Thai English: An Emerging Variety of World Englishes
Trakulkasemsuk, W.
Louw, E.-L. and Hashim, A. (eds.) English in
Southeast Asia: Features, Policy and Language in Use.
xiv. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 2012. pp. 101 – 111.

The definitive version of this article was published as
Trakulkasemsuk, W. (2012) In Louw, E.-L. and Hashim, A.
(eds.) Thai English, English in Southeast Asia: Features,
Policy and Language in Use. xiv. Amsterdam: John
Benjamins. pp. 101 - 111.

Chapter Six

Thai English: An Emerging Variety of World Englishes

Wannapa Trakulkasemsuk

Abstract

As English nowadays undoubtedly gains a status as a common international language, people around the world use it, learn it, or at least recognize its influence. Even in Thailand, a country where it has its strong national language, English is used widely in a certain range and depth. Mostly, nativisation and new varieties of English are discussed within the contexts of those countries in the outer circle. To expand the view, this paper aims to provide information about Thai English, English in the expanding circle, as a possible emerging variety of world Englishes. In the first section, an overview of English in Thailand: the use, users, and its status as an influential international language is discussed. Then, information on distinctive features of Thai English gathered from many studies is presented. Finally, a

conclusion on how Thai English can be viewed as a new variety of world Englishes is drawn.

1 Introduction

The notions of English as an international language (EIL), English as a global language, World Englishes, and English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) are regularly mentioned. Since English is used worldwide, the majority of its users now is not the native speakers, but non-native speakers from different cultures and language backgrounds (e.g. Kachru 1982; Crystal 1997; Jenkins 2003; Seidlhofer 2004). With the concept of nativisation (Kachru 1986), different varieties of English can exist when it is used in a certain range and depth by different groups of people to serve their norms and communication purposes.

Mostly, the nativisation process and new varieties of English are discussed within the contexts of those countries in the outer circle. The number of discussions on varieties of English in the expanding circle is relatively few. To redress this low level of knowledge, this paper aims to provide some information about Thai English as a possibly emerging variety of world Englishes. In the first section, an overview of English in Thailand is discussed. Then, information on distinctive features of Thai English gathered from many studies is presented. Finally, a conclusion on how Thai English can be viewed as a new variety of world Englishes is drawn.

2 English in Thailand

Since Thailand has its own national and official language, *standard Thai*, the status of English in this country is that of a foreign language. However, in comparison with other common foreign languages, which are used by some minority groups of people (i.e. Chinese, Malay, Laos) or taught optionally in some schools (e.g. French, Japanese, Korean, etc.), it is obvious that English is much more influential. The current national curriculum for fundamental education (Grade 1-12) requires English as a compulsory subject to be taught in schools, while other foreign languages are left as optional. At the university level, English is a required subject for students in all fields. In addition, a number of international, English-bilingual, and English-medium schools and universities are currently available in Thailand. Outside of formal education, there are also numerous private English training institutes offering various English courses to both children and adults. Furthermore, studying in English-speaking countries is desired by many Thais as it implies mastery of the English language. This phenomenon is not surprising because English has long been penetrating into Thai society and most Thai people believe that having a good command of English is a privilege.

With its influence, despite its so-called status as a foreign language, English is described as "the language of Thailand abroad" or "the international language of Thailand" (Smalley 1994). In other words, English is the language that Thai people use to communicate with foreigners, and it is the language that foreigners in Thailand from different language backgrounds use for communication. Even though Thai people have and maintain their national language, they happily accept English as their international language. As a result, it is common to observe the wide use of English throughout the country, both in the private and the public sectors.

Although Thai people realize the importance of the English language, not all of them use English. By informed estimation, only about 10 per cent of all Thai people, or approximately 6.5 million, are English speakers (Bolton 2008).[1] Moreover, English proficiency of Thai English users varies. The post-creole continuum proposed by Bickerton (1975) can be applied to describe English in Thailand. Hence, varieties of English in Thailand would be broadly classified as basilect, mesolect, and acrolect − ranging from non-standard to the most standard form of English respectively.

