

## ENGLISH IN THE 'GLOCALIZED' WORLD: ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFILE OF A LOCAL LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE FROM A PLURIPARADIGMATIC PERSPECTIVE

---

**Milan Ferenčík**

**Abstract:** Notwithstanding various controversies which accompany the global presence of English, its emergence into a planetary language is a sociolinguistic reality. Another reality is that its local manifestations are not necessarily of identical 'breed': the many Englishes engendered by the ever-growing number of their users who are enclosed within their sociopolitical and geographical environment, albeit connected to the globalized world, call for an examination of the applicability of the proposed global models vis-à-vis localized English sociolinguistic profiles. The paper discusses the pluriparadigmatic character of the global presence of English and analyzes data acquired mostly in a local Slovakia's linguistic landscape. The paper also calls for a more critical approach to English(es) as they are used locally, and invites to adopt a more inclusive attitude which enables their users to see English not only as a crucial resource in their linguistic repertoires but also as an important marker of their 'glocal' identities.

**Key words:** modelling global Englishes, EFL, ESL, ENL, ELF, local linguistic landscape

### Introduction

The global presence of English is a daily sociolinguistic reality for a significant proportion of planetary citizens, which is apparently still growing in number. Also, through globalization, the range of the domains in which English functions as a principal code is expanding. It is unrealistic to assume, however, that this 'English' is the 'same' across its users and domains of use, or even that it is the 'Standard' English, most typically British English or American English. It has been increasingly acknowledged that English in different parts of the world is used in particular sociolinguistic contexts where it may undergo processes of nativization (indigenization). When drawing sociolinguistic profiles of countries (regions, societies, communities, etc.) it is necessary to examine the applicability of the proposed global models of English vis-à-vis local sociolinguistic situations. In the paper we argue that, in order to get a realistic picture of the nature of English as it is locally manifested, it is necessary to examine it from several alternative viewpoints, or paradigms. We believe that it is a pluriparadigmatic approach which is able to cope with a multifaceted presence of English in specific localities in which the 'global' interacts with the 'local' which results in 'glocalized' linguistic landscapes.

Even though Slovakia's place among the countries of the expanding band of Kachru's concentric model of Englishes in the world (where English serves no intranational purposes and its primary goal is to offer a code to be used in communication with its native speakers) may seem more or less secure, there is a good reason to believe that the country's current sociolinguistic profile is more complex than that. Through the ever-growing access to English by larger segments of population who use it for a wide range of intra-societal purposes, its position requires closer examination. The paper reflects on the current debates focusing on the global spread of English, and attempts to apply a pluriparadigmatic perspective of a local linguistic landscape in order to capture the occurrences and uses of English in it.

### **1. English as...**

The massive spread of English worldwide has launched several strands of scholarship which have attempted to grasp its implications and have led to the emergence of discourses which often have overlapping agendas and, unsurprisingly, labels for the object of their study, viz. English. The sheer number and variety of existing names (and acronyms) suggests that the construction of the nature of English in the globalizing world is a much debated, and controversial, issue. Among the most common labels for English, which are often used interchangeably, i.e. without corresponding differences in approach and/or practices, are *global*, *international*, *literate*, *general*, *world*, and *lingua franca*. These labels are, however, mostly not innocuous significations – they are typically associated with particular ideological stances, authors, publications and strands of research. Erling (2005: 40) explains their proliferation as a “response to postcolonial ambiguity about the spread of English and a desire to shape a new ideology for English language teaching (ELT) which more accurately reflects the global nature of the language and its diverse uses and users”. The following discussion summarizes some of the controversies of the different significations of English.

The terms *English as an International Language* (Modiano 2001, McKay 2002), *English as a global language*, *English as a world language*, or *World English* (Brutt-Griffler 2002) are used as umbrella terms to denote English acquired to an adequate level of proficiency which demotes regional origins of the users and promotes its functional uses. What is more, English conceived of in this way serves primarily non-native speakers and spans across Kachru's three circles in intra-/international contexts in which the native-speakers' norms, conventions and

expectations are not generally expected to apply. Identical wordings of a term, however, sometimes suggest other, often competing, implications. For example, Jenkins (2003) understands 'International English' (IE) to be currently used as a shorthand term for 'English as an international language', while claiming that the latter is more precise since it does not suggest that "there is one clearly distinguishable, unitary variety called 'International English'" (Jenkins, 2003: 8). Similarly, McKay (2002) uses the same shorthand term but, when it comes to its users, she takes them to be "native speakers of English and bilingual users of English for cross-cultural communication" (2002: 132), where bilingualism implies users' second- and foreign-language status. In contrast, Trudgill and Hannah (2008: ix) apply IE to Standard English "as it is found in its different varieties around the world", excluding thus varieties used in the Expanding circle of Englishes. To add to the multiplicity of the term, Widdowson (1997) uses IE to denote a (written) register of English used by professionals in respective professional and functional domains and which is 'neutral' as to any primary variety. Similarly, Modiano (2001: 170) uses the longer term *English as an International Language* (EIL) as an internationally comprehensible variety of English which is shared by all competent users; as an alternative to 'standard' English it provides culturally, politically and socially neutral space.

