## Intelligibility in SE Asian English

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Interviewer: what did you do in your last

vacation /vəkeɪ[ən/

Student: pardon?

Interviewer: what did you do in your last

vacation /veikeifən/

Student: oh, i went to ...

Interviewer: what did you do in your last

vacation /vəkeɪʃən/

Student: pardon?

Interviewer: what did you do in your last

vacation /veɪkeɪ[ən/

Student: oh, i went to ...

Sometimes, native patterns of speech are not the most intelligible in an international

setting.

#### Overview

- · Pronunciation in England
- · Norms of pronunciation
- Voiceless TH in Brunei and other SE Asian Englishes
- Reduced Vowels in Brunei and other SE Asian Englishes
- · Misunderstandings in ELF recordings in SE Asia
- · Misunderstandings in Brunei English
- · Teaching pronunciation

Pronunciation in England

Speech Influenced by London Accent (from Deterding, 2005)







we went out a few times we were only there for three nights



### we were only there for three nights

R1 : we don't have enough free nights R2 : what I really don't have free life

R3: ???

R4: we don't have free licence

R5: we were only there for three nights

R6: we don't have free life.

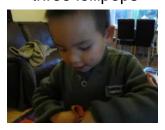
voiceless TH in Britain (Oliver, aged 4;7)



three lollipops



three lollipops



We get our pronunciation from our friends, not from our parents.

Is voiceless TH as [f] permanent? (Oliver, aged 7;5)



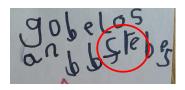
three bears (Elsie, aged 4;8)



## She even uses 'f' in writing



### Goldilocks and the three bears



## Reduced Vowels in England

## a wolf that had just escaped from the zoo





## proceed/precede

from Wells (2014, p. 12):

"Every now and again my students would reveal they were confused by the words *proceed* and *precede* ..."

Most speakers in SE Asia would not confuse these words.



#### could of

 People in England and the USA often write 'could of' instead of 'could have'.

## Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)

|        | have    | of  |
|--------|---------|-----|
| could  | 43,508  | 176 |
| should | 31,747  | 76  |
| would  | 110,263 | 212 |

http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/

## could of

m halfway and fight there. We could of had people living in Mars, to survive. " " Wh , trying to avoid what she <u>could of</u> the punishing thorns. They were all scratched by on very often and it <u>could</u> of done corkscrews in the pan, would have been okay wi nim into the Platte. He <u>could</u> of drowned, probably would of but Dave Arthur was rid and the window and described what he could of the Mortons' party. " I've been to S inded like a vulture to devour what it <u>could of</u> Japan's now-moribund empire. In the s -- I think he <u>could of</u> been criticized for some of the past statements. This is one f the little engine that <u>could of</u> this straw poll. Prof-TRAYNHAM: Absolutely. CHIDEY VEINTRAUB: Yes, he certainly <u>could</u> <u>of</u>. And also, he might have been prescribing it ng through such a monocle  $\underline{\mathbf{could}}\ \underline{\mathbf{of}}$  course be just as deluded as one using ordinal ring to take in what he could of this new information. Jesus! What the hell had he g utside her usual frame of reference. She could of course be happy again. In the fra ossberg 500 is the Little Engine That <u>Could of</u> shotguns. Although O.F. Mossberg ma The decision not to seek out birth kin  $\underline{\mathbf{could}}\ \underline{\mathbf{of}}$  course be seen as equally constitutive obligation to take out what we could of Iran's nuclear capabilities. We may not be nowbirds from Florida could of put it in there. " # " No, " Rudisell said. sh I seen  ${\color{red} {\bf could}} \ {\color{blue} {\bf of}}$  eaten that rainbow for breakfast. " # Meekins smiled, showing a eral Japanese scholars abroad to learn all they could of modern ideas and technolo lot. You made what you could of sand, wind, saltwater, and other people. Perhaps a

#### Some of these are grammatical:

m halfway and fight there. We **could of** had people living in Mars, to survive. ""Wh, trying to avoid what she **could of** the punishing thorns. They were all scratched by an very often and it **could of** done corkscrews in the pan, would have been okay will min to the Platte. He **could of** drowned, probably would of but Dave Arthur was rid and the window and described whether **could of** on Mortons' party. "I've been to S inded like a vulture to devour what it **could of** panar show-morbund empire. In the s-I think he **could of** bene the **could of** panar show-morbund empire. In the s-I think he **could of** this straw poll. Prof-TRAYNHAM: Absolutely, CHIDEY WENTRAUB: Yes, he certainly **could of** change by ust as defunded as one using ordinaring to take in what he **could of** this straw poll. Prof-TRAYNHAM: Absolutely, CHIDEY WENTRAUB: Yes, he certainly **could of** change by ust as defunded as one using ordinaring to take in what he **could of** this existence be used to be used as one using ordinaring to take in what he **could of** this existence because the benefit of the could of this existence because the benefit of the could of the could of course be seen as equally constitutive obligation to take out what we **could of** put it in there." " " No," Rudelled sid.

