 2007; Kirkpatrick and Xu, 2002; Schneider, 2011b; Xu, 2010).

Given the fact that "speakers of CE may have different accents dependent upon their mother-tongue dialect" and little research has been devoted to this aspect, Kirkpatrick (2007: 146) makes no attempt to claim that any distinctive phonological features are common to all speakers of CE. However, several researchers on phonology have suggested that phonological features of CE are on the horizon (Ao and Low, 2012; Chang, 2001; Deterding, 2006b; He and Li, 2009; Hung 2005;

Jiang, 2002; Li and Sewell, 2012; Pride and Liu, 1988; Schneider, 2011b). One salient feature in respect to vowels is that extra schwa is often inserted after word-final consonants, especially after alveolar plosives (Deterding, 2006b, Li and Sewell, 2012; Schneider, 2011b). Thus, schwa /ə/ is usually attached to words like *child*, *but*, *should*, *fold*, *most* (Schneider, 2011b: 149─150). Weak forms of function words are often avoided, and reduced vowels for polysyllabic words are absent at times (Deterding, 2006b). Hence, reduced vowels are pronounced as full vowels in function words such as *and, than* and in polysyllabic words like *considered*, *confess* (Deterding, 2006b: 182). Diphthongs might be shortened. The diphthongs in words like *stone*, *house* might be reduced to monophthongs (Li and Sewell, 2012: 88). In terms of prominent features relevant to consonants, a single dental stop is likely to be omitted at the end of words, especially in high-frequency function words and verbs (Schneider, 2011b). The final consonant is silent in words like *not*, *but*, *would*, *thought* (Schneider, 2011b: 151). In addition, the last consonant, typically a stop is likely to be omitted in word-final clusters (Schneider, 2011b). The last consonant is not articulated in words like *difficult*, *wind*, *student*, *first* (Schneider, 2011b: 152). Final fricatives are often pronounced without voicing. Thus, the final fricatives are voiceless in words like *his*, *of*, *overseas*, *Chinese* (Schneider, 2011b: 153). Voiceless stops, typically /t/, are often followed by strong audible aspiration. Hence, aspiration is heard in words like *ten*, *town*, *but*, *people* (Schneider, 2011b: 152). Dental fricatives are often avoided (Ao and Low, 2012; Deterding, 2006b; Li and Sewell, 2012; Schneider, 2011b). /θ/ may be replaced by /s/ and /ð/ may be substituted by /d/ or /z/ (Deterding, 2006b; Li and Sewell, 2012). But realizations of specific features depend on regions. According to Deterding (2006b), people from Liaoning (north China) and Zhejiang (south China) prefer to replace /ð/ with [d] while people from elsewhere are inclined to pronounce /ð/ as [z]. Regarding suprasegmental features, final pronouns are often stressed (Deterding, 2006b; Li and Sewell, 2012). For instance, emphasis is placed on the *him* in *around him* (Deterding, 2006b: 194). Furthermore, multisyllabic words or word groups are pronounced with syllable-timing (He and Li, 2009; Schneider, 2011b).

At the level of lexico-semantics, many words or phrases that are "native to China or have meanings peculiar to China" (Jiang, 2002: 13) have made their way into Standard English (StE) over different periods of development through transliteration, loan translation and semantic shift (Feng, 2000; Liu, 2008; Wei and Fei, 2003). Transliteration is seen in the direct use of romanizations such as *yinyang* and *tofu*. There are mainly two sources for transliteration. One

source is based on the sounds of Cantonese, which can be traced back to early trade contact (Knowlton, 1970). Words like *lychee* and *taichi* originate from Cantonese. The other source is seen in the direct employment of Standard Chinese. Words like *Putonghua, maotai*, and *fengshui* have their roots in *pinyin*, the official romanization system for Standard Chinese. Loan translation is usually word-for-word translation of Chinese into English. Typical examples of loan translation include *paper tiger*, *open-door policy*, *one country, two systems*, *three representatives*. With respect to semantic shift, forms of English words or phrases are retained but their original meanings are changed through semantic narrowing, semantic widening, amelioration, pejoration and semantic change in the sociolinguistic context of China (Cheng, 1992; Gao, 1996; Xu, 2010). For instance, the meaning of *connect* in "…I will connect knowledge with some actual …" is broadened to mean "apply" while the meaning of *achievement* in "but for my achievement isn't… wasn't very good" is narrowed to "grade" or "mark" (Xu, 2010: 42).

When it comes to morpho-syntactic features, a wide range of domains is covered. In terms of verb morphology, the suffix *-s* is absent in the verbs with the third singular subjects in the present tense. Thus, the verb is not changed into the corresponding third person singular in sentences such as *in the course which my father have one year only* (Schneider, 2011b: 155). Tense and aspect are marked optionally (Xu, 2008; 2010). Other morpho-syntactic features include the avoidance of the passive voice. The sentence *Some people told me that you had lost the game* is used more often than the sentence *I was told that you had lost the game* (Wei and Fei, 2003). With respect to noun phrases, articles are not used in due places in sentences like *have got Ø English name*, *our school is Ø only school that …* (Schneider, 2011b: 155). Plural marking *-s* is optionally applied, either absent in due places or present in undue places (Schneider, 2011b). Pronoun subjects and objects are sometimes left out in sentences like *Here Ø is very comfortable*, *We can see movies, and other activities about English. Yes, I like Ø very much* (Schneider, 2011b: 155; Xu, 2008: 10; 2010: 73). As to questions, the answers to yes/no questions and tag questions are not based on the truth itself, but based on the questions themselves. Therefore, in response to the question "Doesn't he want to go?", the answer is probably "Yes, he doesn't", or "No, he does" (Yan, 2002: 231). Regarding conjunctions, connective pairs may co-occur in constructions such as "because … so" and "although/though … but" (Xu, 2008; 2010). In terms of word order, subject and operator are inverted in subordinate finite *wh*-clauses (Xu, 2008; 2010). Left dislocation and fronting also occur,

but their occurrence is not motivated by stylistic considerations (Jia, 1990; Liu, 2008; Wei and Fei, 2003; Xu, 2010; Yan, 2002).

At the level of discourse and pragmatics, Chinese characteristics are identified in a range of domains "from speech acts, email discourse, journalistic discourse, personal correspondence, to technical and academic writings" (Zhang, 2003: 109). In oral discourse, Chinese characteristics are manifested in a set of interactions, including greetings, saying goodbye routines, forms of address, responses to compliments, accepting offers, giving offers and showing concern (Feng, 2000; Jiang, 2002; Kachru and Nelson, 2006; Wei and Fei, 2003). Take responses to compliments for instance. Xu (2010) identifies three main strategies with Chinese characteristics in this respect in his interview data of 72 informants. When a Chinese is praised, his or her answer might be probably *no.* This strategy of denial abides by traditional Chinese cultural norms. It is a way to show modesty. The second strategy with Chinese characteristics is avoidance strategy. Compliments are not replied or rejected. The third strategy with Chinese characteristics is the combination of avoidance strategy and denial strategy. At first, compliments are ignored. But under the pressure to respond to compliments, people respond with *no*.

In written discourse, the inductive approach is preferred over the deductive approach (Samovar and Porter, 2004; Scollon and Scollon, 1991; Tyler and Davies, 1990; Young, 1982; 1994). Wang and Li (1993) investigate the thought patterns demonstrated in 180 Chinese students' compositions (Why is English important to scientists) and uncovered three major patterns: a general-particular pattern, a problem-solution pattern with a "hidden" feature and a mixed pattern. The general-particular pattern is to present generalization first, then followed by examples or details. The problem-solution pattern with a "hidden" feature is applied in this way: problems are presented progressively from implicated to explicit illustrations and at the end solutions to problems are offered. The mixed pattern means that in form the language follows the general-particular pattern but in essence the thinking patterns keep to the problem-solution pattern. The main pattern employed by the students in their study is the problem-solution pattern, which was utilized by 66.11% of 180 students, while the general-particular pattern is only adopted by 6.11% of 180 students and the rest used the mixed pattern. The students' preference for the problem-solution pattern suggests that the inductive approach is applied more often.

3.5 Summary

From the introduction of English education in the Qing dynasty to the present, English in China waxes and wanes with changing international circumstances and domestic situations. In the Qing dynasty, language contact between *compradores* and English-speaking traders and English taught in missionary schools and official translation institutes formed two strands of the development of English. The adoption of the Japanese education system ushered an era of the westernization of education systems in China. In the initial years of the Republic of China, language policy was mostly inherited from the late Qing. The adoption of the US system of schooling elevated American English to a higher status. Missionary schools continued to expand albeit with setbacks when conflicts arose between nationalists and foreign powers. In the first three decades of the People's Republic of China, English was subject to the changing relations with the US, the former Soviet Union as well as internal political environment. It was not until the introduction of the Reform and Opening Up Policy that English was promoted from primary school to university. The importance of English was further stressed with the 2001 announcement. The 2013 language reform might have negative development of English, but given the introduction of oral tests in big cities, the importance of English will continue to be acknowledged and emphasized.

Attitudes towards English are generally ambivalent, but they alter with changing circumstances. In times of need and with the prospect of potential economic gains, English is viewed in a more positive light. When there are clashes between nationalism and foreign powers, English is deemed evil. In the Qing dynasty, English was regarded as a barbarian language at first. But when English was formally taught in China and people gained positions because of learning English, English was regarded more positively. In the Republic of China, English was generally considered positively, as it was a means to introduce new ideas and new culture. But it was viewed negatively when conflicts between nationalists and foreign powers intensified. In the People's Republic of China, due to the volatile internal and international political environment, attitudes towards English constantly changed in the first three decades. People's attitudes towards English became more positive after the implementation of the Reform and Opening Up Policy. In the age of globalization and internationalization, English is valued more and more, yet negative attitudes towards English always exist.

Social conditions of learning and using English are becoming more favorable. In the Qing dynasty, English was mainly used in education (private study, formal study and overseas study),

business (international trade), media (English language newspapers and journals), and diplomacy (negotiation with foreign powers). In the Republic of China, English was used more widely in education (expansion of official schools and missionary schools as well as establishment of modern institutions and larger scale of overseas study), media (English language newspapers, journals, books, foreign music and films) and diplomacy (active engagement in international affairs). In the People's Republic of China, English is currently used in a number of domains such as education (more English courses at tertiary level, private training schools and continuous increase of overseas study), media (newspapers, magazines, journals, radio broadcasts, television, and internet sites), business (bilingual titles of companies and stores, the work language in foreign-funded companies, transnational E-business, expansion of overseas market), tourism (increasing number of inbound and outbound tourists), and international events (high-profile international sports games, economic forums, exhibitions, trade fairs and international conferences). It is evident that the scale of English used in China and the number of English learners and users in China at present have surpassed any other period and will continue to increase. But compared to the use of Chinese, the presence of English is dwarfed. It is mainly needed and used in economically developed or tourism-oriented cities.

Structural effects have changed from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China. In the Qing dynasty, Chinese Pidgin English that had substrate influence from Cantonese came into being. In the Republic of China, some educated varieties of English could be present and would then be strongly influenced by American English. With the spread of English in China today, English used by Chinese learners is starting to demonstrate some prominent features at the levels of phonology, lexical-semantics, morpho-syntax, discourse and pragmatics. Main phonological features include the insertion of final schwa, the avoidance of reduced vowels for functions words and polysyllabic words, the shortening of diphthongs, consonant reduction, consonant cluster reduction, the avoidance of dental fricatives, aspiration of voiceless stops, stressed final pronouns, and syllable-timing. Major lexico-semantic features include the employment of transliteration, loan translation and semantic shift. Salient morpho-syntactic features are represented by the absence of the suffix *-s* in third person singular, optional tense and aspect marking, the avoidance of the passive voice, the optional use of articles, the optional use of the plural marking *-s*, and furthermore, pronoun drop, answers to yes/no questions, co-occurrence of connective pairs, inversion in subordinate finite *wh*-clauses, left dislocation, and fronting. Prominent features in oral

discourse are manifested in a set of interactions such as greetings, saying goodbye routines, forms of address, responses to compliments, accepting offers, giving offers and showing concern. The major feature in written discourse is the preference for the inductive approach.

Even though there have been many language policy changes and attitudes towards English have fluctuated, over the centuries and recent decades, several social, commercial and educational interests have contributed towards English not just being an EFL, but furthermore based on the improved proficiency, English in China is assuming several functions of an ESL and is starting to show Chinese characteristics at different linguistic levels.

Chapter 4 Research methodology

This chapter focuses on the design of data collection and the analysis of linguistic features from the corpus of the reading passage, interviews, and questionnaires. Section 4.1 introduces the research participants and explains the reasons why and how they have been chosen as research subjects. Section 4.2 illustrates three methods used in this study to collect data: a reading passage, interviews and questionnaires. Section 4.3 presents the procedures followed to choose qualified recordings, transcribe selected recording, and code the transcripts. Section 4.4 explains the methods of analyzing linguistic features from the corpus of the reading passage and the interviews as well as the data from the questionnaires.

4.1 Participants

The participants of this study are non-English majors at Wuhan University and Wuhan University of Science and Technology in Wuhan, Hubei Province, China.

Non-English majors have been selected as the research subjects, because they constitute the majority of potential English speakers and language users in China and play a decisive role in the future of English in China. Accordingly, the language competence and educational needs of this majority should determine the choice of pedagogical model for English instruction at tertiary institutions (He and Li, 2009).

The main focus of the research is to identify the linguistic characteristics of English spoken by Chinese college students. This study understands that not all college students are qualified as Chinese English users and there is great variance in their levels of language competence.

According to Wei and Su, in self-rated proficiency in English, around 20% of English learners are able to conduct daily conversations in English, of whom about 5% are able to converse quite fluently or better. And around 30% of respondents use English daily, of whom only 7.3% claim to use English often.

Since there are no obligatory national oral tests available in China, it is unreliable to judge their oral English proficiency just by their scores of English examinations such as CET4 or CET6. Some students' self-evaluation of their spoken English proficiency can be only used as a reference. Some of the students were modest in the self-assessment while some were overconfident in their oral English. Their inaccurate self-assessment might be caused by the lack of specifications of the

different levels in the supplementary questionnaire and different understanding of these levels. Hence, not all of the self-assessment matches the students' actual proficiency. Whether they can express themselves in interviews is a more important criterion.

Based on the functions of English in the institutionalized variety, Yang (2006) suggests that users in the Expanding Circle should be able to use English in the following basic areas:

> *Speakers at the Advanced-Low level are able to handle a variety of communicative tasks, although somewhat haltingly at times. They participate actively in most informal and a limited number of formal conversations on activities related to school, home, and leisure activities and, to a lesser degree, those related to events of work, current, public and personal interest or individual relevance.* (ACTFL, 1999: 4; Yang, 2006: 9)

Therefore, if students have no difficulty discussing the above-mentioned topics, which are covered in the interviews, they are considered as potential English users.

Tagliamonte (2006) and Krug and Sell (2013) note that a relaxed and familiar setting can render an advantage to sociolinguistic interviews. Since the two universities are former home universities of the author, the connection between the author and the two universities not only enables the author to find potential participants who love English, but also helps establish affinity and trust between the author and the interviewees in a comparatively short time. As the author is familiar with the routines and facilities of the two universities, this familiarity equips the author with the ability to find places that are convenient for participants to meet and quiet to record reading and interviews. Most importantly, a sense of familiarity or affinity can strengthen participants' willingness to take part in about an hour-long data collection, and ease their discomfort during the data collection.

105 undergraduates participated in this study, among whom 96 were non-English majors. 46 recordings of the interviews have been chosen for linguistic analysis after the transcription of the interviews (For the criteria to select recordings of the interviews, see section 4.2.2). These 46 students include 24 females, 22 males, aged from 17 to 24, majoring in Arts or Science, ranging from freshman to senior, with more than 8 years of English language learning on average. 5 from the north of China[13] (1 from Hebei province, 1 Heilongjiang province, 1 Jilin province, 1 Inner Mongolia, 1 Shanxi province), 40 from the south (23 from Hubei province, 4 from Jiangxi province,

[13] The division of southern and northern China is based on the geographical dividing line, namely, the Huai River-Qin Mountains Line. For more details, see Appendix VIII.

2 from Anhui province, 2 Sichuan province, 1 from Hunan province, 1 Guangdong province, 1 Guangxi province, 1 Zhejiang province, 1 Hainan province, 1 Yunnan province, 2 from Shanghai municipality, 1 Chongqing municipality), and one student's such information is absent. 35 of them belong to *Han* majority, 9 did not write down their ethnic groups, and 2 are minor ethnic groups[14] (1 from *Miao*, 1 from *Tujia*). 28 of the students attended primary school in town, 14 in village, and 4 did not indicate places of primary schools. But 37 of the students went to key high schools while 9 attended ordinary ones. (For more details, see table 4.1). At the time of recording, no one had any experience of studying overseas.

4.2 Data collection

A mixed-method approach has been employed in the form of combining the reading of the *wolf* passage (see below), individual interviews and questionnaires. The aim is to obtain a comprehensive understanding of how non-English majors view and use English in the context of China. The data were collected from September to December in 2014 in the two universities[15] in Wuhan.

4.2.1 The reading passage: The Boy Who Cried Wolf

The passage that has been chosen for the participants to read is *The Boy Who Cried Wolf*, mainly because it is the standard text recommended by the International Phonetic Associations to describe and measure English pronunciation (Ao and Low, 2012). The passage provides different contexts for the phonological features identified in previous studies on English in China (cf. Deterding, 2006a; 2006b. Ao and Low, 2012; Liu and Sewell, 2012). In addition, this story from Aesop's Fables is well known to Chinese, and familiarity with the story is conducive to fluent reading (Moskal and Blachowicz, 2006: 50). The passage reads as follows:

1 There was once a poor shepherd boy who used to watch his flocks in the fields next to a dark
2 forest near the foot of a mountain. One hot afternoon, he thought up a good plan to get some
3 company for himself and also have a little fun. Raising his fist in the air, he ran down to the
4 village shouting "Wolf, Wolf." As soon as they heard him, the villagers all rushed from their
5 homes, full of concern for his safety, and two of his cousins even stayed with him for a short
6 while. This gave the boy so much pleasure that a few days later he tried exactly the same

[14] The author did not collect specific information regarding the ethnic groups of the students' parents.
[15] The author obtained permission to collect data from the two universities.

7 trick again, and once more he was successful. However, not long after, a wolf that had just
8 escaped from the zoo was looking for a change from its usual diet of chicken and duck. So,
9 overcoming its fear of being shot, it actually did come out from the forest and began to
10 threaten the sheep. Racing down to the village, the boy of course cried out even louder than
11 before. Unfortunately, as all the villagers were convinced that he was trying to fool them a
12 third time, they told him, "Go away and don't bother us again." And so the wolf had a feast.

4.2.2 Interviews

Participants were initially recruited at places where English-loving students were likely to visit, since the author had some knowledge of the learning habits of undergraduates in China. At first, the author randomly asked the English lovers that the author encountered at these places whether they had time and interest to participate in my study. If the potential informants agreed to the participation, they would be asked to introduce friends who might be at the end of interviews. If they could not participate due to limited oral English proficiency or personal reasons, they would be asked to introduce my project to their capable friends and ask them to spare some time and do the favor for me. In fact, some of the students were so kind that they advertised my project in their school bulletins. Some did come to help me after they saw the advertisement. I also resorted to relatives who had connections at these two universities and asked them to mobilize their friends to invite some students who were willing to participate in my study. This "friend of a friend" approach and random inquiries were adopted throughout the whole data collection process (Milroy, 1980: 53; 1987: 66; Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 32; Buschfeld, 2013: 97; Schilling, 2013: 178). The "friend of a friend" approach effectively helped the author contact willing participants introduced by previous participants. Random inquiries enabled the author to contact different participants and avoid becoming entrenched in one particular social network, which alleviated the "silo effect" of the social network (Eckert, 2000: 77; Schilling, 2013: 193).

The interviews were guided by several modules, because it was easy for the author to select, substitute or re-contextualize topics under the module-based structure of sociolinguistic interviews (Schilling, 2013). The modules are largely based on Gordon's interviews with adolescents and adults in two different small towns. Gordon's research in 2001 shows that the adults speak much about their childhood and the changes in their town while the adolescents steer their conversations to school, their social lives, and their plans for the future (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Most college students in China leave their hometown to study in a different city, and they spend most of their

time on campus. Although they are adults, their life still revolves around campus. Hence, the topics favored by the two groups of people in Gordon's interviews are expected to engage college students to air their views in my study as well. Semi-structured guiding questions in the study cover 6 thematic modules: hometown, childhood and university life, hobbies, customs, future plans as well as language learning. These modules were designed to trigger a range of grammatical features by touching on past experiences, current hobbies and future plans (cf. Buschfeld, 2013: 97 for a similar approach). They also comply with two criteria of the topics of the modules mentioned by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 59): First, "previous experience had shown some topics to be successful in engaging speakers in interaction". Second is "the information that a given topic can yield on neighborhood norms and on general social and background information of value to the researchers".

The order of the guiding questions was not strictly followed. It was adjusted to interviewees' interests, directing participants' attention to the topics rather than the language itself, thus, reducing the possible negative effect of "observing how people talk when they are not being observed" or "observer's paradox" during the interviews (Labov, 1972: 209). The affinity established by similar education background reduces participants' tension when speaking English. Further, the interviewer showed interest in interviewees' responses and replied to questions raised by the interviewees, rendering a sense of relaxation to interviews (Meyerhoff *et al.*, 2015). In fact, as evidence of casual speech, one or more of the independent channel cues mentioned by Labov (1972) occurred naturally, could be identified and were noted in the course of the communication: increase in volume, pitch, tempo, breathing, or laughter. In addition, if the participants expressed their desire for a friend's company, their request was acceded.

4.2.3 Questionnaires

The questionnaire study consists of an attitudinal questionnaire and a supplementary questionnaire. The attitudinal questionnaire is derived from previous attitudinal questionnaires on English in China and Asian varieties of English (He and Li, 2009; Hu, 2004; Xu, 2010). It is intended to elicit students' perceptions of the importance and use of English in China, attitudes towards varieties of English in the Three Circles, and attitudes towards exonormative and endonormative teaching models. The three themes are of importance to determine the status of

English in China in relation to societal bilingualism, acceptance of a localized variety and endonormative orientation.

Participants were asked to rank their assessments on a 5-point Likert scale (*strongly disagree*, *disagree*, *indifferent*, *agree*, *strongly agree*) to show the degree they agreed or disagreed with 34 statements in the questionnaire. To avoid the tendency to agree with all the statements or "acquiescence bias" (Doernyei, 2003: 55−56), some statements are negatively worded. Take Statement 15 for example:

> *I'm less willing to speak English with people from countries like India, Singapore, South Africa, Germany, Thailand, South Korea than those from certain countries like the UK and the USA.*

Moreover, negatively worded items and positively worded items are mixed up randomly (Doernyei, 2003: 59−60). For the purpose of checking the consistency of the respondents' selections, some statements are formulated in different ways to express similar ideas. For example, statement 10 and statement 25 are aimed at obtaining students' perception of varieties of English in different contexts.

> *Statement 10: English used in China is the same as English used in other countries.*
>
> *Statement 25: English used in Canada, Australia and New Zealand is the same as that in the UK and the United States.*

Adapted from the supplementary questionnaire of English in Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2013), the supplementary questionnaire is designed to collect students' personal background information such as educational background, possible occasions to use English, and self-rated language proficiency in different aspects. Such information is crucial to assess to what extent bilingualism is widespread among these participants and their parents and to identify the expansion of use in English as well as essential social factors that affect the use of English.

The questionnaires were administered to respondents face to face. They were mostly filled in by respondents on the spot, except on some occasions when interviewees had to deal with other things in the course of the data collection. From 105 questionnaires distributed to the participants, 102 questionnaires were returned to the collector, of which 6 questionnaires are not considered in the analysis, because they were not filled in by non-English majors.

4.2.4 Procedures of data collection

Keeping in mind the ethical guidelines of sociolinguistic interviews (Krug and Sell, 2013), participants were informed of the concrete steps of collecting the data and the necessity to be recorded in advance before the data collection began. In most cases, they were invited to fill in the attitudinal and supplementary questionnaires first. After that, they were asked to read the reading passage (*The Boy Who Cried Wolf*). At last, they were interviewed by the author, with their conversations recorded. The whole process took about 1 hour on average.

The software RecForge Pro 2.1.13 is a high-quality sound recorder. It was downloaded and installed in the author's mobile phone and set to be saved automatically as .wav: 11kHz-16bits-Mono, which conforms to the requirements of field recording (Schilling, 2013: 218). Since people are generally accustomed to the presence of mobile phones, the utilization of the software in the field recording indirectly diverted people's attention from the recording device and reduced the negative effect of the "observer's paradox" (Labov, 1972: 113). During the recording of the reading passage and interviews, the mobile phone was placed between the participants and the author. All the recordings were made in quiet places on the two campuses.

4.3 Transcription and coding

Recordings for a complete transcription were selected according to the following three criteria: First, interviews should last around half an hour. Concerning the duration of interviews, Meyerhoff *et al.* (2015: 22) suggests that casual speech should take more than 15 minutes, in order to gain syntactic variables. Compared with the duration of previous interviews to elicit linguistic features (Buschfeld, 2013; Milroy and Gordon, 2003), around half an hour is taken as a minimum length to select recordings for analysis. Longer interviews, for example exceeding one hour, do not necessarily result in better data for analysis, as not all Chinese English users can speak English as fluently as speakers in the Inner Circle and the Outer Circle. Occasionally, some participants spoke English at a rather slow speed, but such recordings contained less spoken data compared to the recordings in which the speakers spoke at a normal speed. Hence, the duration of the interviews is not a key factor. What counts more is not corpus size but the quality of the material and the transcription (i.e. the range of distinct forms found in a given variety) (Krug and Schlüter, 2013: 182).

Second, interviews were not disrupted in the course of the data collection. According to the differences between English learners and users in China (cf. Section 4.1), Chinese English users should be able to conduct daily conversations covering a wide range of topics. Therefore, if the interviewees chose to disrupt or discontinue the recordings during the interviews, the data collection would not be consistent, and the participants were thus not considered qualified candidates for English users. Subsequently, their recordings were regarded as inappropriate for linguistic analysis.

Third, each transcript should contain around 3 000 words. Considering the size of each sample in other spoken corpora such as ICE, it is decided that the running words of a sample should lie above roughly 2000 words (De Klerk, 2006). Since the interview questions were inserted in the transcripts, 3 000 words per sample are used as a reference to judge whether the sample is suitable for linguistic analysis.

After measuring the recordings against the above three criteria, 46 out of 96 recordings were chosen and transcribed for linguistic analysis. The corpus of the interviews contains about 100 000 words. It is a small corpus, but it is sufficient to study grammar in spoken language (Hunston, 2002: 26) and analyze frequent variables such as phonemes (Huber, 2017: 451).

All the transcripts were checked at least twice to ensure the reliability of the transcribed materials. The markups of the transcripts followed an adapted version of ICE markup manual for spoken texts. As the main purpose of the study is to identify linguistic features, linguistic features from different language levels were also coded. Phonological features were indicated by inserting phonological variants of corresponding phonemes enclosure in square brackets. For instance, pleas[ʃ]ure means that the original phoneme /ʒ/ was realized as [ʃ]. Morpho-syntactic features were marked by adding acronyms which were indicative of the respective features to relevant constituents. For example, the acronym ISC means “inversion in subordinate clauses”. But if a constituent was omitted, the missing constituent was inserted into the corresponding place in a sentence and added with a sign marking omission before it such as <Ø -S>, which implies that the subject in this sentence was deleted. Lexico-semantic features were italicized and boldened. The detailed coding of general data and linguistic features is displayed in Appendix V.

As for the coding of the attitudinal questionnaires, the choices of the 5-point Likert scale were transferred into Excel. Instances of missing data in the questionnaires were deleted from the

analysis instead of the whole questionnaire (Doernyei, 2003). Since they were not considered of any value in the analysis, the missing responses were coded in "AB" values.

4.4 Data analysis

This section describes the identification and analysis of linguistic features as well as the analysis of the attitudinal questionnaires.

4.4.1 Analysis of phonological features

Phonological variation, i.e. realizations which differ from standard forms of English, was noted down and coded, based on an impressionistic listening of the data that consist of the reading passage. Both standard BrE and AmE are used as the reference points against which the phonological features are described, because Chinese English speakers do not exhibit a distinct tendency to prefer Received Pronunciation (RP) or General American (GA) (Liu and Sewell, 2012). The author is aware of Mohanan's (1992) argument that non-native varieties should be described in their own terms. However, English in China is still a developing variety and has no established standard norms of its own as yet. Thus, the features at the phonological level are compared to RP or GA.

Features, which are relevant for both phonology and morpho-syntax, are dealt with in the section on morpho-syntactic features. Idiosyncratic realizations that occur once or twice only are not considered potential features of English in China and therefore are not reported.

The features identified in the data of the reading passage are first described and categorized according to different linguistic environments. Take consonant cluster reduction for example. First, the words in which reduction occurred are identified. Then the words were categorized into different groups according to the same consonant clusters that these words share. To investigate the pervasiveness of the identified features, the relative frequency of occurrences of those features are calculated and reasons are explored.

Pervasiveness of a feature is indicated by relative frequency that lies above 50% of all the words in which a feature occurs. This is inspired by Kortmann and Lukenheimer's (2012) subjective ratings of the presence and frequency of features, and Buschfeld's (2013) ratings of the use of features.

In Kortmann and Lukenheimer (2012: 5), the ratings A, B, and C are used to judge the degree of presence and frequency of each of the WAVE features in any variety:

A feature is pervasive or obligatory

B feature is neither pervasive nor extremely rare

C feature exists, but is extremely rare

The rating system only shows a general categorization of the pervasiveness of a feature. It does not indicate in itself on which basis a feature is classified as A, B, C.

Though the ratings adopted by Buschfeld (2013: 106) are still judged impressionistically, they are more objective than those of Kortmann and Lukenheimer (2012: 5). This is because the use of features is measured against percentages of use, as indicated below:

(1) very rare occurrence: features used by individual participants only (≈<10%)

(2) rare occurrence: features used by some participants (≈10 to 30%)

(3) regular occurrence: features used on a regular basis (≈>30%, but <50%)

(4) frequent occurrence: features used by many of the participants (≈>50%)

(5) highly frequent occurrence: features used by most participants (≈>70%)

To avoid subjective assignments, in this study the percentage of use of a feature use serves as a basis to assign A, B, C ratings. After comparing the meaning of and overlaps between the A, B, C ratings and the percentages of use to a five-point Likert scale, I found that category A in Kurtmann and Lukenheimer's rating largely corresponds to ratings 4 and 5 in Buschfeld's rating. Category B almost overlaps Buschfeld's rating 3. Category A shares similarity with ratings 1 and 2 in Buschfeld's rating. Given the similarities between the two rating systems, I decided to use the following percentages of use to match the A, B, C ratings:

A Frequent occurrence to highly frequent occurrence: features occur frequently (≈>50%)

B Regular occurrence: features used on a regular basis (≈>30% <50%)

C From very rare occurrence to rare occurrence: features occur occasionally (<30%)

4.4.2 Analysis of morpho-syntactic features

After transcribing the interview texts, relevant morpho-syntactic features are identified by comparing constructions observed to the classic description of standard English in *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk *et al*., 1985). Here after the features of interest found are categorized according to the WAVE feature catalogue (Kortmann and

Lukenheimer, 2012) with some modification. The next step is to generalize the patterns identified in the features according to their linguistic environment. Take the feature "no gender distinction in third person singular" for example. This feature not only occurs in subject position, but also in object position. Moreover, male pronouns are used to refer to female referents, not in the other way around. The absolute frequency of the identified features is counted to demonstrate possible factors that have an impact on the patterns of the features. To conclude, possible reasons for the occurrence of such features are explored. As the size of the corpus is small and the majority of the students are *Han*, social factors are not examined thouroughly.

4.4.3 Analysis of lexical-semantic features

Although the current corpus of the interviews is too small for an in depth lexical-semantic analysis, an oversight of the lexical-semantic features detected in this study warrants attention. Previous studies show that Chinese lexis makes its entry into English mainly by means of direct employment of Chinese and loan translation (He and Li, 2009). Lexical features in the interview data are accordingly identified and categorized. The identification of lexical features is carried out using the word list option in AntConc. AntConc generates a list of words that can be ordered by frequencies or alphabetically. Words or phrases with Chinese characteristics are chosen according to their frequency (>1) in the data. But if such words are established words, then they are still regarded as cases of borrowing or loan translation even if they just occur once. If the use of Chinese only results from the failure to recall English equivalents, the use of Chinese is not considered a case of direct employment of borrowing.

Previous research on English in China also shows that one feature relating to semantics is semantic shift (Xu, 2010). The semantic shift or the change of meaning involves four means: broadening, narrowing, amelioration, and pejoration (Xu, 2010: 35). Accordingly, if the meaning of a word or phrase is broadened, narrowed, or undergoes amelioration, or pejoration, the word or phrase is documented during the proofreading of the transcripts. If such a word occurs only once in the data, then it is excluded from the analysis.

4.4.4 Analysis of questionnaires

To analyze the questionnaires, 34 statements of the attitudinal questionnaire and 3 questions of the supplementary questionnaire[16] are organized into three main themes: the importance and use of English in China, different varieties of English, and English teaching models in China. Then, standard deviation, mean, median, and percentages of the choices of a five-point Lickert scale are calculated with the help of Excel, but the median and percentages of the choices are referred to as main indications of the participants' ratings of the items in the questionnaires. This is because the median avoids the potentially distortive effect of extreme values and percentages of the choices of a five-point Lickert scale can reveal the implicit attitudes towards a statement if the median is 3 (the number indicates being indifferent to the statement). Finally, the attitudes towards different themes are generalized and the reasons for the attitudes towards English that are different from previous studies are explored.

[16] The details are summarized in table 4.2.

Chapter 5 Linguistic features of English in China

As a developing variety, English in China has demonstrated deviations from Standard English at different linguistic levels (He and Li, 2009; Xu, 2010). The features identified at the levels of phonology, morpho-syntax, and lexico-semantics will be presented in this chapter. Each feature will be provided with corresponding examples. The features at each linguistic level will furthermore be summarized in the tables 5.1 to 5.3.

5.1 Phonological features

The phonological features will be reported in order of segmental features and suprasegmental features with relevant examples. The suprasegmental features will focus on stressed pronouns and stress shift at the word level. At the end of this section, a summary of features will be presented together with frequency ratings A, B and C.

5.1.1 Absence of reduced vowels

The absence of reduced vowels is frequently reported in previous studies with respect to Chinese use of reduced vowels (Ao and Low, 2012; Deterding, 2006b). The differences between reduced vowels in English and Chinese cause difficulties for Chinese English learners, which might probably lead them to realize reduced vowels in English differently.

Reduced vowels in Mandarin do not occur as frequently and are not as stable as in English (Třísková, 2017: 45). Unlike Chinese, reduced vowels in English exist in two contexts: the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words and the weak forms of monosyllabic function words (Deterding, 2006b).

This difference has an impact on how function words are realized, as seen in the data of the reading passage (WD). The reduced vowels in these function words are overwhelmingly produced as full vowels. The source of the WD − the wolf passage covers a wide range of monosyllabic function words, including *and (seven times)*, *for (four times)*, *from* (four times), *of (six times)*, w*as (two times)(as an auxiliary verb)*, *as (three times)*, *that(three times)*, *some*, *than*, and *had* (as an auxiliary verb). The absence of reduced vowels is illustrated by the following examples:

(1) a. ... he thought up a good plan to get some /sʌm/ company for /f**ɔ:**/ himself and /**æ**nd/ also have a little fun. (WS004, WUST wolf passage)

b. As /**æ**z/ soon as they heard him, the villagers all rushed from /fr**ɒ**m/ their homes, full of concern for his safety, ... (WS042, WU wolf passage)

c. ... the boy of /**ɒ**v/ course cried out even louder than /ð**æ**n/ before. (WS031 F, WU wolf passage)

d. … he was /w**ɒ**z/ trying to fool them a third time … (WS022, WUST wolf passage)

e. ... a wolf that /ð**æ**t/ had /h**æ**d/ just escaped from the zoo ... (WS014 F, WUST wolf passage)

Reduced vowels are absent in all the instances of the words *and, for, from, had,* and *that*. This means that there are about 322 occurrences without reduced vowels in *and*, 184 in *for*, and 184 in *from*, 46 in *had*, and 138 in *that*. Reduced vowels are occasionally used in some realizations of words such as *of*, *some, was*, and *than*. They are present in 2 realizations of *was*, 6 occurrences of *of*, 1 of *some*, and 6 of *as*. In other words, the absence of reduced vowels affects 90 out of 92 occurrences of *was*, 270 out of 276 realizations of the word *of*, 45 out of 46 occurrences of *some*, and 132 out of 138 instances of *as*. *Than* shows the opposite trend of realization. Only 10 occurrences of *than* are pronounced as the full vowel [æ].

Adding up all the realizations of the monosyllabic function words without reduced vowels, the number reaches 1150, taking up 97.8% of the 1150 occurrences of all the function words mentioned above.

In the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words, reduced vowels can be absent in different positions of words. For example, they are not always present in the first syllable of words such as *concern* and *convinced*. Both words are bi-syllabic and contain the same syllable /kən/. The tendency to replace reduced vowels of full vowels in the syllable /kən/ is exemplified as follows.

(2) a. ... villagers all rushed from their homes, full of concern /k**ɒ**nˈsɜːn/ for his safety, ... (WS005 F, WUST wolf passage)

b. ... villagers all rushed from their homes, full of concern /k**ɑ:**nˈsɜːn/ for his safety, ... (WS094 F, WU wolf passage)

c. Unfortunately, as all the villagers were convinced /k**ɒ**nˈvɪnst/ that ... (WS015, WUST wolf passage)

d. Unfortunately, as all the villagers were convinced /k**ɑ:**nˈvɪnst/ that ... (WS127, WU wolf passage)

Of 46 total occurrences of *concern*, reduced vowels do not have their place in 34 realizations of the word, among which 5 occurrences are associated with replacing schwa with [ɒ] and 29 with realizing schwa as [ɑ:]. Likewise, 37 out of 46 occurrences of *convince* do not show any signs of reduced vowels. The realization of schwa as [ɒ] or [ɑ:] in this word reaches 11 and 26 occurrences respectively.

Adding up all the occurrences of *concern* and *convinced* without reduced vowels, the number of occurrences of absence of reduced vowels in these two words amounts to 71, making up 77.2% of the 92 occurrences in total.

Furthermore, the Chinese speakers in this study tend to use full vowels rather than reduced vowels in the last but one syllable of *unfortunately*. The schwa in the syllable /ət/ is mainly replaced by the diphthong [eɪ]. 21 occurrences of *unfortunately* (45.7% of the 46 occurrences in total) tend to be realized in this way.

(3) Unfortunately /ʌnˈfɔː.tʃən.**eɪ**t.li/, as all the villagers were convinced that ... (WS127, WU wolf passage)

Based on the frequency of absence of reduced vowels in the above-mentioned two syllables (absence of reduced vowels in 77.2% of /kən/, and in 45.7% of /ət/), reduced vowels are more likely to be realized in the first syllable of polysyllabic words and less likely to be adopted in the last but one syllable of *unfortunately* by the Chinese English speakers.

In the unstressed polysyllabic words mentioned above, 92 realizations are not produced with reduced vowels, taking up 66.7% of the 138 total occurrences. Compared with the absence of reduced vowels in 97.8% of the monosyllabic function words, the same process is not as widespread in the unstressed syllables of the polysyllabic words, which partly confirms Deterding's finding that Chinese speakers prefer to use full vowels in monosyllabic function words rather than polysyllabic words (Deterding, 2006b).

The higher rate of the absence of reduced vowels in the unstressed syllables of the polysyllabic words might be a result of differences in the levels of the speakers' English proficiency. The speakers in Deterding's study are students in the third month of an intensive English program at the National Institute of Education in Singapore (Deterding, 2006b). Comparatively, the speakers in this study are students who had never been abroad at the time of recording. Those students studying abroad are normally deemed to be better English users and would necessarily have to pay

more attention to spoken English for the purpose of everyday communication. Hence, due to their higher English proficiency they employ less full vowels in the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words.

The general tendency to use full vowels in monosyllabic function words might be caused by the syllable-timed rhythm of Chinese speech, which does not always have "unstressed syllables noticeably shortened or articulatorily weakened" (Třísková, 2017: 45). In contrast to Chinese, English is a stress-timed language and "the phenomenon of phonetic reduction in the unstressed syllables is characteristic of such languages" (Třísková, 2017: 45).

In summary, the absence of reduced vowels is found in 1217 realizations of monosyllabic function words and polysyllabic words, making up 94.5% of the 1288 total occurrences. This certainly demonstrates the strong presence of realizing reduced vowels as full vowels in the WD.

5.1.2 /ʌ/ pronounced as [ɑ:]

/ʌ/ occurs in less than 5% of American English, yet replacement of /ʌ/ by [ɑ] is documented as the most salient feature of Yunnan English (Ao and Low, 2012). Different realizations of /ʌ/ might originate from the lack of /ʌ/ as well as the absence of length contrast in Chinese.