It appears that there are two principal factors which underly the existence of the many labels of English, viz. the fact that currently English non-native speakers (NNS) outnumber native speakers (NS) three to one (cf. Graddol 1997), and, second, there is a growing awareness of a need to abandon a link between English used globally and its primary cultures (so-called NS countries), along with the political and ideological sentiments associated with this link. No matter which term for English in cross-cultural communication they use, the approaches stress the 'global' ownership of English and the departure from NSs' norms within 'other' Englishes, whose recognition is closely tied to the issues of language standards that would both ensure the need to secure (intranational) identity and guarantee international intelligibility.

## **2. Models and ideologies of English**

The attempts to model the presence of English across the world have grown into a full-fledged discourse which has its foundational publications, such as Strevens (1992), Kachru (1992), McArthur (1998), Modiano (1999a, 1999b), and more recent proposals (Graddol 2006,

Ferenčík 2012). It is, however, the Kachru's model, first proposed in 1985, which still remains the 'guiding beacon' of all discussions revolving around the global spread of English. Kachru's inference-rich concentric visualisation represents a centrifugal situation within world Englishes where the inner circle (IC), outer circle (OC), and expanding circle (EC) imply a) the origins of Englishes: 'native' vs. 'non-native' Englishes, b) the type of spread: the inner two diasporas of IC and OC and the foreign language learning margin of EC, c) the manner of acquisition and functionality: *English as a native language* (ENL) of IC, *English as a second language* (ESL) of OC, and *English as a foreign language* (EFL) of EC, and d) the sources of normativity: the 'norm-providing' Englishes of IC, the 'norm-developing' Englishes of OC, and the 'norm-dependent' Englishes of EC (cf. Figure 1).

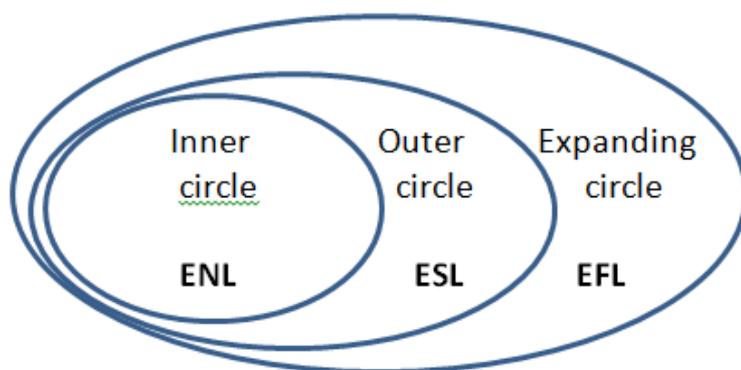


Figure 1: The three circles of Englishes (based on Kachru 1992)

Problems with this clear-cut model arise when it is checked against the complexities of a sociolinguistic reality, such as the non-existence of a single ENL variety, the existence of the areas of transition between the circles resulting from the complexity of the situation within individual circles; for example, while OC Englishes strive for recognition as legitimate NS varieties, the prominence of English(es) within EC countries calls for their reclassification into OC countries (see Figure 2 and 3). What is more, the model implies the primacy of IC varieties, the fact which has been called to question within the more recent movements/ideologies of *World Englishes* (WE) and *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF). Finally, Kachru's model ignores speakers' level of proficiency and the style/register variation, which has provoked further elaboration and provision of alternative models, most notably the centripetal models by Modiano (1999a, 1999b) and Graddol (2006).

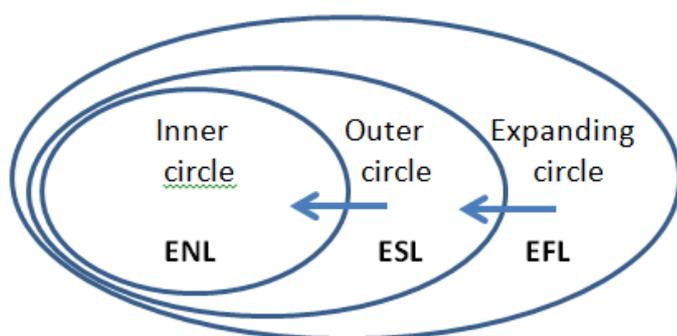


Figure 2: The three circles of Englishes revised (based on Kachru 1992)

domains	Circles of English		
	Inner	Outer	Expanding
home	English	L1 → English (= ENL)	L1
intranational	English	English	L1 → English (= ESL)
international	English	English	English (= EFL/ELF)