In order to describe the distinctive features of Thai English as an emerging variety of world Englishes, only the acrolect or the standard form of English should be considered since non-standard ones are not uniform and more likely to be learners' errors caused by limited exposure to English. Using the acrolect variety, competent Thai users of English communicate successfully and use the language with grammar based on the native speaker's standard. However, their English shows some distinctive characteristics which have been transferred from their first language background, culture, rhetorical styles, and norms of communication. That is to say that Thai users of English have their ways of presenting their identity through the use of international English. Different features of Thai English are presented in several forms and they are worth discussing.

3 Thai English

Most studies of Thai English have been done on the written language. Hence, the distinctive features of Thai English are usually obtained from literature, newspaper,

---

[1] The author noted that more accurate estimates from censuses or surveys should be provided. Also, there is no description of Thai users. As a Thai observer, I suppose that the number of Thai users of English might be larger than that 6.5 million if all both users of standard and non-standard English are included.

and magazines. Apart from characteristics of Thai English gathered from the written data, distinct phonological features produced by Thai speakers are also discussed. The following is a summary of prominent distinctive features of Thai English.

The studies on Thai English literature (Chutisilp 1984; Watkhaolarm 2005) list several common language contact processes effective in Thai English, namely transfer, translation, shift, lexical borrowing, hybridization, and reduplication.

3.1 Transfer

Transfer of Thainess into Thai English is discussed as the way that Thais bring their cultural and social notions into the use of English. The first common example of transfer is found in greetings. Instead of saying "How are you?" as most English native speakers do, in Thai English the expressions like "Where are you going?" or "Have you eaten yet?" are usually observed. Although the two expressions might sound intrusive to English native speakers, they are general greetings used by Thais in their own language.

The salient agreement between the studies of Chutisilp and Watkhaolarm is the frequent use of kinship terms and norms of addressing people. These features are used to signify the importance of the collectivity of Thai society, seniority, politeness, and humility (Watkhaolarm 2005).

In Thai English, the construction *kinship term + name* (e.g. Aunt Nipa, Grandfather Sam) is usual. It is used not only in first introductions, but also at every instance of addressing. This is a customary way of showing respect and good manners, since according to Thai customs, it is impolite to address someone, especially seniors, only by their names. Moreover, the use of kinship terms denotes

how Thais emphasise family relations. For siblings, it is rather common for Thais to indicate seniority. Thus, the terms *younger brother/sister* or *older brother/sister* are usually seen in Thai English. Furthermore, kinship terms can be used with people who are not blood relatives. Since Thai culture is usually described as collectivistic (Hofstede & Hofstede 2005), using kinship terms to address unrelated people offers a sense of in-group bonding. This is another point that boosts the high frequency of the use of kinship terms in Thai English.

Even though the use of kinship terms with names is not applicable in all cases, it is still impolite for Thais to address others solely by name. Thus, they prefix the neutral word *khun* before the names of acquaintances (e.g. Khun Thomas).[2] Apart from the above, the use of titles, social status, and birth rank to address people can also be frequently observed in Thai English (e.g. Acharn Steve,[3] Momchao Pin).[4] The explanation is that Thai people are concerned very much about social status so this custom is transferred into their English.

3.2 Translation

Translation is a usual feature of Thai English in the literature as found by the studies of Chutisilp (1984) and Watkhaolarm (2005). Loan translations from Thai into Thai English occur when Thais users present some items, concepts, or idioms that have no equivalents in English. Hence, sometimes non-Thai users, who have had little

---

[2] It should be noted that "khun" is also mentioned as a Thai loan word in English (Bolton 2003) (see also below under lexical borrowing). My informal observations show that all foreigners in Thailand use the word and know its meaning.

[3] "Acharn" is another Thai word that comes into English (Bolton 2003). It means a teacher. It should also be noted that teachers have a high status in Thai society. Thus, students can never call their teachers by names without the title.

[4] "Momchao" is a title indicating the birth rank of people in the royal family.

exposure to the Thai speech community, may have difficulty in interpreting these items. An example is given below.

> So ends my biographical sketch from the early part of my life to the completion of *the sixth cycle of age*.