Different realizations of /ʌ/ are identified in the WD, as can be seen in the words *duck* and *cousins* below:

(4) a. ... from its usual diet of chicken and duck /d**ɑ:**k/. (WS005 F, WUST wolf passage)

b. ... and two of his cousins /'k**ɑ:**z.ˢnz/ even stayed with him ... (WS126, WU wolf passage)

Different from the study in YE (Ao and Low, 2012), the realization of /ʌ/ as [ɑ:] is not identified in other words related with the vowel /ʌ/ such as *us*, *up*, *come*.

Of the 46 occurrences of *duck*, 28 are realized with changing /ʌ/ into [ɑ:]. The same realization can be found in 12 out of the 46 occurrences of *cousins*. Thus, 40 occurrences are realized with the substitution, which accounts for 43.5% of the 92 occurrences of the two words. Apparently, this feature occurs relatively regularly in the WD.

5.1.3 /ɪ/ pronounced as [i:], [ɜ:], [eɪ], [aɪ]

Different realizations of the short vowel /ɪ/ are documented in previous studies (Jiang, 1995; Kachru and Nelson, 2006: 169; Ao and Low, 2012). Different realizations of /ɪ/ might be attributed

to the absence of length contrast in Chinese, which causes difficulties for Chinese speakers to distinguish between long and short vowels (Jiang, 1995).

The short vowel /ɪ/ in the WD is produced differently in four ways: [i:], [ɜ:], [eɪ], [aɪ]. The realizations of /ɪ/ as [i:], [ɜ:] are reflected in the following examples of *fist*.

(5) a. Raising his fist /f**i:**st/ in the air, ... (WS013, WUST wolf passage)

b. Raising his fist /f**ɜ:**st/ in the air, ... (WS107 F, WU wolf passage)

The short vowel /ɪ/ is produced as the long vowel [i:] in 5 occurrences of *fist.* In these occurrences, *fist* sounds like *feast*. The vowel /ɪ/ is also articulated as the long vowel [ɜ:]. As a result, *fist* is identical to the word *first*. This substitution is shown in 9 occurrences of *fist*. Thus, the realization of /ɪ/ as [i:] takes up 10.9% of the 46 occurrences of *fist* and the production of /ɪ/ as [ɜ:] accounts for 19.6% of the 46 occurrences of *fist*.

Other words showing different realizations of /ɪ/ are found in the cognates *village* and *villagers*. In this context, /ɪ/ is articulated as the diphthong [eɪ] or [aɪ] as shown in the following examples:

(6) a. ... he ran down to the village /'v**eɪ**l.ɪdʒ/ shouting... (WS010, WUST wolf passage)

b. Racing down to the village /'v**aɪ**l.ɪdʒ/, ... (WS027, WUST wolf passage)

c. As soon as they heard him, the villagers /'v**eɪ**l.ɪ.dʒəz/ all rushed from their homes, ... (WS022, WUST wolf passage)

d. ... as all the villagers /'v**aɪ**l.ɪ.dʒəz/ were convinced that... (WS116 F, WU wolf passage)

The realization of /ɪ/ as [eɪ] occurs 9 times in *village*, 12 times in *villagers*. And the replacement of /ɪ/ by [aɪ] for /ɪ/ takes place respectively 8 and 10 times in *village* and *villagers*. Thus, the number of different realizations is equal to 39 in these two words. However, given the fact that both words occur twice in the wolf passage, each word has 92 occurrences in the WD. Accordingly, /ɪ/ is realized as [eɪ] 21 times out of the 184 occurrences of *village* and *villagers* (11.4%) and /ɪ/ is realized as as [aɪ] 18 times out of the 184 occurrences of *village* and *villagers* (9.9%).

Based on the relative frequency of the four non-standard realizations of /ɪ/ in the words in which they occur (10.9%, 19.6%, 11.4%, 9.9%), the Chinese speakers seem to show a greater

tendency towards replacing /ɪ/ with [ɜ:]. This tendency means that the preference for the realizations of /ɪ/ is not necessarily the corresponding long vowel of /ɪ/.

The realizations of /ɪ/ in my data partly lend support to Ao and Low's findings (Ao and Low, 2012). In their research, they show that /ɪ/ becomes [i:] in *it*, [eɪ] in *village* and *villagers*, and [i:], [eɪ], [ɜ:] in *fist*, though it is unclear whether all the realizations occur frequently in their data. However, the main substitution of /ɪ/ is different from Jiang's (1995) observation that Chinese students tend to pronounce short vowels the same as their corresponding long vowels. It is suspected that Chinese students took *first* for *fist* while they were reading the wolf passage, thus contributing to the relative high frequency of substitution of /ɪ/ by [ɜ:].

In summary, combining the realizations of /ɪ/ in *fist* with the realizations of /ɪ/ in *village* and *villagers*, there are 53 occurrences uttered in one of the four realizations, taking up 23.0% of the 230 total occurrences. In other words, this feature does not occur so regularly in the WD.

5.1.4 /i:/ pronounced as [ɪ], [e]

Previous research (Ao and Low, 2012) reports different realizations of /i:/. This phenomenon might arise from the absence of length contrast in Chinese. Probably the same reason causes different realizations of /i:/ in the WD.

Two kinds of realizations of /i:/ are identified in the WD. One kind of articulation is that the long vowel /i:/ is turned into the short vowel [ɪ]. This realization affects the words *feast* and *sheep* as below:

(7) a. And so the wolf had a feast /f**ɪ**st/. (WS013, WUST wolf passage)

b. ... it actually did come out from the forest and began to threaten the sheep /ʃ**ɪ**p/. (WS103 F, WU wolf passage)

No distinction is made between /i:/ and /ɪ/ in 10 occurrences of *feast* and 10 utterances of *sheep*. Thus, *feast* becomes homophonous to *fist*, and *sheep* becomes like *ship*. This merger might result from hypercorrection of short vowels, as Chinese speakers try to distinguish long vowels from short vowels. In these two words, there are 20 realizations of /i:/ as [ɪ], taking up 21.7% of the 92 occurrences.

The other kind of utterance is /i:/ being replaced by [e], as shown in the word *fields* as follows.

(8) ... who used to watch his flocks in the fields /f**e**ls/... (WS035, WUST wolf passage)

There are 4 occurrences where [e] replaces /i:/ in the word *fields*, occupying 8.7% of 46 occurrences. It is unclear whether some participants confused *field* with *feld* or simply mispronounced the word.

Compared with the relative frequency of two major realizations of /i:/, it seems that Chinese speakers are more likely to replace /i:/ with [ɪ]. This tendency could be affected by the absence of length contrast in Chinese.

When all the realizations of /i:/ are counted, 24 occurrences of the three words in which the vocalization occurs are different from StE. This represents 17.4% of the total 138 occurrences. The relative frequency of different realizations of /i:/ means that this features only occurs occasionally in the WD.

5.1.5 /ʊ/ pronounced as [u:]

Similar to other substitutions of short vowels, the tendency to transform the short vowel /ʊ/ into its corresponding long vowel [u:] is also identified in the WD. This substitution is found in the word *full* as in the following example:

(9) ... full /f**u:**l/ of concern for his safety, ... (WS081 F, WUST wolf passage)

The replacement appears in 7 occurrences of *full*, making up 15.2% of the 46 occurrences. In other words, this feature does not occur frequently in the WD.

5.1.6 /u:/ pronounced as [ʊ]

As distinctions between other pairs of long and short vowels are not drawn at times by the speakers in this study, the contrast between /ʊ/ and /u:/ is sometimes conflated in the WD. This realization can be illustrated by the following example of *fool*.

(10) ... he was trying to fool /f**ʊl**/ them a third time... (WS125 F, WU wolf passage)

The realization of /u:/ as [ʊ] is applied to 10 occurrences of *fool*, thus, *fool* sounds like *full*. In addition to negative transfer from Chinese, the substitution of /u:/ by [ʊ] might be affected by English words which contain *oo* but are pronounced in either short or long vowels. For example, words that contain *oo* with /ʊ/ include *cook*, *foot*, *good* and *look*; words that contain *oo* with /u:/ include *mood*, *proof*, *stool* and *too*. If no special attention is paid to the pronunciation of words

containing *oo*, Chinese English speakers might obscure differences between words that contain *oo* with /ʊ/ and also words that contain *oo* with /u:/.

In summary, the realization of /u:/ as [ʊ] constitutes 21.7% of the 46 occurrences. The relative frequency of this realization suggests that this feature does not occur regularly.

5.1.7 /e/ pronounced as [eɪ], [i:]

Ao and Low (2012) report that the vowel /e/ has different realizations in Yunnan English. In terms of /e/, Chinese has a close equivalent, but this sound has more variants in Chinese (Shei, 2014). The variability of the Chinese sound might partly account for different realizations of /e/ in the WD.

One major different realization of /e/ is the transformation of the monophthong /e/ into the diphthong /eɪ/. This transformation affects words such as *shepherd* and *threaten*.

(11) a. There was once a poor shepherd /ˈʃ**eɪ**p.əd/ boy ... (WS103 F, WU wolf passage)

b. ... and began to threaten /ɵr**eɪ**tn/ the sheep. (WS126, WU wolf passage)

Of the 46 occurrences in each word, 5 occurrences of *shepherd* are seen with diphthongization of /e/. The tendency to replace /e/ with /eɪ/ is much stronger in *threaten*. 18 out of the 46 occurrences are produced with diphthongization of /e/. Therefore, 23 realizations are related with diphthongization of /e/, making up 25% of the 92 occurrences.

The other different realization of /e/ concerns the articulation of /e/ as /i:/ in *threaten*, where *threaten* sounds like /ɵri:tn/ or /sri:tn/.

(12) ... and began to threaten /ɵr**i:**tn/ the sheep. (WS007, WUST wolf passage)

This realization occurs in 5 occurrences of *threaten*, taking up 10.7% of the 46 occurrences. It is assumed that this substitution is partly the result of a negative transfer from other English words such as *treat, feast, feat, real*, etc.

In the light of the relative frequency of two realizations of /e/ (25%, 10.7%), it seems that the Chinese students are prone to change /e/ into /eɪ/. This might imply that the realization of /e/ is influenced more by the difficulty in distinguishing between /e/ and /eɪ/ and less by the negative transfer from other English words.

Counting the deviations from StE of /e/, the two main realizations of /e/ affect 28 occurrences in the three words mentioned above, accounting for 30.4% of the 92 occurrences. Hence, /e/ pronounced as [eɪ], [i:] is not a common feature in the WD.

5.1.8 Insertion of schwa before /n/

Contrary to the common adoption of extra schwa at the end of a word, in WD, schwa is also inserted before /n/ when it occurs within a word. This use of extra schwa is only identified in the word *afternoon* as follows:

(13) One hot afternoon /ˌɑ:f.təˈnu:ən/, he thought up a good plan to ... (WS105 F, WU wolf passage)

Schwa is added to 4 occurrences of *afternoon* in this way. The same realization is not found in other words that have a similar structure, like *soon*.

This realization might be caused by confusing the spelling of the alphbet n and the pronunciation of /n/. My impression is that when more stress is placed on the /n/ it is more likely for /n/ to be inserted with a schwa.

According to the study on Yunnan English (Ao and Low, 2012), both *afternoon* and *soon* have this realization, but there is no consistency in the realization of the two words, as the participants who inserted schwa before /n/ in *afternoon* in their study did not do the same for *soon*. Whether my impression is accountable for the phenonmen demands more data that contain words with similar structure and with final /n/.

Insertion of schwa before /n/ accounts for about 8.7% of the 46 occurrences. This means that this feature occurs rarely in the WD.

5.1.9 Monophthongization

In previous research on CE, monophthongization is not often discussed, yet studies conducted by Li and Sewell (2012) and Ao and Low (2012) demonstrate that monophthongization occurs in words associated with /əʊ/, /eɪ/ and /aɪ/.

Monophthongization might have something to do with the differences between Chinese compound finals and English diphthongs. The pronunciation of Chinese compound finals differs from that of English diphthongs in its quicker and smaller lip and tongue movements. Chinese English learners, who do not distinguish enough between the two counterparts, consequently shorten English diphthongs (Chang, 2001).

Monophthongization is also identified in the WD. Two kinds of monophthongization can be derived from the WD: one is the replacement of the diphthong /əʊ/ by the monothphong [ɒ]; the other is the replacement of the diphthong /eɪ/ by the monophthong [e].

Replacement of /əʊ/ by /ɒ/ is seen in the words *homes* and *told*, as below:

(14) a. ... the villagers all rushed from their homes /h**ɒ**ms/, ... (WS107 F, WU wolf passage)

b. ... they told /t**ɒ**ld/ him, ... (WS007, WUST wolf passage)

*M*onophthongization occurs 4 times in *homes* and 10 times in *told*. Thus, 14 out of the 92 occurrences of *homes* and *told* are realized with monophthongization, that is, about 15.2% of words associated with /əʊ/ are monophthongized into [ɒ].

The second type of monophthongization can be noticed in the words *later* and *safety*. The diphthong /eɪ/ in these words is converted into the monophthong [e]. This can be seen in the following examples:

(15) a. ... a few days later /l**e**tə/ he tried ... (WS023 F, WUST wolf passage)

b. ... full of concern for his safety /'s**e**f.ti/, ... (WS019, WUST wolf passage)

Of 46 occurrences in each word, 4 occurrences of *later* are realized with monophthongization and 3 realizations of *safety* are affected by the same process. Therefore, 7 realizations of the two words are shortened into [e], taking up 7.6% of the 92 occurrences.

Judging by the frequency of the two types of monophthongization (15.2%, 7.6%), it might be deduced that the Chinese speakers have a greater tendency to reduce /əʊ/ to [ɒ]. Furthermore, based on the relative frequency of monophthongization in each word (4/46,10/46, 4/46, 3/46), it can be seen that *told* is more likely to be reduced into a word with the monophthong /ɒ/. This tendency is largely in line with phonological constraints on monophthongization found in studies of American English: the most favorable environment for monophthongization is diphthongs preceding /r/ or /l/, followed by nasals and other obstruents (Tillery and Bailey, 2008). Not only do phonological constraints play a part in monophthongization, but also social constraints have an impact on it. The fact that speakers come from different regions and ethnic groups may also be a contributing factor to the different types of monophthongization.

Adding up the occurrences associated with monophthongization, there are 21 occurrences, taking up 11.4% of 184 occurrences of the words mentioned above. Thus, monophthongization does not occur regularly in the WD.

5.1.10 Omission of final /n/

Different from most features identified in the data, omission of final /n/ is probably affected by transfer from local dialects rather than from Chinese. Final /n/ is allowed in Chinese, though most syllables in Chinese generally end with a vowel sound. Contrary to Chinese, some dialects allow the final /n/ to be dropped (Wang, 2011), and thus differ greatly from Chinese.

The following example shows omission of final /n/ identified in the WD:

(16) ... full of concern /' kɑ:nsɜ:/ for his safety, ... (WS016, WUST wolf passage)

Contrary to the findings of Ao and Low (2012), final /n/ in the WD is almost always present in the word *afternoon*, except that one out of 46 occurrences of *afternoon* does not have the final /n/. And the final /n/ is retained in all of the occurrences of the word *soon*. 6 occurrences of *concern* are produced without the final /n/.

Taking the linguistic environments of the three words into consideration, both *afternoon* and *concern* are bi-syllabic words and they precede words beginning with consonants (... *afternoon, he*[17] ...; ... *concern for* ...) while *soon* is a monosyllabic word and stands before a word beginning with a vowel (... *soon as*...). Thus, the final /n/ might be more likely to be elided before words beginning with consonants and this tendency might be stronger in bi-syllabic or polysyllabic words than in monosyllabic words.

Calculating the relative frequency of the omission of the final /n/, this feature makes up 13.0% of the 46 total occurrences. This means that omission of the final /n/ occurs rarely in the WD.

5.1.11 Reduction of consonant clusters

Reduction of consonant clusters is widespread in English around the world, especially in contact-induced varieties of English (Schreier, 2005). Previous studies on English used by Chinese

[17] I'm aware of the fact that *he* might be pronounced as /i/, but the consonant /h/ is present in the WD. Thus, *he* is regarded as a word that begins with a consonant.

also show that consonant cluster reduction exists (Schneider, 2011b). The occurrence of consonant cluster reduction might be caused by differences between English and Chinese.

In English, consonant clusters are very common. They can occur at the initial, medial or final position of a word. But initial and final consonant clusters do not exist in Chinese (Chang, 2001).

Such differences between English and Chinese might also lead to consonant cluster reduction in the WD. Two types of consonant cluster reduction are also present in the WD: one is reduction of consonant clusters in the medial positions of words; the other is reduction of consonant clusters in the final positions of words.

Reduction in the word medial position is often associated with omission of a stop in a consonant cluster of two stops like the consonant cluster /kt/ in the following examples:

(17) a. ... he tried exactly /ɪgˈzæk.li/ the same trick again, ... (WS016, WUST wolf passage)

b. ... he tried exactly /ɪgˈzæt.li/ the same trick again, ... (WS031 F, WU wolf passage)

The consonant cluster /kt/ is reduced to /k/ in 18 occurrences of *exactly*, and /k/ is deleted in another 18 realizations of the same consonant cluster /kt/. Thus, 36 out of the 46 occurrences of *exactly* are likely to be articulated with the omission of a consonant in the consonant cluster.

Reduction in word-final position frequently occurs in words with a final stop, especially a dental stop. This elision is widespread in two-consonant cluster /st/, where the final alveolar plosive /t/ is left out, as shown in the following examples of *fist*, *forest*, *just*.

(18) a. Raising his fist /fɪs/ in the air, ... (WS096 F, WU wolf passage)

b. ... in the fields next to a dark forest /ˈfɒr.ɪs/ near the foot of a mountain. (WS042, WU wolf passage)

c. ... it actually did come out from the forest /ˈfɒr.ɪs/ and ... (WS013, WUST wolf passage)

d. ... a wolf that had just /dʒʌs/ escaped from the zoo was ... (WS004, WUST wolf passage)

The consonant /t/ is removed in 6 out of 46 occurrences of *fist*. The same omission is found in 40 out of the 92 occurrences of *forest*. When it comes to *just*, of 46 occurrences, 24 are realized with the omission of the final stop /t/.

Omission of a final stop is also found in consonant clusters before an inflectional suffix, as exemplified in *fields*.

(19) ... in the fields /fi:lz/ next to a dark forest ... (WS094, WU wolf passage)

The voiced alveolar plosive /d/ is often not pronounced in the consonant cluster /ldz/ in *fields* and this omission can be found in 38 realizations of *fields* while the total occurrence of the word is 46.

Final consonant cluster reduction does not necessarily involve deletion of final consonants. Omission of consonants in final consonant clusters can occur at the initial or medial position of final consonant clusters. This phenomenon is illustrated with the consonant cluster /kst/, as shown below:

(20) a. ... in the fields next /nes/ to a dark forest near the foot of a mountain. (WS019, WUST wolf passage)

b. ... in the fields next /nek/ to a dark forest near the foot of a mountain. (WS098, WU wolf passage)

The deletion of the final stop /t/ in the phrase *next to* is not discussed here, as it is a manifestation of assimilation. Final /t/ in *next* and initial /t/ in *to* merge.

Two kinds of reduction are shown in the above two examples: *next* can be articulated as /nes/ or as /nek/, omitting the velar plosive /k/ or the alveolar fricative /s/. The stop /k/ is left out of 12 occurrences of *next*. 6 realizations of *next* are pronounced without /s/. Thus, 18 occurrences of *next* are realized with elision of /k/ or /s/.

Summarizing the four groups of consonant clusters in the WD (/kt/, /st/, /ld-z/, /kst/), /k/ or /t/ is omitted in 36 realizations of the consonant cluster /kt/, accounting for 78.3% of 46 total occurrences; /t/ is left out in 70 occurrences of /st/, making up 38.0% of the 184 occurrences; /d/ is deleted in 38 occurrences of /ld-z/, constituting 82.6% of the 46 occurrences; /k/ or /s/ is elided in 18 realizations of /kst/, comprising of 39.6% of the 46 occurrences. Of the four groups of consonant clusters, /ld-z/ enjoys the highest reduction rate. This consonant cluster differs itself from the other three consonant clusters in two aspects. First, the first phoneme of this consonant cluster is a liquid /l/ while that of the other groups is either a plosive /k/ or a fricative /s/. Second, /ld-z/ is bi-morphemic while the others are mono-morphemic. The differences between /ld-z/ and the other groups suggest that it might be more likely for reduction to occur in consonant clusters that begins with an /l/ rather than a /k/ or an /s/ and that it is less likely for monomorphemic consonant clusters to undergo reduction than bimorphemic ones where the final fricative is

represented by the plural /z/. The two factors that contribute to the high reduction rate of /ld-z/ largely correspond to Schreier's observation of two factors that work on consonant cluster reduction: phonemic environment and morphological status (Schreier, 2005).

In terms of the three monomorphemic consonant clusters (/kt/, /st/, /kst/), reduction occurs more frequently in /kt/ than in the other two groups. The position of the consonant clusters might play a role: /kt/ is in the word-mid position while the other two in the word-final position. Regarding the two final consonant clusters (/st/, /kst/), it is less likely for reduction to occur in /st/ than /kst/. The complexity of the consonant clusters might account for more reduction in /st/: /st/ is composed of two phonemes while /kst/ is made up of three phonemes. It seems that consonant clusters of more phonemes facilitate the occurrence of reduction.

Whether the following phoneme affects the realization of the four consonant clusters can be only tested on the consonant cluster /st/, which is the only group that is by consonants and vowels. When analyzing the linguistic environments of words in which the final /t/ is dropped from the consonant cluster /st/, only the word *forest* has two contexts: in the first, *forest* is followed by a vowel (*and*), while in the second, *forest* is followed by a consonant (*near*). In 40 out of the 92 occurrences of *forest*, the final /t/ is dropped 25 times in the first with a vowel and 15 times in the second. The other two words in this group, *fist* and *just*, are followed by words beginning with a vowel (*in* and *escaped* respectively). There are 6 realizations of fist without the final /t/ and 24 of *just* without the final stop /t/. Adding up all of the occurrences concerning the omission of the final /t/ before words beginning with vowels, 55 occurrences of the consonant cluster /st/ are realized in this way, accounting for about 39.9% of the 138 occurrences of words with respect to /st/ before words beginning with vowels. Since 15 realizations out of the 46 occurrences of *forest* with consonant cluster reduction are followed by words beginning with consonants (*near*), consonant cluster reduction before consonants makes up 32.6% of the 46 occurrences of forest that precede a word beginning with a consonant (*near*). It seems that the omission of the final consonant in the consonant cluster /st/ is more likely to occur before words that begin with vowels.

Comparing the frequency of consonant cluster reduction with respect to syllabic composition, consonant cluster reduction affects 30 realizations of *just* and *fist*, making up 32.6% of the 92 occurrences of *just* and *fist*. The same process is found in 40 realizations of *forest*, comprising 43.5% of the 92 occurrences of *forest*. Hence, omission of the final /t/ in /st/ is more likely to occur in polysyllabic words.

Taking the comparison of linguistic environment of the consonant cluster /st/ into account, it might be inferred that the above-mentioned two types of linguistic environments might play a role in the occurrence of final consonant cluster reduction: words with final consonant clusters that are followed by vowels or consonants, and within words complexity of words that contain final consonant clusters.

Concerning the preferred omission of consonants, it is only in the realization of the consonant cluster /kst/ that any omission of the fricative occurs. Realization of other groups involves omission of stops, whether a stop is a dental stop or a velar stop. Based on the frequency of consonant cluster reduction in these four groups, it can be deduced that a stop is more likely to be left out of consonant clusters.

In general, reduction of consonant clusters occurs frequently in the WD, as reduction is found in 162 realizations of the consonant clusters mentioned above, accounting for 50.3% of the 322 occurrences in total.

5.1.12 Voicing

Voicing is another feature that is affected more by dialects rather than Chinese, as voicing is not common in Chinese. It occurs in word-final position in the WD, as illustrated in the following example:

(21) ... he thought /θɔː**d**/ up a good plan to ... (WS019, WUST wolf passage)

As the above example indicates, the final voiceless consonant /t/ is voiced as the voiced consonant /d/. This realization occurs in 5 occurrences of *thought*.

Voicing in word-final position also works before the inflectional suffix -*ing*, as demonstrated in the word *racing*.

(22) Racing /ˈreɪ.**z**ɪŋ/ down to the village, ... (WS107 F, WU wolf passage)

The voiceless fricative /s/ is changed to the voiced fricative [z]. And /s/ is voiced in 11 realizations of *racing*.

Adding up voiced occurrences of the two words, voicing has an impact on 16 realizations, making up 17.3% of the 92 occurrences in total. Hence, voicing does not occur regularly in the WD.

5.1.13 Devoicing

Schneider (2011b) observes that devoicing occurs often in word-final fricatives of high-frequency function words, occasionally in word-final fricatives of lexical words and rarely in word-medial position when it comes to Chinese students' realization of voicing. Differences between English phonology and Chinese phonology with respect to voicing might account for devoicing of consonants in English by Chinese English speakers.

In English, the distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants is of paramount importance. On the contrary, this distinction is of little relevance in Chinese, even though it exists marginally. Instead, the distinction between aspirated consonants and unaspirated consonants is of significance (Wiedenhof, 2015).

Probably influenced by few voiced consonants in Chinese, voiced consonants become voiceless consonants in the WD, as exemplified in *cousins*.

(23) ... and two of his cousins/ˈkʌ**s**.ˁns/ even stayed with him for a short while. (WS027, WUST wolf passage)

It can be seen that the voiced fricative /z/ in word-medial position becomes the voiceless fricative [s]. This type of devoicing only affects 3 realizations of *cousins*, making up 6.5% of the 46 occurrences, which confirms the observation by Schneider (2011b) that devoicing rarely occurs in word-medial position.

5.1.14 Replacement of the post-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ by [ʃ], [dʒ]

Though the post-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ is the least common consonant in English (Cruttenden, 2001), it is often referred to as one of the most difficult phonemes for Chinese English speakers (Ao and Low, 2012; Deterding, 2006; Li and Sewell, 2012), because it is usually realized in different ways. Different realizations of /ʒ/ might be attributed to the lack of /ʒ/ in Chinese phonology.

Different realizations of /ʒ/ are also identified in the WD, as provided in the following examples of *pleasure* and *usual*.

(24) a. This gave the boy so much pleasure /ˈple**ʃ**.ə/... (WS094, WU wolf passage)

b. This gave the boy so much pleasure /ˈple**dʒ**.ə/... (WS108 F, WU wolf passage)

c. ... from its usual /'juː.**ʃ**u.əl/ diet of chicken and duck. (WS105 F, WU wolf passage)

d. ... from its usual /'juː.**dʒ**u.əl/ diet of chicken and duck. (WS016, WUST wolf passage)

As shown in the above examples, /ʒ/ is primarily realized as [ʃ] and [dʒ]. The two realizations have equal occurrences in *pleasure*, with 10 occurrences respectively. But they do not share the same occurrences in *usual*. The realization of /ʒ/ as [ʃ] occurs 8 times and as [dʒ] 3 times. Hence, [ʃ] occurs in 18 realizations of *pleasure* and *usual*, accounting for 19.6% of the 92 occurrences of the two words. Comparatively, [dʒ] is found in 13 realizations of *pleasure* and *usual*, making up 14.1% of the 92 occurrences of the two words. The relative frequency of these two realizations demonstrates that the Chinese students have a slight preference to utter /ʒ/ as [ʃ]. This preference differs from previous findings (e.g. Ao and Low 2012; Deterding 2006; Huang 1996; Li and Sewell, 2012).

In the studies of Deterding (2006) and Li and Sewell (2012), speakers from the northern part of China tend to replace /ʒ/ with similar Chinese pinyin /ɹ/. Ao and Low (2012) show that speakers in Yunan province are inclined to pronounce it as /j/. Huang (1996) finds that speakers in Taiwan prefer to substitute /dʒ/ for /ʒ/. In my study, most of the speakers are from the central part of China and realization of /ʒ/ as [ʃ] is used more than the pronunciation of /ʒ/ as [dʒ]. Therefore, the results in my study corroborate the claim that to some extent the pronunciation of /ʒ/ depends on regional origin.

Adding up the different realizations of /ʒ/ in *pleasure* and *usual*, about 31 occurrences are realized as either [ʃ] or [dʒ], which make up about 33.7% of the 92 occurrences in total. This indicates that this feature is used on a regular basis.

5.1.15 Replacement of the voiceless dental fricative /ɵ/ by [s]

The voiceless dental fricative /ɵ/ is one of the phonemes that are mentioned frequently in previous research (Ao and Low, 2012; Deterding, 2006b; Li and Sewell, 2012; Kachru and Nelson, 2006; Schneider, 2011b). It is often pronounced as the voiceless fricative [**s**]. This substitution is often attributed to absence of /ɵ/ in Chinese phonology.

The same replacement is also identified in the WD, as indicated in the following examples of *thought*, *threaten*, and *third*:

(25) a. ... he thought /**s**ɔːt/ up a good plan to ... (WS013, WUST wolf passage)

b. ... and began to threaten /**s**ri:tn/ the sheep. (WS048, WU wolf passage)

c. ... he was trying to fool them a third /**s**ɜ:d/ time, ... (WS103 F, WU wolf passage)

The replacement of /ɵ/ by [s] occurs in *thought* 16 times, *threaten* 9 times, and *third* 10 times.

Previous research (Deterding, 2006b; Li and Sewell, 2012) shows that substitution of /s/ for /ɵ/ is less common in word-final position. There is no way to draw a comparison between realizations of initial /ɵ/ and final /ɵ/ in the WD, as there are no instances of final /ɵ/ in the WD.

As each word occurs 46 times in the WD, the realization of /ɵ/ as [s] accounts for 25.4% of the 138 occurrences of the three words. Thus, this realization does not occur frequently in the WD.

5.1.16 Replacement of the voiced dental fricative /ð/ by [d]

Similar to the voiceless dental fricative /ɵ/, the voiced dental fricative /ð/ is frequently modified by Chinese English speakers (Ao and Low, 2012; Deterding, 2006b; Li and Sewell, 2012; Kachru and Nelson, 2006; Schneider, 2011b). Different realizations of /ð/ might be related to the absence of this sound in Chinese phonology.

In the WD, /ð/ is sometimes replaced by [d] in the initial position of functional words like *the*, *that* and *them* as follows:

(26) a. ... next to a dark forest near the /**d**ə/ foot of a mountain. (WS126, WU wolf passage)

b. ... a wolf that /**d**æt/ had just escaped ... (WS016, WUST wolf passage)

c. ... he was trying to fool them /**d**em/ a third time, ... (WS019, WUST wolf passage)

Both *the* and *that* have 11 realizations with [d] while 6 realizations of *them* involve substitution of /ð/ by [d].

Replacement of /ð/ as [d] does not occur in medial and final positions of words like *mother* and *with* in the WD, though the substitution is reported in previous research (Deterding, 2006b; Schneider, 2011b; Li and Sewell, 2012). The findings seem to support Deterding's observation that [d] is less likely to replace medial /ð/. Instances of /z/ for /ð/ are not found in the WD. This might be due to the difficulty of differentiating /ð/ from /z/ in intermediate realizations and weak consonants (Li and Sewell, 2012).

Summarizing all the occurrences with /d/ in the function words mentioned above, the realization with [d] affects 28 realizations, taking up 3.4% of the 828 occurrences. The relative frequency of the replacement of /ð/ by [d] means that this feature occurs rarely in the WD.

5.1.17 Replacement of the bilabial nasal /m/ by [n]

One substitution worth noting in the WD is that the bilabial nasal /m/ is replaced by the alveolar nasal /n/ in the word *company*. Thus, *company* is turned into *conpany*, as shown below:

(27) ... to get some company /ˈkʌ**n**.pə.ni/ for himself ... (WS013, WUST wolf passage)

Substitution of /m/ by [n] might be related to places of articulation. /m/ is a bilabial nasal while /n/ is an alveolar nasal. It might be easier for the English learners to move from the alveolar nasal to the bilabial plosive than from the bilabial nasal to it.

9 realizations of *company* are pronounced as *conpany*, accounting for 19.6% of the 46 occurrences. Apparently, this substitution does not occur often in the WD.

5.1.18 Replacement of the velar nasal /ŋ/ by [n]

In some varieties of English, the velar nasal /ŋ/ in final position tends to be replaced by [n] (Kennedy, 2003). This phenomenon is also identified in the WD, as can be seen from the following example:

(28) Raising /'reɪz**n**/ his fist in the air, ... (WS028 F, WUST wolf passage)

The velar nasal /ŋ/ in the word *raising* is substituted by the alveolar nasal /n/. But there is no similar substitution in words of similar endings like *racing*, and *overcoming*. This might suggest that nasalization of /ŋ/ is not a feature typical of the *-ing* form, but it might be associated with specific lexical words. Replacement of /ŋ/ by [n] might also pertain to proficiency level, as the substitution tends to be a sociolinguistic phenomenon influenced by educational levels (Kennedy, 2013).

Replacement of /ŋ/ by [n] is used in 3 occurrences of *raising*, making up 6.5% of the 46 occurrences. The relative frequency of replacing /ŋ/ with [n] suggests that this feature occurs rarely in the WD.

5.1.19 Stressed pronouns

Previous research shows that Chinese speakers are prone to stress pronouns especially when they occur in sentence-final position (Deterding 2006b; Li and Sewell, 2012). This tendency to stress pronouns might be influenced by null-pronoun languages (Deterding and Kirkpatrick, 2006). According to Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006: 400), "if a pronoun can easily be omitted, its non-omission usually means it is important, and as a result it is often stressed".

Stressed pronouns are also found in the WD as follows:

(29) a. As soon as they heard him /'hɪm/, the villagers ... (WS041 F, WU wolf passage)

b. ... and two of his cousins even stayed with him /'hɪm/ for a short while. (WS103 F, WU wolf passage)

c. ... they told him /'hɪm/, "Go away and ... (WS085 F, WUST wolf passage)

From the above examples, it can be seen that the final pronoun *him* occurs in 3 different contexts: *heard him, told him* and *stayed with him*. Stress on *him* occurs 13 times in *heard him,* 10 times in *told him,* and 21 times in *stayed with him*. As *him* in each context has 46 occurrences, the relative frequency of stressed *him* after verbs (*heard him, told him*) is 23 out of the 92 occurrences (25.0%), and the relative frequency of stressed *him* after preposition is 21 out of the 46 occurrences (45.7%). Thus, we may conclude that the Chinese speakers tend to stress *him* when it is after prepositions (*stayed with him*).

Deterding and Kirkpatrick's (2006) reasoning of influence of null pronouns seems to hold true in my study. As objects after verbs are more likely to be omitted in Chinese than objects following prepositions, it is more likely for Chinese speakers to stress pronouns after prepositions in English.

Counting all the occurrences of *him* with stress, stress is placed on 44 occurrences of the stressed pronoun *him* in total, making up 31.9% of the 148 occurrences. Hence, stressed pronouns occur regularly in the WD.

5.1.20 Stress shift

Chinese learners shift stress, but this is not considered a characteristic feature of English in previous research (Schneider, 2011b). Stress can be shifted without concerns for rules from original positions across word boundaries or within single words. This phenomenon might arise from inherent differences between the English and Chinese languages.

Most words in Chinese comprise two syllables that are distinguished by a nuanced change in tone, where English with its words comprising of variable syllable lengths, habitually stresses one or more syllables in a word depending on various internal and external factors, such as the lengthening or shortening of word lengths and changed meanings (e.g. *head**i**ng* and *beh**ea**ding*), rhythm (esp. poetry) and syntax.

Two types of stress shift within words are detected in the WD. One type of stress shift occurs when the original stress is moved forward to the initial place of a word, as exemplified in the word *concern*.

(30) ... full of concern /'kɔnsɜ:n/ for his safety, ... (WS053, WUST wolf passage)

The original stress of *concern* is shifted from the second syllable /sɜ:n/ to the first syllable /kən/ and this stress shift is performed in 9 realizations of *concern*. Thus, this forward stress shift comprises 19.6% of the 46 occurrences.

The other type of stress shift is observed in the original stress moving backward to the neighboring syllable or the penultimate syllable, as in the case of *successful* and *unfortunately*.

(31) a. ... and once more he was successful /səkses.'fʊl/. (WS013, WUST wolf passage)

b. Unfortunately /ʌnfɔ:.ʧən.'eɪt.li/, as all the villagers were convinced that ... (WS042, WU wolf passage)

More instances of shifting stress backward occur in *unfortunately* than in *successfully*. The stress in *unfortunately* is transferred from the second syllable /fɔ:/ to the fourth syllable /ət/. This backward stress shift has an effect on 9 realizations of this word, three times as many as in the word *successful*. In 3 occurrences of *successful*, the stress is moved from the second syllable /ses/ to the last syllable /fᵊl/. Thus, 12 instances of these two words are associated with backward stress shift, making up 13.0% of the 92 occurrences.

In reference to the relative frequency of the two types of stress shifts (19.6%, 13.0%), we may determine that the Chinese students are less likely to shift stress backward in polysyllabic words than move stress forward in bi-syllabic words. This tendency might be ascribed to syllable-timed rhythm in Chinese.

In sum, 21 occurrences of the words mentioned above involve stress shift, constituting 15.2% of the 138 occurrences in total. Thus, stress shift is not a characteristic feature in the WD.

5.2 Morpho-syntactic features of English in China

The morpho-syntactic features identified in the selected 46 interviews cover pronouns, noun phrases, tense and aspect, verb morphology, agreement, relativization, complementation, prepositions, adverbial subordination, discourse organization and word order.

5.2.1 Pronouns

Non-standard forms of pronouns are identified in a number of English varieties (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi, 2004). Some varieties do not draw a distinction between masculine and feminine references, some use the pronoun *it* to refer to plural nouns while some others adopt pronoun drop. English in China also manifests certain variation in the use of pronouns (Xu, 2010). In the interview data (ID), different patterns of pronouns include a lack of the gender distinctions in third person singular, singular *it* for *they* in anaphoric use and pronoun drop.

5.2.1.1 No gender distinction in third person singular

No gender distinction in third person singular means that pronouns do not substitute noun phrases in the same way as ín Standard English (StE); instead, feminine pronouns might stand for masculine referents, masculine pronouns might represent feminine referents. This use might be caused by nuances in gender distinctions between English and Chinese.

Gender distinctions in English are largely confined to third person singular pronouns (Quirk *et al*., 1985). The choice of masculine or feminine pronouns primarily depends on the sex of the person (or animal) referred to. In general, Chinese gender distinctions follow a similar pattern as English except that all of the third singular pronouns in Chinese are pronounced the same, namely, *ta*. Furthermore, as a pro-drop language, it is not necessary to encode gender in Chinese (Antón-Méndez, 2010; Dong and Jia, 2011; Dong and Li, 2011; Dong *et al*., 2015). These facts together increase the insensitivity of gender differences.

In the ID, gender distinctions are not often made. The following masculine pronouns collected in the ID do not refer to masculine referents as would be expected in StE, but to feminine ones. These masculine pronouns occur regularly in subject position.

(32) a. (00:05:13) <r>My</r> my grandmother. However, he passed away in summer holiday. (CS048, WUST)

b. (00:09:34) My mom. My mom often read books for me, and <r>he often take me to<//r> he often took me to the er <Chinese>那个</Chinese> Xinhua er Bookstore. (CS103 F, WU)

c. (00:09:12) And but <r>my my mother don't want to<//r> my mother wanted to look after me by herself, (00:09:20) so he take me up <r>and and and en and ta-<//r> and <r>take me home<//r> took me home. (CS132, WU)

The tendency to use masculine pronouns for feminine referents also occurs in object position.

(33) a. I: (00:05:05) Did your mother often play with you at that time?
S: (00:05:09) En no. I communicate with him little. (CS011, WUST)

b. I: (00:05:59) En. What did your grandmother and you often do in the old days?
S: (00:06:08) I know <r>that's</r> er most of time <r>I just<//r> I er <r>do some<//r> help him to do some housework, ... (CS019, WUST)

c. (00:11:49) And en I think <r>I and grandmother<//r> er between gra- grandmother and I there is a er gip (Gip? Gap?) gap. (Yeah.) So I didn't often talk to him. (CS126, WU)

In the most cases of no gender distinction, noun phrases denoting the female third person singular are substituted by a masculine pronoun in subject position. Fewer cases are concerned with a mismatch of pronouns in object position, and this is even less in possessive position. The preference for gender mismatch in subject position might lie in the fact that the Chinese learners use pronouns more often in subject position than in the other positions.

Another preference surfacing in the ID is that nearly all the examples of gender switching are concerned with the replacement of masculine pronouns for feminine referents. Feminine pronouns are rarely used to refer to masculine referents. The predominant use of masculine pronouns to refer to feminine referents is probably attributed to the nuances in gender distinctions between English and Chinese.