Figure 3: The three circles of Englishes: domains of use

The many names and models of English discussed so far do not represent any neutral or non-controversial fields of research but nearly each of them constitutes a value-laden perspective, a particular ideological stance, movement, and discourse. Melchers and Shaw (2011) adduce six discourses/ideologies which have been clearly articulated, viz. *Standard-Language Ideology* (SLI), *World Englishes* (WE), *Real English*, *Second Language Acquisition* (SLA), *Linguistic Imperialism* and *English as a Lingua Franca* (ELF). Since our analysis subjects the data to discussion primarily within the SLI, WE, and ELF positions, we focus our attention on their brief discussion.

The SLI paradigm assumes that, within a particular linguaculture, a single variety is endowed with the status of a ‘standard’ and becomes thus a benchmark against which other, ‘non-standard’, varieties are assessed. This standard variety enjoys highest overt prestige which arises, however, not from its inherent linguistic qualities but from the status of its proponents, usually a minority group occupying key positions of economic, political and social power. Varieties departing from the standard are considered inferior and stigmatized. Essentially, SLI underlies Kachru’s model in that it is the IC countries which provide standards for other circles and whose native-speakers are valued as possessing this prestigious symbolic capital in the world marketplace (hence endo-normative countries). When applied to global Englishes, the problem with SLI is, first, a general lack of agreement what IC standard English is, and, second, the unfeasibility of enforcing a single NS standard on users of English in diverse

multilingual contexts. Within the English speaking world this approach is especially visible in popular beliefs about language and the ways it should be used. In ELT, the approach is maintained through the endorsement of ENL norms, textbooks, materials and testing as well as through the notion of 'nativeness' with all its implications, including the Anglo-speaker as a reference point, the designation of departures from language standards as 'erroneous', etc. While this position is justifiable for EFL contexts, in OC and EC it seems to be untenable.

The SLI paradigm has been questioned by the World Englishes position/paradigm initiated and developed esp. by Kachru (1985, 1992) who claims that in the global contexts, in which English is endowed with many local functions, setting IC norms is inappropriate and their employment as a target of education should be re-examined. What is more, OC countries should be acknowledged rights to set their own language standards rather than look for standards in IC countries, i.e. they should be recognized as endonormative rather than exonormative countries. Further, the departures from IC norms should not be considered deviations/errors (interlanguages) but legitimate variations because, first, they both follow the universal processes of language evolution, and, second, they result from the influence of local contexts, viz. they are undergoing the process of indigenization/nativization. In fact, the WE discourse has contributed to the establishment of several ESL varieties as 'New Englishes', i.e. legitimate endonormative varieties of English enjoying prestige in the respective parts of the world and (in their educated uses) becoming educational targets.

The ELF position has emerged as a response to the fact that the number of English users for whom it is a contact language among themselves, i.e. as *lingua franca*, has been steadily rising. When projected onto the Kachruvian tripartite model, this new sociolinguistic reality raises a few questions: is ELF merely a new name for the EFL (Figure 4a), or a newly emerging supraregional variety (a new "New English"; Figure 4b), or a functional variety/register of English available to all users of English in intercultural communication (Figure 4c)?

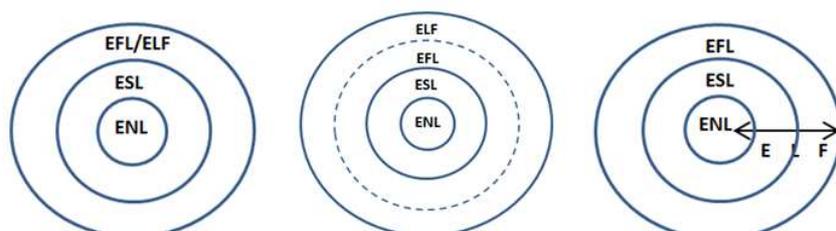


Figure 4: ELF as a) a new name for EFL, b) another "New English", c) a functional variety/register of English (Ferenčík 2012)

The two other possible positions, viz. that ELF is a restricted code (*pidgin*) or a learner language (*interlanguage*) can be ruled out since, first, ELF is structurally elaborate and is used to cover a wider range of functional uses, and, second, that ELF speakers are already competent *users* of a functional variety of English which forms a part of their verbal repertoire within their respective multilingual settings.