<div align="right">(Chutisilp 1984: 131)</div>

The phrase *the sixth cycle of age* is directly translated from the Thai notion. A cycle of age means a period of twelve years. It is a Thai belief that each year is governed by a different star. Every twelve years, the cycle of the stars repeats. Thus, when mentioning someone's life or any important occasion, Thai people usually use the term *cycle*, instead of *jubilee* as in the English language. *The sixth cycle of age* above means the person is 72 years old.

3.3 Shift

According to Chutisilp (1984) and Watkhaolarm (2005), shift refers to the method that Thai writers shift a Thai writing style to English writing. The style that is found shifted to Thai English is the regular use of proverbs and old sayings in the messages. Examples are given below.

> I didn't say that you were all wrong but you shouldn't decide this matter yourself. You know *when you build a house you have to do it as the person who is going to live in likes*.

<div align="right">(Chutisilp 1984: 138)</div>

Father inclined to favor his third wife. The old saying, "*New rice tastes better than the old one*," still held good.

<div align="right">(Watkhaolarm 2005: 150)</div>

From general observation, this Thai English writing style is generally seen also in other kinds of informal Thai English publications such as magazine articles, advertisements, and so on. Therefore, the study of this feature of Thai English in other genres is interesting.

3.4 Lexical borrowing

When English is used in the Thai context, certainly there are several items and elements that cannot be explained by the English language. Thus, lexical borrowing has to be done. In Thai English, loan words from Thai are frequently observed. Loan words in Thai English are found to transfer their semantic features from Thai; however, they can adopt English grammatical features (Chultisilp 1984). For example, to change singular nouns into plural, the suffix –s is added, for example *kuti* (the monks' building) becomes *kutis*. Watkhoalarm (2005) also mentioned this pattern of Thai English in which lexical borrowing usually occurs with translation.

Mandy, who was familiar with the food, pointed to each dish and described it to Bellinger. The meal was composed of white rice, a beef curry, roasted strips of pork, soy-bean cakes fired with bean sprouts and chilies, and *Thai style omelete* called *Kai Cheo*…

Not only are these loan words used and understood by Thai people, but also many of them are recognized widely by non-Thai speakers. Bolton (2003) suggests that many Thai words have entered into English. In his paper, a list of Thai words to be included in the Grolier International Dictionary is illustrated. Following are some examples.

acharn *noun Thai English* a teacher, normally at tertiary level. Other Forms: Other spellings are ajarn, ajaan and archarn. Teachers other than at university are usually called khru.

farang *noun Thai English* a foreigner of European racial origin; a white person.

forest monk *noun Thai English* a monk who lives a hermit-like existence in the forest

khun *noun Thai English* a polite title used before the first name of a man or woman: Khun Mary; Khun Ananda.

krengjai *noun Thai English* 1. deep respect for people in a superior position to you which involves behaving in a considerate way towards them and avoiding causing them trouble. verb 2. to behave toward someone in a way that shows krengjai. This word is borrowed into English from Thai and means literally "fearful heart".

muang *noun Thai English* 1. a city or town. 2. a district with its own local government; municipality.

phi *noun Thai English* 1. an older brother or sister. 2. a polite form of address from a younger to an older person, used to show respect.

phra *noun Thai English* 1. a title used before or joined as a prefix to the name of a Buddhist monk. 2. a title used before or joined as a prefix to a name to indicate holiness in any religion: Phra Narai is the Hindu god Vishn. 3. a title used in front of the name of a royal person: Phra Ram. Other Forms: Another spelling is Pra.

3.5 Hybridization

Hybridization is another common feature found mainly in informal Thai English. It occurs when Thai users combine a Thai word with an English one, for example, *a farang man*, *a big klong* (canal), etc. The process allows Thai English users to create many compound words (Chutisilp 1984). Therefore, this might denote the creativity of Thai users and the way they maintain some Thai sense when they use English.

3.6 Reduplication

Reduplication refers to the process of lexical repetition. It is mentioned as being influenced by the Thai language and used to indicate an emphasis on the repeated constituent. Reduplication can occur at the word level as in the following example.

I started to dream about walking in the street with *many, many* buildings on both sides, seeing myself in a *big, big* school.