5.2.1.2 Singular *it* for plural t*hey* in anaphoric use

Singular *it* for plural *they* in anaphoric use refers to the phenomenon where the referent of a singular *it* is a plural noun phrase, not a singular noun phrase as in StE (Quick *et al*., 1985: 343–

344). This phenomenon is not uncommon in non-standard varieties of English (Baskaran, 2004: 1075; Schneider, 2011b). The same use is also identified in the ID.

The tendency to use the singular *it* to refer to plural nouns might arise from the mass/count distinction system in Chinese. It is known that Chinese nouns are mass nouns and its mass/count distinction is realized by its classifiers (Hua and Lee, 2005). This might cause Chinese learners to treat English nouns as invariant nouns and substitute them by the singular *it*.

The same function of *it* is performed in the sentences below from the ID:

(34) a. (00:24:22) But <r>now en because<//r> er when I was young, <r>there</r> there is a festival er Spring Festival, my parent will buy new clothes, and buy many delicious food. But now <r>I have I have<//r> I can buy it en <r>when<//r> in<Prep> normal days, en I can buy delicious food, I can have new clothes … (CS027, WUST)

b. (00:40:58) And there is a lot of papers that written in English. (00:41:02) So I have to read it. (CS031 F)

c. I: (00:32:40) Why do you like to buy apples on that day?
S: (00:32:44) <,,></,,>en <r>like<//r> because everybody buy it, so I buy it. Yeah. (CS081 F, WUST)

The same use of *it* also occurs in subject position in the ID, as demonstrated in the examples below.

(35) a. (00:17:10) The people around you. In my mind, it changes all the time. (CS053, WUST)

b. (00:45:38) just they just cannot er pronounce the English words exactly what it really (sound), er what it really sound. (CS103 F, WU)

c. (00:10:57) Interesting stories? (Yeah.) En it's not memorable, but <,,></,,> maybe not. (CS132, WU)

Collective nouns or "singular collections of people" (Quirk *et al.*, 1985: 347–348) that take the singular pronoun *it* are common in StE. Examples include *choir*, *team* and *parliament*. It appears that English in China has broadened the scope of collective nouns, as demonstrated in example 3a. In StE one would expect *they* and not *it* as a referent to *people*. It is otherwise noteworthy that the interviewee has applied concord (noun, pronoun, verb) correctly. It is also noteworthy in comparison to the substitution of the female singular pronoun with the male equivalent that the singular *it* appears in both the subject and object positions.

5.2.1.3 Pronoun drop

Pronoun drop (pro-drop) is a phenomenon where pronouns are absent when they are expected as in StE. It is constantly identified as one of the distinctive features in English in China (Xu, 2006; Xu, 2010), and is most probably motivated by syntactic transfer from Chinese to English.

English is a non-pro-drop language though it allows null subjects in diaries or informal written style (Haegeman, 1990; Haegeman and Ihsane, 1999; 2001; Zdorenko, 2010). Chinese, a pro-drop language, allows the omission of a subject as well as a non-subject (Huang and Li, 1996). But the omitted items can be recovered from the contexts or the topics (Huang, 1984; 1989). Their presence is also regulated by the principle of highlighting (Li and Thompson, 1981). When the referents are not highlighted, pronouns can be dropped, especially in the use of the first and second person pronouns. In addition, the third person pronouns are rarely used to refer to inanimate entities in Chinese (Li and Thompson, 1981). In some cases, the use of pronouns renders the sentences ungrammatical in Chinese. For instance, the reply to the question *Do you like the book?* should be *wo xihuan* (I like) rather than *wo xihuan ta* (I like it) (Li and Thompson, 1981: 134).

Affected by L1 transfer, pronouns are dropped in subject position in the following examples from the ID.

(36) a. I: (00:20:01) OK. So how would you celebrate it?
S: (00:20:05) Maybe en <**Ø -S**> invite some friends to <r>have a</r> have a party. (CS005 F, WUST)

b. (00:02:23) Well, I think learning Eng- the language is <r>very<//r> a very funny thing, because er <**Ø -S**> just give you <r>a</r> a sense of <,></,> achie- achievement. (CS048, WUST)

c. I: (00:09:45) What did your parents and you often do together at that time?
S: (00:09:50) Together? First en <**Ø -S**> <r>have mea-</r> have meals. (CS132, WU)

Example 4b distinguishes itself from 4a and 4c in that the omitted subject pronoun (*it*) is a third person singular, and functions in the embedded clause. In 4a and 4c, first person references are made and occur in the main clauses, which conform to the Chinese principle of highlighting. It shows that the speakers want to reduce their personal prominence. In the ID, the omitted subject pronouns are predominantly first and second person pronouns in main clauses. This phenomenon might have been triggered by the questions posed in the interviews, which often encouraged the interviewees to draw on their own experiences.

Jia and Bayley (2002) investigate null pronoun variation in Mandarin. Their study shows that the occurrence of null subject pronoun is constrained by co-reference with the subject of the preceding clause, person and number, sentence type as well as discourse contexts. For instance, in teacher discourse, second person plural subjects favor null pronouns, while in telephone conversations among friends and family, they favor overt pronouns (Jia and Bayley, 2002). In general, null pronouns are more likely to occur in imperative sentences than in statements and questions.

Given possible transfer from Chinese to English, it can be reasoned that the placement of null subjects in English might be also conditioned by co-reference with the subject of the preceding clause, person and number, sentence type, as well as discourse contexts. Regarding the patterns of placing null subjects in English by Chinese English speakers, the first person singular pronouns being omitted more often than other pronouns in the ID point to the importance of paying attention to the discourse context and noting the subject of the preceding clause to follow the semantic or pragmatic logic[18] (Xu, 2017: 101−102).

Besides the omission of subject pronouns, in the ID there are examples of pronouns being dropped from object position.

(37) a. I: (00:32:09) Your mother must be glad that she has you. Do you enjoy delicious food?
S: (00:32:22) Yes. En I think everyone like <**Ø -O**>. (Yeah.) En my my roommates and I always go to different place to find delicious food. (CS023 F, WUST)

b. (00:25:17) <r>The Spring Festival</r>. (En.) If I am a Chinese <r>in in the<//r> in other countries, I think <r>I</r> I of course will <r>celebrate</r> er <,,></,,> an- celebrate it. And I will think <**Ø -O**> more important. (CS043, WUST)

c. (00:28:05) because <r>you can</r> you can put different er mater- materials <r>to to</r> er to ma- make them, and transform <**Ø -O**> into a very delicious meals. (CS117 F, WU)

The omitted objects can refer to both non-count nouns and count nouns, standing for inanimate entities. They are often third person pronouns. The use of null objects seems to correlate with Li and Thompson's statement that the third person pronoun in Chinese is rarely used to refer to an inanimate entity, for it would be considered inappropriate if it is used like this (Li and Thompson,

[18] Xu (2017: 101−102) points out that null subjects in Chinese are determined by semantic and/or pragmatic factors.

1981; Yuan, 1997). This use of null objects in Chinese might result in the Chinese learners' propensity to omit objects in English.

5.2.2 Noun phrases

There is a wide range of variation in noun phrases across non-standard varieties of English (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi, 2004). In some varieties, explicit plural marking might be added to mass nouns or omitted in count nouns and articles can be added or omitted in places different from StE, to name a few divergences. English in China also displays some different patterns in the use of noun phrases. Features relating to noun phrases in the interview data include optional or additional plural marking, omission or addition of articles, closed-class quantifiers with count nouns as well as different comparative marking strategies.

5.2.2.1 Additional or optional plural marking

Additional or optional plural marking refers to the fact that the explicit marking *-s* is added or omitted in places where it would normally not appear or should appear in StE. This feature is concisely documented in the study of plural marking on English in China (Hu, 2011; Schneider, 2011b; Young, 1989). Variation in the marking patterns could be attributed to differences between English and Chinese.

Plural marking of variable nouns in StE normally requires morphological changes while singular and plural invariable nouns normally do not undergo the same process under most circumstances (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 297–314). Plural formation in Chinese is not marked by inflectional changes, but by placing a numeral before a noun, a determiner before a noun, a suffix *-men* after a person-related noun or is determined from the context that a plural meaning is implied (Li and Thompson, 1981; Liu *et al*., 2006).

Generalizing plural marking of variable nouns and invariable nouns, the following mass nouns from the ID are pluralized with the overt plural marking *-s*.

(38) a. (00:27:55) ... girls have disadvantages in finding in looking for jobs, as our major <r>almost</r> almost all the girl in my class would take <r>further</r> further educations. (CS028 F, WUST)

b. (00:01:11) And the air is fresh. And the sky is clearer. And many birds singing en without. There is no</r> there is no smo- smog and many dusts. (CS048, WUST)

c. (00:08:31) And other peoples tol- says <r>now st–<///r> today's students get more and more stress, … (CS053, WUST)

A subset of pluralizing mass nouns is found in references to food, to which the explicit plural marking *-s* is often attached. The examples below from the ID manifest the pluralization of different kinds of meat.

(39) a. (00:27:06) En it's usually <r>some ki-<//r> some beefs, porks, and <r>some</r> <,,></,,> some other <,></,> <r>I don't what what<//r> fish noodles. Usually that. (CS015, WUST)

b. (00:20:33) And different and western food is <r>just</r> er just er limit kinds of s- stuffs, beefs, porks, or something like this, or Russia soup, bread, cheese. (CS094, WU)

c. (00:17:10) Yeah. We Chinese people like to maybe stir-fry some ma- en raw material, but <r>it is<//r> er maybe western people like to fry something like fried chicken, or porks. (CS113 F, WU)

Nouns ending with *-ing* form another group of mass nouns that are pluralized with the overt marking *-s*. These nouns are derived from verbs, but are pluralized in the same fashion as standard common nouns such as the word *shavings* in *shavings of ice*. These pluralized nouns often appear with light verbs *do* or *go*, as demonstrated by the following data from the ID.

(40) a. (00:04:19) <r>Lifestyles</r>. En just <r>in</r> in the <r>ordinary</r> ordinary days, old people just er do some <r>governmen-<//r> en gardening, and also play with the little children, or provide them <Ø -with> some <r>living</r> living conditions, er such as cook for them, or do some washings. (CS019, WUST)

b. (00:29:33) because they just get the er examing content, just get what they are will maybe relevant vocabularies, and doing the readings. (CS116 F, WU)

c. (00:10:36) Er they will er accompany me to er go travellings, or <r>have a have a</r> have a walk <r>to the<//r> to parks. (CS117 F, WU)

Contrasting the tendency to add plural markings to non-count nouns, there are several examples in the ID where the explicit plural marking *-s* is absent from words normally requiring such pluralization in StE.

(41) a. (00:33:53) And <,,></,,> in the res- restaurant, we eat the delicious food with relative together. (CS022, WUST)

b. (00:02:45) Er <r>for<//r> en most of time they are working, so <r>on the<//r> er we are farmer, you know. (CS027, WUST)

c. (00:18:12) En and en <r>I</r> I have to say that teacher in primary school just like my parents, ... (CS103 F, WU)

In addition to optional plural markings in nouns with human referents, the following examples from the ID contain missing plural marking in nouns with non-human referents.

(42) a. (00:33:11) Yes, <,></,> because I think communicate with foreigners fluently is very cool and I'd like to see some American movie. (CS093, WUST)

b. (00:43:37) But Japan is <r>the coun-<//r> our neighbor country, and although en the two country are in cold relationship now, but they are hot in the en economical. (CS013 F, WU)

c. (00:21:39) University. En a lot of difference. (CS132, WU)

The above examples demonstrate that such factors probably affect the use of plural marking: whether nouns have human or non-human referents, whether they have modifiers or not, and whether they have generic references. In addition to semantic factors, phonological factors also play a role (Young, 1989; Hu, 2011). The influence of the phonological environment on plural markings can be seen in the examples below from the data of the reading passage.

(43) a. ... the villagers /ˈvɪl.ɪ.dʒə/ all rushed from their homes, ... (WS004, WUST wolf passage)

b. ... as all the villagers /ˈvɪl.ɪ.dʒə/ were convinced that ... (WS103 F, WU wolf passage)

c. ... in the fields /fi:ld/ next to a dark forest ... (WS027, WUST wolf passage)

d. ... who used to watch his flocks /flɒk/ in the fields ... (WS096 F, WU wolf passage)

e. ... and two of his cousins /ˈkʌz.ən/ even stayed with him for a short while. (WS108 F, WU wolf passage)

f. ... the villagers all rushed from their homes /həʊm/, full of concern for his safety, ... (WS091, WUST wolf passage)

In terms of the preceding segment in the above examples, *-s* is not marked when following plosives, nasals and vowels. Each occurs less than 10 out of 46 times respectively, with *villagers* that precede vowels having the lowest frequency of an absent plural marking (*flocks* 9 instances, *homes* 6, *cousins* 8, *villagers*, 4 preceding the word beginning with the consonant /w/ [*were*], and 3 before the word beginning with the vowel /ɔ:/ [*all*]). The preceding segment affects the presence of -s, but is not a significant factor, and as such my finding agrees partly with that of Young (1989), namely that vowels favor plural markings most. Hu (2011) reasons that this might be attributed to

the fact that vowels followed by the marking *-s* resemble the CV structure in Chinese phonology. The relatively low frequency of the missing plural marking *-s* in the above examples might also suggest that the Chinese speakers do not have a low proficiency in English, since the study of Young (1989) demonstrates that the phonological environment does not play a significant role in advanced learners' speech.

Since speech is inalienable from social context, the social context of speech should be added to the multivariate factors that play a role in the variation of plural marking by Chinese speakers (Young, 1989).

5.2.2.2 Omission or addition of articles

Omission or addition of articles refers to the phenomenon that articles are either placed where they are not needed or are absent from where they are expected in StE. It is known that English articles in rich in input, yet the abundance of English articles in input does not prevent the variability of using articles in non-standard varieties (Lin, 2013; Young, 1996). Several factors contribute to this variability.

First, the inherent intralinguistic complexity of articles such as mapping meaning onto forms, the relationship between articles and number, pose great difficulties to English learners. Second, having a native language without articles or article-related morphemes further intensifies the tendency for English learners in China to use articles differently from StE (Lin, 2013; Lu, 2011; Yang, 1996).

As it is well known, Chinese does not have an article system like English to indicate either definiteness or indefiniteness of noun phrases. The definiteness and indefiniteness of Chinese concepts are expressed through word order or determiners such as *zhe* (this), *na* (that) and *yi* (one) (Li and Yang, 2010; Lin, 2013; Lu, 2001; Robertson, 2000). Affected by L1 transfer, articles are sometimes replaced with corresponding Chinese determiners (Robertson 2000). At other times, articles are omitted while zero articles are used differently from StE (Li and Yang, 2010; Lu, 2001; Zhu and Wen, 2008).

Examples of articles below from the ID supply more evidence of the omission of articles where StE normally would expect definite articles. The definite articles are omitted before nouns that refer to unique or specific things or nouns that have superlative comparison.

(44) a. (00:21:06) I think a lot of girl, that's true, er a lot of girl they want <r>to ha- ha-<///r> to send picture <r>of<///r> <r>to</r> to <**Ø -the**> Internet about their cook. (CS027, WUST)

b. (00:23:56) <,,></,,> <**Ø -the**> Biggest difference is you have right <r>to to decide</r> to decide where you go and <r>how to how to</r> how to do. (CS091, WUST)

c. (00:05:55) <r>They may<///r> and then sometimes, <r>they<///r> the air condition can be as bad as <**Ø -the**> air condition in Wuhan. (CS132, WU)

Articles might also be absent from places where StE would normally place indefinite articles. This is illustrated with the sentences below from the ID. The indefinite articles do not occur when the contexts imply that there is one person.

(45) a. (00:51:38) <,,></,,> Putonghua (en) <,,></,,> ai <,,></,,> er it's <,,></,,> because I'm <**Ø -a**> Chinese, <,,></,,> er <,,></,,> (CS023 F, WUST)

b. (00:32:21) er <r>I think en English is<///r> er because I'm <**Ø -a**> senior, familiar with the English, ... (CS035, WUST)

c. (00:03:23) En attitudes. Yeah. I think when I was <**Ø -a**> child, en er <r>we en-</r> we enjoy playing outside, ... (CS113 F, WU)

On a point of comparison, the definite article might be present in places where StE favors zero. The examples below from the ID exhibit this tendency. The definite article often occurs before nouns with generic references such as people and languages.

(46) a. (00:29:19) En I think en English en can strong <r>our</r> our communication with <u>the</u> foreign people, and may en de- develop our country. (CS005 F, WUST)

b. (2) (00:00:39) And so <u>the</u> Christmas is funny and fascinating. (CS021, WUST)

c. (01:01:39) <r>If you</r> if you er cancel the English exam, maybe many students may not en attach great importance to it, to <u>the</u> English, ... (CS041 F, WU)

The two principles proposed by Robertson (2000) might further account for the omission of articles. He suggests that if a noun phrase is included in the scope of the determiner of a preceding noun phrase, it does not need overt marking. Secondly, if the context provides the required information for a noun phrase, then it is not necessarily marked.

Regarding the non-standard use of the definite article, its use can be attributed to the easy application of the definite article and the strategy to use articles (Zhu and Wen, 2008).. First, the

use of the definite article in English is more expansive than the indefinite article, as it can be applied before any noun phrase. Second, learners tend to resort to the definite article when they are not sure which article should be applied.

5.2.2.3 Closed-class quantifiers with count/non-count nouns

The phenomenon of closed-class quantifiers with count nouns refers to when closed-class quantifiers, such as *much*, *(a) little*, and which should only modify non-count nouns in StE, occur with count nouns, or vice versa. This use of closed-class quantifiers is influenced to some degree by transfer from Chinese.

According to Quirk *et al*. (1985), English quantifiers falls into open-class and closed-class quantifiers. Open-class quantifiers can be followed by both count nouns and non-count nouns, whereas closed-class quantifiers can only precede count nouns or non-count nouns. For example, *many*, *(a) few,* and *several* occur only with plural count nouns at the same time while *much* and *(a) little* go hand in hand only with non-count nouns.

However, "a quantifier in Chinese contains not only a certain number as it does in English but also an appropriate measure marker[19]" (Tiee and Lance, 2003: 12). Even though there are two kinds of quantifiers in Chinese: definite and indefinite (Tiee and Lance, 2003: 12), they signal definiteness and indefiniteness but not the attributes of nouns. They therefore differ from English open class quantifiers that can signal the nouns following them: whether the nouns are count and mass nouns. For example, the Chinese quantifier *duo* can be translated as *much* or *many* whereas *much* and *many* are used in different situations (Moser, 1996).

The examples below from the ID lend more evidence to a pattern of closed-class quantifiers with count nouns different from StE.

(47) a. (00:19:42) <r>It's and <r>teachers teachers are<//r> <,></,> and teachers use <u>many</u> <u>time</u> <r>to to</r> to explain one knowledge to us. (CS019, WUST)

b. (00:29:30) <r>I don't nee-<//r> I don't use <u>much</u> <u>facilities</u>. (CS132, WU)

c. (00:12:30) <r>University</r>. Sometimes, I think because when you are <r>a little boy</r> a little boy, you probably won't think too <u>much</u> <u>things</u>. (CS053, WUST)

[19] A measure marker is defined as "a designator of a measurement whose form depends on the semantic category of the head noun". "Measure markers must accompany cardinal numbers but are optional after most indefinite quantifiers" (Tiee and Lance, 2013: 14). For instance, wuzhang zhuozi. *Wu* means five, *zhang* is a measure marker and *zhuozi* means (a) table.

The distinction between quantifiers for count and mass nouns does not only occur in *many* and *much*, but also in antonyms of *many* and *much* in the ID.

(48) a. (00:01:49) <r>They they are<//r> er er in current time there is er <r>much less</r> much less farmers in our hometown <r>to do</r> to do some farming.

b. (00:23:41) And <r>maybe the four years</r> maybe the four years er <Ø -S> try to <r>use less people<//r> er <r>use</r> use less man. (CS107 F, WU)

c. (00:06:35) Er <r>in I moved to<//r> er I move to a place that I really <r>know know</r> know little people. (CS131 F, WU)

In comparison to *many* and *few*, more instances concern *much*, *little* or *less* to modify countable nouns. This might suggest that quantifiers such as *much*, *little* or *less* are unmarked forms for the Chinese students.

5.2.2.4 Different comparative marking strategies

Some forms of comparatives in non-standard varieties are not identical with those in StE (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi, 2004). In some varieties, comparatives can be double marked or only signaled by a comparative marker such as *than*. English in China also has some non-standard forms of comparatives. The different ways to express comparatives might derive from some differences between English and Chinese.

There are two forms of comparison in English: inflectional and periphrastic forms. The choice of which form to use depends largely on the length of adjectives (Quirk *et al*., 1985). When adjectives are used to express comparison in relation to a higher or lower degree, the comparative marker *than* is employed together with the inflected forms in *-er* or their periphrastic equivalents with *more* (Quirk *et al*., 1985).

Chinese lacks comparative morphology (Gu and Guo, 2014; Li *et al*., 2014). When an adjective is used to carry comparative meaning, the explicit marker *geng* is often introduced before it (Cheung *et al*., 1994). There is no morphological change in the adjective. When an adjective is used to express a comparison in relation to a higher or lower degree, the superiority marker *bi* is introduced whereas inferiority is conveyed by negative forms of superiority or equality comparatives (equality marker *gen* and its variants) (Paris and Shi, 2016).

The analytic nature of Chinese might cause Chinese learners prone to use the analytic marking *more* even before inflected monosyllabic adjectives and disyllabic adjectives, which leads to the occurrence of double comparatives in the ID as follows:

(49) a. (00:25:35) <r>Differences.</r> I think western food is more healthier than Chinese food. (CS053, WUST)

b. (00:30:03) <r>And it's it's it's it's more and it's</r> er and it's more easier <r>to to</r> to learn, ... (CS098, WU)

c. (00:12:24) Well, maybe, of course it's more advanced and more bigger here. (CS116 F, WU)

The application of double comparatives might result from the interaction between the Chinese comparison system and a partial utilization of English comparatives. Chinese learners are prone to apply analytic marking due to the analytic nature of Chinese. But at the same time, they have knowledge of the English comparison system. While speaking, they do not automatically process the two language systems separately, which might lead to the application of both systems simultaneously.

Another tendency to use the analytic marking is to apply the marking to monosyllabic adjectives and disyllabic adjectives directly. In this regard, this strategy is similar to adjectival comparison in Chinese. The extension of analytic marking can be seen in the following monosyllabic adjectives from the ID:

(50) a. (00:12:16) Even my feels is free. <r>And the</r> en and the school <r>is big<//r> is more big. (CS008, WUST)

b. (00:15:47) Because <r>the distance is the more<//r> the more long distance is, you can experience a total different life, er and the culture, <r>and mu-<//r> and er it is style, (CS105 F, WU)

c. (00:09:55) And en <r>they are<//r> my father is more busy, and my mother and them. (CS132, WU)

The third strategy to express a comparative uses *than* but without effecting any change to the forms of adjectives. This leaves *than* with the full responsibility of expressing the comparative. The sentences below from the ID illustrate this marking strategy.

(51) a. (00:28:25) I like er Spring Festival (Spring Festival) (Christ-) than Christmas Day. (CS035, WUST)

b. (00:13:05) After finish my homework, I prefer watching TV. And <r>it's</r>, yeah, <r>it's</r> it's simple than now. (CS081 F, WUST)

c. (00:02:22) En people's, en en they became en busy <r>than</r> than ever. (CS108 F, WUST)

Than largely parallels to *bi* in Chinese, which is mainly employed to express a comparative message in the superlative (Li and Thompson, 1981). Therefore, to some extent, this marking strategy is also influenced by Chinese.

5.2.3 Tense and aspect

Different patterns of tense and aspect, such as the levelling of the present perfect and simple past and the loosening of the sequence of tenses rule, are documented in non-standard varieties (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi, 2004). English in China also displays some patterns found in these varieties. In the ID, different patterns of tense and aspect that are not acknowledged in StE are the levelling of the present perfect and simple past and the habitual use of *will*.

5.2.3.1 Levelling of present perfect for StE simple past

The levelling of present perfect for StE simple past refers to the phenomenon where present perfect is used where StE requires the simple past. This equation might be the result of different devices being utilized to express tense and aspect in English and Chinese.

English tense and aspect are "marked formally and explicitly on the verbs" (Liu, 2015: 275). In contrast, there are no markers for tense in Chinese (Li and Thompson, 1981). Tense in Chinese is conveyed by "using other lexical words such as time expressions or relies heavily on contextual information to help draw inferences about event time" (Liu, 2015: 275). Aspectual viewpoint in Chinese is conveyed by different formal devices. The perfective aspect is expressed through the simple perfective *le* and the experiential perfective *guo*, while the imperfective aspect is conveyed through the progressive marker *zai* and the stative marker *zhe*.

Affected by the different devices to express tense and aspect, the following examples from the ID show the co-occurrence of time-position adverbials with present perfect structures.

(52) a. (00:16:26) In the past <r>I</r> I've never known how to value my friends or <r>my</r> en my relatives. (CS023 F, WUST)

b. (00:07:23) The young people in hometown is en <r>seems seems ha-</r> seems have nothing to do, I think. (Really?) Yes, I think. Becau- because <r>they ha-en<//r> in the old time they have dropped out of school, en so ... (CS042, WU)

c. (00:16:23) Yes. So when you at primary school, in high school, <r>English<///r> all things has been put into one class. (CS053, WUST)

According to Quirk *et al*. (1985: 191–195), the difference between the present perfective and the simple past lies in the fact that the present perfect relates a past event or state to a present time orientation. In addition, time-position adverbials like *last night* are incompatible with the present perfect. It seems that the time-position adverbials in the examples do not prevent the co-occurrence of these time-position adverbials with present perfective verbs. The leveling of present perfect and simple past might be relevant to Chinese perfective markers.

Le and *guo* are two Chinese perfective markers. Different from *guo*, *le* falls into a verbal *le* and a sentential *le*. The verbal *le* can be used as "perfective" *le* as well as "past tense" *le* while the sentential *le* is used as "perfective" *le* (Zhou, 1998). The dual use of verbal *le* might cause the levelling of present perfect and simple past by the Chinese learners.

5.2.3.2 Habitual *will*/*would*

Habitual *will* refers to the use of *will*/*would* to express habitual actions instead of a future predicative sense. From the perspective of prediction, the common sense of *will* is its future predicative sense, yet it can be used to express habitual predicative meaning as well. In this sense, it is often used "in conditional sentences or in timeless statements of predictability", and it occurs "in descriptions of personal habits or characteristic behavior" (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 228). The following examples from the ID display the preference for habitual use of *will* or *will* in past tense (*would*).

(53) a. (00:52:07) <r>I always I<//r> in the past time I would always ask myself the same question that er in the future <r>I will<//r> I would like to work. (CS041 F, WU)

b. (00:27:58) And <O>phone vibrating</O> now I think er Chinese will get together and <r>have a u-<//r> have a get-together with their family members, (CS048, WUST)

c. (00:29:15) And he will send me some money (Lucky money?) yeah, lucky money, <Ø -S> send me lucky money. (CS053, WUST)

The modal verb *will*/*would* is not only used in *if*-clauses, but is also used in response to questions pertaining to habits. The overuse or habitual use of *will*/*would* might be ascribed to the use of modal verbs by Chinese English learners.

It is reported that though Chinese learners do not often employ modal verbs, they tend to overuse *can* and *will* (Chang, 2002). It is possible to translate both *can* and *will* into the Chinese modal verb *hui*. *Hui* encompasses three layers of meaning: ability *hui*, assertive *hui*, and tendency *hui* (Chang, 2002). Tendency *hui* might reinforce the speakers' inclination to resort to habitual use of *will* instead of employing the simple present tense.

5.2.4 Verb morphology

When morphological changes are required in the L2 but are absent in the L1, L2, learners exhibit a tendency to optionally utilize inflectional morphology (Dulay and Burt, 1974). Chinese verbs are not conjugated. This partly accounts for the variability of verb morphology by Chinese learners (Bayley, 1994; 1996; Cai, 2002; Hsieh, 2009). The different patterns of verb morphology identified in the ID include *will/would in if-clause in direct conditions*, *present tense forms of modals used where StE has past tense forms*, *leveling of past tense/past participle verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigms*, *zero past tense/past participle forms of regular verbs and irregular verbs*.

5.2.4.1 *Will*/*would* in *if*-clause in direct conditions

Will/*would* in *if*-clause in direct conditions means that *will* appears in hypothetical conditions while *would* takes place in open conditions, which is contrary to the use of *will* and *would* in English conditions. The mixture of *will/would* in *if*-clause in direct conditions might be caused by the differences between English conditionals and Chinese conditionals.

Conditionals in English fall into open and hypothetical conditions. The distinction between them lies in the fact that the verbs in hypothetical conditions are backshifted (Quirk *et al*., 1985). In other words, in hypothetical conditions, the verbs in both conditional and matrix clauses are changed into corresponding forms of past tense or past participle. Chinese conditionals do not draw such grammatical distinctions in auxiliary verbs, tense and aspect markers (Li and Thompson, 1981). The lack of grammatical distinctions in Chinese might lead to the variable use of *will* and *would* in *if*-clauses below from the ID.

(54) a. (00:26:18) If I were in abroad, I will really miss <r>the</r> the days or , especially the festival, in the traditional festival in my hometown. (CS031 F, WU)

b. (00:24:46) <r>I haven't go I haven't go a-<//r> I haven't been abroad, <r>but</r> but I think <r>I if I if I were<//r> if I were abroad, <r>I I will celebrate</r> I will celebrate the Christmas. (CS048, WUST)

c. (00:18:01) So if I have some time, I would ride here and talk something with her. (CS132, WU)

The *if*-clauses above do not exhibit clear grammatical distinctions. The auxiliary verbs in the matrix clauses take their forms in open conditions when the verbs in the conditional clauses are backshifted into hypothetical conditions. By the same token, the auxiliary verbs might be backshifted when the clauses express open conditions.

5.2.4.2 Present tense forms of modals used where StE has past tense forms

Present tense forms of modals used where StE has past tense forms refers to the phenomenon that modal verbs are not changed according to StE conventions, rather, they remain in the present tense forms, even though there is a clear indication that the past tense is required. A lack of conjugation in Chinese might probably account for this phenomenon.

The following complex sentences from the ID do not contain matching tenses across the clauses as they are expected in StE.

(55) a. (00:15:11) Er I said <Ø -to> them. They agreed with me that we will go there in this summer vacation. (CS016, WUST)

b. (00:37:43) And I thought I will learn it. (CS098, WU)

c. (00:18:22) but er sometimes <r>I sti-<//r> I just thought teachers in university can be partly recognized as stranger. (CS103 F, WU)

The general pattern is that the past tense is applied to the main verb while the tense of the verb in the subordinate clause is not marked, as if it were not affected by the tense of the main verb.

Another frequent use of modal verbs (notably employing present tense forms where StE has past tense forms) is that they are not adapted to past tense even though there are temporal adverbials indicating past time. The examples below from the ID offer further evidence for the use of present tense forms where StE has past tense forms.

(56) a. (00:09:50) And in the university I can do many thoughts. But in the primary school I can't. (CS005 F, WUST)

b. (00:06:02) En actually I think the life in primary school maybe is a bit casual, because I can en get good grade without any endeavor, and also played with my classmate after class. (CS113 F, WU)

c. (00:10:49) When I was in high school or middle school, <r>I can</r> I can ask for money from my parents at any time. (CS120, WU)

A more complex marking of modal verbs occurs when they are not appended with past tense markings while the full verbs that are placed beside them in a sentence are changed into past tense forms. This complex marking runs counter to the standard use in StE where verbs following modal auxiliaries normally take the infinitive form (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 127). The following examples from the ID display a new trend of applying tense markings in sentences with modal verbs and full verbs.

(57) a. (00:24:39) <r>And maybe<//r> and they will taught me how to have a <r>western</r> western Christmas Day, different from <r>China<//r> here in China. (CS016, WUST)

b. (00:45:47) En <r>when I en went to<//r> when I came to university, I can found <r>the people speaking<//r> the way people speaking English is quite different between the way that in my primary school. Oh, no, my high school. (CS031 F, WU)

c. (00:34:21) You can buyed it in the supermarkets. (CS117 F, WU)

In general, the principle is that full verbs have tense markings while modal verbs have none. It seems that modal verbs are only used to express modality. They do not assume any grammatical function. The responsibility of forming tense markings is shifted from modal verbs to full verbs.

The reverse markings in sentences with modal verbs and full verbs might be due to the interplay between Chinese modal verbs and the English tense marking system. It is known that Chinese is a non-inflected language (Chang, 2001: 315). Neither modal nor main verbs change forms due to changes in reference to different time points. Modal verbs in Chinese are used to "reflect the mood or attitude of either the speaker or the subject of the sentence from the perspective of the speaker" (Yip and Rimmington, 2006: 278). Therefore, Chinese speakers probably use modal verbs to express modality without changing their morphology; nor do they fully utilize tense marking on full verbs. This reflects the dissonance between meaning and form mapping across two types of verbs.

5.2.4.3 Regularization of irregular verb paradigms

Regularization of irregular verb paradigms means that irregular verbs are changed in the same way as regular verbs, that is, the regular past tense form *-ed* is added to irregular verbs. The extension of regular suffixation to irregular verbs is probably a result of over-generalization (Cai, 2002).

The rule of past tense or past participle formation is over-generalized and is applied to irregular verbs, which results in the regularization of irregular verb paradigms such as *thinked*, *telled* and *sleeped* shown in the following examples from the ID:

(58) a. (00:14:28) Er and I made many friends. En and I thinked <r>many the<//r> those people who love music they will be spe- special persons. (CS016, WUST)

b. (00:07:01) Because <,,></,,> <r>she<//r> my grandma telled me when I was six or seven years old. (CS022, WUST)

c. (00:11:30) Er sometimes, <r>I</r> I sleeped carelessly. (CS120, WU)

The same strategy of over-generalization can be even found in the WD, particularly in the word *heard*.

(59) As soon as they heard/hɪəd/ him, the villagers all rushed from their homes, ... (WS098, WU wolf passage)

Of 46 occurrences in the WD, 8 instances are pronounced as /hɪəd/ instead of /hɜ:d/. This pronunciation is probably deduced from the generalization of regular verbs, that is, the regular past form *-ed* is directly added to the base form *hear*.

5.2.4.4 Zero past tense/past participle forms of regular verbs and irregular verbs

The linguistic term, zero past tense/past participle forms of regular and irregular verbs, refers to regular and irregular verbs that are not marked in past tense or past participle forms. Several researchers demonstrate that Chinese learners optionally mark past tense forms in English (Bayley, 1994; 1996; Cai, 2002; Hsieh, 2009; Price, 1998). There is no doubt that the lack of tense marking in Chinese plays a role in the utilization of such tense marking. Other factors such as the linguistic environment also constrain the optionality of past tense marking.

The following examples from the ID illustrate zero tense marking of regular verbs, though there are phases or clauses that indicate past time such as *in the past* and *many years ago*.

(60) a. (00:02:33) Er in the past, just <r>work on</r> er work on the farm, and some work en en for communist <r>in the</r> in the cities. (CS004, WUST)

b. (00:04:38) Er in many years ago, <r>we</r> we also watch movie or do something like today. (CS094, WU)

c. (00:47:10) Because <r>we<//r> I was in high school, I learn English very hardly. (CS117 F, WU)

A few irregular verbs from the ID corroborate the optionality of marking the past tense. Similar to the optional marking of past tense in the regular verbs, the contexts in which the irregular verbs occur without tense marking also imply the need to add past tense marking, yet it seems that temporal adverbials do not facilitate the marking of the past tense.

(61) a. (00:03:21) When they had to work, I have to go to school. (CS007, WUST)

b. (00:16:13) <r>When we<//r> when I was in primary school, at that time, we just do what teachers tell us, <r>or<//r> or what the cla- classmates do. (CS019, WUST)

c. (00:04:44) And <r>as er I as the<//r> er when I <r>get to<//r> go to the sixth grade, er my mom told me to go to the middle school. (CS098, WU)

What is noteworthy in the above examples is that past tense marking is used in either temporal adverbial clauses or main clauses that cooccur with the temporal adverbial clauses. This might suggest that the students have the awareness of using past tense marking whereas they are prone to use zero tense of verbs if the contexts reveal past time.

According to the marking from a functionalist perspective, "past participles are redundant because tense is marked on the auxiliary" *(*Bayley, 1996: 110). The examples below from the ID seem to conform to the marking from a functionalist perspective.

(62) a. (00:24:17) Yeah. If I wer- was abroad, <r>I<//r> certainly I will have celebrate Christmas Day. (CS016, WUST)

b. (00:16:53) er er so that I have not very er familiar with <r>the</r> the city or the spot I have visit. (CS108 F, WU)

c. (00:14:04) But actually now, I have travel to many parts of China, ... (CS113 F, WU)

The "unnecessary marking" (Bayley, 1996: 110) is also absent from past participles of the irregular verbs in the following examples of the ID:

(63) a. (00:09:08) I don't know what I have think <r>the<//r> in that time, ... (CS023 F, WUST)

b. (00:22:14) How to say? I haven't eat too much. (CS027, WUST)

c. (00:17:09) And er I can <r>talk with</r> talk with other people about what I have rea[i:]d. (CS125 F, WU)

The presence of tense marking is also affected by the phonological process of consonant cluster reduction (Bayley, 1996; Liszka, 2001). This can be drawn from the absence of past tense markings in the recordings of the reading passage.

(64) a. ... a wolf that had just escaped /ɪ'skeɪp/ from the zoo was ... (WS011, WUST wolf passage)

b. ... as all the villagers were convinced /ka:n'vɪns/ that ... (WS126, WU wolf passage)

c. ... the villagers all rushed /rʌʃ/ from their homes, ... (WS031 F, WU wolf passage)

d. ... and two of his cousins even stayed /steɪ/ with him for a short while. (WS015, WUST wolf passage)

In the data of the reading passage, there is nearly no omission of past tense markings in the two verbs that occur before adverbs starting with vowels, namely, *cried* (*out*) and *tried* (*exactly*). The results suggest that whether the following segment is a vowel or a consonant is essential to the occurrence of past tense markings. However, this finding does not imply that past tense marking is a mere phonological process (Liszka, 2001). This conclusion can be substantiated by past tense markings being omitted from irregular verbs in the WD.

(65) a. This gave/gɪv/ the boy so much pleasure that a few days later ... (WS013, WUST wolf passage)

b. Raising his fist in the air, he ran/rʌn/ down to the village ... (WS108 F, WU)

c. ... it actually did come out from the forest and began/bɪ'gɪn/ to threaten the sheep. (WS005 F, WUST)

Considering the absence of past tense markings in the above examples, linguistic factors alone do not account for the deletion of past tense markings. Social factors such as social networks (thus linguistic environments) also have an impact on the omission of tense marking (Bayley, 1996).

5.2.5 Negation

According to the findings of Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2004), non-standard varieties of English have some constructions of negation that differ from StE, or that are not used that often,

such as "invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense", and "invariant non-concord questions". These favored patterns of negation are also found in the ID.

5.2.5.1 Invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense

Regarding "invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense", in this linguistic construction, the form *don't* remains unchanged irrespective of its corresponding forms when it is used with third person singular subjects. Such discord does not always agree with the rule of concord in StE. The application of the invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense might be influenced to a large extent by Chinese.

Negation in Chinese is realized through the use of negative forms such as *bu*, *bie*, *mei* and *meiyou* (Li and Thompson, 1981). However, there are no morphological changes involved in the process of forming negation. Comparatively in StE, *don't* is changed into corresponding forms when it is used with third person singular subjects.

The following examples from the ID show how *don't* remains unchanged when it is used with third person singular pronouns such as *it*, *he*, and *someone*.

(66) a. (00:17:51) En at primary school, it's small. <r>And and</r> and <r>it don't have any it have much<//r> it don't have much places to play. (CS013, WUST)

b. (00:18:22) but er sometimes <r>I sti-<//r> I just thought teachers in university can be partly recognized as strangers, because <r>he he<//r> sometimes he don't know your name, because he teaches so many people. (CS103 F, WU)

c. (00:40:55) Er if you have <r>accent</r> accent, someone maybe don't understand <r>what you<//r> what you are talking about. (CS125 F, WU)

Invariant *don't* occasionally appears after singular noun phrases. Sometimes, these noun phrases are in a default form. This can be illuminated in the examples below from the ID.

(67) a. (00:41:50) I don't have intention to go abroad, because er my language skill is not very good and financial status in the family don't permit me to study abroad. (CS010, WUST)

b. (00:30:07) Th- you ha- you have working hard, and <r>your your</r> your student don't listen to you. (CS027, WUST)

c. (00:23:46) Oh, sorry. It just en OK, so <r>if</r> if the Chinese government do that, I think it is definitely not reasonable, (Yeah. I know) because we are now living in a society er backed by the

globalization. En so if the government don't make English a compulsory class or ask the student to take the test, maybe the student are not motivated to learn English. (CS113 F, WU)

5.2.5.2 Invariant non-concord tags

Invariant non-concord tags are used to invite a listener to respond, and are usually attached to statements and exclamations (Quirk *et al*., 1985). They are independent of all changes, and always keep the same forms regardless of number, gender and tense. This type of tag differs from common or canonical tag questions, which are subject to number, gender, and tense (Zhang, 2010). Compared with canonical tag questions, invariant non-concord tags are more frequently used in Asian and African varieties of English (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi, 2004). Chinese speakers also tend to use invariant tags (Zhang, 2010).