Treating ELF as a register excludes a need to provide its thorough structural description, since the non-existence of any stable communities of speakers does not allow for the emergence of distinct homogeneous varieties. Thus, current ELF linguistic descriptions focus on features which enable ELF speakers to communicate (un)successfully, notably Jenkins' (2000) *lingua franca core* and Seidlhofer's (2004) list of ELF lexico-grammatical features. Pragmatic descriptions underline ELF speakers' effort to accommodate each other; in fact, Mollin (2006: 45) suggests that "what unifies lingua franca speech is communication strategies rather than the result of any structural convergence", which suggests ELF's register-like nature.

In conclusion, it is possible to treat ELF as a use-related variety employed as a common code for interactions between participants without common L1 belonging to disparate communities, so called *communities of practice* (Wenger 1998) and across different domains of use. At present, ELF as a research paradigm represents a vibrant strand within applied linguistics and has brought about systematic descriptions of two corpora of NNS Englishes, viz. VOICE (*Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English*) and ELFA (*English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings*).

### **3. English in Slovakia: a sociolinguistic profile**

Within the framework of Kachruvian modelling, Slovakia is established as an EC country with English having the status of a primary foreign language; hence, regarding the English language standards, the country's position as an exonormative country is secure. As a result of the recent geopolitical and socio-economic trends, however, English has been acquiring more functions which, by extending its scope of uses, make it transcend the position reserved for a foreign language, viz. one which is intended to be used primarily with the purpose of communication with NS of English and of familiarization/identification with their cultural norms and values. The prominence of English has risen since Slovakia's admission to EU where

it is a dominant working (core/procedural) language (cf. Gibová 2010: 47), besides remaining one of 23 official EU languages (on a par with Slovak). Recent Slovakian legislation has accorded English a 'prioritized' position among other foreign languages by granting it a status of a 'compulsory' foreign language (cf. Lojová and Straková 2012). These trends may be a signal of Slovakia's embarking on a transitional course away from the dominant EFL paradigm (and the country's location on the EC margin of Kachru's world Englishes) towards a paradigm which recognizes its growing importance, viz. ESL paradigm within which English performs important intra-societal institutionally granted functions. In fact, some communicative domains and specific CofP already employ English as a 'second' language; among them to mention are for example businesses and production companies owned by foreign investors, university (not necessarily English) departments, courses or entire study programmes held in English in universities or secondary bilingual schools, etc. What is more, through the agency of the Internet, virtually all state and local governmental bodies, educational and commercial institutions have installed their English web-pages. To these domains of use in which English is used instrumentally or 'indexically' we may add areas where the symbolic function of English is valued through its capacity to embody Anglo-American/western taste and values, along with modernity, worldliness and globalization.

Our position is that, regarding the status of English, Slovakia's current sociolinguistic profile is a pluriparadigmatic one, and that there are at least three major approaches and/or paradigms which may be used to evaluate the presence of English, viz. SLI, WE, and ELF. Viewed through the prism of the Kachru's model, Slovakia may be located into the shady area of transition between EFL to ESL, as it has embarked upon a course of development which has already been started by several other European countries, such as Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland, and several others (cf. Graddol 1997; see Figure 5).

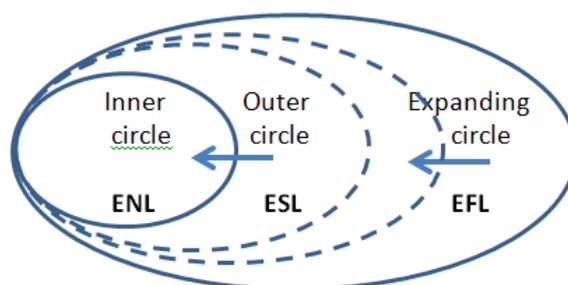


Figure 5: The three circles of Englishes revised (based on Kachru 1992)

#### 4. Slovakia's local English landscape: mapping the terrain

The paper discusses the occurrences of English in a particular, or local, linguistic landscape (LLL) which we approach as a particular configuration of semiotic resources which constitute it and identify it as unique, i.e. as itself. The study combines two recent interdisciplinary approaches, viz. *geosemiotics*, which studies “the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses and of our actions in the material world” (Scollon and Scollon, 2003: 211), and *linguistic landscape*, which is defined as “The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration” Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25). From the language on signs, conclusions can be drawn “regarding, among other factors, the social layering of the community, the relative status of the various societal segments, and the dominant cultural ideals of the community” (Reh, 2004: 38); among these cultural “ideals” belong the values embodied through the presence and functions of the English language.