<div align="right">(Chutisilp 1984: 144)</div>

3.7 Cohesive devices

The use of *cohesive devices* is identified as another distinctive feature of Thai English (Pingkarawat 2002). The study was done on the English in newspaper documentary articles. Based on the framework of Halliday and Hasan (1976), the study shows that among all types of cohesive ties, *demonstratives* and *repetitions* (of the same word or element) are used significantly more often in Thai English to create cohesion in a text. Demonstratives include grammatical words that the writers use to refer to things by locating it on a scale of proximity (e.g. this, that, these, those etc.). Thus, it is commented that, from the findings, the high frequency of demonstratives is related to the high frequency of repetitions. When the same noun is repeated, a demonstrative or a definite article had to be used since it is required by English grammar.

There is a *boy* in the garden. *That boy* is being naughty.

The high use of demonstratives and repetitions in Thai English is explained as the transfer from the Thai discourse style of using cohesive ties. It is mentioned that although the high number of repetitions in Thai English may be considered redundant to native speakers, repetitions are preferable for Thais, since in the Thais' point of view, they present explicit cohesion in a text.

3.8 Noun modifiers

The frequent use of noun modifiers is pointed to as a distinctive characteristic of Thai English. The study of Trakulkasemsuk (2007) on Thai English in magazines demonstrates that it contains a significantly higher number of noun modifiers. This is because, in the point of view of Thai users, using modifiers helps make clear explanations and embellishes the language. The most significant feature of noun modifiers in Thai English is the high amount of postmodifiers. This can be explained as a transfer from the Thai language. In Thai, long units of modifiers are preferable since they can contain a lot of information (it should be noted that to provide a lot of information at once is regarded as a good style of writing in Thai rhetoric). When using English, Thai users make a high number of the noun postmodifiers since the long noun modifiers (i.e. phrasal and clausal modifiers) are allowed only in postposition in English syntax.

Not only the frequency but also the construction of noun modifiers in Thai English are significant. Noun modifiers in Thai English are usually very long because they are usually made up of many embedded layers of information. As mentioned earlier, this shows the attempt of Thai users to compress as much information as possible into one unit. An example of the construction is given below.

It is a big *market* [where tourists [heading to Phu Soi Dao] usually stop [to stock up on some fresh food [to cook at the campsite [on the mountain]], [as there is no restaurant available up there]].

(Trakulkasemsuk 2007: 136)

In addition, adding many long modifiers to modify one head noun is distinctively observable in Thai English.

It was a single-story concrete *building* [painted in yellow], [elevated from the ground], [with a terra cotta roof [in the style [that was popular [during the reign [of King Rama VI]]]].

(Trakulkasemsuk 2007: 145)

It is also worth mentioning that when comparing Thai English to other Asian Englishes, it is interesting to find that they share some common features, such as reduplication (Kachru 1986; Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008); language embellishment (Kachru 2005) as in Indian English. Furthermore, even those features classified as mistakes in the non-standard Thai English variety seem to be similar to some features of some other Asian Englishes. For example, the copula dropping as in Singapore English, Indian English, Malaysian English (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008; Platt 1982); subject-verb agreement (especially, third person present tense marking) as in Philippine English (Bautista & Gonzalez 2006), Singapore English, and Malaysian English (Platt 1982); a positive answer to a negative yes/no question as in many varieties of South Asian English (Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008); and so on.

These shared features may not be just coincidence. On the contrary, they can be explained by the fact that people in Asian countries share more similar linguistic, social, and cultural features with each other than they do with people in western countries. In fact, the shared features could develop into a new variety of Asian English.

Apart from the distinctive features illustrated by the written Thai English, since the Thai sound system is rather different from English, the English pronunciation produced by Thai speakers differs from that by English native speakers. Below is a discussion of phonological features of Thai English vowels and consonants.

3.9 Vowels

In standard Thai, there are 9 monophthongs and 3 diphthongs. Vowel length is phonemic in Thai. Therefore, the nine monophthongs can be expanded into 18 vowel sounds (9 short and 9 long vowels).[5] Altogether there are 21 phonemes of vowels in Thai.

The quality of vowels (with respect to tongue height, frontness, and roundness) in Thai and English is comparable. Moreover, Thai has more vowels than English does. Thus, there should not be many serious problems for Thais to hear and produce English vowels. However, there is a major difference between the two vowel systems. In Thai the two sets of vowels differ in terms of shortness and length, while laxness and tenseness are relevant for English.