Chinese tag questions are similar to English invariant tags because they have the same forms. Tag questions in Chinese are usually expressed in a short A-not-A question form such as *duibudui*, *xingbuxing*, *haobuhao*, *shibushi* (Li and Thompson, 1981: 546). These common Chinese tags are literally translated as *right* or *OK* in English. Probably due to L1 transfer, Chinese learners tend to use more invariant tag questions than canonical question tags (Zhang, 2010). The preference for invariant tags is shown in the examples below from the ID.

(68) a. (00:37:32) Because the steel factory is big, you know? (CS022, WUST)

b. (00:24:50) Er when <r>I'm</r> I'm sad or when I'm er puzzled, er they can give me some inspiration**s**, is it? (CS107 F, WU)

c. (00:09:34) er the only standards er of telling a successful student is just grade, right? (Yeah.) (CS113 F, WU)

The tag questions in the ID are invariant tags. Apart from the three forms of tag questions listed above, invariant tags such as *OK?* and *Yeah?* also occur in the ID. *Right?* is the most frequently used tag in the ID, with 7 instances in total.

Besides L1 transfer, a more important reason for the preference of tags might be that canonical tag questions exert greater cognitive pressure on English learners, because Chinese learners focus more on meaning than on form (Mohamed *et al*., 2004).

5.2.6 Agreement

StE requires an agreement between verbs and their corresponding subjects (Quirk *et al*., 1985), yet there are different patterns of subject-verb agreement across English varieties (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi, 2004). Affected by the lack of morphological changes in Chinese (Chen *et al*., 2007), Chinese students produce patterns of agreement in discord with StE (Mohamed *et al*., 2004; Wang, 2005; Wang, 2007). The following examples of agreement patterns do not conform to StE.

5.2.6.1 Agreement with existential *there*

Regarding agreement with existential *there*, the term refers to the phenomenon that verb forms that follow *there* do not change in the way that StE expects. In other words, plural verbs that follow there cooccur with singular notional subjects, or singular verbs that follow *there* appear with plural notional subjects. This non-standard use of agreement with existential there is probably caused by transfer from Chinese.

In the *there be* construction, *there* functions as a dummy subject. Verb forms are changed in line with notional subjects. Since Chinese does not change its morphology, Chinese learners are inclined to ignore the rules of agreement in StE and use the singular form of the verb *be* with plural notional subjects (Wang, 2005; Wang, 2007). The following examples from the ID have the singular form of *be* with plural subjects.

(69) a. (00:01:33) <r>There</r> there <u>is</u> <u>some</u> fa- <u>factories</u> that are threating the environment and . (CS027, WUST)

b. (00:01:17) En there <u>is</u> <u>a lot of changes</u> nowadays. (CS031 F, WU)

c. (00:19:52) Actually <r>I don't think<//r> er I think there <u>is</u> <u>decreasing</u> <u>number</u> <u>of</u> <u>people</u> are take Spring Festival as very important. (CS113 F, WU)

It seems that the singular verb form of *be* can coexist with different types of subjects including plural noun phrases with explicit marking or plural noncount noun phrases. Moreover, these noun phrases are in the plural as also signaled by the preceding modifiers. However, all the information indicating a plural does not trigger the use of the plural form of the verb *be*.

Contrary to the above trend of having singular form of *be* with plural subjects, the following *there* existentials from the ID have plural verbs with singular subjects.

(70) a. (00:03:03) An- and <r>in this<//r> er <r>there are also some good good goo- er some<//r> there are also something that are <r>very very very</r> very good, very pleasant to most of us. (CS019, WUST)

b. (00:04:44) But there are no Internet. (CS094, WU)

c. (00:17:35) En er in my hometown, there are er en special food called *Mixian*. (CS108 F, WU)

Singular noun phrases such as pronouns or singular non-count nouns might occur with plural verb form of *be*.

5.2.6.2 *Was/were* generalization

Was/were generalization refers to the use of *was* with plural subjects or the use of *were* with singular subjects. This generalization exists across non-standard varieties of English though the dominant patterns of variation vary from one place to another (Cheshire and Fox, 2009). Chinese learners also display such generalization (Wang, 2005; Wang, 2007). The generalization of *was* and *were* is attributed to the absence of morphological change in Chinese being transferred and to an equalization between *be* and the Chinese *shi* (Wang, 2005; Wang, 2007). The English verb *be* is usually translated as *shi* in Chinese, but the functions of the verb *be* are not parallel to the Chinese *shi* (cf. section 5.2.6.7).

The alignment of *was* and *were* is indicated in the following examples from the ID.

(71) a. (00:17:18) <r>We<///r> <r>all</r> all of my friend, all the things was arrange by our parents and school. (CS091, WUST)

b. (00:11:45) But in the university, the teacher will tell us <r>many things that en that</r> many things that <r>wasn?<//r> er wasn't written in the textbooks. (CS096 F, WU)

c. (00:09:44) Er in the past because <r>the con-</r> the condition first living condition <r>and</r> and some other conditions <r>was<//r> was so bad, ... (CS127, WU)

Was/*were* generalization can take place when plural subjects are conjoined noun phrases, common noun phrases or noun phrases modified by attributive clauses. The noun phrases are not only marked with the explicit marking *-s*, but are modified by determiners that indicate plurality such as *many*.

5.2.6.3 Levelling of *is* for present tense forms of *be*

Levelling to *is* for the present tense forms of *be* refers to the use of *is* with plural subjects in present tense forms. This practice does not conform to the standard use of *is* in present tense forms. The sentences below from the ID illustrate the co-occurrence of *is* with plural subjects.

(72) a. (00:14:42) En and the shops is <r>more than</r> more than my primary school. (CS014 F, WUST)

b. (00:32:22) Er compared with other countries, Canada have some policies <r>tha- that is</r> <,,></,,> that is beneficial for me. (CS016, WUST)

c. (00:18:42) Yeah. Maybe <r>I</r> I feel buying a Christmas tree and decorating is a bit troublesome, so I just er walk down the street and admire others Christmas tree. (CS113 F, WU)

The verb *is* not only appears with plural subjects with overt plural markings such as *shops*, and *policies*, but it also occurs with conjoined subjects especially when they derive from participles, as exemplified in *buying a Christmas tree and decorating*. Besides, the verb *is* can be used in attributive clauses when the modified noun phrases are plural like example 40b.

5.2.6.4 Agreement with the verb *have*

Regarding agreement with *have*, it means that the plural verb form (*have*) co-occur with subjects in the singular, while the singular verb form (*has*) regularly takes plural subjects. A lack of morphological change in the Chinese equivalent of the verb *have*, also influences different patterns of agreement with the verb in English. The quoted sentences from the ID depict the different patterns of agreement with the verb *have*.

(73) a. (00:25:45) (En eh.) And <r>the teachers<//r> the teachers' teaching style in primary school en en <r>is is not is very<//r> it have a lot different between the university's. ((CS021, WUST)

b. (00:08:32) Everyone have to <r>experience</r> experience this. (CS022, WUST)

c. (00:51:28) En <,,></,,> <r>if a if a<//r> en if <r>somebody</r> somebody en have a good master of Putonghua, I think his English is good. (CS042, WU)

Apart from various forms of singular pronouns, the verb *have* also appears with singular count and singular non-count noun phrases in the ID as follows:

(74) a. (00:48:15) No, I don't think so. En if a student <r>have have a ambitious<//r> have ambition in his career, I think it's better for him to learn English well. (CS042, WU)

b. (00:04:55) No, <r>I don't think there is a there is</r> I don't think there is a strong link between them. Er dialect <r>have</r> have a long influence on us, ... (CS048, WUST)

c. (00:32:42) I think Chinese food is more delicious and have <r>so</r> so many kind of taste taste. (CS091, WUST)

Largely due to the same reason, plural subjects occur with the singular verb form *has*. But different to the previous case, most of the plural subjects are found to be noun phrases in the form of conjoined subjects or plural noun phrases with overt markings. These plural subjects can be independent subjects or two subjects linked with *and* though the former takes place more often. The examples below document another kind of agreement between plural subjects and the verb form *has*.

(75) a. (00:01:40) Well, because en now I'm twenty twenty years old, <r>during</r> during two decades many things has changed. (CS048, WUST)

b. (00:01:46) Er its economy and its surroundings er of the buildings in here an- even er sort of part like parks or equipments <r>in</r> in a building around building <r>are<//r> has changed a lot. (CS081 F, WUST)

c. (00:25:54) Er and nowadays many Chinese colleges has good professors and have good facilities. (Yeah.) It's maybe don't have too much difference. (CS094, WU)

5.2.6.5 Verbs with *-s* suffixes occurring with third person plural noun phrase subjects

Verbs with *-s* suffixes occurring with third personal plural noun phrases refer to the phenomenon that the *-s* suffix is added to verbs when the verbs co-occur with third personal plural noun phrase subjects, which is contrary to the use of *-s* suffixes on verbs in StE. This phenomenon manifests itself in following examples from the ID:

(76) a. (00:10:08) But in university, that teachers seems that they don't er mind. (CS031 F, WU)

b. (00:05:49) But but my parents works in my hometown, in the neighborhood. (CS053, WUST)

c. (00:44:24) Putonghua and English belongs to different country. (CS096 F, WU)

It appears that *-s* suffixes might be added to verbs when the associated plural subjects are plural noun phrases with explicit marking or conjoined subjects.

5.2.6.6 Absence of *-s* on third-person singular forms

Absence of the *–s* suffix from third-person singular forms refers to the omission of inflectional changes in verbs when they are used together with third-person singular subjects. Third person singular is the only grammatical person that demands change in verb inflections in the present tense (Mohamed *et al*., 2004; Quirk *et al*., 1985: 755). However, such an agreement between third person singular forms and verbs does not exist in Chinese, because there are no morphological changes in Chinese (Chen *et al*., 2007). Affected by these differences between Chinese and English, *-s* is absent on the verbs in the examples below from the ID, when their subjects are in third-person singular forms.

(77) a. (00:41:45) I think everybody try their best to do it. I think er <r>it</r> it will get better. (CS013, WUST)

b. (00:38:59) Er <r>I</r> I think that <r>he or she<//r> if he or she is interested in language, she can learn what she like or what he like. (CS098, WU)

c. (00:05:46) Er many different kinds of stories. Er <r>my grand-<//r> because my father <Ø -be> very busy, he, just like other Shanghainese, work and work. (CS120, WU)

Moreover, *-s* suffix can be absent on verbs following singular noun phrases, as indicated in the sentences below from the ID:

(78) a. (00:17:59) En en because a long distance travel give you a chance to visit different country. (CS047 F, WUST)

b. (00:03:47) so Hefei become <r>much fa-<//r> much bigger and <r>the<//r> en much more er er er in- industry. (CS085 F, WUST)

c. (00:35:43) But I think the whole world need to have <r>a</r> a common language. (CS098, WU)

In addition to linguistic transfer, the strategy used by Chinese learners to store and retrieve information is another reason for the absence of -s on third-person singular forms (Mohamed *et al*., 2004). To reduce the linguistic burden of storing both forms of verbs, Chinese learners are more likely to retain verb stems that hold the required core meanings. This strategy partly reflects that they employ the same strategy in English as they do in Chinese. In this way, their information load is lessened, which is in accordance with the principle of economy (Mohamed *et al*., 2004).

A third reason for different patterns of subject-verb agreement might lie in the different systems of count and non-count nouns between Chinese and English, as nouns in Chinese are non-

count. This might make Chinese learners treat nouns differently from StE, which in turn affects verbs' singular or plural forms.

5.2.6.7 Deletion of the verb *be*

Deletion of the verb *be* refers to the phenomenon that the verb *be* does not appear in places where StE expects it. This deletion has been reported in studies on creole and African American vernaculars (Blake, 1997; Herat, 2005; Labov, 1969; Rickford *et al*., 1991; Singler, 1991). The same approach to the verb *be* has also been identified in the writings of Chinese students (Liu, 2000; Wang, 2005; Wang, 2007; Hsieh, 2009; Zhang, 2010). Since Chinese has a different application of the verb *be* from that in StE, this difference might cause Chinese speakers to modify StE placements of the verb (Wang, 2005; Wang, 2007).

According to general linguistic practices, the verb *be* functions in two ways in StE: When it is used as a main verb, it is usually associated with a copular function. When it is used as an auxiliary verb, it can function either as an aspect auxiliary before a progressive aspect or as a passive auxiliary before the main verb (Quirk *et al*., 1985).

In contrast, the two functions of the verb *be* do not fall together in one Chinese word. Instead, the verb's progressive aspect is embodied in the markers *zai* and *-zhe* (Li and Thompson, 1981). The passive voice in Chinese is realized by changing the sentence order and inserting a passive marker, such as the preposition *bei* (Wang, 2005; Wang, 2007). However, it is not obligatory for the passive marker to appear in passive voice constructions. In fact, sentences without overt passive markers occur more frequently than sentences with explicit passive markers (Wang, 1957).

The copula function of the verb *be* is reflected in the word *shi* (Li and Thompson, 1981). Chinese *shi* differs from the English copula *be* mainly in two aspects: First, *shi* can only function as a copula and a focus marker in an emphatic sentence, and it cannot co-occur with voice, tense or aspect markers (Lee and Huang, 2004). Second, the copula *shi* can only link a noun phrase as an attribute to indicate one's profession or identity (Lee and Huang, 2004). Under normal circumstances, it cannot be used to link any predicative adjectives or prepositional phrases as the copula *be* in English. The only exception and equivalence with English usage is found in emphatic structures (Lee and Huang, 2004).

Though the dominant distribution varies in previous studies, they all agree on the correlation between deletion of the verb *be* and certain types of complements (Liu, 2000; Wang, 2005; Wang,

2007; Hsieh, 2009; Zhang, 2010). The omission of the verb *be* also occurs in the ID with regard to the types of predicative phrases as follows.

Deletion of auxiliary *be*: before progressive

(79) a. (01:03:33) Yeah. (Why?) Now I <**Ø -be**> still <r>learn<//r> learning English. (CS041 F, WU)

b. (00:06:36) And of course, while I <**Ø -be**> playing, I learned a lot about the life. (CS048, WUST)

c. (00:15:59) My Some my classmates they <**Ø -be**> just playing computer games, and I I think they don't think about their their (future) their future, ... (CS091, WUST)

Deletion of auxiliary *be*: before passive voice

(80) a. (00:38:10) Maybe sometimes I would er look up <r>some</r> er some books in the library that <**Ø -be**> written in English. (CS012 F, WUST)

b. (00:10:23) And when she was a child, <r>she used she con-<//r> at one time he <**Ø -be**> confronted with a snake. (CS103 F, WU)

c. (00:00:42) <r>It called</r> it <**Ø -be**> called Pujiang. (CS114 F, WU)

Deletion of copula *be*: before NPs

(81) a. (2) (00:00:47) But it <**Ø -be**> not really er my holiday, my heart. (CS021, WUST)

b. (00:21:44) En in primary school, I <**Ø -be**> just er a kid or a student. (CS085 F, WUST)

c. (00:19:39) And you will <**Ø -be**> a independent persons. (CS117 F, WU)

Deletion of copula *be*: before AdjPs

(82) a. (00:09:04) They <**Ø -be**> just so busy. (CS053, WUST)

b. (00:04:26) ... nothing <**Ø -be**> different from other cities, ... (CS085 F, WUST)

c. (00:36:07) As for now, English <r>is the most is the most is the<//r> is the language that <**Ø -be**> close to the language I have mentioned. (CS098, WU)

Deletion of copula *be*: before PPs

(83) a. (00:16:23) Yes. So when you <**Ø -be**> at primary school in high school, <r>English<///r> all things has been put into one class. (CS053, WUST)

b. (00:26:33) And we can er me- <**Ø -be**> in memory of them er all year. (CS125 F, WU)

c. (00:14:38) (Yeah.) <r>The</r> the second period <**Ø -be**> from Grade Five to Grade Six. (CS132, WU)

Deletion of copula *be*: before others

(84) a. (00:50:56) Yes. It <**Ø -be**> just so. (CS023 F, WUST)

b. (00:01:20) Er I think <r>what they<//r> er what do they do er <Ø -be> just as before. (CS085 F, WUST)

c. (00:23:01) ... er maybe the er Chinese Spring Festival atmosphere will not <**Ø -be**> er <r>as</r> as strong as I am in China. (CS108 F, WU)

Compared with the distribution of the verb *be* as a copula and an auxiliary in previous studies (Wang, 2005; Wang, 2007; Zhang, 2010), in the ID of my study, omission of the verb *be* as an auxiliary occurs far less than as a copula. This indicates that the type of corpora has an effect on the distribution of *be* deletion. The distribution of *be* deletion is extracted from the oral data in my study, not from written data as in previous studies. The fact that the copula is often omitted before adjectives might be due to the resemblance between adjectives and verbs in Chinese, as Chang (2001: 315) states that "adjectives and verbs are frequently identical in Chinese".

5.2.6.8 Use of *have* clauses instead of existential clauses

Use of *have* clauses instead of existential clauses refer to the phenomenon that common *there* constructions are not employed to express existence, rather, *have* clauses or Chinese *you* sentences are adopted. Differences between Chinese and English existential sentences might play a role in variant forms of existential clauses.

Where the most common type of existential sentences in StE is introduced by an unstressed *there* (Quirk *et al*., 1985), and the dummy subject *there* occupies the subject position without conveying meaning (Tan, 2007), in Chinese existential sentences the subject of Chinese existential sentences is usually a temporal or locative phrase. There are two further differences. First, while the subject of existential sentences is obligatory in English it is optional in Chinese (Tan, 2007). Second, Chinese *you* sentences correspond to English *there be* constructions (Shang, 2013), yet the literal meaning of y*ou* is *have* in English. When Chinese learners develop existential sentences in English, they probably base their constructions on Chinese *you* sentences, which might result in their tendency to use *have* clauses, as suggested by the examples below from the ID.

(85) a. (00:00:20) En my hometown has a lot of mountains. (CS005 F, WUST)

b. (00:00:21) En en it has two mountains, er not like the other city in Hubei. (CS047 F, WUST)

c. (00:10:49) We have a river in our town. (CS132, WU)

The subjects of the above sentences can be noun phrases or pronouns. Moreover, the subjects can be human referents or non-human referents, yet all the objects are natural entities. Though the sentences are meant to convey existence, *there* construction is not employed.

5.2.7 Relativization

In StE, relative clauses can be formed through one of three strategies: relative pronouns, the subordinator *that* and gapping (contact clauses) (Siemund, 2013). However, there are variations in how non-standard Englishes define or provide additional information on relativization. With respect to English in China, previous studies show that Chinese learners relativize clauses through subject gapping, resumptive pronouns and the deletion of prepositions (Jin and Qiao, 2010). In the ID, features pertaining to relativization include subject gapping and the deletion of preposition in relative clauses.

5.2.7.1 Gapping/zero-relativization in subject position

Subject gapping is a strategy to form relative clauses that involves "the juxtaposition of head noun and relative clause without intervening relative marker" (Siemund, 2013: 265). This strategy of relativization is not permitted in StE yet it occurs widespread in non-standard varieties of English in and outside of the British Isles (Siemund, 2013). Chinese learners sometimes apply this gap strategy to subjects when they formulate relative clauses in English. The different applications of relativization is often considered to be the result of transfer from Chinese (Jin and Qiao, 2010).

One important difference between relativization in English and Chinese is that relative phrases in English are NP-initial, whereas the Chinese counterparts are NP-final. Another difference is that relative pronouns and adverbials are used in English, but not in Chinese. Moreover, the choice of a relative marker in English depends on the case of the relative marker in the embedded clause and the gender of the head noun phrase. In contrast, Chinese uses only one invariant relative marker, *de*. This marker is obligatory in Chinese while relative markers in English are not obligatory when they fulfill the syntactic function as object in relative clauses. Furthermore, Chinese allows a gap strategy to be applied to both the subject and the object of a sentence (Jin and Qiao, 2010).

Influenced by L1 transfer, a gap strategy is applied in the subject position in the following sentences from the ID.

(86) a. (00:36:11) En <r>for</r> for example, en Chinese people <**Ø -who**> speak English is different from Japanese or Korean. (CS028 F, WUST)

b. (00:22:12) You know a lot of people just think that it may be just something in your mind <**Ø -that**> doesn't exist. (CS031 F, WU)

c. (00:17:32) So <r>everything</r> everything <**Ø -that**> happens seems <r>so</r> so big. (CS085 F, WUST)

Although relative markers are missing in the subject position in the corresponding embedded clauses, the relevant sentences do not share the same underlying structure. The head nouns in examples 86a and 86c link two verbs in consecutive order whereas the head noun in example 86b only precedes one verb or connects two verbs, with one preceding and the other following it. Therefore, the underlying structure of the examples 86a and 86c is NP+VP1+VP2 and that of 86b is NP1+VP1+NP2+VP2. The latter structure is similar to Chinese existential clauses (Jin and Qiao, 2010). More evidence of employing Chinese existential clauses or the gap strategy is reflected in the Chinese speakers' realizations of English existential clauses, as shown in the following examples from the ID.

(87) a. (00:25:34) There is many foreign people en <**Ø -who**> make a dinner together in their er important <r>festival<//r> festivals. (CS035, WUST)

b. (00:05:14) And there are few people <**Ø -who**> go out to get together and to er dance or <Ø -V> other entertainments activity. (CS041 F, WU)

c. (00:34:37) And there are many books er about law <**Ø -which**/**that**> is <r>written</r> written by English. (CS125 F, WU)

It is obvious that the structure underlying the *there-be* sentences is NP1+VP1+NP2+VP2. Jin and Qiao (2010) ascribe the production of this structure to the influence of topicalization in Chinese. Based on this, they deduce that Chinese learners might regard the parts from NP1 to NP2 as the topic and the rest as the comment. At the same time, the learners treat *there be* as an introduction to the topic, similar to a *you* construction in Chinese, which presents new information. From this perspective, the gap strategy here overlaps with Siemund's observation that most

constructions involving subject gapping in vernacular English are presentational constructions that introduce new referents into the discourse (Siemund, 2013).

5.2.7.2 Deletion of stranded prepositions in relative clauses ("preposition chopping")

Preposition stranding in relative clauses refers to the phenomenon where the preposition is "left behind in its normal clause position without its complement" (Herrmann, 2005: 45). The stranded preposition is required in StE, yet it is found that foreign learners of English sometimes omit prepositions in relative clauses (Klein, 1993). The omission of prepositions is not carried over from native languages that do not permit pied-piping or preposition stranding, as Klein (1993) claims. English allows pied-piping and preposition stranding whereas Chinese disallows either of them. Although Chinese does not influence the occurrence of preposition chopping, Chinese learners do omit prepositions in English (Mi, 2006). The following examples from the ID offer further proof for the deletion of prepositions in relative clauses.

(88) a. (00:13:51) <r>And</r> and<Chinese>这个</Chinese> the friends is very important, I mean who you are going <**Ø -with**>. (CS031 F, WU)

b. (00:21:09) Maybe you participate in some activities for interest, but there are many things that you have to set a goal <**Ø -for**>, how to achieve this goal, and then <r>you will er you will plan<//r> you will do the things as you planned. (CS041 F, WU)

c. (00:44:40) Yeah. But there are elementary pronunciation <r>you</r> you can not make mistake <**Ø -in**>. (CS094, WU)

On the question of how and why preposition stranding and pied-piping are formed, Mi (2006) finds that null-preps occur more often in relative clauses than in questions, but does not offer a convincing solution to how they are formed.

5.2.8 Complementation: additional or optional *to* in infinitives

The term additional or optional to in infinitives refer to the phenomenon that *to* does not occur in places where StE expects it. Xia's (2012) study shows that when it comes to the use of *to* in infinitives, sometimes the infinitive marker *to* is omitted in *to*-infinitive constructions, but at other times, that the infinitive marker *to* is added to auxiliary verbs such as *dare* in the sentence *I dare not to skate*. Xia (2012) reasons that the omission of the infinitive marker *to* can be attributed to transfer from Chinese.

In StE, there are two versions of the infinitival form, the so-called bare form and the *to*-infinitive. In terms of the bare infinitive, the functions of the English infinitive resemble those of the Chinese consecutive-verb group in situations when the English infinitive functions as predicative, object, adverbial, or when it is used together with "only" (Wen, 2014: 41–43). But in terms of the *to*-infinitive, "there is no word like *to* or any change of form to indicate the infinitive" in Chinese (Yuan and Church, 2012: xx).

The differences between Chinese and English also influence the use of infinitives in the ID. The data below exhibit the omission of *to* before infinitives when the infinitive marker *to* is expected between two consecutive verbs in StE.

(89) a. (00:20:10) ... <r>and the students in<//r> er er and other peoples er some <r>from</r> from the <r>I learned</r> I learned <r>if I if I didn't<//r> if I want en <**Ø -to**> spend my time er efficiently, <r>I I<//r> my future will be just so so. (CS021, WUST)

b. (00:30:57) ... er but maybe <r>I'll I<//r> I prefer en <**Ø -to**> <r>share with<//r> share my ideas or <r>are<//r> many things with my friends. (CS041 F, WU)

c. (00:32:08) And no matter what country you will go and <r>what what</r> what kind of university you will go to, <r>you</r> you need <**Ø -to**> have a <?>liar</?> English <r>proof<//r> er level, ... (CS098, WU)

The infinitive marker *to* may also be absent after objects which separate two verbs. This is demonstrated by the examples below from the ID.

(90) a. (00:47:19) (Yeah.) <,,></,,> Then we shou- I should <,,></,,> encourage them <**Ø -to**> speak spoken English, ... (CS010, WUST)

b. (00:09:30) I took the other students <r>go to<///r> <**Ø -to**>go out to play and so on. (CS053, WUST)

c. (00:23:23) First day. Er <r>I will</r> I will greeting my parents, <r>and</r> and waiting <Ø -for> them <**Ø -to**> give me new cloth or new shoes or some presents. (CS094, WU)

The infinitive marker *to* might also be lost following adjectives occurring after an anticipatory *it* or in similar constructions with *for* inserted in between, though this pattern does not occur that often in the ID.

(91) a. (00:09:44) <r>It's hard to get</r> it's hard for us <**Ø -to**> get access <r>to<//r> to them, ... (CS019, WUST)

b. (00:35:49) and <r>the all the people in the world<//r> it's better for <r>the</r> the people in the world <**Ø -to**> have the same language. (CS098, WU)

c. (00:39:40) And I think <r>it's</r> it's more necessary <**Ø -to**> enjoy the atmosphere that <r>you can<//r> if you want to talk, you can talk. (CS132, WU)

Besides possible transfer from mother tongue, another reason for the different patterns of infinitives might be the rich types of complementation in Chinese, which increases complexity for Chinese learners to use the appropriate types in line with StE (Chang, 2001).

Contradictory to the tendency to delete the infinitive marker *to*, the inclination of adding it to places where StE has bare infinitives is also shown in the ID as follows:

(92) a. (00:11:48) En en the teachers in university er not only teach us how to do, en but let us do as we can, and en give give us their opinion to how to do and <u>let</u> us en <u>to</u> do what we want to do. (CS047 F, WUST)

b. (00:38:40) so <r>we have to we have to make</r> we have to <u>make</u> ourselves better <u>to</u> adapt to the standards from the socialty<=society> (CS085, WUST)

c. (00:21:14) Because er I think if I come to America or some other western country, it's my duty to express our own country and <u>let</u> peoples from other country <u>to</u> appreciate it, (CS113 F, WU)

The above examples concern the addition of the infinitive marker *to* after verbs of coercive meaning such as *let*, *make* when the infinitive clauses function as object complements. The use of infinitives runs counter to that of StE. In StE, the nominal bare infinitive clause may function as an object complement with a relatively few superordinate verbs such as verbs of coercive meaning, perceptual verbs and a residual class of two verbs which are optionally followed by a *to*-infinitive (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 1205–1206). In this case, Chinese learners might produce a hypercorrection. It is possible that they use verbs of coercive meaning in the same way that they use other types of verbs that need the infinitive marker *to*.

5.2.9 Adverbial subordination: conjunction doubling

Conjunction doubling is the co-occurrence of two conjunctions in a sentence at the same time, especially when the conjunctions indicate cause or concession. In English in China, pairs like *because...so...* and *although/though...but...* occur (Chen and Wu, 2006; Xu, 2010). The co-occurrence of connective pairs is said to be influenced by Chinese.

In Chinese, "the majority of the forward-linking movable adverbs require the occurrence of a backward linking element in the clause that follows" (Li and Thompson, 1981: 637). The most common pairs of linking items in Chinese include *because...so* or *although/though ...but* (Li and Thompson, 1981). In StE, subordinating conjunctions and correlative conjunctions can appear together, because they contribute to both stylistic elegance and textual clarity, as Quirk *et al*. (1985) explain. In terms of concession, *although/though* are known to be combined with conjunctions such as *yet/still/however*. In terms of causal clauses, *because* can co-occur with other subordinate conjunctions such as *therefore* and *consequently*, as listed in examples of correlatives (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 644–645). Affected by transfer from Chinese, connectives such as *because* with *so* are sometimes combined in the ID, as the sentences below suggest.

(93) a. (00:48:52) Yes. <r>I</r> because <r>I want</r> I want <Ø -to> study further, so I think it's necessary for me to study English well. (CS042, WU)

b. (00:14:27) And because I don't like my major, so <r>it's</r> it's very boring. (CS081 F, WUST)

c. (00:18:22) Er because en we <r>just just</r> just graduate from college, en and <r>we</r> we don't adjust our situation <r>to</r> to our new life, <r>so</r> <,></,> so <r>many</r> many students may <r>lose their goal</r> lose their goal, and don't know how to deal with their present life. (CS091, WUST)

Another pair of connectives *although*/*though*...*but* are also present in the ID, as the sentences below suggest.

(94) a. (00:00:42) And en although <r>the</> the economic level is not very developed, but en all the people there lives peacefully. (CS041 F, WU)

b. (00:12:17) in the primary school, <,,></,,> though I was be tricked, but every day I was happy. (CS093, WUST)

c. (00:15:47) No. Although I'm good at eating, but <r>I am I'm<//r> I haven't yet start learning how to cook. (CS113 F, WU)

The occurrence of these two pairs of conjunctions in the ID reflects the Chinese speakers' reliance on the frequently occurring conjunctions to express cause-effect relationships or to demonstrate concessions. It is interesting to note that the subordinating conjunctions always precede the correlative conjunctions. The preference of emphasizing the subordinate clauses in

relation to main clauses could be a result of sequencing in Chinese. As Chinese is a left-branching direction language, its causal sentences often occupy the initial position (Cui, 2008).

It is worth noting that conjunction doubling used in English in China has preference over a particular type of data. The data of Chen and Wu (2006) show that *because ... so ...* only cooccurs in the oral but not written English of Chinese learners. This suggests that prescriptivism does not have much impact on Chinese English speech and that the use of pairs of correlative conjunctions is largely confined to spoken data.

5.2.10 Prepositions: omission of StE prepositions

Omission of StE prepositions refers to the phenomenon that the use of prepositions in non-standard varieties is not in line with StE. Prepositions do not occur in places where StE expects. The different uses of English prepositions by Chinese learners might be caused by the complexity of English prepositions as well as the differences between English and Chinese.

The complexity of English prepositions lies in there not being definite rules for choosing between them. To a large extent, the choice of prepositions depends on contexts. However, there is a strong distinction between English prepositions. With regard to prepositions in Chinese, "there is no such strong distinction" (Rasmuseen, 2010: 178). In fact, there are no real prepositions in Chinese totally equivalent to English prepositions (Sun, 2006). Instead, Chinese uses coverbs, which can function as prepositions and verbs (Li and Thompson, 1981). Probably influenced by the above-mentioned factors, prepositions are omitted in the sentences below from the ID.

(95) a. (00:33:37) <,,></,,> <r>I just<//r> it <u>depend</u> <**Ø -on**> my mom. (CS022, WUST)

b. (00:40:30) And I don't like listen to English. I don't like <u>listening</u> <**Ø -to**> En- English music, ... (CS096F, WU)

c. (00:12:35) <r>There are man-<//r> er the university <u>provide</u> us <**Ø -with**> better equipment and en all kinds of equitsmen- <u>equipments</u> it can provide us. (CS116 F, WU)

The omission of prepositions not only takes place in prepositional verbs as indicated above, but also occurs in "complex prepositional objects" (Rasmuseen, 2010: 179).

(96) a. (00:56:14) <r>I will</r> I will force my child to form a habit <**Ø -of**> learning English. (CS010, WUST)

b. (00:21:31) En en I will get up early, and go <**Ø -to**> the temple with my mother. (CS108 F, WU)

c. (00:10:25) Now he is older, so <r>he</r> he is just en er sit <**Ø -in**> the chair, and file ... (CS126, WU)

L1 transfer plays a role in the omission of prepositions, because Chinese prepositions are often allowed to be omitted and "there are few verb-plus-preposition collocations in Chinese" (Rasmuseen, 2010: 179). Another reason might be that the Chinese speakers draw analogies with verbs that do not need prepositions (Mohamed *et al*., 2004). But these factors cannot completely account for the absence of different types of prepositions. Yu's (2010) analysis reveals that Chinese learners might resort to different strategies when they use different types of prepositions. When it comes to fixed combinations of prepositional verbs, they rely on memorization. However, heavy reliance on memory of fixed combinations might come at the expense of understanding the functions of prepositions. When Chinese learners forget the preposition-verb combinations and are uncertain about which preposition to employ, they might be inclined to omit prepositions.

5.2.11 Discourse organization and word order

In terms of discourse organization and word order, English in China displays some features different from the common order of English sentences SVO (Xu, 2010). As Mandarin is not an easy language to classify in terms of word order (Li and Thompson, 1981) and it is a discourse oriented-language (Huang, 1984), the flexibility in Chinese strengthens the occurrence of features such as left dislocation, fronting, double nominal construction, and inverted word order in subordinate clauses. There are also identified in the ID.

5.2.11.1 Left dislocation

Left dislocation is also called anticipated identification, "where a noun phrase is positioned initially and a reinforcing pronoun stands 'proxy' for it in the relevant position in the sentence" (Quirk *et al*., 1985: 1310). This construction occurs in informal English, is motivated by a stylistic consideration. But this is often not the case in the use of left dislocation by Chinese students (Xu, 2010). The use of left dislocation is more associated with the topic-prominent feature of Chinese.

According to Li and Thompson (1981: 15), topic is defined as "what the sentence is about" and always refers to "something about which the speaker assumes the person listening to the utterance has some knowledge". Moreover, the topic of a sentence is always "put at the beginning of the sentence and can be optionally followed by a pause, which serves to set the topic apart from the rest of the sentence" (Li and Thompson, 1981: 15).

Motivated by the transfer, one type of left dislocation identified in the ID goes like the following examples: proxy pronouns which stand immediately after noun phrases in subject positions.

(97) a. (00:03:51) Er it's like that some people in the village of of Huangpi they want go to the downtown of Huangpi. (CS016, WUST)

b. (00:44:12) And en en en <r>my</r> about my favorites, I thought er maybe <r>it's it's</r> it's un- unfair, <r>because</r> because <r>many girls<//r> many students, especially girls, they love English. (CS081 F, WUST)

c. (00:03:19) And the young men they go shopping a lot. (CS120, WU)

In a slightly different type of left dislocation identified in the ID, instead of following referential noun phrases, proxy pronouns are not placed immediately after their corresponding noun phrases. They still assume the function of subject but do not stand next to the noun phrases. They take the following form as exemplified below from the ID.

(98) a. (00:06:05) My primary school life, I don't think it's very good, (CS043, WUST)

b. (00:17:25) <r>But in<//r> but western food, I think it's easier to cook. (CS105 F, WU)

c. (00:03:51) Young people, en en en in Kunming, <r>I think <Chinese>就是</Chinese> aroun-<//r> er many young people around me, I think they are very er <r>excellen-</r> excellent. (CS108 F, WU)

The proxy pronouns still function as subjects, but not in the main clauses, rather, they take the subject's position in the subordinate clauses. These subordinate clauses are usually object clauses and are often combined with main clauses that begin with *I think* or *I don't think*.

The interview data show that left dislocation not only occurs in the subject position, but also occupies the object position. The examples below from the ID exhibit proxy pronouns functioning as objects.

(99) a. (00:44:04) <r>Because</r> because English I didn't study it very well, ... (CS013, WUST)

b. (00:30:29) <r>Enjoy cooking</r>. <r>Cooking</r> cooking, sometimes <r>I</r> I hate it, and sometimes<r>I very like it<//r> I like it very much. (CS091, WUST)

c. (00:22:12) but at university<r>you all the<//r> all those things that your high school teachers may prepare for you you need to do them by yourself. (CS132, WU)

From the above examples, it can be seen that proxy pronouns of left dislocation are usually third person pronouns, be they singular or plural, animate or inanimate referents. As noted by Xu (2010), the noun phrases that the proxy pronouns refer to do not necessarily constitute long items, which is often the case in StE. The underlined parts, which the proxy pronouns refer to, usually serve as topics of the sentences or represent "what the sentence is about" while the remaining part of sentences is the comment on the topics. The preferred position of topics and a trait of such sentences (the beginning of the sentence and optionally followed by a pause) further tell that most cases of left dislocation correspond to topic comment structures in Chinese. Therefore, the use of left dislocation probably arises from the topic-prominent nature of Chinese rather than stylistic reasons.

5.2.11.2 Fronting

Fronting is defined by Quirk *et al*. (1377–1381) as a means of achieving marked theme by moving an item into the initial position. The fronted item is frequently an entire sentence element, which can function as either direct object or prepositional complement, subject complement or object complement, predication adjunct. Fronting is used to reiterate or emphasis specific points that have been made, or the context may lead to a specific theme being placed at the start of the sentence.

Fronting used by Chinese English speakers is associated with topicalization to some degree (Xu, 2010). The following examples from the ID of my study demonstrate the tendency to have fronted objects, which runs counter to the normal sentence structure that places objects after verbs.

(100) a. I: (00:12:48) I think that habit is not good.
S: (00:12:52) Yes. <u>That</u> <u>I get used to</u>. (CS023 F, WUST)

b. (00:26:26) I want to take a long distance travel, because en <u>most cities in China</u> er <u>I has travelled</u>. (CS085 F, WUST)

c. (00:16:56) I think <r>before I I<//r> er now <r>I some<//r> <u>much</u> <u>I forgot</u>, but <u>some</u> <u>I remember</u>. (CS126, WU)

Example 33a is a case in point, which demonstrates the influence of topicalization. The pronoun *that* is the topic of the sentence, referring to the previous context or the old information, while the rest of the sentence is the comment on the topic *that*.

A more common type of fronting in the ID is that adverbials, especially prepositional phrases, are moved to the initial position of sentences. Those initial adverbials often indicate contrast of time or place such as the contrast between "now" and "in the past" and between "in the university" and "in primary schools". This type of fronting is illustrated with the sentences below from the ID.

(101) a. (00:03:50) Now peoples are usually go to the park to relaxing them. I think in the past time <r>they didn-</r> they didn't have a chance to relax them- themselves. (CS022, WUST)

b. (00:16:26) In the past <r>I</r> I've never known how to value my friends or <r>my</r> en my relatives. But now en I know how to treat them. (CS023 F, WUST)

c. (00:11:08) Er in the university, <r>I<//r> er we have more er modern facilities... But in primary school, the facility are <r>just some er just some<//r> something in usual... (CS098, WU)

This type of fronting in the ID might have been caused by the questions in the interviews that were designed to draw a comparison between the past and the present in different settings. When students thus formulate sentences, they are more likely to mention the contrast first. As a result, adverbials of contrast are placed at the beginning of the sentences.

5.2.11.3 Double nominative construction

There are two types of double nominative constructions: double subject and double object (Xu, 2017). Double subject construction refers to the co-existence of two noun phrases preceding the predicate in a sentence, in which the initial noun phrase functions as a topic and the second as the subject while the rest forms a comment on the topic (Croft, 1991; Li and Thompson, 1981). The semantic relationship between the initial two nominals is typically domain-subset or possessor-possessed. In a similar vein, double object construction refers to the co-existence of two noun phrases in a sentence, in which one nominal takes the initial position of a sentence and functions as a topic while the other usually occupies the end of a sentence and functions as an object. The semantic relationship between the topic and the object is similar to the topic and the subject of double subject construction, namely, *part-whole*, in which the topic is the *whole* of which the object is a *part*. Therefore, nominals in double nominative construction perform these functions: the initial nominal functions as a topic while the second nominal functions as a subject or object.

Double nominative construction is rare in English, but common in Chinese. Transfer from Chinese probably leads to the use of double nominative construction in English by Chinese English

speakers. The examples below from the ID present double subject constructions, in which the subject of the comment clause as a subset of the topic domain.