##### 4.1 Methodological considerations: data and analysis

The paper reports on the results of a pilot study which traces four dimensions of the placement of English in LLL, viz. its overall semiotic function, the type of semiotic space in which it occurs, the type of discourse it helps construct, and its authorship (sources). All data were collected in Prešov's local linguistic landscape (esp. the 'main' street and the adjacent areas) over the months of July through November 2012. The unit of analysis is an English inscription which forms a linguistic part of a multimodal sign complex displayed on a physical support (billboard, banner, shop window, plaque, etc.) which is placed within a particular semiotic space. These inscriptions were photographed and classified into categories construed along the four above-mentioned dimensions. We largely rely on Scollon and Scollon's (2003) categories of semiotic space and discourse type which were elaborated within their geosemiotic approach. The question that we wish to explore is how, if at all, these four dimensions of the presence of English inscriptions correlate with the variability of the English language used. We suggest that, within our pluriparadigmatic perspective, variation of English results from the different functions the language is put to by its users; what that means is that the local presence of English in the (primarily) EFL/exonormative environment is free to be

evaluated through the prism of alternative paradigms, viz. ELF/WE, and that potential departures from NS norms of standardness need not be considered 'errors' (interlanguage phenomena) but as tokens of variability which are legitimized by the local communication practices.

The two global functions of English, which underlie all discussed data in the first place are whether their users wish to send content-oriented messages or whether they wish to signal who they are. While in the former case the users are primarily concerned with the intelligibility of their messages and, to ensure this purpose, they orient to the standard (acrolectal) varieties of English, in the latter case their major concern is assumed to be the construal of their identity, and so their English may bear markers of non-standard (basilectal) variation. Accordingly, we can treat this 'communication-identity continuum' (Kirkpatrick 2007) as underlying the 'acrolect-mesolect-basilect' variation, in which acrolectal (educated) variety corresponds to the status of English as a *foreign language* (SLI paradigm), mesolectal variety to the role of English as a *lingua franca* (ELF paradigm), and basilectal variety to the variety bearing traces of the user's first language (a localized/indigenized variety 'Slovak English/Slovglisch'; WE paradigm).

#### 4.2 *Metafunctions of English: indexical vs. symbolic*

Since any use of language is inherently contextual, it is particular contexts to which we need to resort in order to pass judgements on the nature of a language used. When mapping the terrain of English(es) as manifested in LLL, a first distinction which needs to be drawn is the metalevel of code, viz. whether English is used with a primary symbolic or indexical function. The symbolic function saturates users' wishes to proclaim their association with/commitment to the values and beliefs connotated by English, such as Anglo-Americanism, Britishness, Westernness, modernity, progress, worldliness, trendiness, etc. To this end English may be seen to be employed especially in the discourse of commerce (brand names, commercial signs and logos: *CAR WASH*; Figure 4.2.1), advertising (slogans: *SPORT TO THE PEOPLE*; Figure 4.2.2) and popular entertainment (names of music bands: *THE YOUNG GODS*; Figure 4.2.3), as well as in certain unofficial/transgressive discourses (graffiti: *I LOVE YOU*; Figure 4.2.4). On the other hand, the primary indexical function employs English to communicate (factual) content-laden messages which 'index' interpreters of English, i.e. anybody with that level of proficiency in

English which enables him/her to decode the message. It is this indexical metalevel of English as a sign to which the bulk of our data belong and which forms the backbone of our discussion. The content of these 'factual' messages is related to a wider range of communicative domains and uses, such as commerce, business, services, etc. It is to be noted that the two major meta-functions of English are not mutually exclusive and that they can be separated only artificially: first, even in the content-oriented signs the very presence of English has a symbolic value as well (cf. the inscription *FOR SALE* which draws attention to an international client; Figure 4.2.5), and second, with the ever-growing population of Slovak speakers of English, who have acquired certain level of proficiency, even in its primarily symbolic uses English is deployed to 'carry a message', and is rendered interpretable (cf. the inscription on a T-shirt *CUTE IS MY MIDDLE NAME*; Figure 4.2.6).

As far as the variation of English is concerned, the indexical end of the 'symbolic-indexical continuum' presupposes intelligibility, which can only be fully ensured by its adherence to standardized, acrolectal varieties. Conversely, in the symbolic function the intelligibility is not a major concern, hence English may deploy certain non-standard features, such as a word play (cf. the slogan advertising local bowling centre *UŽ SI U NÁS BOWL?* which capitalizes from the near-homophony of Slk *bol* (=were) and English *bowl*; Figure 4.2.7). More often than not, however, instances of symbolic English inscriptions rely on prefabricated, stereotypical models (cf. graffiti signs *I LOVE YOU*; *RENT IS THEFT*; Figure 4.2.8), or they may be seen as circulating intact in commercial discourses international retail companies (*SPORT TO THE PEOPLE*; Figure 4.2.2). It remains to be researched whether possible departures from educated (acrolectal) standards constitute acquisitional deficiency (error) or seeds of local basilectal variation (cf. non-standard plural in the graffiti *CAN'T RUN AWAY FROM YOUR PROBLEM'S*; Figure 4.2.9). All in all, the symbolic uses of English can be looked upon as pulling closer to the identity pole of the 'communication-identity continuum', with the sources of variability often residing in the user's linguistic creativity.