Thais tend to distinguish English lax and tense vowels by perceiving them as short and long respectively. In production, they therefore substitute English lax vowels with Thai short vowels and English tense vowels with Thai long vowels. The replacement may not seriously cause Thai English pronunciation to become unintelligible to speakers of other varieties, but it may make Thai English

---

[5] The 3 diphthongs naturally produce long sounds. Their reduced (short) sounds are possible. However, they rarely occur (Kruatrachue 1960).

pronunciation distinct and sounding foreign to the ears of English native speakers (Kruatrachue 1960).

Tsukada (2008) provides information about phonetic characteristics of English vowels produced by Thai speakers. The study compares four monophthongs, /ɪ æ ʊ ʌ/, and two diphthongs, /eɪ/ and /oʊ/, as produced by Australian English speakers and Thai English speakers living in Australia. The findings suggest that the English monophthongs produced by Thai speakers are not significantly different from those produced by Australian speakers in terms of quality, shown by formant measurements. However, in terms of duration, Thai speakers make the monophthongs distinctively shorter than Australian speakers do.

The study of English monophthongs (/i/ and /ɪ/), in terms of duration, produced by Thai speakers has been expanded in Tsukada (2009). The results confirm that the lax vowel /ɪ/ used in Thai English is significantly shorter than that in Australian English. Contrastively, the tense vowel /i/ is made significantly longer.

Since shortness and length are important characteristics of the Thai vowel system and they seem to be compatible with laxness and tenseness in the English vowel system in Thais' mindsets, this may be a significant influence that makes vowel sounds in Thai English different.

For the diphthongs /eɪ/ and /oʊ/ (Tsukada 2008), the findings reveal a difference in terms of quality, but not in duration. The diphthongs produced by Thai speakers are composed of less formant movement making them monophthongal. Since these two diphthongs are not included in the Thai inventory, Thai speakers equate them with the Thai long vowels /e:/ and /o:/. As a result, the two vowels

produced by Thai speakers are slightly longer than those produced by Australian speakers.

In sum, vowel sounds in Thai English tend to show transfer from the Thai language. The most obvious characteristic of English vowel production by Thai speakers is vowel duration. English short vowels can be made noticeably shorter and long vowels longer in Thai English.

3.10 Consonants

It can be said that there is a big different between Thai and English consonants. There are many English consonants that do not exist in Thai. In pronunciation by Thai English speakers, those consonants might sound totally different since Thai speakers tend to replace them with the most similar ones available in Thai.

Kruatrachue (1960) discusses that the major distinctive properties in the pronunciation of English consonants in Thai English are caused by linguistic differences between Thai and English. For English consonants which do not exist in Thai, like /tʃ/, /dʒ/, /θ/, /ð/, /ʃ/, /ʒ/; Thai speakers tend to substitute the most alike Thai consonants available in the Thai inventory. Therefore, /tʃ/, /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ are normally found substituted by Thai /tɕʰ/ (aspirated voiceless fortis palatal stop with slight affrication). As a result, words like "cheer" and "shear" may be pronounced similarly in Thai English. Furthermore, /dʒ/ can be replaced by Thai /tɕ/ (weakly glottalized unaspirated voiceless fortis palatal stop). Also, Thai speakers usually substitute the Thai consonants /t/, /tʰ/, or /s/ for /θ/. According to my informal observation, /t/ is the

most common substitution of /θ/ in the initial position. Then, in Thai English, /ð/ is normally substituted by /d/.

In addition, the differences can occur because of the English sounds which are not available in Thai sound system. Therefore, Thai speakers may not notice the contrast and hence do not produce it. Consequently, /v/ is usually substituted by /w/, and /z/ by /s/; making words like "vest" and "west", "rice" and "rise" sound the same in Thai English.

Pronunciation of consonants in Thai English is a huge area to study. Unfortunately, there are very few studies investigating it. The findings of Kruatrachue (1960) have listed a number of prominent English consonant sounds as produced by Thai speakers. However, the study was conducted quite long ago. It should be interesting to investigate whether the listed features still exist in Thai English nowadays. Since Thai users of English now have more exposure to English and start learning English at a very young age, it is worth exploring whether transfer from the Thai language in pronunciation still exists or whether Thai English users, perhaps, manage to develop their new system.