(102) a. (00:48:10) do you know that in the IEFLTS test <r>the differen- different <,,></,,> the oral Engli- they won'-<//r> <r>the speaking par-</r> the speaking part of it (Yeah.) is different in different cities, (Yeah.) according to the the language <<r>of the of tha-</r> of that city. (Yeah.) Er because <r>some some</r> some language there the pronunciation is hard to change. (Yeah.) (CS016, WUST)

b. (00:31:56) Yes yes. But <r>as I</r> as I mentioned in before, I think studying <Ø -article> language the most thing is <Ø -article> environment <r>you are</r> you are. ((CS053, WUST)

c. (00:14:29) But university, everything <Ø -be> up to yourself, though the burden is not as much hard as in high school, en work is less, buut you must face your life yourself. (CS120, WU)

The double subject construction is different from English topicalization, because the construction represents "nonprototypical topic-comment constructions that are disallowed in so called subject-prominent languages" (Croft, 1991: 114).

When the object of the comment clause is a subset of the topic NP, double nominal construction can be formed as the following data from the ID shows.

(103) a. (01:08:50) Yes. Er en <r>although I ju-<//r> er foreign language, I just learn English, <r>not and<//r> and didn't er learn other language. (CS041 F, WU)

b. (00:31:29) <r>Favorite dish</r>. Favorite dish, maybe <r>I I thin-<//r> <r>I don't have</r> I don't have en favorite fish, but I <r>like</r> like much fish, all kinds of fish. (CS091, WUST)

c. (00:18:26) Er Chinese food, er <r>we</r> we prefer rice. (CS131 F, WU)

The organization of such sentences can be explained by the unmarked order in Mandarin, that is, old/background information is placed before new/foreground, and general (/whole/universe) precedes specific (/part/scope) (Her, 1989).

5.2.11.4 Inverted word order in subordinate clauses

Inverted word order in subordinate clauses refers to the inversion of subjects and operators in subordinate clauses. This phenomenon occurs in non-standard varieties including English in China (Siemund, 2013; Xu, 2010). Due to different word orders between English and Chinese, the inverted word order in subordinate clauses is likely to be a product of L1 transfer (Xu, 2010).

Contrary to direct speech, subjects of questions are placed before operators in subordinate clauses (Quirk *et al*., 1985). Under most circumstances, StE does not show inversion in embedded interrogatives except in two construction types, particularly when the clause functions as a complement and the superordinate verb is *to be*, or when it functions as an appositive (Quirk *et al*., 1985).

Different from English, when direct questions are transformed into indirect questions in Chinese, the order of information remains the same in indirect questions as in direct questions (Ross *et al*., 2012). The following examples of indirect questions from the ID share the same order as direct questions.

(104) a. (00:47:55) It's good for us to know what other people think and en en what will they do. (CS023 F, WUST)

b. (00:26:36) I don't know <r>whether en in abroad people will<//r> what kind of things will they do. (CS031 F, WU)

c. (00:11:13) But sometimes I don't know what to do <r>what should I</r> what should I do. (CS093, WUST)

Inversion of subjects and operators occurs especially when the embedded interrogatives function as objects of sentences. The verbs of the main clauses are then usually verbs denoting the desire to know more information.

5.3 Lexico-semantic features

This section presents words in the interview data that are borrowed or translated directly from Chinese, and also reports on detected semantic shift.

5.3.1 Borrowing

Here borrowing refers to the utilization of *pinyin*, a system of romanizing or transcribing Chinese words and phrases based on their pronunciation. This strategy of direct borrowing is often employed to express aspects of Chinese culture, especially when there are no equivalent English words to express Chinese concepts or when the equivalents are unknown.

From the interview data (ID), popular entertainment is identified as a semantic domain in which extensive borrowing is present. One such example is *majiang*, a popular game with its roots in ancient China, and usually played by four people. The game is also referred to as *mahjong*, which derives from Cantonese.

(105) a. (00:21:52) But some of my families are also play ***majiang*** or play <,></,> (cards?) cards. (CS028 F, WUST)

b. (00:04:34) ... or just entertaining like going to a KTV, or just playing ***majiang***. (CS085 F, WUST)

c. (00:06:08) En er be- before people like to play ***majiang***. (CS126, WU)

Another form of entertainment or sport that occurs often in the ID is *ping pong*. *Ping pong* is also known as table tennis. Although the sport originates in Victorian England, it has become very popular in China. Many regard table tennis, or *ping pong*, as a national sport.

(106) a. (00:04:50) At that time, <r>play</r> play ***ping pong*** was in a catch. (CS004, WUST)

b. (00:24:55) Yeah. And I think it's more <,></,> it's more challenge than ***ping pong***. (CS091, WUST)

c. (00:07:23) And they will en play sports, and en boys basketball, girls ***ping pong***, en sometimes tennis. (CS103 F, WU)

Where *majiang* and *ping pong* have become established words in English, the following forms of entertainment are not that well known. *Chunwan* or *chunjie lianhuan wanhui* is the Spring Festival Gala, or the CCTV New Year's Gala according to official translations. It is a special program produced by China Central Television and is normally shown on the Eve of the Spring Festival as an integral part of the Chinese New Year celebrations. The program covers a wide range of cultural activities such as singing, dancing, cross-talking, and Chinese skits. Although the popularity of this program is dwindling mostly among younger viewers, many people still watch it after enjoying dinner on the eve of the Spring Festival.

(107) a. (00:36:49) Er <Ø -S> eating dumpling and <,,></,,> and watching the TV of <Chinese>春晚</Chinese> <***chunwan***>, <r>and visiting</r> and visiting <r>my home-<//r> my en er (relatives) relatives. (CS021, WUST)

b. (00:22:14) I watch <Chinese>春晚</Chinese> <***chunwan***> every year. (CS028 F, WUST)

c. (00:21:21) Er then <r>we ha-<//r> er we watch en <Chinese>春节联欢晚会</Chinese> <***chunjie lianhuan wanhui***> together, <r>and</r> and talk about it like complainments about the host <r>or the</r> or the shows. (CS131 F, WU)

A second semantic domain under Chinese culture in which borrowing is popular is food. *Jiaozi* is mentioned frequently in the ID. This traditional dish is a kind of dumpling. The dough is made of flour and is stuffed with meat or vegetables. While *jiaozi* usually refers to dumplings cooked in boiling water, they can also be steamed or fried. In many parts of China, it is customary to eat Chinese dumplings during the Spring Festival.

(108) a. (00:26:32) En en because <r>when er when</r> er when according to our culture food, en we all often en think about moon cakes and dumplings, and ***jiaozi***. (CS047 F, WUST)

b. (00:18:42) And we will sit together to eat a meal, and watch the TV, and play *majiang*, and er making ***jiaozi***. (CS105 F, WU)

c. (00:38:01) Maybe maybe <Ø -S> can be ***jiaozi***. (Yeah.) Er and <Ø -article> first day of <Ø -article> Spring Festival <,,></,,> (CS127, WU)

Chihuo, a term that describes people who enjoy eating but are not food experts, also occurs in the ID. An English equivalent would be "foodie", although not many students would normally refer to themselves as a *chihuo*. This term has gained popularity in recent years in China.

(109) a. (00:35:35) Because yeah <r>I I</r> maybe er in Chinese, there is a very popular er phrase called <Chinese>吃货</Chinese> <***chihuo***>. (Yeah.) Yeah. I think. (CS041 F, WU)

b. (00:24:58) <r>I'm a</r> I'm a <Chinese>吃货</Chinese> <***chihuo***>. (CS053, WUST)

c. (00:13:16) But now because I'm a <Chinese>吃货</Chinese> <***chihuo***>, so maybe er the largest fun in my whole life is looking for something to eat, ... (CS113 F, WU)

Words in the domain of education are also subject to borrowing. *Gaokao* is one such example. It is mentioned frequently in the ID. *Gaokao* refers to the National College Entrance Examination, which is held annually in mainland, China. The exam usually tests students' knowledge in three compulsory subjects (Chinese literature, mathematics, a foreign language, usually English) and combined subjects (history, politics and geology for social-science-oriented students, and physics, chemistry and biology for natural-science-oriented students).

(110) a. (00:33:31) Because er <></,,> the ***Gaokao*** is <r>a</r> just a approach to test your ability, ... (CS048, WUST)

b. (00:34:21) I think there is no business with me, because I have passed because I have passed <r>the</r> the ***Gaokao***. (CS096 F, WU)

c. (00:23:31) En in fact, I think ***Gaokao*** is not good <r>for student<//r> for students, ... (CS114 F, WU)

Putonghua is a term that refers to a standard version of spoken Chinese, which is promoted by the Chinese government. It is also known as Mandarin. The term *Putonghua* occurs in the ID, as the examples below show.

(111) a. (00:51:28) En <,,><//,,> <r>if a if a<//r> en if <r>somebody</r> somebody en have a good master of ***Putonghua***, I think his English is good. (CS042, WUST)

b. (00:49:39) <r>So you so I don't think er so I so I don't think er to<//r> I don't think to master ***Putonghua*** can also master English. (CS085 F, WUST)

c. (00:29:52) such as if <r>one<//r> they say er Hu'nan ***Putonghua***, and he will say Hu'nan Yingyu (Hu'nan English) (CS105 F, WU)

The term *hua* refers to local dialects, but it is not widely acknowledged. The word is often combined with place names such as *Wuhan*, *Hefei* or *Xianning*, as demonstrated in the following examples from the ID.

(112) a. (00:35:22) <r>It<//r> for example, I can't understand <Chinese>武汉话</Chinese> <*Wuhan**hua***>. (CS005, WUST)

b. (00:50:51) Er I can speak <Chinese>合肥话</Chinese> <*Hefei**hua***> fluently. (CS085 F, WUST)

c. (00:49:30) <Chinese>咸宁话</Chinese> <*Xianning**hua***> is very different from Putonghua <r>and other</r> and other language. (CS091, WUST)

It is popular amongst students to express good wishes and exchange apples on Christmas Eve. The Chinese equivalent for apples is *pingguo* while Christmas Eve is usually translated as *ping'an ye*. *Pingguo* and *ping'an* share one Chinese character, namely, *ping*. *Ping* means peace or safety. *Ping'an* also means peace or safety in English. Therefore, apples are exchanged by many Chinese on Christmas Eve as an expression of peace and goodwill. It occurs often in the ID as the examples below demonstrate.

(113) a. (00:22:25) En en the apple is present the <Chinese>***平安***</Chinese>**<*ping'an*>**. (CS008, WUST)

b. (00:23:21) <r>Go some<//r> usually on that day <,,></,,> I just receive some apples from my friends, because <r>in the</r> in the pronunciation it just sounds like <Chinese>*平安*</Chinese> ***<ping'an***>, the peace. (CS016, WUST)

c. (00:31:04) Oh oh, <r>as er it means<//r> er <Chinese>不对</Chinese> er the apple in Chinese its pronunciation is relate to <Chinese>*平安*</Chinese> ***<ping'an***>. (CS107 F, WU)

5.3.2 Loan translation

Loan translation refers to the literal translation of Chinese words into English. The examples of loan translation demonstrated in the ID mostly concern loan translations that have become standard expressions. Most of the loan translations refer to aspects of Chinese culture.

The reference "Spring Festival" (春节) is one of the more common loan translations. It is also celebrated and known as the Chinese New Year, marking the turn of the traditional lunisolar Chinese calendar. It lasts for 15 days, and each day features a typical or group of activities. For example, on the first day of the Spring Festival, people often fire firecrackers, visit their relatives, or pay tribute to ancestors or gods. The Spring Festival is the most important traditional festival in China.

(114) a. (00:42:28) In the early years of our life, I think our best memories were most in ***Spring Festival***. Yes. (CS019, WUST)

b. (00:27:40) <r>I will</r> I will send message to my parents, and <r>tell her<//r> tell them that I love them and I hope them enjoy ***the Spring Festival***. (CS096 F, WU)

c. (00:16:19) But I thinken nowadays ***the Spring Festival*** is more and more boring, because people are (just eating) just eating a big meal, ... (CS114 F, WU)

Lucky money is another direct translation that is mentioned in the ID. Lucky money is literally called "red envelopes". It refers to a monetary gift from parents or relatives that are given on special occasions such as the Spring Festival and weddings.

(115) a. (00:27:19) En <r>I en en I will<//r> <r>every</r> every Spring Festival I will get ***lucky money***, <r>and and</r> and <r>toy toyal<//r> toyals<=toys>. (CS004, WUST)

b. (00:24:25) Er firework. (Er eh.) <r>And we would and</r> and <r>we</r> er we would receive some ***lucky money*** from parents and other er (relatives.) (CS012 F, WUST)

c. (00:20:03) Yeah. But I can still receive some ***lucky money*** from my relatives, and also eat a lot of meat en in every en Spring Festival. (CS113 F, WU)

5.3.3 Semantic shift

Semantic shift refers to the phenomenon where the original meaning of a word or a phrase is modified through narrowing, widening, peroration, amelioration, or change.

The examples below from the ID show semantic narrowing of the word *beef*.

(116) a. (00:20:54) <r>Western food</r>. (En eh.) En en. <r>I</r> I like to go to the en <,></,> en western restaurant for the ***beef***. (CS047 F, WUST)

b. (00:29:43) Er because such as last time I eat the ***beef***, er with <r>blood</r> blood on a beef. (CS107 F, WU)

c. (00:34:24) <r>They just have the<//r> they just have fried chickens, <r>fried</r> fried ***beef***, and <r>some</r> some others. (CS127, WU)

Beef does not refer to the flesh of cattle here, because the students in the interviews were invited to talk about western food and beef is not a typical western food in Chinese's eyes. Chinese people do not go to western restaurants in China for Chinese dishes whose ingredients include beef. For Chinese people, steak is a typical western food. Therefore, it can be deduced that the meaning of beef is narrowed to steak. Instead of using the corresponding hyponym steak, the hypernym beef is applied. This might be due to the students' failure to recall the English equivalent on the spot.

Another word that exhibits semantic change in the ID is *remember*.

(117) a. (00:10:59) Er from primary school to high school, er teachers just speak and speak over again, <r>and write down on the blackboard</r>, and write down <Ø -O> on the blackboard, and let's ***remember*** this and ***remember*** that, <r>and</r> and just for the exams. (CS048, WUST)

b. (00:11:11) Er at primary school, teacher only tell us to ***remember*** something or er <r>just er something just little thing<//r> just little thinking. (CS108 F, WU)

c. (00:30:24) because my teacher always say you have to ***remember*** the words from A to Z, and I will give you a dictation next week, <r>and<//r> and that week. (CS116 F, WU)

Where StE uses the verb *remember* to express having or recalling "a picture or idea in your mind of people, events, places etc from the past" (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary

English, 2009: 1473), in the examples of the ID it emphasizes the act of storing of information in the brain, and in this sense, resembles *memorize*.

5.4 Summary

A range of features have been identified in the data of the reading passage and interviews. Contrary to previous research (Deterding, 2006b; Schneider, 2011b; Li and Sewell, 2012), we determine that an extra final schwa does not occur frequently in the WD. The most salient feature in vowels is the absence of reduced vowels. It is more likely to be absent in monosyllabic function words than unstressed polysyllabic words. The merger of long vowels and short vowels is more influential on /ʌ/ and /ɑ:/ than its influence on other pairs of long vowels and short vowels. Other distinctive features include consonant cluster reduction and the replacement of the post-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ by /ʃ/ or /dʒ/. The features identified in the data of the reading passage are tabulated in table 5.1.

Morpho-syntactic features identified in the interview data cover the 11 categories suggested by Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi (2004): pronouns, noun phrases, tense and aspect, verb morphology, negation, agreement, relativization, complementation, prepositions, adverbial subordination, discourse organization and word order. The features that occur relatively frequently include *no gender distinction in third person singular, pronoun drop: referential pronouns, additional or optional plural marking*, *omission or addition of articles,* include *levelling of present perfect and simple past: present perfect for StE simple past, leveling of past tense/past participle verb forms: regularization of irregular verb paradigms, zero past tense/past participle forms of regular verbs and irregular verbs, invariant non-concord tags*, *verbs with -s suffix on verbs occurring with third person plural noun phrase subjects*, *absence* of *-s on third-person singular forms*, *deletion of the verb be, gapping/zero-relativization in subject position*, *optional use of to in infinitives, conjunction doubling*, *omission of StE prepositions, left dislocation,* and *double nominative construction*. A complete list of the identified morpho-syntactic features is summarized in table 5.2.

In terms of lexico-semantic features, borrowing is mainly used in the semantic fields of entertainment, food and education in the interview data. Words of borrowing identified in the ID contain *majiang*, *pingpong*, *chunwan*. Words associated with food include *jiaozi* and *chihuo*.

Words that pertain to education comprise *Gaokao* and *Putonghua* in the ID. Loan translation is applied when something is related to Chinese culture and technologies. The typical loan translations identified in the ID include the Spring Festival, and lucky money. The words that involve semantic shift in the ID include *beef* and *remember*. The meaning of beef is narrowed to steak while *remember* is synonymous to *memorize*. Table 5.3 presents an overview of the lexico-semantic features identified in the interview data.

The relatively wide range of the identified features in the WD and ID indicates that a Chinese variety of English is probably in the course of developing. However, the relatively infrequent use of the identified phonological features suggest that the Chinese variety of English is far from taking shape.

Chapter 6 Students' attitudes towards English in China

Based on the attitudinal questionnaire, the supplementary questionnaire as well as questions concerning language learning and teaching in the interviews, this chapter reports on the findings with respect to three themes: 1. the students' perceptions of the importance and use of English in China; 2. their attitudes towards different varieties of English (particularly the Chinese variety of English); and 3. their attitudes towards exonormative and endonormative teaching models of English in China.

6.1 Attitudes towards the importance and use of English in China

As an international language, English has held a dominant position in communications, job hunting, finance, commerce, and access to knowledge. Since the late 1970s that brought a period of resistance against English to an end, its importance has been recognized once more by China in general (Verghese, 1989). The students in my study confirm this renewed positive attitude towards English.

More than four fifths of the respondents (86.4%) agree with the statement that "English is now the most important international language", and more than half (51.0%) strongly support this statement. They were also asked to respond to whether English would retain its importance as an international language. In this regard, the students generally hold a positive attitude. Less than three tenths of the students (27.0%) believe that another international language could replace the role of English, while around half of the students (48.9%) have confidence in the continued importance of English as the most important international language in the coming years. Meanwhile, around one in five respondents (21.9%) hold a neutral position towards the statement, "Another international language will replace the role of English in the near future". Therefore, in the light of China's complex international relations, especially the Chinese pride in their language, the students' overwhelming positive attitude and their interest in continuing to learn English, it indicates that the Chinese variety of English will develop. Based on these positive attitudes, in future it will be interesting to ask how Standard English (StE) – American and British – and English in China influence each other.

Table 6.1.1 English is now the most important international language.

	SD[20]	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S1	0.84	4.32	5	0	5.2%	8.3%	35.4%	51.0%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.1.2 Another international language will replace the role of English in the near future.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S2	1.13	2.66	2.5	15.6%	33.3%	21.9%	22.9%	4.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

The perceived importance of English in the future can also be drawn from the students' replies to whether they would continue studying English if they had a choice.

E.g. I: (00:27:25) If you had a choice, would you still continue learning English?
S: (00:27:30) Er yes. Er although <r>my</r> my English is <r>a<//r> not very well, but I think <r>a</r> a new language can help you er expanden your view, and you can learn your own culture, you can from the other opinion to think your life. (CS108 F, WU, ID)

E.g. I: (00:30:16) If you were given the chance, would you continue learning English?
S: (00:30:22) Er I think er <r>I will</r> er I will continue the English, because I think English study <r>is er is or wi-<//r> is with me for ten years about, er <r>so I</r> soI can't give up the English en now. (CS035, WUST, ID)

Irrespective of the students' intentions, they plan to continue learning English, even if there were an option not to do so. Their choices reveal how they believe in the importance of English.

Another question that shows how important the students think English is relates to the foreign language they would like their children to learn if they have children in the future.

E.g. I: (00:56:09) (Laughs.) If you have a child in future, which language would you like your child to learn?
S: (00:56:18) <,,></,,> Maybe it's in English. Yes. It's easy to learn <r>and</r> and most people use it. Yes. (CS019, WUST, ID)

E.g. I: (00:38:52) En eh. If you have a child in future, which foreign language would you like your child to learn?
S: (00:38:59) Er <r>I</r> I think that <r>he or she<//r> if he or she is interested in language, she can learn what she like or what he like. If she or he doesn't like them,
I: (00:39:24) You will not force them.
S: (00:39:25) I will not force them to learn many language, but <r>I may<//r> I must teach them English and Chinese. This is necessary. And other languages, if he or she like, he can learn by himself, or go to some class. (En eh.) I don't er er force them to do that. (CS098, WU, ID)

[20] SD=standard deviation, M=mean, Mdn=medium.

Disregarding different reasons for choosing a foreign language for their children, the students' choices reflect that they believe that English will still be the most important international language in the future.

The recognition of the importance of English not only lies in the students' attitudes towards the key role of English as an international language at present and in the future, but also resides in their belief in the importance of English for Chinese people. The majority of the students respond positively to the question, "Do you think it is very important for Chinese to know some English?". More than nine in ten students (91.7%) agree with the question, and nearly half of the respondents (46.9%) believe that it is very important for Chinese to learn at least some English. They attach so much importance to English that more than half of them (55.2%) even hold that it is more important for Chinese to speak English fluently than for foreigners to use Chinese correctly in China.

Table 6.1.3 Do you think it is very important for Chinese to know some English?

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
Q3	0.81	4.32	4	1.0%	4.1%	3.1%	44.8%	46.9%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.1.4 It is less important for foreigners to use Chinese correctly than for Chinese to speak English fluently in China.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S3	1.52	2.51	2	21.9%	33.3%	19.8%	21.9%	3.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

The importance of English also shows in the students' motivation to learn English. Graduation is obviously one factor that encourages students to learn English, because English is an integral component in the curriculum. But it is neither the only nor most important motivational factor. According to the students' responses to the role of graduation, it seems that graduation is not a significant factor that motivates them to study English. The number of students who do not agree with the statement, "I study English because it is required for graduation", accounts for less than two fifths (36.5%), slightly higher than the number of students who take the opposite position (35.5%). The slightly stronger tendency to reject graduation as a motivation to study English might indicate that there are other more crucial factors or a combination of factors that attract the students to learn English.

Table 6.1.5 I study English because it is required for graduation.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S5	1.20	2.99	3	11.5%	25.0%	27.1%	24.0%	11.5%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

The impact of graduation on English learning can be elicited from the students' reactions to the assumption that English would be cancelled in *Gaokao* (discussed in Chapter 3).

E.g. I: (00:32:06) OK. Have you heard that English in *Gaokao* is going to be cancelled?[21]
S: (00:32:11) <r>Cancelled</r>.
I: (00:32:13) What's your reaction to it?
S: (00:32:16) En <,,></,,> I don't agree with it. English is important nowadays. En no matter <r>you will<//r> en you got a master's degree or get a wor- or study abroad, you need to have good English. And en <r>learn En-<//r> learning English well <r>is</r> en is good for looking for a job. (CS028 F, WUST, ID)

E.g I: (00:50:47) Have you heard that there would be no English exam in *Gaokao*?
S: (00:50:52) No, <r>I didn't<//r> I don't know that. I think er English <r>is er is</r> is very important.
I: (00:50:51) Why?
S: (00:50:52) It can be a bridge <r>to lin- to</r> to link our China with <r>the</r> the outer world, with English world. … (CS127, WU, ID)

From the reasons that the students give for objecting to the cancellation of English in *Gaokao*, it can be learnt that they consider English as an important means to gain access to study abroad and communication with foreigners. Thus, taking into account the importance of English around the world, new language reforms in China will not affect the students' enthusiasm to learn English in the age of internationalization and globalization. This explains why they do not care whether English is a compulsory component of the curriculum or not, they still wish to learn the language.

Employment possibilities or job hunting is an even more important motivation for the students to study English. The students tend to oppose the idea that "high English proficiency does not make a big difference to job hunting in China". More than seven in ten students (75.0%) agree that proficiency in English is important for job hunting in China, and more than one third of the students (36.5%) regard English proficiency extremely important. The students' strong agreement on the difference that high English proficiency makes to job hunting demonstrates how important English is in China.

Table 6.1.6 High English proficiency does not make a big difference to job hunting in China.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S6	1.12	2.06	2	36.5%	38.5%	9.3%	10.4%	4.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

[21] The author made a mistake in the new language reform. English is not cancelled but does not take place on the days when the other three main subjects are examined in *Gaokao*. The question raised by the author did not fail to test the students' perception of the importance of English.

In addition to instrumental factors such as graduation and job hunting, integrative factors such as personal interests play a part in the students' desire to learn English. The table below demonstrates that a majority of the students like English. To this general question that tests their general attitude towards English, around two in three students (66.7%) responded positively, and one in five students (19.8%) very positively. These figures suggest that instrumental factors are not the only reasons for the students to learn English.

Table 6.1.7 Do you like the English language?

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
Q1	1.06	3.66	4	4.2%	12.5%	16.7%	46.9%	19.8%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

The students' favorable attitude towards English can be illustrated further by their answers to the questions about which factors attracted them to learn a foreign language and the reasons why they like English.

E.g. I: (00:36:35) Yeah. It takes time. (Yeah.) Then what factors might attract you to learn a foreign language?
S: (00:36:45) Er <r>in the<//r> in my early time, <r>my English of of</r> <,,></,,> my English of <,,></,,> examination <r>is</r> is a little good. (Yes.) So many people er en-envy me. So it gives me confidence and give me power to study English. (En eh.) And in other reasons, en <r>I I u-</r> I used to watch many English movie and I just watch English movie, like <>agent showed<=?>, and <r>other</r> other <r>American</r> American movie. <r>So</r> so <r>I</r> I expose myself to English and I just love it little by little. (CS043, WUST, ID)

E.g. I: (00::46:31) But why do you love English so much?
S: (00:46:35) I don't know. En maybe because I watch a lot of American movies and American TV series. (CS117F, WU, ID)

The above examples reveal that students gain confidence, power and enjoyment from English. The benefits brought by English intensifies their positive attitude towards the language.

The statement asking the students to place English in relation to other foreign languages as the best to learn drew mixed reactions. Perhaps the negative formulation affected the responses as they seemingly contradict the conclusions above, or are not as convincing as one would expect. While the questionnaire does not offer alternatives to English as the best foreign language to learn, for example, German, French or Russian, or state which societal domains, like economy, education, politics, entertainment, and the military, would be involved, more than four in ten students (43.8%) indicate that they do not think that English is the best foreign language for Chinese to learn. However, the results favor English slightly over other foreign languages. When the two groups

favoring English over other foreign languages are added together (by inference: 10.4% strongly favor and 34.4% favor), 45.8% of the students are positive towards it, compared to 10.4% who maintain that English is not the best foreign language to learn. Unfortunately, the students were not offered the opportunity to motivate their answer, so it is impossible to say either which specific language would be better than English, or why another language would be preferable.

Table 6.1.8 English is not the best foreign language for Chinese to learn.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S32	0.83	2.56	3	10.4%	34.4%	43.8%	11.5%	0

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

While the students have mixed reactions on which foreign language is best to learn, their attitudes towards the use of English in China are not that positive. From the survey it appears that the students are generally negative towards speaking English outside the classroom, based on opportunities. About a quarter of the students (25.0%) agree with the statement that "There are a lot of opportunities to speak English outside the classroom in China", while 62.5% of them hold the opposite position. The perceived lack of opportunities to speak English outside the classroom might mean that the students limit the language to a subject in their curriculum, or they are favorable towards the language, but lament the limitations imposed in China.

Table 6.1.9 There are a lot of opportunities to speak English in China outside the classroom.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S26	1.27	2.48	2	24.0%	38.5%	12.5%	15.6%	9.4%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

The students in my study spoke about the insufficient opportunities to speak English when they were asked to illustrate the relationship between their dialect and oral English or when they explained their desires to study abroad.

E.g. I: (01:13:52) That's right. Then is there some relationship between one's dialect and one's oral English?
S: (01:13:59… (01:14:52) But er English, en (oral English) Oh, oral English. Yeah. En maybe your oral English <r>will be not<//r> will be not good, because <r>you speak it<//r> er the chance for you to speak English is very little. Yeah. Very little. And <r>you don't have the o- your<//r> the language environment to prac- practice it and to communicate it with o- other people who say English. (CS041F, WU, ID)

E.g. I: (00:31:23) Because you are a Chinese? (Yes yes.) En eh. After graduation from this university, which would you will you prefer, to further your study or to work?
S: (00:31:38) En of course, I want to go abroad. (To further your study) But my spoken English<interruption>confuse me.

I: (00:31:50) Don't worry about it. Yeah. It just needs practice. That's OK.
S: (00:31:56) Yes yes. But <r>as I</r> as I mentioned in before, I think studying <Ø -article> language the most thing is <Ø -article> environment <r>you are</r> you are. If you have a good condition, you can speak English every day, your spoken English will improve day by day (Yeah, of course.) and <Ø -be>better and better. If you and me <interruption> (CS053, WUST, ID)

In addition to these responses, which illustrate the respondents desire to speak English more fluently, it can be inferred that formal education on its own is insufficient to promote English. The students were also asked to indicate the domains where they felt free to speak and use English.

The table below indicates seven domains or occasions in which English is used. Accordingly, education has the highest rate of all the suggested occasions. Nearly nine in ten students (89.6%) claim that they use English in education. The other two occasions where English is employed are writing emails and using English with friends. More than three in ten students (34.3%) write emails in English, and around one in five students (20.8%) employ English with friends. On other occasions such as with family, at work, or on the phone, the students rarely use English.

Table 6.1.10 A summary of use of English

	Education	Work	Friends	Family	Phone	Email	miscellaneous	AB*
N	86	8	20	3	8	33	8	7
Per	89.6%	8.3%	20.8%	3.1%	8.3%	34.3%	8.3%	7.3%

(*AB=absent)

The students' rare use of English with their families coincides with their parents' general low English proficiency. More than eight in ten parents (83.3%) do not speak English at all. Therefore, it is no wonder that only three in a hundred students (3.1%) report that they communicate with their families in English. The general low proficiency of the students' parents indicates that at present English is not a common home language in China.

Table 6.1.11 Do your parents speak English?

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
Q2	0.59	1.24	1	83.3%	10.4%	5.2%	1.0%	0

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Another proof of infrequent use of English comes from the students' evaluation of bilinguals or multilinguals. Less than half of the students (43.8%) in my study consider themselves to be English users, as only 42 out of 96 students wrote down English alongside Chinese or other dialects when they were asked to write down the languages they used. In other words, more than half of the students do not consider themselves to be English users or bilingual. Based on their self-

perception it can be determined that not all of the English learners in China can be called English users. This discrepancy between English being taught as a subject in schools and English being used as a means of communication in other spheres of life, on the one hand raises several pedagogical questions that lie outside the intentions of this study, and on the other, have implications for measuring the status of English in China, using college and university results. The results also indicate that only English learners with a relatively good proficiency are able to use English outside the classroom and in essence, only these English learners can properly be viewed as English users.

On the question of how they perceive the English proficiency of Chinese people in general, the students do not seem to care whether the proficiency of Chinese people is satisfactory or not. However, 44.8% of the students do not think that Chinese people are proficient in English. Those who hold a positive view (18.7%) are much less. This implies that relatively more students do not feel satisfied with the English proficiency of Chinese people.

Table 6.1.12 English proficiency of Chinese people is satisfactory.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S4	0.92	2.71	3	6.3%	38.5%	35.4%	15.6%	3.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

The implicit dissatisfaction with the general proficiency of Chinese learners of English corresponds roughly with the self-rated proficiency of the students. A vast majority of the students in my study rate their English proficiency in the four language skills (speaking, writing, reading, listening) at an intermediate level or lower. Speaking is deemed to be the poorest skill among the four skills, because more than half of the students (57.3%) estimate their oral English proficiency at a beginner level.

Table 6.1.13 a summary of self-rated English proficiency

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4
speaking	0.61	1.47	1	57.3%	38.5%	3.1%	1.0%
writing	0.57	1.73	2	32.3%	61.5%	6.3%	0
reading	0.66	2.03	2	19.8%	57.3%	23.0%	0
listening	0.62	1.64	2	43.7%	49.1%	7.3%	0

(*1= beginner level, 2 = intermediate level, 3= advanced level, 4= near-native level)

The low estimation of their oral English demonstrates that most of the respondents were not satisfied with their English proficiency. This dissatisfaction is further testified by some of the students' judgements on spoken English proficiency in the interviews.

E.g. I: (00:53:13) Why do you think so?
S: (00:53:16) ... (00:54:03) <r>And then en en we</r> and then we learned more in English, en which is a process <r>we will crea-</r> we will create our error, en gradually, <r>which</r> which developed our oral English. But er I have to acknowledge that en <r>our oral English</r> our oral English is still poor. (CS042, WU, ID)

E.g. I: (00:46:34) No. Er if you could speak Putonghua well, Chinese well, or Mandarin well, er it means that you probably could speak English or use English well.
S: (00:46:49) Oh, <r>I see</r> I see. Yes, <r>it's true</r> it's true. <r>Because Chinese if you<///r?> oh <Chinese>不是</Chinese> learn English <Chinese>是</Chinese> speak English well.
I: (00:47:02) Yes. Speak or use English well.
S: (00:47:04) I can't agree. For example, <r>man- many er<///r> in China, there are <r>many</r> many people <r>speaking English<///r> learning English, but spea- speaking English like native speakers are <Chinese>少之又少的</Chinese> (the number of people who could speak English fluently is so few) yes, <Ø -S?> <r> is so few</r>, yes. So the XX I can't explain it. (CS053, WUST, ID)

It is clear from these two examples that the students have a low opinion of oral English proficiency in China. They in fact ascertain that a limited number of people speak English fluently.

In general, two positive points are revealed from the students' perceptions of the importance and use of English in China. It is certain that English is highly valued in China and that learning English is not merely associated with the instrumental function of language, because it is a means to enjoy other cultures and communicate with other people. On the other hand, the use of English in China, the self-rated English proficiency, the perceptions of English proficiency of the Chinese people and the lack of opportunities to speak English, all demonstrate that English is presently not conducive to interethnic communication and that English learners and English users cannot be treated the same in China.

6.2 Attitudes towards different varieties of English

Although it is generally acknowledged that standard and non-standard varieties of English should be treated on an equal footing (Kachru, 1986), they are usually received with different degrees of favor. The students in my study have a more favorable impression of English in the

traditional inner-circle countries than the outer-circle, although they generally accept all the varieties.

With respect to what the term Standard English (StE) means to them, most of the students accept the statement that "Standard English is 'good' or 'proper' English, which is 'correct' in pronunciation, grammar, and meaning". Around two in three students (68.7%) agree with the statement, while about three in twenty students (15.6%) do not agree with the definition. Strangely, nearly three in ten students (26.0%) ticked the box marked "indifferent". Since this statement is the first in the series of 18 statements on StE and its different varieties, the number of students who indicate that they are indifferent about StE, as it is defined in the statement, is significant. Several deductions can be made. First, it could be argued that the students are not aware of what StE refers to. Second, if the students do know, then it has repercussions for how they feel about the varieties in relation to each other and StE, and for their attitudes towards English in China as a variety. The students' greater tendency to agree with the definition of StE means that they attach value to how a language is spoken, and have a grasp of what is understood under Standard English.

Table 6.2.1 Standard English is 'good' or 'proper' English, which is 'correct' in pronunciation, grammar, and meaning.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S19	0.94	3.46	4	4.1%	11.5%	26.0%	51.0%	17.7%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

When it comes to the scope of Standard English, students tend to disapprove of the statement that "Standard English only includes standard British English and American English". More than half of the students (53.1%) disagree with the statement while more than a quarter of the students (26.0%) agree with it. Their understanding of Standard English extends to English as it is taught in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. More than half of the students (59.4%) regard English taught in these countries as Standard English while 14.6% hold the opposite opinion. With respect to how non-native speakers (NNSs) speak Standard English, their ability is not questioned. Nearly four in five students (79.2%) oppose the idea that "[o]nly native English speakers in certain countries such as the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand can speak Standard English". The other fifth (20.9%) are made up of students who hold a neutral opinion and students who believe that the scope of Standard English is geographically limited. The results show that the students have a broad understanding of Standard English, and neither restrict it to England and the United States, nor to native speakers (NS). Rather it is clear that the students extend the scope of

Standard English to include non-native speakers (NNS) and countries in the outer-circle and expanding-circle countries.

Table 6.2.2 Standard English only includes standard British English and American English.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S23	1.18	2.67	2	14.6%	38.5%	20.8%	17.7%	8.3%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.2.3 English taught in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand does not belong to standard English.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S24	0.98	2.44	2	15.6%	42.7%	26.0%	13.5%	2.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.2.4 Only native English speakers in certain countries such as the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand can speak Standard English.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S22	1.01	1.99	2	35.4%	43.8%	9.4%	9.4%	2.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Even though most of the students believe that Standard English can be spoken equally well by speakers (NS and NNS) from different countries, they indicate an awareness of differences between the varieties of English within the traditional inner-circle countries. More than half of the students (53.1%) notice that there are differences between English used in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and English used in the UK and the USA, whereas about three in twenty students (15.6%) think that the English used in the traditional inner-circle countries is all the same.

Table 6.2.5 English used in Canada, Australia and New Zealand is the same as that in the UK and the USA.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S25	0.96	2.48	2	14.6%	38.5%	29.2%	14.6%	1.0%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Concerning the statuses of the different varieties of English and the question of there being a hierarchy between them, most of the students acknowledge American English above British English. The statement that "American English is more useful in modern society [than other varieties of Standard English]", receives support from more than half of the students (53.1%), while around one in five students (19.8%) disagree. It seems that there are no correlations between the perceived usefulness of a variety of standard English and an attachment to it. Nearly half of the students (46.8%) claim that they are not attached to either British English or American English, yet around one third (32.3%) prefer one of these two as the most prestigious to other varieties. When the topic of accent is introduced, the number of students who see British or American

English as superior increases. The statement on whether they envy American or British accents, tests the students' personal attitudes towards these variants. Since seven in ten students (70.8%) indicate that they "envy" those who have American or British accents, it can be suggested that speakers of English in China see these two varieties as superior and would like for the variety spoken in China to be more like one of these two.

Table 6.2.6 American English is more useful in modern society.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S30	1.06	3.42	4	5.2%	14.6%	27.1%	39.6%	13.5%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.2.7 I have no preference for British English or American English.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S18	1.23	3.18	3	10.4%	21.9%	19.8%	33.3%	13.5%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.2.8 I envy those who can pronounce English like an American or a British person.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S7	1.17	3.90	4	4.2%	11.5%	13.5%	32.3%	38.5%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

The students' high regard for either British or American English is also revealed when they were asked to rate the intelligibility of these varieties to how English is spoken in Asian countries. I avoided naming Chinese speakers as an example to avoid possible nationalist bias. From the results it can be determined that the students predominantly (68.7%) grade British and American English higher than the other varieties.

Table 6.2.9 Standard English is easier to understand than other varieties (for example, English spoken by Singaporeans or Japanese, etc.)

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S20	1.01	3.67	4	3.1%	12.5%	15.6%	51.0%	17.7%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Therefore, although most students do not think that Standard English is exclusive to NS in the traditional inner-circle countries, they appear to elevate the status of American and British accents above other varieties.

The students' high regard for British and American English can be gleaned from their attitudes towards the other varieties of English. On the one hand, although it cannot be verified that the students had been exposed to how English was spoken either by Indians or Singaporeans (because

of limited international contact until 2001[22]), the results show that a significant proportion of the students (40.6%) are ambivalent towards the aesthetic qualities of English as such. On the other hand, nearly half of the students (47.9%) do not think that Indian or Singaporean English is as beautiful as British or American English. Given their expressed favor for the two prestigious Englishes, I have no doubt that the group of students who have an unfavorable opinion of the varieties outside of the Inner Circle make up a larger part of those who are ambivalent towards the aesthetic qualities of English. Overall, the students differentiate between the perceived beauty of the different varieties of English and hold British and American English in higher regard.

While a large portion of the students (32.3%) are ambivalent towards whether the non-standard varieties of English are as important as the standard varieties, nearly half (46.9%) consider the varieties of English spoken in different parts of the world as important as British and American English. Comparatively, more than one fifth of the students (20.8%) do not think that non-standard varieties enjoy the same importance as their British and American equivalents. It is obvious that a larger part of the students view the importance of the non-standard varieties of English positively, contrasting their attitudes towards the varieties' comparative beauty.

The students appear to have more positive views towards non-standard varieties when they are asked about their willingness to communicate with people from the traditional outer- and expanding-circle countries. More than half of the students (57.3%) are willing to speak English with people who are not from the traditional inner-circle countries.