#### 4.3 English and the types of semiotic space

The second dimension through which we can judge instances of English uses in LLL is a type of semiotic space, which we define as a physical area and/or surface which is intentionally designed for the display of signs. In line with Scollon and Scollon (2003), we

distinguish between four categories of frontstage (public or private) and backstage (mostly private) semiotic space, viz. exhibit/display, passage, special use, and secure space. While signs in public spaces are authorized by the official (state or municipal) authority (hence 'top-down' signs), those in private spaces are installed by private agents, esp. business and property owners (hence 'bottom-up' signs). Our pilot survey of the presence of English across semiotic spaces suggests that the majority of signs with English inscriptions are private ones which are posted by various commercial agents, primarily banks (*Please insert your card* on a private passage space) and businesses (*Don't worry be HOPI* placed on a banner - a private display space; Figure 4.3.1). Backstage private display signs are primarily represented by graffiti (*RENT IS THEFT*; Figure 4.2.8). The recorded examples of frontstage public exhibit/display signs include Slovak-English bilingual texts promoting local places of interest (for example, *BOSÁK'S BANK* placed on a commemorative plaque mounted to the bank's wall; Figure 4.3.2).

It is expectable that the type of semiotic space correlates with the 'acrolect-mesolect-basilect' continuum: the more 'official' a sign is, the higher probability of its compliance with the norms of (acro/mesolectal) standardness, and, conversely, the more 'backstage' a sign is, the higher the probability that it will bear basilectal features (cf. irregular irregular plural in *ŽENY/WOMANS*, *MUŽI/MAN* found on a toilet door, which is a special use private space; Figure 4.3.3 a,b).

#### 4.4 English and the types of discourse

Applying Scollon and Scollon's (2003) categorisation of discourse types to our data, we can differentiate between occurrences of English in regulatory, infrastructural, commercial and transgressive discourses. Similar to the types of semiotic space, discourses are authored by official or private agents. While our probe into LLL identifies the presence of top-down infrastructural signs which are designated to address 'outsiders', i.e. visitors who are thereby indexed as EL users (as the signs are placed on a tourist objects, these outsiders/visitors are categorizable as tourists), it also reveals a noticeable absence of top-down regulatory signs, which suggests that in the LLL there is no stable (monolingual or bilingual) English-speaking community. As examples of bottom-up signs we may quote a bilingual regulatory sign placed at the entrance to a bank's parking lot (*VYHRADENÉ PRE KLIENTOV BANKY/RESERVED FOR BRANCH CLIENTS*; Figure 4.4.1), and a monolingual commercial sign placed on a billboard

advertising a chain of stores supplying sport equipment (*SPORT TO THE PEOPLE*; Figure 4.2.2). The ‘acrolect-mesolect-basilect’ continuum overlaps with the discourse type to the extent to which a sign was produced by ‘top-down’ or ‘bottom-up’ agents; a particularly telling example of a bottom-up regulatory sign is a trilingual sign *ATTENTION FALL DOWN ROCKS/POZOR PADAJÚ KAMENE* (Figure 4.4.2), which betrays its basilectal character through the ‘leakage’ of Slovak word order into the syntax of the English inscription.

## 5. Discussion

As a probe to the local linguistic landscape, the paper traces the presence of English in it and attempts to characterize its instances using the current models/paradigms of English. Our basic argument is that the occurrences of English are interpretable in terms of several paradigms which take into consideration the users and uses of the language. We also suggest that the extent of the presence of English in local settings signals its local ethnolinguistic vitality. Table 1 surveys the types of sign present in the LLL in which English inscriptions are used, along with the types and sources of discourse and their dominant (meta)functions.