This section has highlighted some important features of Thai English obtained from several studies. It can be seen that distinctive properties can be found in many aspects. However, only little research has been carried out so far. With the constant increase of English used in Thai contexts, there should be plenty of research areas to be explored. Hence, more distinctive features of Thai English will be recognized. These will serve as more concrete proof suggesting Thai English as another emerging variety of world Englishes.

4 Conclusion

With the influence of English as the world international language, its use and users are increasing. Even in a country like Thailand whose national language is strongly maintained, the importance of English cannot be denied. As a result, English is used widely in the country and competent Thai users are numerous. Although English in Thailand is learned and used based on some native speaker standard (often British or American English), there is evidence showing that, to a certain degree, Thai English has developed its own character.

The above discussion shows that the distinctive features of Thai English can occur at many linguistic levels, i.e. lexicon, syntax, discourse, and phonology. In addition, the features really confirm the transfer of Thainess to the use of Thai English. Even though there is still a need for more empirical studies on other features of Thai English, the present information signifies a possibility for Thai English, English in the expanding circle, to claim itself as an emerging variety of world Englishes.

References

Bautista, M.L.S. & Gonzalez, A.B. 2006. Southeast Asian Englishes. In *The Handbook of World Englishes*, B.B. Kachru, Y. Kachru & C.L. Nelson (eds), 130-144. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Bickerton, D. 1975. *Dynamics of a Creole System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bolton, K. 2003. English: the Asian way. 2-8 September 2003, <http://www.bangkokpost.com/education/site2003/cvse0203.htm> (4 February, 2009)

____. 2008. English in Asia, Asian Englishes, and the Issue of Proficiency. *English Today* 94: 3-12.

Chutisilp, P. 1984. A Sociolinguistic Study of an Additional Language: English in Thailand. PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Crystal, D. 1997. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. & Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman Group Limited.

Hofstede, G. & Hofstede, G.J. 2005. *Cultures and Organizations: Software of the Mind*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Jenkins, J. 2003. *World Englishes: A Resource Book for Students*. Oxon:Routledge.

Kachru, B.B. 1982. *The Other Tongue: English across Cultures*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

____. 1985. Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: the English language in the outer circle. In *English in the World Teaching and Learning the*

Language and Literatures, R. Quirk & H.G. Widdowson (eds), 217-226. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

____. 1986. The Alchemy of English: the spread, functions and models of non-native Englishes. Oxford: Pergamon Press

____. 2005. *Asian Englishes: Beyond the Canon*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Kruatrachue, F. 1960. Thai and English: A Comparative Study of Phonology for Pedagogical Applications. PhD dissertation, Indiana University.

Mesthrie, R. & Bhatt, R.M. 2008. *World Englishes: The Study of New Linguistic Varieties*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Pingkarawat, N. 2002. Cohesive Features in Documentary Articles from English Newspapers in Thailand and in America. *Asian Englishes* 55(2): 24-43.

Platt, J.T. 1982. English in Singapore, Malaysia, and Hong Kong. In *English as a World Language*, R.W. Bailey & M. Gorlach (eds), 384-414. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Seidlhofer, B. 2004. Research perspective on teaching English as a lingua franca. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 11: 209-239

Smalley, W.A. 1994. *Linguistic Diversity and National Unity: Language Ecology in Thailand*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Trakulkasemsuk, W. 2007. A Comparative Analysis of English Features Articles in Magazines Published in Thailand and Britian: Linguistic Aspects. PhD dissertation, Chulalongkorn University.

Tsukada, K. 2008. An acoustic comparison of English monophthongs and diphthongs produced by Australian and Thai speakers. *English World-Wide* 29(2): 194-211.

_____. 2009. Durational characteristics of English vowels produced by Japanese and Thai second language learners. *Australian Journal of Linguistics* 29(2): 287-299.

Watkhaolarm, P. 2005. Think in Thai, write in English. *World Englishes* 24(2): 145-157.

Widdowson, H. 1993. Who owns English today? In *World Englishes: A Resource Book for Students*, J. Jenkins (ed), 162-168. London: Routledge.