Table 6.2.10 Indian English or Singaporean English is as beautiful as British English or American English.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S9	0.95	2.43	3	20.8%	27.1%	40.6%	11.5%	0

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.2.11 Other kinds of English are as important as Standard British English or American English.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S34	0.99	3.33	3	3.1%	17.7%	32.3%	36.5%	10.4%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.2.12 I am less willing to speak English with people from countries like India, Singapore, South Africa, Germany, Thailand, South Korea than those from certain countries like the UK and the USA.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S14	1.18	2.53	2	20.8%	36.5%	15.6%	22.9%	4.2%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

[22] 2001 is the year when China joined the WTO.

Regarding the acceptance of deviations from Standard English, regardless of varieties, the students reveal a high degree of tolerance. A majority of the students do not mind variation in communication. More than four fifths of the students (82.3%) agree or strongly agree that differences from Standard English (thus phonetic, grammatical, idiomatic peculiarities) are acceptable in communications, while just 2.1% find that differences are unacceptable.

Table 6.2.13 Differences from Standard English can be acceptable in communications to some extent.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S33	0.71	4.06	4	0	2.1%	15.6%	56.3%	26.0%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Therefore, even though the students do not find much beauty in the non-standard varieties compared to the standard varieties, they indeed acknowledge their importance of varieties and accept them in communication.

The students' relatively positive view of the varieties of non-standard English is supported by their attitudes towards the Chinese variety of English. They generally object to the idea that there are no differences between English as used in China and English as used in other countries. More than half of the students (54.1%) disagree with the statement that "English used in China is the same as English used in other countries". Likewise, the students confirm the existence of a Chinese variety of English. Around two thirds of the students (66.7%) accept the statement that "English in China has its own distinctive features in pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar and styles", slightly higher than the number of the students who notice that English used in China is not the same as English used in other countries.

Table 6.2.14 English used in China is the same as English used in other countries.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S10	0.97	2.58	2	8.3%	45.8%	30.2%	10.4%	5.2%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.2.15 English in China has its own distinctive features in pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and styles.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S11	0.95	3.70	4	2.1%	10.4%	20.8%	49.0%	17.7%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

The positive view of the Chinese variety of English is also found in the students' acceptance of established distinctive features of Chinese English. The statement, "Established distinctive

features of Chinese English should be acceptable to both Chinese and foreigners", receives support from more than half of the students (54.2%), and a slightly larger number (60.4%) agree with the statement, "As long as it is understood, 'our English' is acceptable even though it is different from Standard English". The students react differently to the statement, "When I speak English, I want other people to know that I am a Chinese". Nearly half of the students (48.0%) want their Chinese identity to become known via their spoken English whereas the number of students who do not want others to identify their Chinese origins make up 20.9% and the number of the students who claim to be indifferent accounts for 29.2%. While it is possible that the students' responses to this statement on identity in the Chinese variety is influenced by either their nationalist sentiments or feelings of inferiority, the statement was designed to test to what extent they identified themselves with being Chinese while speaking English. There is thus correlation between the students' attitudes towards the Chinese variety of English and how they feel about themselves as Chinese. Significant to this equation is the high percentage of students that hold the Chinese variety in high regard compared to British and American English.

Table 6.2.16 Established distinctive features of Chinese English should be acceptable to both Chinese and foreigners.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S12	1.02	3.54	4	2.1%	14.6%	28.1%	36.5%	17.7%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.2.17 As long as it is understood, 'our English' is acceptable even though it is different from Standard English.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S21	0.97	3.53	4	2.1%	15.6%	21.9%	47.9%	12.5%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.2.18 When I speak English, I want other people to know that I am a Chinese.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S8	1.15	3.40	3	6.3%	14.6%	29.2%	29.2%	18.8%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

In terms of the students' attitudes towards different varieties of English, standard varieties of English are valued above non-standard varieties while other non-standard varieties are viewed more positively than the Chinese variety. At the same time, the students are aware of the variation within English in the inner-, outer- and expanding-circle countries.

6.3 Attitudes towards English teaching models in China

Kirkpatrick (2007) sets out advantages and disadvantages of adopting either an exonormative native speaker model or an endonormative nativized model in traditional outer-circle countries. He argues that teachers and learners would enjoy the advantages associated with choosing a nativized model since the local endonormative model is already the de facto position in many parts of China. However, the students in my study still prefer an exonormative native speaker model even though they accept endonormative models of English.

With respect to where English teachers come from, while it seems at first sight that the students do not mind whether English teachers come from the traditional inner-, outer- or expanding-circle countries, they certainly favor English teachers from traditional inner-circle countries. About four tenths of the students (41.7%) agree with the statement, "English teachers from certain countries such as the UK and the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand are preferred to those from other countries such as India, Singapore, South Africa", and only a quarter of the students (25.0%) indicate that they do not have such a preference. However, the students are against the statement, "English can be only taught in China by foreign teachers from certain countries such as the UK and the USA". A majority of the students (73.0%) oppose the idea of being taught by foreign teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries. On the one hand, the students prefer English teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries to English teachers from the traditional outer- and expanding-circle countries. On the other hand, they dislike the idea of having English teachers from only the traditional inner-circle countries. Their preference for teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries and their opposition to English teachers coming from only the traditional inner-circle countries demonstrate that the students also accept local teachers. However, they prefer foreign teachers from traditional inner-circle countries.

Table 6.3.1 English teachers from certain countries such as the UK and the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand are preferred to those from other countries such as India, Singapore, South Africa.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S15	1.07	3.19	3	7.3%	17.7%	33.3%	32.3%	9.4%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.3.2 English can be only taught in China by foreign teachers from certain countries such as the UK and the USA.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S29	1.00	2.17	2	24.0%	49.0%	14.6%	8.3%	3.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

With respect to the adoption of an exonormative nativized model in schools, the students are against the statement that "Only Standard British English should be taught in schools". More than half of the students (58.4%) do not support the adoption of only British English in schools; only a quarter of the students (24.0%) prefer this exonormative native speaker model in schools. The low support for British English might imply that British English is no longer as popular as it used to be in China. This implication is partially supported by the students' preference for American English in schools. A large number of the students (65.6%) express their disagreement with the idea that "American English is not as popular as British English in schools", whereas a small portion of the students (12.5%) hold the opposite opinion, even though they generally regard American and British English on an equal footing.

Table 6.3.3 Only Standard British English should be taught in schools.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S16	1.15	2.55	2	16.7%	41.7%	17.7%	17.7%	6.3%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.3.4 American English is not as welcome as British English in schools.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S17	1.05	2.19	2	30.2%	35.4%	21.9%	10.4%	2.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Compared with foreign English teachers, while the students accept local English teachers, they are generally dissatisfied with them. More than half of the students (55.2%) do not think that local English teachers are on a par with foreign English teachers in terms of perceived competence. Less than one in five students (17.7%) have an equal appreciation for local and foreign English teachers. Surprisingly, nearly three in ten students (27.1%) do not care whether local English teachers are as good as foreign English teachers.

Table 6.3.5 Local English teachers are as good as foreign English teachers.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S28	0.95	2.47	2	17.7%	37.5%	27.1%	15.6%	2.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Although the students seem to hold a neutral position towards the Chinese variety of English, they appear to disfavor having it taught through the endonormative model. Nearly half of the students (46.9%) reject the idea that "Well-defined distinctive features of so called Chinese English can be taught in schools", compared to around three in ten students (29.1%) who endorse

an endonormative model for schools in China. A noteworthy finding in my study is that the students are more tolerant towards non-standard varieties of English other than the Chinese variety. Around half of the students (50.0%) support the idea that "it is necessary to be exposed to other varieties of English apart from British English and American English", while about a quarter of the students (25.0%) are against any exposure to the different varieties of non-standard English. A more positive view is held towards endonormative models of English teaching. Around six in ten students (60.4%) accept deviations from Standard English in the classroom. A seemingly conflicting picture emerges from the students' attitudes towards a Chinese variety of English and other endonormative models. On the one hand, the students in the study are reluctant to embrace the adoption of a Chinese variety of English in language teaching. On the other hand, they are more willing to accept other endomormative models. The contrast between their attitudes towards the Chinese variety of English and their attitudes towards other endonormative models indicates that they do not hold the Chinese variety of English as an established variety and suitable for language teaching compared to endonormative models in general.

Table 6.3.6 Well-defined distinctive features of so called Chinese English can be taught in schools.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S13	1.13	2.69	3	16.7%	30.2%	24.0%	26.0%	3.1%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.3.7 It is necessary to be exposed to other varieties of English apart from British English and American English in schools.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S27	0.95	3.28	3.5	2.1%	22.9%	25%	44.8%	5.2%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

Table 6.3.8 Any deviation from Standard English is unacceptable in language teaching.

	SD	M	Mdn	1*(%)	2	3	4	5
S31	0.87	2.33	2	14.6%	45.8%	29.2%	7.3%	1.0%

(*1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=indifferent, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree)

With regard to exonormative native speaker models and endonormative nativized models of English teaching, the students tend to associate local English teachers and localized varieties of English with inferior education. They prefer other endonormative varieties of English over the Chinese variety.

6.4 Discussion

This section analyses and discusses the key findings presented in the previous sections, with reference to the three main aspects of the questionnaires: 1. the importance and use of English in China; 2. varieties of English; and 3. teaching models in China. The discussion draws comparisons with relevant findings from previous studies. Section 6.4.1 discusses why the use and perceived proficiency of English in China is not in direct proportion to the perceived importance of English in China. Section 6.4.2 analyses the students' favorable attitudes towards English in the inner-circle countries while they are open to English in traditional outer- and expanding-circle countries. Section 6.4.3 presents the factors that might influence the students' preferences for an exonormative native speaker model of English teaching in China.

6.4.1 Discussion on the attitudes towards the importance and use of English

In terms of the students' attitudes towards the importance and use of English, one finding is that the students attach great importance to English. The students even place more emphasis on English than on Chinese. Two thirds of the students (66.6%) even believe that "it is more important for Chinese to speak English fluently than for foreigners to use Chinese correctly in China". The students' high regard for English suggests that the zeal to learn and use English will not lessen easily irrespective of the government's efforts to encourage learning Chinese over English. Their understanding of the importance of English might imply that their English proficiency is probably above average proficiency in their classes or even in China and that they see the benefits of mastering English.

A second finding is that not only is English learnt for instrumental reasons (e.g. graduate and hunt for jobs), but students also follow English course to fulfill interpersonal functions (e.g., communicate with foreigners or friends), and integrative functions (e.g., enjoy foreign films, music, and explore foreign cultures). The students' multi-dimensional motivations to learn English demonstrate that English does not merely function as an EFL, but assumes some of the roles of ESLs.

The students' reports of their use of English are largely in line with the expanding roles of English in China. English is used with varying frequency on occasions such as education, work, meeting with friends and family, or communicating over the phone and email. Among the listed occasions, more than one third of the students (34.3%) write emails in English and more than one

fifth (20.8%) communicate with friends in English. However, the occasion where English is employed most is education, as reported by nearly nine in ten students (89.6%) (mainly with their teachers in classrooms). The report on the use of English reveals that it is still used predominantly in education, but that this extends to other social domains. The domains in which English is used show that English in China is likely to cover "an extended functional range in a variety of social, educational, administrative, and literary domains" (Kachru, 1985: 13; see also Kachru, 2005: 211−220) if English continues to spread.

In contrast with the expanding use of English, the students do not see many opportunities to speak English, as nearly two thirds of the students (62.5%) disagree with the statement, "There are a lot of opportunities to speak English in China outside the classroom". The perceived rare opportunities to speak English are closely related to the sociolinguistic situation in China. Although English is spreading in China, it is not the language used for interethnic communication. There are not that many opportunities to speak English in Chinese daily life, apart from if Chinese people have foreign friends, know people who are willing to speak English, or have opportunities to attend international conferences. The actual use of English outside classroom affects the students' perception of opportunities to speak English as well. Compared to English majors, there are fewer organized activities for non-English majors to practice their oral English on campuses. It is not a common phenomenon that these non-English majors can find a part time job that involves teaching English, translation, or offering customer services in English. Not many teachers encourage students to create opportunities to communicate with their friends in English outside classroom. The students themselves lack the motivation to speak English with their Chinese friends or classmates if they do not plan to study abroad for further education. Another reason for the perceived rare opportunities to speak English might be linked to the students' personal experiences. At the time of filling in the questionnaire, none of the participants had travelled abroad.

The students' perception of the general proficiency of English in China and their self-reported proficiency corroborates other research findings that English proficiency is not that high in China (Wei and Su, 2012; Xu, 2016). As I have indicated above in this chapter, although a large section of the students do not deem the English proficiency of Chinese people satisfactory, a substantial group (31.2%) are satisfied. According to a report released by the Swedish education company EF Education (Xu, 2016), general English proficiency in China is still at intermediate to basic level. This report provides further evidence for the generally low English proficiency in China. The

students' self-reported proficiency is largely in line with this report. Most of the students rate their listening, reading, and writing skills at an intermediate level, and their spoken English mostly as unsatisfactory. More than half of the students (57.3%) rate their spoken English as being at a beginner level. The low estimation that the students have of their spoken English corresponds to their perception of the English-speaking environment in China and their lack of opportunities to speak English. In addition, more than half of the students (56.2%) did not write down English when they were asked to name the languages they had mastered. This leads to the perception that either the students are not confident with their English, or that they do not consider themselves proficient. The students' perception of bilinguals and multilinguals similarly demonstrates that most of them do not consider themselves to be proficient in English.

The estimated English proficiency of the students' parents provides further proof for the overall low English proficiency in China. The students report that their parents generally have nearly no knowledge of English. Based on this self-reported lack of proficiency and the students' evaluation of English users, there is no doubt that the use of English in China has not reached what Kachru (1985: 13) call great depth in terms of users at different levels of society.

Given English proficiency of the younger generation (the students) and the older generation (the students' parents), it is obvious that English use in China is limited across the different levels of society. However, English in China is by no means restricted to the elite. Compared with their parents, the students have higher levels of competence in English. With more students travelling abroad and the increase in opportunities to speak English in China, the next generation's competence in English should certainly be higher than that of the participants in my study. As the number of English users in China increases, there will be a significant increase in bilingualism across the different levels of society, which is viewed as an early sign of English moving from EFL to ESL.

6.4.2 Discussion on the attitudes towards different varieties of English

One question arising from the analysis of Standard English and varieties of non-standard English is an apparent tension between the students accepting the varieties of non-standard English and their preference for the standard varieties of English. The results of the study show that 82.3% of the students find that the varieties of non-standard English should be acknowledged and 57.3% are furthermore willing to communicate with both non-native and native speakers. However, while

nearly half of the students consider the varieties of non-standard English to be aesthetically inferior, more than two-thirds believe that Standard English is more intelligible. The students high regard for Standard English in relation to the varieties, though accepting them, could be associated with Standard English enjoying a long-established prestige. Current norm orientation might also account for the students' preference for standard varieties. According to Pan (2014), although norm orientation is not explicitly stated in the national curricula, the implicit teaching models are still oriented towards standard varieties. Prescriptive rules are explained in English classes, while the actual use of English and possible transfer from Chinese are seldom discussed.

A second question emerging from an analysis of the results concerns the students' reluctance to be identified as Chinese when speaking English, while they recognize and accept the Chinese variety of English. According to the study results, more than half of the students (54.1%) acknowledge the existence of a Chinese variety of English and a larger proportion of the students (66.7%) accept the Chinese variety of English. In comparison, 48.0% do not mind being identified as Chinese when speaking the Chinese variety of English. In addition, the number of students who are envious of people with a Standard English accent accounts for 60.8%. When these results on language attitudes and identity are compared with earlier data presented by Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002) and He and Li (2009), the students in my study are more positive towards how they speak English than the participants in the other two studies. In my study, 20.9% students are opposed to being identified as speakers of the Chinese variety of English, compared to 60.8% in Kirkpatrick and Xu's (2002) study and 53.2% in the study of He and Li's (2009). This differentiation in attitudes suggests that the acceptance of the Chinese variety of English is increasing. It might also reflect on the standard of English in China improving and moving closer to standard varieties as a result of the increased spread of English throughout China and the greater exposure to different varieties of English. I suggest that the greater opportunities the participants in my study have to interact with other speakers of English, both locally and internationally, compared to the participants in former studies, have contributed towards them having more confidence in themselves, to use and improve their English. This naturally leads to the Chinese variety of English becoming more acceptable while retaining distinctive characteristics.

6.4.3 Discussion on the attitudes towards English teaching models in China

In the presentation of the results in section 6.3, it is indicated that the students' support for the different varieties of non-standard English, including the Chinese variety, is surprising considering their preference to be taught English by foreigners, especially by native speakers from traditional inner-circle countries. Around half of the students (50.0%) acknowledge the necessity to be exposed to different varieties of English in schools, and more than half (59.3%) accept the endonormative model of teaching English. On the other hand, 46.9% object to the Chinese variety of English being taught in schools while 29.1% are in favor. The students' comparatively positive reactions to other varieties of English being taught through endonormative models further demonstrate their bias against the Chinese variety of English. Although, as pointed out in the previous section, this tendency is changing for the better.

Regarding learning English as either a Chinese, non-standard or standard variety (British or American English), several factors may have influenced the participants attitudes, as seen in the study of He and Li (2009) compared to my study. A significant factor may be a matter of terminology. In the present study, the endonormative model of teaching English is described as a set of well-defined distinctive features of *Chinese English* while in He and Li's (2009) study the term *English in China* is used. Given the negative connotation of the term *Chinese English* (He and Li, 2009; Tian, 2011; Schneider, 2014), it is not so surprising that the participants reacted negatively in the previous study, compared to in my questionnaire, where I use *the variety of English in China*. In this study, I have refined it further as *the Chinese variety of English*, but the favorability of this has not been tested yet.

Different participant profiles or research subjects in the two studies, (He and Li, 2009; present study) may also have contributed to differences between the results. The study at hand surveys the language attitudes of 96 non-English majors at two Chinese universities in the same region (one is a key university, the other is a first-tier university). This study analyzes questionnaires and answers to questions posed in semi-structured individual interviews. In comparison, He and Li (2009) analyzed the language attitudes of nearly 1,000 non-English majors and their teachers at four universities in different regions of China (one key university and three second-tier universities). Their study included a questionnaire, a matched-guised test and focused (group) interviews. Since students from first-tier universities in China are considered to be more competent than their counterparts in second-tier universities, the overall English proficiency of the participants in my

study is probably higher than that of the students in He and Li's (2009) study. Based on the distinctive results between the two studies, it could reasonably be deduced that students with a higher English proficiency would be more inclined to oppose the adoption of an endonormative model of teaching English in China. This inference echoes Edwards' (2016) postulation that people with lower English proficiency are more likely to embrace a localized variety of English in language teaching.

The second seemingly contradictory finding is the conflict between the students' preference for English teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries and their objection to having only teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries. More than two in five students (41.7%) prefer English teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries in comparison to English teachers from traditional outer-circle countries while a quarter of them express the opposite opinion. In addition, more than half of the students (55.2%) do not agree with the statement that "local English teachers are as good as foreign English teachers". The students' preference for English teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries implies that those teachers are regarded as more capable or more qualified than their colleagues from the traditional outer- and expanding-circle countries, yet it is unclear why the students view local English teachers in such a negative light. On the other hand, about seven in ten students (73.0%) do not support the statement that "English can be only taught in China by foreign teachers from certain countries such as the UK and the USA". The students' disapproval of this statement reflects that they do not fully deny the advantages of having local teachers or teachers who do not come from the traditional inner-circle countries and that they accept teachers who are not from the traditional inner-circle countries. This suggests that the two types of models do not necessarily exclude each other. The existence or adoption of an exonormative model does not necessarily mean the abandonment of an endonormative model. Instead, they are compatible with each other, as suggested by He and Li (2009). The existing NS-based exonormative model can be complemented by salient features of the Chinese variant of English.

This proposal of supplementing the existing NS-based exonormative model with salient features of the Chinese variety of English is surely feasible, and can support the enhancement of this variety of English by decreasing dependence on English teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries, while maintaining and developing teacher training programs that include greater contact between the varieties. Nearly 90% of the students in Tian's (2011) study regard teachers

from the UK and US as the best. In my study, just more than 40% of the students favor English teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries, which marks a remarkable decrease compared to earlier studies. This shift away from teachers from the traditional inner-circle countries indicates that the students should become more tolerant towards and more supportive of the endonormative model of teaching English. The reduced preference for an exonormative model might be indicative of the increasing competence of local English teachers in China and a better understanding of the varieties of English around the world. With more opportunities to communicate with foreigners who speak different varieties of English, the competence of local English teachers in China is improving and people have a more realistic judgement of English.

6.5 Summary

This survey is intended to identify the attitudes of non-English majors towards English in China. The results show that English is highly valued in China, even in relation to Chinese. English as it is used in China is not restricted to the instrumental function of language. Increasingly, it has progressed to include interpersonal and integrative functions that had previously been the primary domain of Chinese. The use of English also expands, but is mainly limited to education, writing emails and communicating with friends. The estimated proficiency of the students and their parents points to the general overall low proficiency as well as the increased competence of the younger generation.

The results also demonstrate that although the students have a favorable opinion of Standard English, they accept the varieties of non-standard English including a Chinese variety of English. On the other hand, they are reluctant to show their Chinese identity via the Chinese variety of English but this tendency is decreasing. The gap between claimed acceptance and real acceptance of the Chinse variety indicates that it will still take time for the Chinese variety of English to be accepted.

In terms of exonormative and endonormative models for teaching English, the students' preference for foreign teachers, especially those from the traditional inner-circle countries, to Chinese English teachers points to the fact that English in China is predominantly exonormatively oriented. But given the decreasing reliance on foreign teachers, other endonormative models might be starting to exercise an influence on the students' perception of English and English teaching.

The students' favoring non-standard varieties of English other than the Chinese variety demonstrates that the Chinese variety is not regarded as an established variety and thus it is not on a par with other established non-standard varieties.

Considering the students' attitudes in relation to the analyses of the questionnaires and questions raised in the interviews in this study, as well as in relation to previous studies, the limited expansion of bilingualism and use of English, professed acceptance of the Chinese variety, and exonormative orientation suggests that English in China does not meet the requirements of ESL, yet they match the typical manifestations of EFL. Therefore, it can be inferred that English in China might probably have neither EFL nor ESL status.

Chapter 7 Assessing the variety status of English in China within the framework of World Englishes

This chapter places English in China within the framework of World Englishes, pertaining to its comparative status and usage tendencies. It integrates the findings of previous literature and the present empirical research, including the reading passage, the interviews, and the survey conducted for this study.

To assess the variety status of English in China, chapter 3 traces changes to the language policy and English in education, attitudes towards English, sociolinguistic conditions of learning and using English, and structural effects discussed in previous literature. The chapter discovers that the use and functions of English in China partly resemble those of an ESL society and partly those of an EFL society: English is used in many domains and its functions are not restricted to serving instrumental purposes, but it is not used for intranational interethnic communication. Chapter 5 identifies a large number of potential features at different linguistic levels in the present empirical research, which is suggestive of an ESL variety, but the quantitative analysis of the identified phonological features reveals that only two phonological features have passed the 50% threshold of nativization, which is indicative of an EFL variety. Chapter 6, on attitudes towards English in China, supports the position that bilingualism is not widespread in China, as well as that the English proficiency level is not high in general, though it is likely to increase in the future. The use of English expands, but is still limited to a few domains. A localized variety of English is accepted but exonormative native speaker models are preferred to the Chinese variety of English.

This chapter consists of three sections. Section 7.1 summarizes and integrates the findings from the sociolinguistic analysis (cf. chapter 3) and the empirical studies (cf. chapters 5 and 6) to assess whether English in China meets the criteria for ESL (expansion in use and functions, nativization, and institutionalization) and place its actual status in comparison to English Cyprus and the Netherlands. Section 7.2 utilizes the findings from the sociolinguistic analysis (cf. chapter 3) and the empirical studies (cf. chapters 5 and 6) and assesses the variety status of English in China by applying the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction, Kachru's (1985) Three Circles, Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model, and Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces respectively. Section 7.3 summarizes the results of applying the criteria for ESL and the above-mentioned models of World Englishes to English in China and concludes that though these

models do not accurately reveal the changing statuses of English in China throughout history, the EIF model wields more explanatory power in terms of the forces that drive the development of English in China. The application reveals that English is at a transitional stage from EFL to ESL or demonstrating signs of moving from phase 2 to phase 3.

7.1 English in China: a second-language variety or a learner English

This section first discusses whether English in China meets the three criteria of ESL varieties by drawing on the criteria developed in previous research (Buschfeld, 2013; Edwards, 2016; Mollin, 2006; Mollin, 2007): expansion in use and functions, nativization, and institutionalization. Then it assesses the variety status of English in China in reference to the three criteria and in comparison to English in Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2013) and English in the Netherlands (Edwards, 2016).

7.1.1 Expansion in use and functions

Observations of the current sociolinguistic situation of English in China (Chapter 3) reveal that English in China does not meet the criteria used to measure the spread and manifestation of bilingualism, either from the perspectives of societal or individual bilingualism (cf. section 2.2). This conclusion is based principally on statistics provided by Wei and Su (2012).

Wei and Su (2012) collect the majority of their data from a national language survey, which covers a total of 165,000 households from 1,063 municipalities, districts and counties, and focus on residents between the ages 15 and 69. They employ a probability proportionate to size (PPS) sampling to analyze the data and arrive at the conclusion that the number of English learners in China amounted to nearly 400 million of 1,28 billion inhabitants.

This large number of English learners form a sharp contrast with the estimated number of bilinguals. According to a self-rated proficiency survey (SGO, 2006), of the 165,000 research subjects questioned, slightly more than one fifth are at least able to conduct daily conversations. The contrast between the large number of English learners and the limited use of English in daily communication indicates that bilingualism has not been established in present day China according to the criteria of bilingualism as recommended by Moag (1992) (cf. section 2.2).

This observation based on Wei and Su (2012) is corroborated by the results from the questionnaire and study at hand. The responses to the supplementary questionnaire show that on

average the parents of students who do not have English as a major are not able to speak English. Moreover, the students themselves have a low estimation of their own spoken-English proficiency. More than half of the research subjects in my study do not consider themselves to be bilingual. The linguistic analysis of how these participants performed confirms their self-rated proficiency. Even though the students' parents score low in the English proficiency tests, and English is in fact not spoken by a large proportion of the population, the competence of the younger generation (the students) is obviously increasing compared to that of the older generation (the students' parents). This observation is supported by the 2016 report on English proficiency in China by Education First (an English education organization).

According to the report[23], the younger generation (aged between 18 and 20 and between 21 and 25) have higher EF EPI score (55.26 and 51.13 respectively) than the older group (aged above 40) (47.74). Their EPI scores indicate that the younger generation has mastered English better than the older generation. This improvement is the result of better English tuition, favorable language policy, and increased contact with the outside world in the age of globalization and internationalization. Following the trend of the increase in the number of competent English speakers in China, and the provision of more opportunities to speak English, it may be deducted that a far greater proportion of Chinese will be able to speak English with great competence in the future.

More extensive societal bilingualism naturally gives rise to an expansion in the use of English and makes it more functional (Buschfeld, 2011). The expanded use of English in present-day China (cf. chapter 3) partly conforms to Mollin's classification of how usage expands (cf. section 2.2). The areas of expansion can be set out as follows:

- With respect to education in China, the use of English as a medium of instruction in tertiary education is increasing, but due to limited teaching resources, this practice is practically observed in a few/counted elite universities (Schneider, 2014)
- In terms of city and state administration, some cities are starting to use English to deal with certain administrative work, but most of this is related to tourism.
- Regarding media, the presence of English is expanding in various forms, especially through electronic social media, the Internet, and selected television channels.

[23] The report is cited from EF EPI 2016 COUNTRY FACT SHEET (www.ef.com/epi).

Unfortunately, some English programs ceased to operate after the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games. English language media is eclipsed by the Chinese language media in terms of its volume and importance (cf. section 3.3.3).

- With respect to creative writing, it is by no means a common phenomenon (Schneider, 2014). Creative writing courses are taught at Sun Yat-Sen University in Guangzhou (Dai, 2010). A few Chinese writers have exhibited bilingual creativity (Zhang, 2003).
- Regarding the use of English as a contact code, it is rarely employed in interethnic communication. Since the position of Mandarin, which serves as a lingual franca among the different ethnic groups in China, is very strong, it is almost impossible to expect English to replace Mandarin as a contact code. Furthermore, it is general practice for English to be used for international communication and Chinese for *intranational* communication. This practice is so entrenched in Chinese culture that even the suggestion of using English in *intranational* communication will draw sharp criticism (cf. Li Anqi's example in section 3.2.3).

All the above evidence on the ratios between English and Chinese as functional languages relate to the extent that bilingualism has taken effect in China, and the domains in which English is used demonstrate the expansion of a language. But the evidence also indicates that English only has a marginal share as a functional language in China.

When it comes to the third sign of the expansion in the use and functions of English (the acquisition of English in the wider society besides school), evidence from the questionnaires suggests that this sub-criterion has not been fulfilled. We may first consider the primary place in which language acquisition takes place: home. The sociolinguistic situation in China (cf. chapter 3) and the results gleaned from the questionnaires (cf. chapter 6) reveal that it is almost impossible for children to acquire a reasonable level of competence in languages like English from their parents who themselves are unable to converse in English. The same conclusion may be drawn for the wider speech community whose lingua franca is Mandarin. One exception to this sociolinguistic situation is found in the elite stratum of society. It is common for some elite to speak English with their children. A second exception is found in families that have foreign friends. In this instance children are exposed to English as parents tend to accommodate their foreign friends by speaking English rather than expecting them to learn Chinese. Besides these exceptions, the predominant means of acquiring English for the majority of Chinese youth is still through

formal education. Therefore, it is logical to infer that it will only be possible for Chinese to acquire and use English as a functional language in wider society when the need and desire for bilingualism spreads in the speech communities and across the societal strata, and when English is not restricted to formal second language acquisition at schools.

Considering the three signs of expansion in use, English in China has not experienced a significant spread of bilingualism across large proportions of the population. Although opportunities to converse in English are generally restricted to formal situations, the use of English has expanded slightly in intranational domains such as higher education and social media.

7.1.2 Nativization of linguistic form

In reference to the two aspects of nativization (cf. section 2.2), the findings from the analysis of linguistic features of spoken English reveal that English only partly meets the criteria of nativization (cf. chapter 5).

The findings from the linguistic analysis demonstrate that features have emerged at different linguistic levels (i.e. the phonological, morphosyntactic, and lexico-semantic levels): about 20 phonological features, 32 morpho-syntactic features as well as lexico-semantic features.

Despite the high number of features identified, they were not always used widely, systematically and stably. An analysis of the relative frequencies of the 20 phonological features identified in the data of the reading passage reveals that only two features can be said to occur regularly in the students' spoken English. One prominent feature is the absence of reduced vowels, which accounted for more than nine tenths of all the relevant occurrences (95.3%). The other feature is consonant cluster reduction, which is found in more than half of all the related occurrences (50.3%). Most of the other identified phonological features occur rather infrequently, i.e. less than 30% of all occurrences. Thus, the analysis of the phonological features in my study illustrates that the second criterion of nativization of linguistic forms is not fulfilled by English in China at present.

Taking into account the two aspects of nativization, English in China has demonstrated features at different linguistic levels, but they are generally not employed widely, systematically and stably. Consequently, English is at most at the initial stage of nativization at present.

7.1.3 Institutionalization

To check whether English in China has or is entering the process of institutionalization (cf. section 2.2), findings from the questionnaires show that none of the three subcriteria is fully satisfied (cf. chapter 6).

The results of the attitudinal survey show that a large majority of the students in my study accept the Chinese variety of English. In contrast to this, exonormative models are preferred by the majority of the students even though the students do not want all their English teachers to be native speakers. With respect to codification, there is ongoing documentation of English as used in China (cf. chapter 2), but there are no traces of setting up official rules for indigenized orthography, pronunciation, grammar, syntax, vocabulary as well as publishing grammar books, dictionaries and other similar guidelines. Hence, English in China is not undergoing codification.

Considering the three aspects of institutionalization, the Chinese variety of English is accepted to a great extent, but this conclusion is just based on the claims made by the participants in my study. It has not confirmed that their statements are in line with their linguistic behaviors. Furthermore, English in China is not orientated towards an endonormative model, and codification is not taking place. Therefore, English in China is not undergoing institutionalization.

7.1.4 The status of English in China

Table 7.1 below brings together the criteria for ESL varieties and the assessment of English in China. The plus (+) symbol is used to indicate that the respective criterion is fulfilled, the bracketed plus ((+)) symbol is used to imply that the respective criterion is only partly met whereas the minus (-) symbol is used to suggest that the respective criterion is not met.

Table 7.1 Fulfillment of ESL criteria in China

Criteria for ESL	**Presence in China**
1. Expansion in use	
(1) spread of bilingualism	–
(2) expansion in intranational use of English in several domains (i.e. education, administration, media, and for interethnic communication)	(+)
(3) acquisition of English in wider society	–
2. Nativization	
(1) phonological, morpho-syntactic, lexico-semantic, discoursal and pragmatic features	+
(2) widespread, systematic, stable use of features	–
3. Institutionalization	
(1) recognition/acceptance of local variety	(+)

(2) endonormative orientation	–
(3) codification	–

According to the above table, it is obvious that English in China is by no means an ESL, for English in China has not fully fulfilled one of the three criteria for ESL status. However, it is not absolutely true to ascribe EFL status to English in China. The above table shows that English in China partly meets three sub-criteria for ESL: expansion in intranational use of English, nativization of linguistic form and recognition or acceptance of local variety. Since acceptance of local variety and norm orientation is not considered to be an indispensable sign of ESL status (Buschfeld, 2011), the remaining two sub-criteria still make English in China different from prototypical EFL. Taking the criteria for ESL into account, it is most appropriate to say that English in China is neither ESL nor EFL. The current status of English in China lends support to the recent notion of "a continuum of, rather than a categorical distinction between, varietal types" (Edwards, 2014: 193), on which English in China certainly leans towards the EFL end.

To better determine the variety status of English in China, it is beneficial to compare English in China with that in Cyprus and the Netherlands, two hybrid varieties of English. According to Buschfeld (2011), English in Cyprus, a traditional ESL, is neither a typical ESL nor an EFL at present. Due to the *de facto* division of Cyprus in 1974, the use of English has declined in intranational use such as in the domains of the media, administration, and intranational interethnic communication. But bilingualism is found across large parts of the population, as English is still widely learned and spoken by all secondary school graduates and most parts of the adult population in general. In addition, compared to the old generation who had chance to acquire English naturally at home and in a wider community, the main means for the young generation of Greek Cypriots today to learn English is through formal classroom instruction.

In terms of nativization, her empirical research has identified 39 features on different levels of language use that have passed the 30% threshold (i.e. the phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical, lexicogrammatical, lexicosemantic, and pragmatic level), but only 12 features lie above the 50% mark of nativization. Further analysis of feature use reveals that it is more entrenched in the old generation than in the young generation of Cypriots, which suggests that the widespread and systematic use of potentially nativized features is only applied to the old generation of participants.

With respect to institutionalization, English in Cyprus is not a carrier of local identity. Furthermore, its speakers, the local press and education are generally oriented towards BrE and

there is no obvious evidence of localization of creative writing, the teaching machinery, and the media.

English in the Netherlands, a traditional EFL, is another hybrid variety (Edwards, 2014; 2016). Since the end of WWII, English in the Netherlands has further developed. It is used by a large proportion of the population, covering different age groups. And estimated English competence goes beyond typical EFL countries such as Brazil, Japan, France or Russia and some established ESL counties such as India and the Philippines (Edwards, 2014). English is widespread in the media, public signage, business, administration as well as English education. Furthermore, English is not limited to the instrumental function of language, but used expressively and emotively as well. English is so widespread in the Netherlands that English learning is not confined to foreign-language classrooms. It also takes place in wider societal domains.

Edwards (2014) has identified a range of potential features of English in the Netherlands, covering different linguistic levels (i.e. morphosyntax, lexicosemantics, discourse and pragmatics). Her further analysis of the progressive aspect shows that the participants' use of this feature shares similarities with ESL varieties, but the overall frequency resembles EFL-like exonormative orientation.

With respect to institutionalization, a localized variety of English in the Netherlands is still not accepted, and people are still oriented towards native models. Hence, there is no official effort to compile guidelines, grammar references that document and codify the localized use of English in the Netherlands.

When the three criteria for ESL are applied to English in China and the other two recently assessed varieties of English (i.e. English in Cyprus [Buschfeld, 2011, 2013] and English in the Netherlands [Edwards, 2014]), the following picture emerges:

Table 7.2 Comparison of fulfillment of ESL criteria in China, Cyprus, the Netherlands

Criteria for ESL	**Presence in China**	**Presence in Cyprus**	**Presence in the Netherlands**
1. Expansion in use			
(1) spread of bilingualism	−	+	+
(2) expansion in intranational use of English in several domains (i.e. education, administration, media, and for interethnic communication)	(+)	(+)	+
(3) acquisition of English in wider society as well as in school	−	(+)	+
2. Nativization			

(1) phonological, morpho-syntactic, lexico-semantic, discoursal and pragmatic features	+	+	+
(2) widespread, systematic, stable use of features	–	(+)	(+)
3. Institutionalization			
(1) recognition/acceptance of local variety	(+)	–	–
(2) endonormative orientation	–	–	–
(3) codification	–	–	–

According to Table 7.2, English in the Netherlands satisfies the most criteria for ESL status while English in China fulfills the least ESL criteria. Both English in the Netherlands and English in Cyprus almost meet the first two criteria for ESL status, with English in the Netherlands exhibiting more evident expansion in intranational use of English in several domains and the acquisition of English in wider society as well as in schools.

Upon taking a closer look at the criteria that are used to establish whether English has gained any particular status, if the criteria "acceptance of local variety" and "norm orientation" are not taken into consideration (Buschfeld, 2011: 217), then it emerges that English in China only partly fulfills two sub-criteria for ESL, namely, "features at different linguistic levels" and "expansion in intranational use." However, with respect to the latter criterion, English in China does not cover as many domains as English in Cyprus. Following the 1974 political division of Cyprus, the use of English has declined in the domains of education, media and administration (Buschfeld, 2011). In addition, the status of English as a neutral means for interethnic communication between the Turkish and Greek inhabitants has also weakened (Buschfeld, 2011). Compared to English in Cyprus, English is mainly used in China in the domains of tertiary education and media, but even then with a limited presence. English is rarely used in China for administration and interethnic communication.

Another point revealed in the above table is that as a traditional EFL, English in the Netherlands has fulfilled more criteria for ESL status than English in Cyprus, a traditional ESL. This observation apparently points to the fact that colonial history is not a prerequisite for ESL-status and that the two varieties of English are in the course of transition.

Regarding the status of English in China, judging from the fulfillment of ESL criteria in China and a comparison of the fulfillment of ESL criteria in China, Cyprus and the Netherlands, there is no doubt that English in China is still a developing performance variety (Xu, 2010) and it shows stronger proximity to a learner variety at present.

7.2 Placing English in China in the main models of World Englishes

This section focuses on the application of the main models of World Englishes to English in China and assesses the variety status of English in China. Section 7.2.1 illustrates how these findings are related to the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and Kachru's (1985) Three Circles. Section 7.2.2 asks whether the Dynamic Model of Schneider (2003, 2007, 2014) is applicable to the changing status of English in China. Section 7.2.3 examines the applicability of Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces to the development of English in China.

7.2.1 English in China assessed by the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and Kachru's (1985) Three Circles

The above assignment of variety status of English in China shows that even though it has more affinity with a learner or EFL variety, English in China cannot be unambiguously assigned to one of the two categories. The hybrid nature of English in China renders the dichotomic classification of the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction unhelpful to place it within the framework of World Englishes. For very similar reasons, the Three Circles are equally not well suited for placing English in China. It certainly does not belong to the Outer Circle, nor does it tightly fit into the Expanding Circle. What is more, the rigid dichotomic classification into ENL-ESL-EFL and the Three Circles do not allow for transition from one category to another. This static perspective naturally weakens their explanatory power and makes them fail to capture the dynamic development of English in, for example, Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2011; 2013), the Netherlands (Edwards, 2014; 2016), and also in China.

7.2.2 Placing English in China in Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model

The Dynamic Model is applied here to help define the different phases of the development of English in China. Attention will focus on language education and English policy, language attitudes, sociolinguistic conditions, and structural effects. However, it should be pointed out that due to a lack of diachronic data, the linguistic development of English in China has to be inferred at times.

Phase 1: foundation (1664-1895)

The foundation for English in education is laid in 1664 when the establishment of the first trading port in Canton by English-speaking traders provided relatively stable contact scenario, similar to the transplant of English to other trading outposts. However, with the announcement of a court decree in 1759, the contact between English-speaking traders and Chinese people became limited to English-speaking traders and *compradores* (Adamson, 2004; cf. section 3.1.1). This direct language contact formed the first strand of foundation. The other strand of the founding of English came with the introduction of English in formal education (official translation institutes and missionary schools) after the two Opium Wars, leading to further consolidation of the status of English. The introduction of English in formal education differentiates itself from the founding of English in typical trading outposts as pointed out in the Dynamic Model (Schneider, 2003; 2007; cf. section 2.1.3).