Sources of signage	Types of discourse	Types of sign	Uses of English	Dominant functions	
				indexical	symbolic
top-down	regulatory	public notices and announcements	-	NA	
	infrastructural	labels of tourist objects	+	+	
bottom-up	regulatory	notices and announcements	+		+
	infrastructural	names of shops and businesses	+		+
	commercial	offers, requests, invitations, slogans	+		+
	transgressive	graffiti	+		+

Table 1: English signage across discourse types in the LLL

It appears that, in the researched section of the LLL which represents the central commercial, administrative, cultural (and tourist) area of the town of Prešov, the bulk of English signage capitalizes on the language’s symbolic capacity to associate the objects to which it is attached with the values of modernity, globalization, prosperity, etc. This type of signage is a ‘bottom-up’ in nature commissioned by the private agents whose primary concern is to employ English as a promotional resource with a view of increasing the sales of their products and services. In this respect, LLL seems to be connected with the transnational ‘cultural flow’ (Pennycook 2007) and exhibits features of vitality which are at least comparable with other ‘citiscares’ across the world. As an indexical language, however, top-down uses of English (bilingual texts on posters, plaques on the historical objects/buildings’ walls) are doing

nothing more than offering a rudimentary assistance to 'outsiders', primarily tourists, identifying the principal cultural-historical heritage of the community. While the Slovak top-down regulatory signage indexes the given LLL as monolingual (Slovak), a noticeable absence of top-down infrastructural (Slovak-English) bilingual signage designed for other-than-tourist outsiders suggests that the LLL stays off the major pathways of international communication.

As far as the variability of English in LLL is concerned, we propose that, rather than viewing all English inscriptions as belonging to a single monolithic 'English', we can approach them as instances of more 'Englishes'. To support our claim, we resort to the 'communication-identity' continuum and suggest the following (see Figure 6): the scale's communication pole corresponds to the EL users' primary concern for intelligibility which is ensured by their adherence to the internationally recognized educated (acrolectal) standard Englishes. Conversely, the scale's identity pole corresponds to EL users' primary concern with the construal of their identity to which end they avail themselves of the nativized/indigenized/broad (basilectal) varieties of English. To the fact that the two functions are not exclusive but complementary we may add that the two poles of the scale are mere idealisations: first, as of yet there is no stabilised basilectal variety of English ('Slovglisch'), and, second, provided that they were produced by bilingual English speakers, even the acrolectal 'standard' English inscriptions may bear features of their users' first language. The central part of the continuum is occupied by mesolectal variety of English destined to serve international communication between NNS in *lingua franca* situations.



Figure 6: Communication-identity scale and the variation of English in the LLL

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the limitations of the presented analysis are caused by a relatively small sample of data which were collected randomly within a restricted area of LLL. Any further research into the matter of the vitality of English in the local linguistic landscape will

necessitate a methodical collection of data and construction of a corpus, identification of all actors involved and a thorough description and interpretation of linguistic traits of English in relation to the current approaches to the global functioning of English. Research into the dynamics of LL is a promising strand of interdisciplinary social research which can be helpful in detecting the fluidity of sociolinguistic reality at the intersection of the local and the global and in disclosing the ways in which global trends help shape local sociolinguistic realities.

### Abbreviations

EC	Expanding Circle (of English)	EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EIL	English as an International Language	ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELT	English Language Teaching	ENL	English as a Native Language
ESL	English as a Second Language	IC	Inner Circle (of English)
IE	International English	LLL	local linguistic landscape
NS	Native Speaker	NNS	Non-native Speaker
OC	Outer Circle (of English)	SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SLI	Standard Language Ideology	WE	World Englishes

Note: This publication has been supported by the KEGA 006PU-4/2011 grant scheme.

### References

- Backhaus, P. (2006): Multilingualism in Tokyo: A Look into the Linguistic Landscape, In: *International Journal of Multilingualism* 3 (1), pp. 52–66.
- Brutt-Griffler, J. (2002): *World English: a Study in its Development*, Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Erling, E. J. (2005): The Many Names of English, In: *English Today*, 21 (1), pp. 40-44.
- Landry, R. and Bourhis, R. Y. (1997): Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study, In: *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16 (1), pp. 23-49.
- Ferenčík, M. (2010): Global English, but Whose Norms? The Problem of Norms of Communicative Competence for English as a Global Language, In Z. Karabinošová and M. Kášová (eds.) *Cudzie jazyky, odborná komunikácia a interkultúrne fenomény II*. ISM Prešov, pp. 75-83.
- Ferenčík, M. (2011): *Doing (Im)politeness in the Media*. Prešov: FF PU.
- Ferenčík, M. (2012): Politeness Aspects of ELF Interaction: a Discussion of a Conversational Encounter from the VOICE Corpus, In: *Prague Journal of English Studies*, 1 (1), pp. 109-132.

- Gibová, K. (2010): O preklade anglických právnych textov EÚ. Lingvisticko-translatologická analýza, Prešov: Prešovská univerzita v Prešove.
- Graddol, D. (1997): *The Future of English?*, British Council.
- Graddol, D. (2006): *English Next*, available at: <<http://www.britishcouncil.org/learning-research-english-next.pdf>>, retrieved: 14 May 2012.
- Jenkins, J. (2000): *The Phonology of English as an International Language*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, J. (2009): *World Englishes. A Resource Book for Students*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Kachru, B. B. (1985): Standards, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: the English language in the outer circle, In: R. Quirk and H. Widdowson (eds.), *English in the World: teaching and learning the language and literatures*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1992): Teaching World Englishes, In: B.B. Kachru (ed.), *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 48-74.
- Kirkpatrick, A. (2007): *World Englishes: Implications for International Communication and English Language Teaching*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lojová, G. and Straková, Z. (2012). Teoretické východiská vyučovania angličtiny v primárnom vzdelávaní. Bratislava: UK.
- McArthur, T. (1998): *The English Languages*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McKay, S. L. (2002): *Teaching English as an International Language: rethinking goals and Approaches*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Melchers, G. and Shaw, P. (2011): *World Englishes*, London: Hodder Education.
- Modiano, M. (1999a): International English in the global village, In: *English Today*, 15 (2), pp. 22-34.
- Modiano, M. (1999b): Standard English(es) and Educational Practices for the World's Lingua Franca, In: *English Today*, 15 (4), pp. 3-13.
- Modiano, M. (2001): Ideology and the ELT practitioner, In: *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 11 (2), pp. 159-173.
- Mollin, S. (2006): English as a Lingua Franca: A New Variety in the New Expanding Circle?, In: *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 5 (2), pp. 41-57.
- Pennycook, A. (2007): *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Reh, M. (2004): Multilingual writing: a reader-oriented typology - with examples from Lira Municipality (Uganda), In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 170 (1), pp. 1-41.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2004): Research Perspectives on Teaching English as a Lingua Franca, In: *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 24, pp. 209-39.
- Seidlhofer, B. (2011): *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Scollon, R. and Scollon, S. W. (2003): *Discourses in Place. Language in the material world*, London and New York: Routledge.

Strevens, P. (1992): English as an international language: Directions in the 1990s, In: B. B. Kachru (ed.), *The Other Tongue, English Across Cultures*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, pp. 27-47.

Trudgill, P. and Hannah, J. (2008): *International English: A Guide to the Varieties of Standard English*, London: Arnold.

Wenger, E. (1998): *Communities of Practice. Learning, Meaning, and Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Widdowson, H. G. (1997): The Forum: EIL, ESL, EFL: Global issues and local interests, In: *World Englishes*, 16 (1), pp. 135–146.

---

### Author

Milan Ferenčík, Associate Professor, PhDr., Ph.D., Institute of British and American Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Prešov, Prešov, Slovakia; e-mail: milan.ferencik@unipo.sk

---

### Appendix

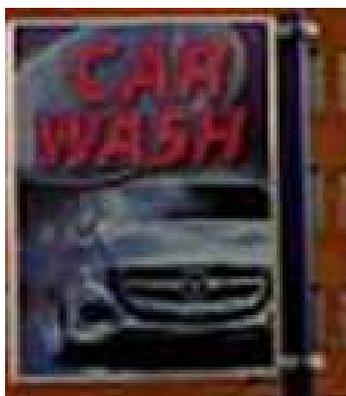


Figure 4.2.1



Figure 4.2.2

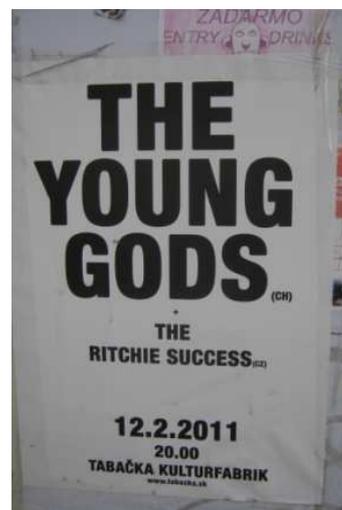


Figure 4.2.3



Figure 4.2.4



Figure 4.2.5



Figure 4.2.6



Figure 4.2.7



Figure 4.2.8



Figure 4.2.9



Figure 4.3.1



Figure 4.3.2

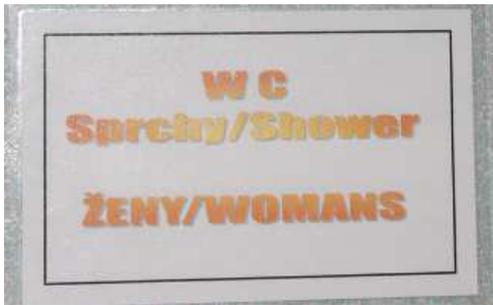


Figure 4.3.3a



Figure 4.3.3b



Figure 4.4.1



Figure 4.4.2