The beginnings of formal education in English did not generate a drastic change in people's attitudes towards the language. English was regarded as a barbarian language and thus enjoyed a low status prior to the two Opium Wars. Even for a long period after the two Opium Wars, English was not valued highly, because learning it in official or missionary schools did not guarantee a throughway to the job market. The unfavorable attitudes towards English might have been aggravated by the hostile relationship between the British and the Chinese people, as the Qing dynasty lost the two Opium Wars as well as other wars to the British. They were humiliated and suffered political, economic and cultural consequences. Alternatively, as victors, the British were in all probability unprepared to stoop themselves and they showed no willingness to accommodate the Chinese people. Even though English was introduced into formal education, it was merely a means to acquire science and technology from the West and drive the invaders out of the Chinese territory. Hence, it would have been highly unlikely for the Chinese to embrace English without any reservation. But the *compradores* most probably entertained more positive opinions of English since it was their means to live prosperously. They might also have had greater affinity with English-speaking traders than with their Chinese compatriots, as they were not respected by their own people because of their contact with the foreigners.

As a result of people's relatively low opinion of English, the use of English was restricted. This assessment runs parallel to Schneider's Dynamic Model. English was obviously used for utilitarian purposes by Chinese people and their counterparts, whether it was employed to access scientific and military knowledge, was trade or media related or was intended to conduct

diplomatic affairs (cf. section 3.3.1). The access to English was also confined to a small number of students, translators and *compradores*. English was by no means widely learned by a large number of the students and not many societal domains required knowledge of English. Therefore, it can be assumed that what Schneider calls "marginal bilingualism" was present during this phase.

However, it is not possible to determine a precise manifestation of a potential, educated variety of English, since the formal education of English was only accessible to a limited number of people. Comparatively uneducated variety of English, Chinese Pidgin English, did occur during this period, but this period not only witnessed the "incipient pidginization" (Schneider, 2007: 36), but also saw the rise of pidginization: pidgin was spread over ports that were opened to foreign powers following Qing's defeats in the two Opium Wars (Bolton, 2003). Similar to trade colonies, words of trade-related activities, rather than "toponymic borrowing" (Schneider, 2007: 36), became entrenched (cf. section 3.4.1). Moreover, given the limited number of English-speaking traders and missionaries, it can be assumed that koineization was limited, too.

Phase 2: multi-stage stabilization (1895-present)

The onset of stabilization can be dated to 1895, because Qing's defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War (1895) and the aftermath of the Boxing Uprising stimulated the Qing government to make more radical reforms. Unlike Schneider's model, the onset does not relate to "colonial status or the formal establishment of English in education, governance and so on" (Schneider, 2007: 36−37). Even though China was subjected to manipulation of foreign powers, it was not colonized, rather, "a system of treaty-port semi-colonialism had been established" by the turn of the nineteenth century (Bolton, 2003: 159). The reinforcement of English had more to do with the initiatives of consecutive Chinese governments to carry out educational reforms such as the replacement of the traditional education model by the model based on the Japanese system of schooling in 1902, or the introduction of the US system of schooling in 1922, though it cannot be denied that missionary schools played a special role in the spread of English. However, the stabilization of English was abruptly discontinued by the establishment of the People's Republic of China. This event constitutes a divergence from the linear line of development as set out in Schneider's model. The development of English has been restabilized since the 1990s, especially as English has been widely promoted throughout the whole country. The restabilization of English in China has also been initiated by the Chinese government, which is atypical according to Schneider's model (cf.

Schneider, 2007). The initiation of the initial stabilization phase (1895-1949) differs from the restabilization phase (1990s-present) in this aspect: missionaries had their impact on the former phase, but not on the restabilization phase (1990s-present).

The unstable sociohistorical and political situations form the backdrop to changes in the language policy and English in education. However, these situations did not necessarily change people's general attitudes towards English, though there is evidence that at times people's attitudes were affected by these policy changes. Due to economic prosperity and prestige that English brought to the westernized Chinese elites during the initial stabilization phase and proficient bilinguals in present China, it is reasonable to assume that they probably hold more positive attitudes towards English. This resembles what Schneider (2007: 37) calls a "local-plus-English-knowing" identity. But even between these elites, the exact role of English remains an open question (cf. sections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3).

The sociolinguistic conditions are largely parallel to Schneider's model. During the initial stabilization phase (1895-1949) and the restabilization phase (1990s-present), English spread among the Chinese elites. English spread further among the general population, seen in growing number of English learners and increase in their proficiency and bilingualism. Furthermore, exonormative models are preferred at these two substages. However, compared to Schneider's model, the use of English is still restricted to certain domains. In addition, the regression of English during this period (1949-1990s) offers a complication to the typical development of English as set out in Schneider's model.

With respect to structural effects, unlike Schneider's model, Chinese Pidgin English experienced a fall rather than a rise in popularity during this stage. This is because pidgin English was increasingly disfavored by both Chinese speakers of English and people from outside China by the early twentieth century. An increase in the access to missionary schools and official translation institutes is certainly a contributing factor. On the other hand, the educated varieties of English between Chinese speakers, which resulted from the spread of bilingualism and the expansion of schools, developed during the initial phase of stabilization (1895-1949), but came to an end with the establishment of the People's Republic of China. One of the prominent varieties of English during this second phase is probably what Bolton (2002: 9−11) calls "Shanghai English", represented by Lin Yutang who was educated by missionaries in China and the West. The phase of regression (1949-1990s) saw a continuous borrowing of lexical words with political

connotations, compared to the phase of re-stabilization (1990s-present), which experiences, for example, the coexistence of "grassroots Englishes" in tourist spots (Schneider, 2016: 2). In line with Schneider's model, this phase (1990s-present) largely witnesses the onset of structural nativization (cf. Schneider, 2007: 39). Therefore, the linguistic effects differ from Schneider's model in three aspects: 1. the fall of Chinese Pidgin English during the initial stabilization phase (1895-1949), 2. the emergence of grassroots Englishes during the re-stabilization phase (1990s-present), and 3. the termination of first educated varieties of English in large during the regression phase (1949-1990s).

Beyond phase 2?

The sociolinguistic profile presents a rather conflicting image of the status of English in China. On the one hand, the use of English has undoubtedly expanded in a variety of domains. On the other hand, there are is only a relatively low percentage of English learners who can be actually called English users. But is it possible for China to experience mass bilingualism in the future? The answer is, it is possible. Given the importance of English in the age of globalization and internationalization, people in China will be further attracted to learn English for utilitarian purposes (cf. Schneider, 2014) and speak English.

However, in contrast to foreseeing a potential spread of bilingualism, the results of the questionnaires in my study, and correlated by previous research (He and Li, 209; Kirkpatrick and Xu, 2002), suggest that the status of English is very much oriented towards exonormative norms. Consequently, I suggest that English can hardly reach phase 3 while endonormative norms are not accepted, even if English is used extensively across China.

The following table demonstrates the application of the Dynamic Model to English in China.

Table 7.3 English in China in Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model

Phase	Language policy and English in education	Attitudes towards English	Sociolinguistic conditions	Structural effects
1. foundation (1664-1895)	• language contact (the 1759 announcement) • English in formal	• ambivalent (not so positive)	• marginal bilingualism (*compradores,* translators, students) • education, trade,	• emergence and spread of Chinese Pidgin English (CPE)

	education (official translation institutes and missionary schools		diplomacy	
2. multi-stage stabilization (1895-present)				
stabilization (1895-1949)	• westernization (the Japanese system of schooling in 1902, the US system of schooling in 1922, establishment of modern institutions	• ambivalent (more positive)	• exonormative models • spreading bilingualism (elite) • expansion of missionary schools, media (domestic and abroad), diplomacy	• fall of CPE ▪ educated varieties of English
regression (1949-1990s)	• removal and reintroduction of English into school curricula • reintroduction of English into the secondary school curriculum in 1982	• ambivalent (more negative)	• marginal bilingualism (experts, students) • education, diplomacy	• termination of the first educated varieties of English
restabilization (1990s-present)	• wide promotion (the 2001 announcement, the 2013 language reform, introduction of oral tests in Beijing and Shanghai	• ambivalent (more positive)	• implicit exonormative models • spreading bilingualism (more than elite)	• a Chinese variety of English • grassroots Englishes
3. nativization	• ?	• positive (?)	• sociolinguistic cleavage, complaint tradition; linguistic schizophrenia; mass bilingualism (?)	• nativisation at all levels (?)

According to my analysis (as summarized in the table), English in China might be moving from stage 2 to stage 3 in the future, because societal bilingualism appears to be increasing in recent years and first signs of structural nativization, e.g. features at different linguistic levels as well as the frequent and systematic use of some of these features, are showing.

Another important point revealed in the table is that it is not external forces that always initiated the stabilization stage of English in China but the implementation of consistent language policy. This point is consistent with Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017: 118) observation that "non-PCEs also undergo stabilization, but not necessarily by means of mainly external forces as was typically the case for PCEs". During the initial phase of multi-stage stabilization (1895-1949), China was by no means politically stabilized. It became a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society by the twentieth century and was plagued with uprisings, wars against foreign powers, wars among warlords and the Civil War. But during this turbulent period, language political decisions were largely consistent and conducive to English learning. Therefore, external political stabilization was not the prerequisite for the development of non-PCEs. Instead, stabilization of language policy played a larger role.

From the table, it can be also seen that language policy cannot fully account for the developments of English all the time. At the foundation phase (1664-1895), English was first brought to China by English-speaking traders rather than being established as a result of formal education. The observation is thus supported that language policy and English education are not the only factors that determine its foundation in non-colonial contexts. Other factors such as political decisions and trade relationships similarly play important roles (Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017).

Likewise, language policy alone does not account for changes to the status of English in China. For instance, at the regression phase of multi-stage stabilization (1949-1990s), the status of English was weakened. Apart from language policy, other factors that influenced the status of English include China's relations with the US and the USSR, and China's political and economic decisions. Furthermore, the sociolinguistic profile of English in China (cf. chapter 2) illustrates that social, economic, and political factors as well as foreign relations influence the implementation of language policy. Therefore, different to how the Dynamic Model to English has been applied to the Expanding Circle by Schneider (2014), the parameter of language policy and English in education do not sufficiently cover all the important factors that affect the status of English in

China though language policy and English in education play a relatively bigger role. The fact that several factors played a role in the development of English in China implies that the parameter of sociopolitical and historical background can be kept when the Dynamic Model is applied to English in the Expanding Circle.

Furthermore, language attitudes towards English are more complicated than what has been set out in Schneider's model. Language attitudes towards English are generally ambivalent, although a "local-plus-English-knowing" identity has developed among the Chinese elites.

In addition, the structural effects do not always follow Schneider's model. The foundation phase saw the emergence and spread of pidgin English, more than there being a mere presence of incipient pidginization as set out in Schneider's model. The multi-stage stabilization underwent the fall of pidgin English and the emergence of grassroot Englishes during the restabilization phase (1990s-present).

In terms of the diachronic development of English in China, phase 2 (1895-present) demonstrates that its progression does not follow a strict linear pattern as assumed in the Dynamic Model. It undergoes initial stabilization (1895-1949), regression (1949-1990s) and restabilization (1990s-present). This atypical pattern might suggest that English in China is subject to a pendulum effect. The momentum of this pendulum would then be influenced by both extra- and intra-territorial forces within the sociopolitical environment (cf. chapter 3). However, on the whole the development of English in China (1664-present) follows an atypical linear pattern.

But there are also some notable similarities between the development of English in China and Schneider's model, mostly reflected in sociolinguistic conditions and structural effects. In terms of sociolinguistic conditions, in line with Schneider's model, incipient pidginization and marginal bilingualism did emerge during the foundation phase (1664-1895); elite bilingualism and exonormative orientation are also found at the multi-stage stabilization (1895-present).

Considering the above similarities and dissimilarities, it can be inferred that the Dynamic Model does not fully account for the development of English in China, yet it can largely explain the diachronic development of English in China.

7.2.3 English in China in Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra and Intra-Territorial Forces

This section will explain the diachronic development of English in China by considering the previous findings in terms of extra- and intra-territorial forces.

The foundation of English in China is set in 1664, resulting from establishment of the first trading port in Canton by the extra-territorial force of English-speaking traders. The influence of this extra-territorial force was restricted by a court decree of 1759, which confined English communication between English-speaking traders and *compradores* (cf. section 3.1.1). These two strands of forces (English-speaking traders functioning as an extra-territorial force and the 1759 court decree serving as an intra-territorial force) worked together on the emergence of Chinese Pidgin English. This form of English was brought about by trade relationships and political decisions, with the internal political decisions having a larger impact on the formation of Chinese pidgin English than influences from outside.

The emergence of Chinese Pidgin English demonstrates that the founding of non-PCEs is not necessarily initiated by one of the factors (trade relationships, political decisions or language policy) predicted by the EIF model, but might be set off by an interaction between extra- and intra-territorial forces (mainly the forces mentioned-above). It was not initiated just by trade relationships or political decisions predicted by the EIF model. The origins of Chinese Pidgin English points to the fact that although this variant was not set off by colonization, and is thus a non-PCE, there were established contacts between the traders-settlers and a section of the local people, notably the *compradores*. This collaboration between extra- and intra-territorial forces, notably trade and language policy offers further substantiation to Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) development of Schneider's Dynamic Model.

The other form of English, English in formal education, was introduced to official translation institutes and missionary schools that "might have taken a role similar to that of the settler strand in the Dynamic Model" (Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017: 115). These two forces (official translation institutes functioning as an intra-territorial force and missionary schools serving as an extra-territorial force) had further impact on the establishment of English due to the interplay between the extra-territorial forces of the two Opium Wars and intra-territorial forces of the treaties signed with foreign powers following Qing's defeats in these wars between Great Britain and China. However, during this phase, English was only accessible to a limited number of students.

Although the availability of English language media might have served as an extra-territorial force, English documents were only partly translated to provide officials with essential information about foreigners and their activities (cf. section 3.3.1). Obviously, during this period, bilingualism was restricted to the marginal parts of the population who worked as translators or *compradores*. The use of English was thus confined to utilitarian purposes such as trade, education, diplomatic relations, and media.

Phase 2: multi-stage stabilization (1895-present)

Multi-stage stabilization commenced in 1895. From then, the Qing government adopted more radical reforms to promote the learning of English. These reforms resulted from the effects of extra-territorial forces of the Sino-Japanese War and the big powers' involvement in the Boxer Uprising as well as intra-territorial forces of Qing's defeats in the Sino-Japanese War and the aftermath of the Boxer Uprising (cf. section 3.1.1). However, intra-territorial forces such as language political decisions played a decisive role in stabilizing English in China rather than the extra-territorial forces mentioned above, where Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) correctly argue that there are many communalities between PECs and non-PCEs, English in China has developed differently principally because intra-territorial forces have played a greater role than extra-territorial forces.

The significance of language political decisions serving as intra-territorial forces is manifested in the introduction of the US system of schooling in 1922. This foreign educational system that became an intra-territorial force was advocated by the intra-territorial force of the New Cultural Movement (culminated in the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement) and the extra-territorial force of Dewy and Paul Monroe's visits to China (cf. section 3.1.2).

These extra- and intra-territorial forces together contributed to the growing number of students studying English in official and missionary schools as well as to students who studied abroad. Unquestionably, English progressed further in the domains of education, media and diplomacy despite bilingualism being mainly restricted to the westernized Chinese elites.

However, the establishment of the People's Republic of China (1949) destabilized the language policy and reversed the development of English. In the following decades, the status of English fluctuated. Although English held a relatively stable status in China since the introduction of the Reform and Opening Up Policy (1978), the spread of English within the whole nation and in

different domains began properly in the 1990s. This extensive spread of English is largely due to the interplay between extra-territorial forces, such as the disintegration of the USSR and the trend of globalization, and intra-territorial forces, like China's acceptance of globalization (i.e. successful entrance into the WTO, the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, cf. section 3.3.3). In these extra- and intra-territorial forces, China's acceptance of globalization plays a larger role in the spread of English in China, since it has fueled the internal use of English in many domains (education, media, tourism, international events, cf. section 3.3.3). This also foretells the foreseeable increase of English users and their communicative competence as well as a greater variation in the domains of use (cf. section 3.3.3), despite a readjustment of the weighting between English and Chinese in *Gaokao*.

Although these extra- and intra-territorial forces have had an impact on the rapid spread of English in many domains, compared to the use of English for international communication, the internal use of English is still restricted to a few domains in terms of range and depth. Furthermore, English in China is largely exonormative oriented. Mass bilingualism has not appeared yet. Thus, according to the criteria of Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017), English in China has not entered phase 3.

The following table offers a summary of the extra- and intra-territorial forces that describes the spread of English in China and that are based on Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) EIF Model.

Table 7.4 English in China in Buschfeld and Kautzsch's (2017) Model of Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces

Phase	Extra-territorial force	Intra-territorial force
1. foundation (1664-1895)	• establishment of trading port in Guangzhou (trade) • two Opium Wars (foreign policy) • establishment of missionary schools (foreign policy) • English-speaking traders (sociodemographic background) • availability of English language media (newspapers, journals) (sociodemographic background)	▪ 1759 court decree (political factor) • treaties signed after Qing's defeats in the two Opium Wars (foreign policy) • reforms (political policy) establishment of official translation institutes (language policy) • *compradores* (sociodemographic background) • use of English language media (sociodemographic background)
2. multi-stage stabilization (1895-present)		

initial stabilization (1895-1949)	• the first Sino-Japanese War and suppression of Boxer Uprising (foreign policy) • missionary schools (foreign policy) • the treaty of Versailles (1919) (foreign policy) • experts' (John Dewy and Paul Monroe) visits to China (foreign policy) • US' partial returning of excessive indemnity received from the Qing government after suppression of the Boxer Uprising (foreign policy) • availability of English language media (newspapers, journals, radio stations, films) (sociodemographic background)	• treaties signed after Qing's defeat in the first Sino-Japanese War and the aftermath of the Boxing Uprising (foreign policy) • adoption of the model based on the Japanese system of schooling (language policy) • the New Culture Movement (cultural factor) • the May Fourth Movement (political factor) • adoption of the US system of schooling (language policy) • establishment of modern institutions and sponsoring of students studying abroad (language policy) • access to education and more students studying in European countries (sociodemographic background) • access to English language media produced at home and abroad (sociodemographic background)
Regression (1949-1990s)	• the US and its allies as well as the USSR's stance towards China (foreign policy)	• bad relations with the US and its allies and good relations with the USSR (foreign policy) • the need to solicit help to develop economy (economic factor) • replacement of English by Russian (language policy) • English teachers switched to teach Russian (sociodemographic background)
	• the Soviet Union's disagreement with China (foreign policy) • the Soviet Union's withdrawal of help (foreign policy)	• worsening relations with the USSR better relations with the US and its allies (foreign policy) • the need to develop economy (economic factor) • reintroduction of English into school curricula (language policy) • Russian teachers retrained to teach English

		(sociodemographic background)
	• transition of governments in the Soviet Union (political factor)	• the Culture Revolution (political factor) • removal of English from school curricula (language policy)
		• publication of Mao's wish to learn English (political factor) • Zhou's effort to save foreign language majors (political factor)
	• takeover of Taiwan's seat in the UN; normalization of Sino-US relations (foreign policy) • the UN's formal recognition of the legal status of the PRC; Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon's visits to China (foreign policy)	
		• reintroduction of English into school curriculum (language policy) • deployment of foreign language majors to suitable jobs (sociodemographic background)
	• economic "miracles" in the old Chinese cultural regions (economic factor)	• end of the Culture Revolution (political factor) • introduction of Reform and Opening Up Policy (economic factor) • English as the most important foreign language in secondary schools as well as a series of changes to the policy to promote English (language policy) • the rising number of English majors and tour guides (sociodemographic background)
restabilization (1990s-present)	• disintegration of the USSR (political factor) • globalization	• rising participation in international affairs (acceptance of globalization) • a series of language political decisions to promote English (language policy) • entry into the WTO; preparation for Beijing Olympic Games and Shanghai Expo (acceptance of globalization)

		• the 2001 announcement of English education from primary 3 onwards and English as a medium of instruction in all universities and colleges (language policy) • One Belt and One Road Initiative; the establishment of AIIB (acceptance of globalization) • the 2013 announcement of changing the weighting of English and Chinese in Gaokao (language policy) • the 2016 announcement of introducing oral English tests in Beijing and Shanghai (language policy)
	• TOFEL, IELTS, and other international English tests (language policy)	• English as a medium of instruction at universities; more students going abroad for further education (sociodemographic background)
	• foreign investment (globalization)	• English as a working language in foreign companies in China and Chinese companies abroad (sociodemographic background)
	• availability of English language media (newspapers, journals, books, radio stations, TV programs, music, films, the Internet) (sociodemographic background)	• access to English language media produced at home and abroad (sociodemographic background)
	• tourism (sociodemographic background)	• tourism (sociodemographic background) • more active engagement in international events (sociodemographic background)

This tabulated summary of the key extra- and intra-territorial forces based on the EIF model demonstrates that there are more sets of extra- and intra-territorial forces that have driven the development of English in China than the suggested four sets of forces for non-PCEs (cf. Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017). The newly identified extra-territorial forces include political and economic factors. The newly found intra-territorial forces contain political, cultural and economic factors. These newly identified forces are consistent with Buschfeld and Kautzsch's 2017: 119) reminder that the suggested four sets of extra- and intra-territorial forces do not provide "a comprehensive account of all possible manifestations of extra- and intra-territorial forces".

However, I believe that these insights contribute towards understanding how English has developed as a universal language.

The summary also illustrates how the different forces have benefited and restricted English in China and how they have interacted throughout the development of English in China. This analysis further demonstrates that different extra- and intra-territorial forces come into play at different periods and that they exert different degrees of influence. The division of the forces into phases that correspond to historical events provides a useful platform to compare the acceptance and rejection of English in China as a non-colonial country compared with the experiences in post-colonial countries such as India, Cyprus and many African countries. English in China shares some similarities with the development of PCEs such as incipient pidginization and the development of pidginization, but it differentiates itself from PCEs in that intra-territorial forces usually play a more important role in the development of English than extra-territorial forces. In addition, due to the different historical relations between China, colonial and world powers, as well as former English colonies, it is expected that the trajectory of bilingualism and the attitudes towards English will be complex.

7.3 Summary

The above discussion of the variety status of English in China has shown that English in China can neither be ascribed prototypical ESL nor prototypical EFL status, but it shows stronger similarities to EFL varieties. The recently changing functions and uses of English suggest that English in China might be moving towards ESL status. This ongoing transition of English confirms one weakness of the static tripartite models, that is, the rigidity of the tripartite models cannot fully account for the dynamic development of English in China.

The two developmental models (Schneider's Dynamic Model and Buschfeld and Kautzsch's Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces) are not perfect for explaining the development of English in China, but they are useful to place English in China within the framework of World Englishes. The application of the two models show that English in China does not strictly follow a linear pattern: it had once entered the phase of stabilization (1895-1949), but was interrupted by the establishment of the PRC, which led to a reversal in the development of English before it entered into a stage of restabilization (1990s-present). It remains a question as to whether English in China

might possibly advance beyond phase 2 in the near future, as English in China is oriented towards exonormative models. Considering the possible widespread bilingualism in the future, expansion of use in English and features at different linguistic levels, English in China might be at most moving from the phase of multi-stage stabilization to the phase of nativization.

In applying the Dynamic Model to English in China, the findings show that the revised parameter "language policy and education in English" does not necessarily affect people's attitudes towards English. Rather, other external and internal factors also come into play throughout the development of English. Furthermore, the lack of the settler strand in China has produced some repercussions, which include problems of identifying social and linguistic contact, possible assimilation, changing relationships between the settlers and their mother country, and allocating a certain phase of the model to a variety (Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017). The initiators of the multi-stage stabilization phase lend further support to the observation that external forces that are prototypical for PCEs are not indispensable to the phase of multi-stage stabilization for non-PCEs.

The above-mentioned problems in applying the Dynamic Model are resolved in applying the EIF model, though the EIF model does not foresee the unprototypical development of English in China as well and there is difficulty of applying the EIF model if one just relies on the suggested sets of forces without more concrete manifestations of the forces at each stage.

In summary, from a diachronic perspective, English in China has gone through phase 1 (1664-1895), and can be currently placed at phase 2 (1895-present). From a synchronic perspective, English in China is neither a prototypical EFL nor an ESL and it is showing signs of moving from EFL to ESL.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This thesis has set itself the following three main research questions:

(1) What are the linguistic features of English spoken by non-English majors in China?

(2) To what extent are the features nativized in the students' oral English?

(3) Where should China English be located within the framework of World Englishes?

To answer research question 1, I first conducted sociolinguistic interviews with a select number of students. I recorded their free speech (conversations) as well as their readings of a set passage: The *Boy Who Cried Wolf*. The collected data were then subjected to a corpus linguistic analysis. I transcribed, annotated and categorized the data of the interviews and readings.

The data have been analyzed with respect to three linguistic levels. Phonological features that have been identified include both segmental and suprasegmental features. Linguistic features on the morpho-syntactic level cover areas such as pronouns, noun phrase, discourse organization and word order (Kortmann and Szmrecsanyi, 2004). Features at the level of lexico-semantics are mainly manifested through borrowing, loan translation and semantic shift.

To answer research question 2 on the degree of nativization, I analyzed the relative frequency of the phonological features identified in the readings. The relative frequency of these phonological features demonstrates that a limited number of features have been employed systematically. To measure the systematic occurrence of the features, a benchmark of 50% use of all structurally equivalent options was set to indicate incipient nativization. It has been found that a restricted number of features occur above the 50% usage threshold.

To answer research question 3 on the placement of English in China within the framework of World Englishes, I have employed an integrative method that combines the macro- and micro-sociolinguistic aspects suggested by Schneider (2003, 2007, 2014) in his Dynamic Model. Accordingly, I have examined the four modified parameters that are adapted from the Dynamic Model (2003, 2007) for non-PCEs (Schneider, 2014). Consequently, I have assessed the variety status of English in China according to the findings from the examination of these parameters. The four parameters are:

(1) Language policy and English in education from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China (cf. section 3.1)

(2) Attitudes towards English from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China (cf. section 3.2 and chapter 6)

(3) The sociolinguistic conditions of learning and using English from the Qing dynasty to the People's Republic of China (cf. section 3.3)

(4) Structural effects of the sociolinguistic conditions (cf. section 3.4 and chapter 5)

The analysis of the above four parameters in the context of China has produced the following findings.

With respect to language policy and English in education, English teaching is closely related to the internal sociopolitical situation and China's relations with foreign powers. The foundation and stabilization of English in China before the establishment of the People's Republic of China share significant similarities with PCEs in former trade colonies.

Language contact between English-speaking traders and *compradores* and the introduction of English into official translation institutes and missionary schools formed two strands of the development of English in the Qing dynasty. The unstable sociopolitical environment in the late Qing and the Republic of China did not jeopardize the promotion of English. The status of English was further elevated, due to continuous adoption of western education systems. Decisions that promoted English were reversed by the establishment of the People's Republic of China. This time the volatile sociopolitical environment between the 1950s and 1980s led English to be repeatedly removed and reintroduced to school curricula. With China's deeper involvement in globalization, China has implemented a series of largely consistent language reforms to promote English nationwide, despite a modification of language reform in 2013.

The changing language-political decisions have not always brought about language attitudes in line with the changing language policies. The general attitudes towards English have remained ambivalent, though attitudes towards English are becoming increasingly positive at present. Chapter 6 examined attitudes of 96 undergraduates of non-English major programs towards English by means of an attitudinal questionnaire, a supplementary questionnaire, and a structured interview. The analyses of the findings indicate that English in China is neither a prototypical learner English nor an ESL, but that English in China has more similarities with a learner English than with an ESL. As indicative of ESL, English used in China is not limited to the instrumental function of language. It has extended to interpersonal and integrative functions. Nonetheless, there are more indications of English in China as an EFL. English is generally acquired through formal

education and the overall oral English proficiency is low (indicated by the self-rated oral English proficiency and supported by the national survey). Given the increased competence and high regard for English, there is no doubt that bilingualism is spreading, but mass bilingualism is still absent in China at present. Even though the majority of the students in my study accept the Chinese variety of English, they still prefer exonormative models.

In sum, throughout the history of English in China it can be stated that favorable language policy and language attitudes were conducive for the spread of English in China. In a similar vein, unfavorable language policy and language attitudes were detrimental to the development of English in China. The use of English had expanded before the establishment of the PRC. At first, English was employed to conduct trade. After the establishment of translation institutes, English was used to acquire scientific and technological knowledge and to study abroad, obtain information from the media and deal with diplomatic affairs. With the introduction of western education systems, English was used more extensively in the domains of education, media, and diplomacy. The expansion of English was interrupted by the establishment of the PRC. In the next three decades, English was used by a few experts to access scientific and technological materials in English and by English experts to deal with diplomatic affairs. From the 1990s, with the acceptance of globalization, English in China has been expanding in its intranational use, especially in the domain of higher education, but its use in other domains is still marginal.

The expanding but limited use of English is reflected in the structural effects identified in previous studies (cf. section 3.4) and in the feature analyses of the data of the selected 46 interview recordings and the corresponding data from the reading passage (cf. chapter 5). Section 3.4 reveals notable structural effects include Chinese Pidgin English in the Qing dynasty, educated varieties of English in the Republic of China and an emerging Chinese variety of English in the People's Republic of China. The results of the analyses in chapter 5 support the argument that a Chinese variety of English is emerging, but indicate that it is far from the stage of structural nativization.

The variety status of English in China in relation to World Englishes is treated in Chapter 7, based on an assessment of the four models of World Englishes discussed in Chapter 2 and a synthesis of the scientific research findings of Chapters 3, 5 and 6. To test the applicability of the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and Kachru's Three Circles model of 1985, section 7.1 first brings together the findings from chapters 3, 5 and 6 with respect to the three criteria for ESL variety status (cf. section 2.2). Chapter 3 demonstrates that the intranational use of English is currently

expanding, especially in the domain of higher education. However, its use for interethnic communication and in the domains of media and administration is marginal to almost absent. Chapter 5 reveals that English in China does not meet the second criterion for ESL variety status (nativization). Chapter 6 and section 3.3 support that institutionalization has not been established, as exonormative models are preferred and there are no signs of codification. Since not one of the three criteria (expansion in use and functions, nativization, and institutionalization) is fulfilled, English in China does not have the status of an ESL. However, my study demonstrates that it is not completely accurate to ascribe EFL status to English in China either. Instead, based on the expansion of English in intranational use, the features identified at different linguistic levels as well as the growing positive attitudes towards and acceptance of a Chinese variety of English, I propose that English in China is in the process of moving from EFL to ESL. Based on this conclusion, it can be inferred that neither the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction nor Kachru's (1985) Three Circles are applicable to establishing the status of English in China, firstly due to their rigidity, and secondly because of the extensive variation in English proficiency, presence and promotion in China.

In the second part of Chapter 7, it is asked to what extent Schneider's (2003, 2007, 2014) Dynamic Model can explain the spread of English in China. English in China has only engaged properly with the first two phases, and there is no strong evidence indicating that English has entered the third phase.

Phase 1 from 1664 to 1895 relates the foundation of English in China through trade and formal education. Due to limited contact, English was confined to professional use (cf. section 7.2.2). This phase saw incipient pidginization and the spread of Chinese Pidgin English.

There are strong grounds to argue that exonormative stabilization of English from 1895 to present hinges on the implementation of relatively consistent language reforms except for the period between 1949 and 1990s. Bilingualism (Chinese-English) spread among the westernized Chinese elites between 1895 and 1949 and between the 1990s and the present. This in turn has led to the emergence of educated varieties of English between 1895 and 1949 and a Chinese variety of English from the 1990s to the present.

China has not yet moved beyond phase 2 of Schneider's Dynamic Model, even though certain signs of phase 3 are in evidence. It remains an open question when the Chinese population will

start using English in a way comparable to people in second-language variety countries, and when English as spoken in China will be accepted as a localized variety in itself.

Similarities can be found between English in China and the parameters in the Dynamic Model. In terms of sociolinguistic conditions, the predicted trajectory (marginal bilingualism to elite bilingualism to emerging mass bilingualism) holds true for English in China. With respect to linguistic effects, pidginization and emerging nativization can be observed in phase 1 and phase 2 respectively.

Dissimilarities between English in China and the parameters in the Dynamic Model are identified in initiating English moving from one phase to another in a linear order. In terms of the revised parameter "language policy and education in English", it does not necessarily initiate the foundation of English and affect people's attitudes towards English. Other factors such as foreign policy, politics, and economic factors also exert their influence. Furthermore, external forces that are prototypical for PCEs are not indispensable for the phase of stabilization in non-PCEs. Language policy and internal political environment play a more important role in the stabilization of English. In this, the situation of English in China is different to that in most of the post-colonial countries, even though there are points of similarity. Regarding structural effects, English in China differentiates itself from the predicted effects in the Dynamic Model in that the emergence and development of pidginization coexisted in phase 1.

In addition, English in China does not strictly follow a linear pattern as plotted in the Dynamic Model. The use of English has not progressed consistently and regularly during phase 2 (1895-present), due to this phase spanning across three eras in China's history (1895-1949; 1949-1990s; 1990s-present), and experiencing periods of growth, regression, and return to growth. The spread of English, which is necessary for exonormative stabilization (phase 2) and nativization (phase 3) was interrupted by the establishment of the PRC in 1949. Progression to Schneider's phase 3 originally depicting the growth of PCEs was thereby halted and the evolution of English in China experienced a reversal. This interruption explains why several parallels can be established between the use of English during the initial phase of exonormative stabilization (1895-1949) and restabilization (1990s-present) (cf. section 7.2.2). In the light of this, I propose describing Schneider's phase of exonormative stabilization as the multi-stage stabilization of English in China.

The Extra- and Intra-territorial Forces Model (EIF) of Buschfeld and Kautzsch (2017) is tested in Chapter 7 to determine whether it can fully explain the development of English in China. Similar

to the application of the Dynamic Model, English in China has passed through phase 1 (1664-1985) and remains at phase 2 (1895-present). The EIF model helps us to understand that at each phase, the development of English is the joint result of extra- and intra- territorial forces and the presence and the presence and impact of these forces depend on specific developmental processes of English (cf. Buschfeld and Kautzsch 2017), which are set out in table 7.4. The application of the model to English in China also demonstrates that at the initial phase of multi-stage stabilization (1895-1949), the spread of English was more a result of the consistency of language policy than the influence of external forces. Similarly, at the phase of restabilization (1990s-present), the spread of English has been driven by globalization for various utilitarian purposes. This revelation suggests that the inclusion of extra-territorial forces in the EIF model successfully surrogates "the missing settler strand", which amends a lacuna in Schneider's Dynamic model regarding non-PCEs such as English in China.

The suggested four major sets of forces that influence the status of PCEs (cf. Buschfeld and Kautzsch, 2017) are applicable, but do not fully explain the development of English in China. The application shows that more forces (for example, political, cultural and economic factors; cf. section 7.2.3) come into play rather than the four sets of forces for non-PCEs listed in the EIF model. But this finding does not imply that the newly identified forces combined with the suggested four major sets of forces form an exhaustive list of forces for non-PCEs. Rather, the findings suggest that it is necessary to explore extra- and intra-territorial forces in specific contexts when the EIF model is applied.

This thesis is the first comprehensive study devoted to solely English spoken by non-English majors in China within the framework of World Englishes. Previous studies on English in China usually place more emphasis on written English, and pay comparatively less attention to spoken English, which is a stronger indicator of nativization. Moreover, this study does not merely report the features identified at the level of phonology, morpho-syntax, and lexico-semantics. It also examines the relative frequency of the identified phonological features to show the degree of nativization. The examination of the degree of nativization is not independent of the sociolinguistic situation of English in China. It is incorporated with the sociopolitical and historical backgrounds (cf. chapter 3) and takes English learners' attitudes (cf. chapter 6) into consideration. In addition, the analysis of the data from the interviews confirms the necessity of drawing a distinction between English learners and users when examining the features of English spoken by Chinese English

learners, because not all of the participants were able to conduct conversations in English. Given its progress, this study contributes to the small body of research on Chinese oral English.

The investigation of the development and status of English in China contributes to the growing body of research on World Englishes. It is especially relevant to studies on English in the Expanding Circle and other different varieties of English, which are themselves experiencing transitions, growth and changes in status in relation to indigenous languages.

As a traditional expanding-circle country, China can be described as a country where English is moving towards an ESL variety. This positioning supports understanding World Englishes as a continuum of English varieties rather than categorizing them in a dichotomy of varietal types. Moreover, a comparison between English in China and other transitional English varieties, such as English in the Netherlands (Edwards, 2014) and English in Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2011), confirms that there is also variation within transitional varieties. A point worthy of note is that the variety status of a traditional EFL is not necessarily less advanced than that of a traditional ESL (English in the Netherlands > English in Cyprus).

This study makes a further step to apply the Dynamic Model and the EIF model to English in China and assess the variety status of English in China from a diachronic perspective. It demarcates the phases of the development of English in China. The demarcation is beneficial to the understanding of the changing statuses of English in relation to changing sociolinguistic conditions, which makes a contribution to the research on English in China within the framework of World Englishes.

The fact that the findings of my research are built on a small sample suggests some areas for further research. An expansion of this study could investigate whether the findings based on a small sample can be generalized to a larger number or a different cross-section of English learners in China and whether there are particular and significant differences regarding preferences of features in terms of sociolinguistic factors such as regional differences, differences across ethnicity groups, age differences, and gender differences. The use of a morpho-syntactic feature identified in spoken English might be assessed and the results could be combined with an acceptability study to see whether there are any correlations between the use and acceptance of features.

Another question identified for future research asks whether speakers' views on the importance of English and Chinese can be correlated with the level of English proficiency. Chapter 6 reveals that the majority of the students in my study deem it more important for Chinese people to speak

English fluently than for foreigners to speak Chinese correctly in China even though most of them rate their oral English proficiency at a beginner level. The students' perception of the importance of English and Chinese in China seems to demonstrate that English is overemphasized in China. It is no wonder that some scholars have expressed concerns about possible negative effects of the growing presence of English in China. Similar concerns are also shared in the 2013 announcement of redistributing the weighting of Chinese and English in Gaokao, which has increased the score of Chinese but lowered the score of English. However, there is evidence that the depth and range of English will continue to increase and an increasing number of English learners will become more competent in English (cf. section 6.1).

It may be asked how the changes to the curriculum will affect the attitudes of young English users and learners towards English on the one hand, and Chinese on the other. The attitudes of these youth towards English and Chinese will probably have an impact on the further development of English in China.

In summary, this study reveals that various features can be identified at the level of phonology, morpho-syntax and lexico-semantics. However, in terms of phonological nativization, only two phonological features pass the 50% threshold. The contrast between a relatively large number of linguistic features at different levels and a small number of phonological features that pass the 50% threshold demonstrates that English in China has not reached structural nativization, though there are some emergent features. When it comes to measuring the variety status of English in China against the criteria for ESL status, it is found that English in China is neither a prototypical EFL nor an ESL variety. But several facts suggest that English in China might be moving from an EFL to an ESL. The variety status of English in China reveals the rigidity of the ENL-ESL-EFL distinction and Kachru's Three Circles.

When examining the variety status of English in China against Schneider's Dynamic Model and Buschfeld and Kautzsch's EIF model, the results show that English in China first entered the phase of foundation in 1664 and the initial phase of multi-stage stabilization in 1895. But the stabilization process was interrupted by the establishment of the PRC in 1949. This reversal of the status of English lasted until the 1990s. Since the 1990s, English in China has entered the phase of restabilization. Despite positive signs of expansion of English in intranational use, it remains a question as to whether English in China will proceed beyond phase 2, as exonormative models are still preferred.

The development of English in China suggests that the spread of English in expanding-circle countries does not strictly proceed from one phase to another in a linear order. Another major point that diverts from what is predicted in Schneider's Dynamic Model but is addressed by the EIF model are the initiators of the foundation phase and the initial phase of stabilization: the foundation phase of English in China was not initiated by language policy and English in education; the initial phase of stabilization (1895-1949) was not brought about by external forces that are prototypical for PCEs, but by the relative consistency of language policy.

The analysis of English in China also reveals more sets of extra- and intra-territorial forces than the suggested four sets of forces in the EIF model and shows a possible cause and effect relationship between these forces (cf. section 7.2.3). Considering the results of applying the above-mentioned models to English in China, we can arrive at the conclusion that within the framework of World Englishes, English in China has experienced phase 1 and is staying at phase 2 or showing evidence of moving from an EFL to an ESL.

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Appendix I Consent to be a participant and authorization to use data

Introduction

This study is being conducted by Xiaoyun Zhang from the university of Regensburg to elicit distinctive features of non-English majors in the mainland, China as well as to have a better understanding of English situation and provide some tentative suggestions for English learning and teaching.

Procedures

You will be asked to complete a questionnaire for attitude toward English or online questionnaire plus a supplementary questionnaire for personal information. This part will take about 4 minutes. Then you will be invited to read a short passage, and your reading will be recorded and saved for analysis. It will take approximately 2 minutes. Afterwards, you will have a face-to-face communication with the interviewer. The interview will cover questions about your childhood life, hobbies, customs, future plans as well as your views of language learning. This part will take about 40 minutes to 1 hour.

Participation

Participation in this research study is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at anytime or refuse to participate entirely without any formal explanation. And if it happens, your withdrawal will not cause any damage to your reputation or your college's reputation.

Payment

You will not be paid to participate in this study.

Confidentiality

All information provided will remain confidential and will only be reported as group data with no revelation of your identity. All data, including questionnaires will be kept in a secure location and only those directly involved with the research will have access to them. After the research is completed, the questionnaires will be destroyed.

Authorization to use the data

Only related researchers will have access to the data and be permitted to give presentations and publish articles relating to the study without disclosure of your identity.

Questions about the Research

If you have questions regarding this study, you may contact Xiaoyun Zhang at Xiaoyun.Zhang@stud.uni-regensburg.de.

I have read, understood, and received a copy of the above consent and desire of my own free will to participate in this study.

Signature: Date:

Appendix II Guiding questions

Childhood

Where were you born? / Where do you come from? The south or the north? Which city?

What's your hometown like?/How do you describe your hometown?

What were your parents/was hometown like when you were young?/Has your hometown changed a lot since you left for university?/Can you tell me some changes in your hometown? (environment, lifestyles, etc)

Did you grow up in the same place as your birthplace/in urban areas or rural areas? What was it like?

Who took care of you when you were very young? Did your grandpa or grandma look after you when you were young? Did she often play with you? What did you play together?

At what age did you go to primary school? Where was your primary school? What was your primary like?

What were your friends like? What did you do together?

Do you have sisters or brothers? What did you do when you were young?

How is your life university? What are some differences between life at primary school and life at university? (teachers, students, environment, facilities, etc)

Hobbies

What do you do in your free time? Could you give me an example?

Do you like playing Ping-pong, basketball/reading books, …? Do you like watching or participating?

When did you start to play.../read ...? How did you take interest in it?

What have you got from playing...?

Do you enjoy travelling alone or with friends? Why? Long distance travel or short distance travel? Why?

Customs

Do you enjoy cooking? Do you enjoy eating delicious food? What is your favourite dish? What's special about it?/why do you like it?

Do you enjoy western food/cuisine? At home or outside? With friends/alone?
Which do you prefer, Chinese food or western food? Why?
How do you celebrate … (the Spring Festival, Mid-autumn Day,etc) in your hometown?
Would you celebrate traditional festivals when you were abroad? How would you celebrate it?
If you had been aboard for several years, would you prefer to celebrate Christmas Day or the Spring Festival?/Which would you love more, Christmas Day or the Spring Festival? Why?

Future plans and hypothetical contexts

What will you do after graduation? To work or to further your study? /Where do you like to work? In a company/school? Why?
Where would you like to further your study if you had the choice? Why?
Which international language would you like to promote if you were an important leader in the world? Why?

Languages

What do you think will happen as English exam is due to be cancelled in 2 years? Do people still have passion to learn English? Why or why not?/What do you think of the new language policy?
If you were given the chance, would you still continue learning English?
Do you speak other foreign languages? What are they? Do you enjoy learning foreign languages?
Why do you learn Japanese/Korean/French, etc?
Which foreign language will you want your child to learn if you have a child?
What do you think is the most important in language learning?
What factors might attract you to learn a new language?
Do you think that the proficiency of Putonghua has impact on the proficiency of English?/Is there a relationship between the level of Putonghua and the level of English? Why do you think so?

Appendix II Questionnaire for Attitudes towards English

Please read through the following sentences. Do you agree with the following statements? Please circle the number you agree with. 0 indicates that you strongly disagree, 1 indicates that you disagree, 2 indicates that you are indifferent, 3 indicates that you agree, and 4 indicates that you strongly agree.

1. English is now the most important international language.	0-1-2-3-4
2. Another international language can replace the role of English in the near future.	0-1-2-3-4
3. It is less important for foreigners to use Chinese correctly than for Chinese to speak English fluently in China.	0-1-2-3-4
4. English proficiency of Chinese people is satisfactory.	0-1-2-3-4
5. I study English because it is required for graduation.	0-1-2-3-4
6. High English proficiency does not make a big difference to job hunting in China.	0-1-2-3-4
7. 1 envy those who can pronounce English like an American or a British person.	0-1-2-3-4
8. When I speak English, I want other people to know that I am a Chinese.	0-1-2-3-4
9. Indian English or Singaporean English is as beautiful as British English or American English.	0-1-2-3-4
10. English used in China is the same as English used in other countries.	0-1-2-3-4
11. English in China has its own distinctive features in pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, and styles.	0-1-2-3-4
12. Established distinctive features of Chinese English should be acceptable to both Chinese and foreigners.	0-1-2-3-4
13. Well-defined distinctive features of so called Chinese English can be taught in schools.	0-1-2-3-4
14. I am less willing to speak English with people from countries like India, Singapore, South Africa, Germany, Thailand, South Korea than those from certain countries like the UK and the USA.	0-1-2-3-4
15. English teachers from certain countries such as the UK and the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand are preferred to those from other countries such as India, Singapore, South Africa.	0-1-2-3-4
16. Only Standard British English should be taught in schools.	0-1-2-3-4
17. American English is not so welcome as British English in schools.	0-1-2-3-4
18. I have no preference for British English or American English.	0-1-2-3-4
19. Standard English is ‘good’ or ‘proper’ English, which is ‘correct’ in pronunciation, grammar, and meaning.	0-1-2-3-4
20. Standard English is easier to understand than other varieties (for example, the English spoken by Singaporeans or Japanese, etc.)	0-1-2-3-4
21. As long as it is understood, ‘our English’ is acceptable even though it is different from Standard English.	0-1-2-3-4
22. Only native English speakers in certain countries such as the UK, the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand can speak Standard English.	0-1-2-3-4

23.Standard English only includes standard British English and American English.	0-1-2-3-4
24. English taught in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand does not belong to standard English.	0-1-2-3-4
25. English used in Canada, Australia and New Zealand is the same as that in the UK and the USA.	0-1-2-3-4
26. There are a lot of opportunities to speak English in China outside the classroom.	0-1-2-3-4
27. It is necessary to be exposed to other varieties of English apart from British English and American English in schools.	0-1-2-3-4
28. Local English teachers are as good as foreign English teachers.	0-1-2-3-4
29. English can be only taught in China by foreign teachers from certain countries such as the UK and the USA.	0-1-2-3-4
30. American English is more useful in modern society.	0-1-2-3-4
31. Any deviation from Standard English is unacceptable in language teaching.	0-1-2-3-4
32. English is not the best foreign language for Chinese to learn.	0-1-2-3-4
33.Differences from Standard English can be acceptable in communications to some extent.	0-1-2-3-4
34.Other kinds of English are as important as Standard British English or American English.	0-1-2-3-4

(Thank you very much for your participation!)

Appendix IV Supplementary questionnaire

age		major		
sex	male		female	
nationality		ethnic group		
occupation	freshman	sophomore	junior	senior
What languages do you speak?				
Years of instruction in English				
Hours of instruction per week				
Time spent abroad				
Residence when abroad				
Use of English today				
occasions	Education			
	Work			
	Friends			
	Family			
	Phone			
	Email			
	Miscellaneous			
Please rate your language proficiency				
	beginner level	intermediate	advanced	near native
Oral proficiency				
Written proficiency				
Reading comprehension				
Listening comprehension				
Where did you go to primary school	town	government	village	private
What was your high school	ordinary school	key school	foreign languages school	
Do you like the English language?	Very much			
	Much			
	Indifferent			
	Not that much			
	Not at all			
Do your parents speak English?	Very good			
	Good			
	Average			
	Not so good			
	Not at all			
Do you think it is important for Chinese to know some English?	Very important			
	Important			
	Indifferent			
	Not so important			
	Not at all important			

Thank you very much for your participation!

Appendix V A list of mark-ups

category	Mark-up	Example	Remark
Phonology			
substitution of a phoneme	the specific phoneme with bold formatting [the replaced one]	th**e**[ə] air (wolf passage)	
omission of a phoneme or a string of phonemes	the phoneme with bold formatting[Ø]	jus**t**[Ø] escaped (wolf passage)	The letter with bold formatting is used to indicate that only the phoneme /t/ is omitted
insertion of a phoneme or a string of phonemes	[the inserted phoneme]	(00:14:01) One hot afternoo[ə]n, …(wolf passage)	
uncertain substitution of a phoneme	the specific phoneme with bold formatting[the replaced one?]	c**ou**[ɑ:?]**s**[s]in**s**[s] (wolf passage)	
stress shift	'	'concern (wolf passage)	
change of a word	original word <changed word>	cried <carry>	
Morpho-syntax			
a specific feature	a specific term with or without underlined part (See Appendix VI in detail)	(00:00:49) And when I was ten years old, <r>I because the<//r> en <u>because</u> <u>my father and mother</u><LD> <u>they</u> changed their job, … (CS132, WU)	The term LD, left dislocation, is used to indicate the feature that the underlined part belongs to
lacking a constituent	<Ø -S/O/etc>	(00:09:50) Together? First en <Ø -S> <r>have mea-</r> have meals. (CS132, WU)	The symbol is used to indicate there is no subject in the sentence.
Lexico-semantics			

a special word or phrase	the word or phrase is italicized	(00:26:43) and and play *majiang* together in the night. (CS035, WUST)	
General			
text unit markers	<#>	<#WS001> <#CS001>	Wolf passage Interview
speaker IDs	<$>	<$I> <$S>	Interviewer Student
Content			
pauses	<,> and <,,>	(00:30:28) Oh, first the biggest is <,,></,,> (00:30:37) the environment around you, (CS132)	Three seconds is used a dividing line between a short pause and a long pause.
abbreviations, numerals and dates	In letters	(00:38:15) Then they have to er fight for the IELTS, TOFEL, something like that. (CS031 F)	
unfinished word	XX-	(00:08:34) <r>They i-<//r> they think <r>it's er it's good</r> it's good for us en (CS117 F)	
foreign words	<foreign> </foreign>	(00:41:33) En eh. Firm <Chinese>不是</Chinese> company <Chinese>吗</Chinese>? (CS117 F)	The specific foreign language (compared to English) is specified.
words hard to transcribe	XXX	(00:03:37) Yeah. XXX to be. (CS007)	It is used when it's hard to hear or transcribe
uncertain transcription	<?> </?>	(00:20:50) We <u>have</u> to prepare for <r>the</r> the shows, er so-some say <?>counts</?> (CS031 F)	
Non-corpus material			
extra-corpus text quotations	<X> </X> and <quote> </quote>	$S: (00:27:11) En maybe. Er <r>the olds<//r> such as <Ø - article> old single<=saying> goes, <quote>do as the Romans do when in Rome</quote>. (CS012 F)	
untranscribed text	<O> </O>	(00:26:55) But I guess yeah I'm sorry. <O>telephone answering<O> (CS031 F)	
Normalizing the text			

repetitions and corrections	<r></r> <r><//r>	1. (00:09:50) Together? First en <Ø -S> <r>have mea-</r> have meals. (CS132, WU) 2. (00:00:49) And when I was ten years old, <r>I because the<//r> en because my father and mother<LD> they changed their job, … (CS132, WU)	1. Mere repetition of words without any change including unfinished words 2. Change of words
changed name or word	<@>...</@>	(00:14:28) en with a with a <@>A Chinese name<@> you know. (CS117 F)	
Meta-data			
reading data and file number	WD-WS001	data of the reading passage (the *wolf* passage), file number 001	
interview data and file number	ID-CS001	interview data, file number 001	
place of recording	WU WUST	Wuhan University Wuhan University of Science and Technology	

Appendix VI A list of mark-ups for morpho-syntactic features

No.	Feature	Code
1	No gender distinction in third person singular	Pron -NGD
2	Singular *it* for plural t*hey* in anaphoric use	PronSGit
3	Pronoun drop: referential pronouns	Ø -S Ø -O
4	Additional or optional plural marking	NP -OPL, NP -APL
5	Omission or addition of articles	NP -Aa, NP -Athe
6	Closed-class quantifiers with count nouns	NP -CQC
7	Different comparative marking strategies	NPthan
8	Present perfect for StE simple past	TS -sp
9	Habitual *will*	TSwill
10	*Will*/*would* in *if*-clause in direct conditions	VM -would VM -will
11	Present tense forms of modals used where StE has past tense forms	VMmodal
12	Regularization of irregular verb paradigms	RIV
13	Zero past tense/past participle forms of regular verbs and irregular verbs	VMreV VMirreV
14	Invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense	NegDo
15	Invariant non-concord tags	Tag
16	Agreement with existential *there*	VAthere
17	*Was/were* generalization	VAwas
18	Levelling of *is* for present tense forms of *be*	VAis
19	Agreement with *have*	VAhas
20	-*s* suffix on verbs occurring with third person plural noun phrase subjects	VA -As
21	Absence of -*s* suffix on third-person singular forms	VA -s
22	Deletion of the verb *be*	Ø -be
23	Use of *have* clauses instead of existential clauses	has<V>
24	Gapping/zero-relativization in subject position	Ø -that Ø -who
25	Deletion of stranded prepositions in relative clauses	Ø -Prep
26	Additional or optional *to* in infinitives	Infi -Ato Ø -to
27	Conjunction doubling	ConjD
28	Omission of StE prepositions	Ø -Prep
29	Left dislocation	LD
30	Fronting	Fronting
31	Double nominative construction	DNC
32	Inverted word order in subordinate clauses	ISC

Appendix VII A sample transcript of the reading passage WS012 F

The Boy who Cried Wolf

There was once a poor shepherd boy who us[z]ed[d] to watch his flocks in the<these> fiel**d**[Ø]s nex**t**[Ø] to a dark forest near the foot of a mountain. One hot afternoon, he thought up a good plan to get some company for himself and also have a little fun. Raising his fist in the air, he ran down to the village shouting “Wo**l**[Ø]f, Wo**l**[Ø]f”. As soon as they heard 'him, the villagers all rushed from their home**s**[s], full of c**o**[ɔ]ncern for his safety, and two of his cousin**s**[s] even stayed with him for a short while. This gave the boy so much pleasure th**a**[æ]t a few day**s**[s] later he tried exa**c**[Ø]tly the same trick again, and once more he was successful. However, not long after, a wo**l**[Ø]f tha[æ]t ha[æ]d just escaped from the zoo was looking for </a chan-> a change from its usual diet of chicken and d**u**[a:r]ck. So, overcoming its fear of being shot, it actually did come out from<of> the forest and began to thr**ea**[eɪ]ten the sheep. Racing down to the village, the boy of course cried out even louder than before. Unfortunately, as all the villager**s**[s] were c**o**[ɔ]nvinced tha[æ]t he was trying to fool them a third time, they told him, "Go away and don’t bother us again." And so the wo**l**[Ø]f had a feast.

Appendix VIII A sample transcript of the interview CS012 F

…

I: (00:01:04) Yeah. What are some changes in your hometown since you were born? Such as the environment and people's lifestyle.

S: (00:01:14) Oh, er en er with the development of the economics, (00:01:26) er er in the past, <r>their<//r> the house<NP -OPL> are<VMirreV> very er <Chinese>非常矮</Chinese><very low> (very low?) er yeah. (00:01:39) <r>And</r> and now there are a lot of tall buildings <r>in</r> in the city. (00:01:53) And <r>people</r> people tend to live a much better life. (00:02:00) And there are a lot of er large supermarket<NP -OPL>. (00:02:06) And the transport is very convenient. (00:02:13) Er in a word, the living standards<NP -APL> <r>has</r> has improved.

I: (00:02:24) En eh. So what did people usually do in the past? And what do they usually do nowadays?

S: (00:02:30) En maybe <r>in the past they would<//r> er in the past I think most of peoples in the village are<VMirreV> farmers, (00:02:40) they would<TSwill> cultivate some <r>some</r> some (crops?) yeah, such as . (00:02:50) En now en more people<LD> they live in the city in the town. (00:02:56) So they would<TSwill> go to such as cinema, (00:03:01) and go to <r>the the</r> the shopping hall. (00:03:07) <r>And</r> and now <r>the<//r> in a countryside en farmers are not <Chinese>怎么说</Chinese><how to say [it]> (not so many as before?) <r>they they have more</r> they have more creative <Chinese>什么</Chinese> they have more XXX <Chinese>休闲的</Chinese><casual> (they have more) more free time (they have freer time to do what they like to do) (00:03:42) yeah, maybe <r>they<//r> er like my grandparents, they would<TSwill> watch TV or something like that.

…

Appendix IX Division of southern and northern China

(Note: The red line refers to the Huai River-Qin Mountains Line.)

(The photo was downloaded from https://image.baidu.com/search/detail?ct=503316480&z=0&ipn=d&word=%E5%8D%97%E6%96%B9%E5%8C%97%E6%96%B9%E5%88%86%E7%95%8C%E7%BA%BF%E5%9C%B0%E5%9B%BE&hs=2&pn=2&spn=0&di=131949989930&pi=0&rn=1&tn=baiduimagedetail&is=0%2C0&ie=utf-8&oe=utf-8&cl=2&lm=-1&cs=2274864972%2C2069694346&os=2820800289%2C2133911490&simid=3393392959%2C313269162&adpicid=0&lpn=0&ln=30&fr=ala&fm=&sme=&cg=&bdtype=0&oriquery=%E5%8D%97%E6%96%B9%E5%8C%97%E6%96%B9%E5%88%86%E7%95%8C%E7%BA%BF%E5%9C%B0%E5%9B%BE&objurl=http%3A%2F%2Fimgsrc.baidu.com%2Fforum%2Fw%3D580%2Fsign%3D2cf0bed3d71373f0f53f6f97940e4b8b%2Fff854d09c93d70cfc6748ca5fedcd100b8a12bc3.jpg&fromurl=ippr_z2C%24qAzdH3FAzdH3Fptjkwv_z%26e3Bkwt17_z%26e3Bv54AzdH3FrAzdH3F9abcn800m9%3Ffjj_sz%3D8&gsm=0&islist=&querylist=)

Table 4.1 Comprehensive information of 46 English speakers

No.	student No.	hometown	age	sex	ethnic group	grade	discipline	years of learning English	hours of instruction	time spent abroad	residence when abroad	primary school	high school
1	004	Jingmeng, Hubei	20	m	Han	3	S	10	5	0	0	TG	KS
2	005	Baoding, Hebei	24	f	Han	4	S	10	10	0	0	VG	KS
3	007	Xiantao, Hubei	22	m	Han	4	S	12	10	0	0	T	OS
4	008	Ji'an, Jiangxi	22	m	Han	4	S	10	10	0	0	VG	KS
5	010	Xiangyang, Hubei	19	m	Han	4	S	AB	AB	0	0	G	KS
6	011	Xiaogan, Hubei	AB	m	AB	4	S	AB	AB	0	0	V	KS
7	012	Xianning, Hubei	19	f	Han	4	S	8	3	0	0	VG	OS
8	013	Jincheng, Shanxi	23	m	Han	4	S	10	14	0	0	VG	KS
9	014	Baishan, Jilin	22	f	Han	4	S?	14	2	0	0	VG	KS
10	015	Macheng, Hubei	21	m	Han	3	S	9	8	0	0	T	OS
11	016	Huangpi, Wuhan, Hubei	20	m	AB	3	S	8	14	0	0	G	KS
12	019	Huanggang, Hubei	21	m	Han	3	S	8	7	0	0	VG	OS
13	021	Qiqiha'er, Heilongjiang	21	m	Han	3	S	9	14	0	0	VG	OS
14	022	Xiangyang, Hubei	22	m	Han	4	S	9	25	0	0	VG	OS
15	023	Huanggang, Hubei	20	f	AB	3	S	6	0	0	0	G	KS

16	027	Huanggang, Hubei	22	m	AB	4	S	11	21	0	0	VG	KS
17	028	Ya'an, Sichuan	20	f	Han	3	S	8	3	0	0	TG	KS
18	031	Guigang, Guangxi	22	f	Han	4	A	10	AB	0	0	TG	KS
19	035	Shuizhou, Hubei	22	m	Han	4	A	10	14	0	0	TG	KS
20	041	Yichun, Jiangxi	21	f	Han	4	A	10	7	0	0	TG	KS
21	042	AB	20	m	Han	2	S?	8	8	0	0	TG	KS
22	043	Yichang, Hubei	18	m	Han	1	AB	12	7	0	0	TG	KS
23	047	Jingmen, Hubei	19	f	Han	1	A	10	10	0	0	TG	KS
24	048	Hong'an, Hubei	20	m	AB	2	S	7	3	0	0	VG	KS
25	053	Jinmen, Hubei	20	m	Han	2	S	8	9	0	0	TG	KS
26	081	Yichang, Hubei	20	f	Han	2	A	7	3	0	0	TG	KS
27	085	Hefei, Anhui	18	f	Han	1	A	12	10	0	0	TG	KS
28	091	Xianning, Hubei	22	m	Han	2	S	9	10	0	0	VG	OS
29	093	Wuhan, Hubei	20	m	Han	AB	A	10	3	0	0	TG	KS
30	094	Shanghai	21	f	Han	3	S	11	10	0	0	TG	KS
31	096	Wuhan, Hubei	18	f	Han	1	A	6	5	0	0	TG	KS
32	098	Tongling, Anhui	17	m	Han	2	S	9	5	0	0	TG	KS
33	103	Jinggang, Jiangxi	19	f	Han	1	A	10	14	0	0	TG	KS
34	105	Wuhan, Hubei	18	f	Han	1	A	13	7	0	0	TG	KS
35	107	Huangshi, Hubei	18	f	Han	1	A	10	4 or 2.5	0	0	TG	KS
36	108	Kunming, Yunnan	19	f	Han	1	A	12	9 to 10	0	0	TG	KS

37	113	Guangzhou, Guangdong	19	f	AB	2	A	10	30	0	0	TG	KS
38	114	Jinhua, Zhejiang	17	f	Han	1	A	10	3	0	0	VG	KS
39	116	Shaoyang, Hunan	17	f	Miao	1	A	9	6	AB	0	TG	OS
40	117	Dongfang, Hainan	18	f	Han	2	A	7	14	0	0	TG	KS
41	120	Shanghai	17	m	Han	1	A	12	6	0	0	TP	KS
42	125	Dongsheng, Inner Mongolia	18	f	AB	1	A	10	5	0	0	TG	OS
43	126	Hanchuang, Hubei	20	m	Han	2	A	7	2	0	0	TG	KS
44	127	Chongqing	17	f	Tujia	1	S	7	5	0	0	VG	KS
45	131	Jiujinag, Jiangxi	20	f	AB	3	A	10	3	0	0	G	KS
46	132	Luzhou, Sichuan	18	f	AB	1	A	10	5	0	0	TG	KS
		23(Hubei)		22(m)	35(Han)							25 (TG)	37(KS)
		1(Hunan)		24(f)	9(AB)							13(VG)	9 (OS)
		1(Hainan)			1(Miao)							2(T)	
		2(Sichuan)			1(Tujia)							4(G)	
		1(Chongqing)										1(V)	
		1(Guangdong)										1(TP)	
		1(Yunnan)											
		1(Guangxi)											
		4(Jiangxi)											
		2(Anhui)											
		2(Shanghai)											

		1(Zhejiang)											
		1(Heilongjiang)											
		1(Jilin)											
		1(Shanxi)											
		1(Inner Mongolia)											
		1(Hebei)											

(N=number, m=male, f=female, AB=absent, S= science, A=arts, PS=primary school, TG=town government, VG=village government, TP= town private, T=town, V=village, G=government, HS=high school, KS=key school, OS=ordinary school)

Table 4.2 Linguistic background of 96 non-English majors

No.	student no.	language	use of English	speaking	writing	reading	listening	like	parents' oral English proficiency	importance of English for Chinese
1	001	Chinese, English	O1	2	2	2	2	2	1	3
2	002	Chinese	AB	2	2	3	2	4	1	4
3	003	Chinese	O1	2	2	2	2	4	1	4
4	004	Chinese	O1	1	2	2	2	3	1	4
5	005	Chinese	O1	1	2	2	1	4	1	5
6	006	Chinese, English	O1	2	2	2	2	3	1	4
7	007	Chinese	O1	1	1	2	1	4	1	4
8	008	English	O1, O6	2	2	2	2	2	1	4
9	009	Chinese, English, Japanese	O1, O2, O3, O6, O7	2	2	2	2	2	2	5
10	010	Chinese, English	AB	1	2	2	1	4	1	4
11	011	Chinese	AB	2	2	2	1	5	1	5
12	012	Chinese	O1, O6	2	2	3	1	4	1	5
13	013	Chinese, English	O1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2
14	014	Chinese	O1	1	2	2	1	4	1	5
15	015	Chinese	O1	1	2	3	2	4	1	4
16	016	Chinese	O1	2	2	3	3	4	1	5
17	017	Chinese	O1	1	1	2	1	1	1	4
18	018	Chinese	O1	1	2	2	2	4	1	4
19	019	Chinese, English	O1	2	2	2	2	4	1	5
20	020	Chinese	O1	1	1	2	2	4	1	4
21	021	Chinese	O1, O6	1	2	2	2	4	1	5

22	022	Chinese, English	O1	1	2	2	1	2	1	4
23	023	Chinese	AB	2	2	3	2	4	1	4
24	025	Chinese	O1	2	2	3	2	4	1	5
25	026	Chinese	AB	2	2	2	2	4	1	5
26	027	Chinese	O1	1	1	2	1	4	2	5
27	028	Chinese	O1	2	1	2	2	4	1	4
28	029	Chinese	O1	2	2	2	2	4	1	5
29	032	Chinese	O1, O3, O6	1	1	1	1	4	1	5
30	033	Chinese, English	O1	2	2	2	1	2	1	4
31	035	Chinese	AB	1	1	1	1	2	1	1
32	036	Chinese, English	O1	1	1	1	1	3	1	4
33	037	Chinese, English	O1	1	1	2	2	4	2	4
34	038	Chinese, English, Deutsch	O1	1	1	1	1	2	1	5
35	039	Chinese	O1	1	2	2	1	2	1	2
36	040	Chinese	O1	1	1	1	1	4	1	4
37	043	Chinese, English	O1	1	1	2	1	4	1	5
38	044	Chinese	O1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4
39	047	Chinese	O1, O3, O6	4	1	3	2	4	2	5
40	048	Chinese, English	O1, O3, O6	3	2	3	2	5	1	5
41	049	Chinese, English	O1, O3	2	3	2	2	4	1	5
42	051	Chinese	O1	1	1	1	1	2	1	4
43	053	Chinese, English	O1, O3, O6	1	1	1	1	5	1	5
44	081	Chinese	O1, O3, O5, O6	2	2	2	2	5	1	5
45	083	Chinese, English	O1	1	1	1	1	4	1	5

46	084	Chinese	O1, O6	1	2	2	2	5	1	5
47	085	Chinese, English	O1, O6	3	3	3	2	5	3	4
48	087	Chinese	O1	1	1	2	1	4	1	4
49	089	Chinese, English	O1, O3	1	2	2	2	5	1	4
50	090	Chinese	O1	1	2	2	1	3	1	5
51	091	Chinese	O1, O2, O3, O7	1	2	2	1	3	1	4
52	092	Chinese	O3, O5, O7	1	1	1	1	5	1	5
53	093	Chinese	O1	1	1	1	2	4	2	4
54	030	Chinese	O1, O3, O5, O6	2	2	2	2	4	3	4
55	031	Chinese	O1, O6	2	3	3	3	5	1	5
56	041	Chinese, English	O1, O6	2	2	3	3	4	1	5
57	042	Chinese, English	O1	1	1	2	1	3	1	4
58	045	Chinese	AB	1	1	1	1	3	1	4
59	046	Chinese, English	O1, O2	2	2	3	2	5	4	5
60	057	Chinese	O1, O3, O6	1	2	2	1	3	2	5
61	094	Chinese	O1, O6	2	2	3	2	1	3	5
62	095	Chinese, English	O1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3
63	096	Chinese	O1, O2	2	2	2	2	4	1	4
64	098	Chinese, English	O1, O3, O4, O5, O6, O7	2	2	3	2	4	1	5
65	099	Chinese, English	O1	1	2	1	2	4	1	4
66	100	Chinese	O2, O6	1	1	2	2	5	1	5
67	101	Chinese	O1, O3	1	1	2	1	4	1	2
68	102	Hui, Chinese, English	O1, O2, O3, O4	1	2	2	2	4	1	5
69	103	Chinese	O1, O6	2	2	3	3	4	1	5

70	104	Chinese	O1	2	2	2	2	3	1	4
71	105	Chinese	O1, O2, O3, O5, O6	2	2	3	3	5	3	4
72	106	Chinese, English	O1, O6	1	1	1	1	3	1	4
73	107	Chinese	O1	1	2	2	1	3	1	4
74	108	Chinese, English	O1, O3	2	2	3	3	4	1	5
75	109	Chinese, English	O1, O6, O7	2	3	3	2	3	1	4
76	110	Chinese, English	O1, O6, O7	2	2	2	2	4	1	4
77	111	Chinese	O1, O6	1	1	1	1	1	1	5
78	112	Chinese, English	O1	1	1	1	1	3	1	3
79	113	Chinese, English, Cantonese	O1, O3, O6	3	3	3	3	5	1	4
80	114	Chinese, English	O1, O6	1	1	1	1	2	1	4
81	115	Chinese, English	O1	2	2	2	2	4	2	5
82	116	Chinese	O1, O3	2	2	2	2	4	1	5
83	117	Chinese, English	O1, O3, O5, O6	2	2	2	2	5	1	5
84	119	Chinese	O1, O5, O6	1	2	2	2	4	1	5
85	120	Chinese, English	O1, O4, O6	2	2	2	2	3	1	4
86	121	Chinese, English	O1	1	2	2	2	2	1	2
87	122	Chinese, English	O1	1	2	3	1	4	1	5
88	123	Chinese, English, French	O1, O6	1	2	2	2	4	3	4
89	125	Chinese, English	O1	1	2	2	2	4	1	4

90	126	Chinese	O1, O6	1	3	2	1	3	1	4
91	127	Chinese, English	O1, O2, O5, O6	2	2	2	2	5	2	5
92	128	Chinese	O1	1	1	1	1	5	1	5
93	129	Chinese	O1, O6, O7	1	2	3	1	5	2	5
94	130	Chinese	O1	1	2	2	1	4	1	4
95	131	Chinese	O7	1	1	3	2	5	2	5
96	132	Chinese, English	O1	2	2	2	1	5	1	5
		95 (Chinese)	0.895833333 (O1)(86*)	0.572916667 (“1”)	0.322916667 (“1”)	0.197916667 (“1”)	0.4375 (“1”)	0.041667 (“1”)	0.833333333 (“1”)	0.010416667 (“1”)
		42 (English)	0.083333333 (O2)(8)	0.385416667 (“2”)	0.614583333 (“2”)	0.572916667 (“2”)	0.489583333 (“2”)	0.125 (“2”)	0.104166667 (“2”)	0.041666667 (“2”)
			0.208333333 (O3)(20)	0.03125 (“3”)	0.0625 (“3”)	0.229166667 (“3”)	0.072916667 (“3”)	0.166667 (“3”)	0.052083333 (“3”)	0.03125 (“3”)
			0.03125 (O4)(3)	0.010416667 (“4”)	0 (“4”)	0 (“4”)	0 (“4”)	0.46875 (“4”)	0.010416667 (“4”)	0.447916667 (“4”)
			0.083333333 (O5)(8)	0 (“5”)	0 (“5”)	0 (“5”)	0 (“5”)	0.19791 7 (“5”)	0 (“5”)	0.46875 (“5”)
			0.34375 (O6)(33)							
			0.083333333 (O7)(8)	1.479166667 (M)	1.739583333	2.03125	1.635416667	3.65625	1.239583333	4.322916667
			0.072916667 (AB)(7)							
				1(Mdn)	2	2	2	4	1	4
				0.615230666 (SD)	0.566518298	0.656195173	0.617632009	1.06453	0.593735572	0.814277745

(O1=Education , O2=Work , O3=Friends, O4=Family, O5=Phone, O6=Email, O7=Miscellaneous, AB=absent, M=mean, Mdn=median, SD=standard deviation, 86* refers to the absolute frequency of “O1”)

Table 5.1 A summary of phonological features in the WD

No.	Feature	rating	frequency of the feature	percentage of the feature	Number of the speakers
1	Absence of reduced vowels	A	1217/1288	94.5%	46
2	/ʌ/ pronounced as [ɑ:]	B	40/92	43.5%	31
3	/ɪ/ pronounced as [i:], [ɜ:], [eɪ], [aɪ]	C	53/230	23.0%	24
4	/i:/ pronounced as [ɪ], [e]	C	24/138	17.4%	20
5	/ʊ/ pronounced as [u:]	C	7/46	15.2%	7
6	/u:/ pronounced as [ʊ]	C	10/46	21.7%	10
7	/e/ pronounced as [eɪ], [i:]	C	28/92	30.4%	26
8	Insertion of schwa before /n/	C	4/46	8.7%	4
9	Monophthongization	C	21/184	11.4%	17
10	Omission of final /n/	C	6/46	13.0%	6
11	Consonant cluster reduction	A	162/322	50.3%	46
12	Voicing	C	16/92	17.3%	15
13	Devoicing	C	3/46	6.5%	3
14	Replacement of the post-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ by [ʃ], [dʒ]	B	31/92	33.7%	23
15	Replacement of the voiceless dental fricative /ɵ/ by [s]	C	35/138	25.4%	25
16	Replacement of the voiced dental fricative /ð/ by [d]	C	28/828	3.4%	8
17	Replacement of the bilabial nasal /m/ by [n]	C	9/46	19.6%	9
18	Replacement of the velar nasal /ŋ/ by [n]	C	3/46	6.5%	3
19	Stressed pronouns	B	44/138	31.9%	28
20	Stress shift	C	21/138	15.2%	15

Table 5.2 A summary of morpho-syntactic features

No.	Feature	absolute frequency	number of the speakers
1	No gender distinction in third person singular	25	13
	no gender distinction in subject position	22	12
	no gender distinction in object position	3	3
2	Singular *it* for plural t*hey* in anaphoric use	63	27
	singular *it* for plural *they* in subject position	30	17
	singular *it* for plural *they* in object position	33	19
3	Pronoun drop: referential pronouns	284	30
	subject drop	164	42
	object drop	120	33
4	Additional or optional plural marking	938	46
	additional plural marking	240	41
	optional plural marking	697	46
5	Omission or addition of articles	677	46
	omission of *a*/*an*	173	44
	omission of *the*	207	46
	addition of *a*/*an*	31	25
	addition of *the*	266	40
6	Closed-class quantifiers with count nouns	72	33
	many with uncount nouns	29	18
	much with count nouns	33	21
	little with count nouns	10	9
7	Different comparative marking strategies	61	30
	more+monosyllabic adj(inc. good)	19	12
	adj+(than)	23	16
	comparative+than	18	13
8	present perfect for StE simple past	15	10
9	Habitual *will*/*would*	302	39
10	*Will*/*would* in *if*-clause in direct conditions	36	17
	will in *if*-clause in direct conditions	30	14
	would in *if*-clause in direct conditions	6	4
11	Present tense forms of modals used where StE has past tense forms	138	37
12	regularization of irregular verb paradigms	21	13
13	Zero past tense/past participle forms of regular verbs and irregular verbs	1012	46
	zero past tense/participle forms of regular verbs	340	46
	zero past tense/participle forms of irregular verbs	672	44
14	Invariant *don't* for all persons in the present tense	17	14
15	Invariant non-concord tags	13	7
16	Agreement with existential *there*	44	21

	singular subject with *there*+plural verb	12	8
	plural subject with *there*+singular verb	32	17
17	*Was/were* generalization (plural subject with *was*)	7	6
18	Levelling of *is* for present tense forms of *be*	81	34
19	Agreement with *have*	61	30
	singular subject followed by *have*	48	24
	plural subject followed by *has*	13	11
20	*-s* suffix on verbs occurring with third person plural noun phrase subjects	26	15
21	*-s* absence on third-person singular forms	201	45
22	Deletion of the verb *be*	132	43
	auxiliary *be*: before progressive	9	6
	auxiliary *be*: before passive	15	12
	copula *be*: before NPs	15	14
	copula *be*: before AdjPs	65	33
	copula *be*: before PPs	19	16
	copula *be*: before others	9	8
23	Use of *have* clauses instead of existential clauses	31	22
	has instead of existential clauses	20	14
	have instead of existential clauses	11	10
24	Gapping/zero-relativization in subject position	30	22
	gapping (NP1+VP1+VP2)	5	5
	gapping (NP1+VP1+NP1+VP2)	25	22
25	Deletion of stranded prepositions in relative clauses (“preposition chopping”)	10	7
26	Additional or optional *to* in infinitives	40	23
	additional *to* in infinitives	13	8
	optional *to* in infinitives	27	18
27	Conjunction doubling	95	35
	because…so	72	26
	though/although…but	23	15
28	Omission of StE prepositions	98	41
29	Left dislocation	107	33
	left dislocation in subject position	91	33
	left dislocation in object position	16	12
30	Fronting	42	23
	object fronting	19	15
	adverbials in contrast fronting	22	14
31	Double nominative construction	11	11
	double subject construction	5	5
	double object construction	6	6
32	Inverted word order in subordinate clauses	10	7

Table 5.3 A summary of lexico-semantic features

No.	word/ phrase	Meaning	Semantic domain	category
1	majiang/mahjong	a kind of entertainment in China, usually for four people	entertainment	Borrowing
2	ping pong	table tennis	sport	
3	Gaokao	National College Entrance Examination in China	education	
4	Putonghua	Mandarin	language	
5	Pinyin/ Hanyupinyin	An official romanization system for Standard Chinese in mainland China, Singapore and Taiwan	language	
6	Jiaozi	a kind of Chinese dumpling	food	
7	Tofu	Bean curd	food	
8	Kungfu	a primarily unarmed martial art resembling karate	culture	
9	Chunwan/ Chunjie lianhuanwanhui(?)	the Spring Festival Gala or CCTV New Year's Gala -- A special program produced by China Central Television and shown on the Eve of the Spring Festival	entertainment	
10	Chihuo (?)	Foodie	people	
11	-hua	Dialect	language	
12	mahua (?)	Fried Dough Twist - a kind of Chinese snack, a Chinese dough twist that is fried in peanut oil	food	
13	Taiyu (?)	Tailish	language	
14	nihao(?)	Hello	language	
15	bainian(?)	visiting family and friends during the Spring Festival	culture	
16	nianhua(?)	a New Year Picture, a popular Banhua in China, for decoration during the Chinese New Year Holiday	culture	

17	chunlian(?)	The spring couplet, a special type of couplet used as a New Year's decoration	culture	
18	duilian(?)	A pair of lines which adhere to certain rules	culture	
19	nianyefan (?)	A reunion dinner which is held on New Year's Eve of the Chinese New Year	culture	
20	Chuancai (?)	Sichuan cuisine, a style of Chinese cuisine originating from Sichuan province	food	
21	E-cai (?)	Hubei cuisine or E-cuisine, the native cooking styles of Hubei province	food	
22	shuizhuyu pian(?) (shuizhuroupian)	A dish of Sichuan cuisine, water-cooked fish slices	food	
23	qingjiaochaorousi(?) (jingjiangrousi)	Cooked shredded pork with pepper	food	
24	yumian (?)	fish-noodle in Chinese	food	
25	Wuda(?)	Short term of Wuhan University in Chinese	education	
26	Weibo (?)	Chinese Twitter, microblog	technology/ entertainment	
27	bianzhong (?)	An ancient Chinese musical instrument consisting of a set of bronze bells	culture	
28	dazaimen(?)	The Grand Mansion Gate - a Chinese TV series	entertainment	
29	wenquan (?)	Spring	the natural world	
30	the Spring Festival	Chinese New Year, celebrated at the turn of the traditional lunisolar Chinese calendar	culture	Loan translation
31	lucky money	A monetary gift given on special days such as the Spring Festival	culture	
32	Confucius Institute	a non-profit public educational organization	education	
33	moon	Typical backery product eaten on the Mid-	food	

	cakes	autumn Festival in China, usually made in the shape of full moon, symbolizing union.		
34	hot pot	steamboat, a kind of stew in East Asian countries, consisting of a simmering metal pot of stock at the center of the dining table	food	
35	Kongfuzi schools (?)	Confucius Institute	education	
36	fish noodles	a noodle made from fish and starch	food	
37	home teacher(?)	governess or private teacher	human being and society	
38	classic people (?)	proletariat	human being and society	
39	Guangdonger(?)	local people in Guangdong province	human being and society	
40	the Chibi War (?)	Battle of Chibi or Battle of Red cliffs (208/9 AD), 12 years prior to the period of the Three Kingdoms	human being and society	
41	Beef	Steak	food	Semantic change
42	Remember	Memorize	action	