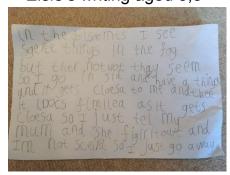
It is seen **could of** eaten that rainbow for breakfast. " a Heekins smilled, showing a cral Japanese scholars abroad to learn all they **could of** modern ideas and technolo lot. You made what you **could of** sand, wind, saltwater, and other people. Perhaps i

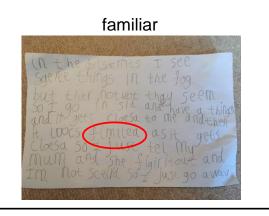
#### But some should be 'could have':

m halfway and fight there. We **could of** had people living in Mars, to survive. "" WI, trying to avoid what she **could of** the punishing thorns. They were all scratched by no very often and **could of** done corn, rews in the pan, would have been okey wi min to the Plate. He **could of** done corn, rews in the pan, would have been okey wi and the window and be cothed what he **could of** the Mortons' party. "I've been to S unded like a vulture to devour what it **could of** the Mortons' party. "I've been to S unded like a vulture to devour what it **could of** the Mortons' party. "I've been to S unded like a vulture to devour what it **could of** he past statements. This is one If the little engine that **could of** this straw poll. Prof-TRAYHHAM. Absolutely, CHIDELY VEINTRAUB: Yes, he certainly **could of**. And also, he might have been prescribing it ny through such a monocle **could of** course be upta as deluded as one using ordinaring to take in what he **could of** this new information. Jesust What the hell had he gutside her usual frame of reference. She **could of** course be happy again. In the first ossberg 500 is the Little Engine That **could of** course be seen as equally constitutive obligation to take out mark we **could of** and one of the past shough O.F. Mossberg may the decision not to seek out birth kin **could of** course be seen as equally constitutive obligation to take out mark we **could of** and suclear capabilities. We may not be a involvind from Flor day could of put it in the be. " = " No," Rudisell said.

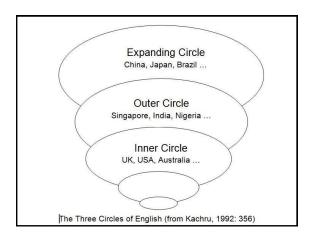
\$\text{s} 1 \text{ seek on that rainbow its unclear capabilities. We may not be a longer to the past of the past and the thool lot. You made what you **could of** and, wind, saltwater, and other people. Perhaps it was the proper the people.

## Elsie's writing aged 5;8





## Norms of Pronunciation



## Norms in English: Kachru

Kachru (1992) suggests

- Outer Circle countries should develop their own norms.
- Expanding Circle countries should still refer to the Inner Circle for their norms.

#### Norms in ELF: Seidlhofer

Seidlhofer (2011) argues

- Norms of English should be based on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF).
- Speakers from the Expanding Circle are just as important as those from the Outer Circle.



## The Lingua Franca Core (LFC) (Jenkins, 2000)

- Only some features of English pronunciation are essential for intelligibility.
- These constitute the LFC.
- Features excluded from the LFC do not need to be taught.



#### LFC: Some Excluded Features

- /θ/ and /ð/
- · reduced vowels

## Questions

- How is voiceless TH pronounced in Brunei and the rest of SE Asia?
- Do reduced vowels occur in Brunei and SE Asia?
- Which features of pronunciation in South-East Asia cause problems for intelligibility?

Voiceless TH in Brunei, Singapore, and the rest of SE Asia Deterding, D., & Salbrina, S. (2013). Brunei English: A New Variety in a Multilingual Society. Dordrecht: Springer



#### **UBDCSBE**

- 53 undergraduates
  - 38 female
  - 15 male
- · 2 kinds of data
  - reading a short passage: the Wolf passage
  - 5 minute conversation

## **Educated Speech**

- · The data is educated Brunei English.
- Many speakers do not have good English, and there is a wide divide (Jones, 2007).
- Students from unfashionable rural schools may only have rudimentary skills in English when they leave school (Wood et al, 2011).

## Voiceless TH

## Voiceless TH

- voiceless TH is sometimes pronounced as [t]
- influenced by Malay: terapi, teater, tema, termos, atlet, Katolik...
- These words are pronounced with [t] in Malay; it is hardly suprising if they are also pronounced with [t] in English.



Kompleks Dewan Kemasyarakatan Daerah Tutong.

Manakala pada 6 hingga 8 November pula akan diadakal *Car Booth Sale* bertempat di Taman Rekreasi Sungai Basong.

Selain itu, Daerah Tutong juga mengadakan Pasar Malam Ria Tutong yang berkonsenkan

car booth sale instead of the standard car boot sale reflects the lack of a distinction between /t/ and  $/\theta/$ 

## Voiceless TH in the passage

- he thought up a good plan
- and began to threaten the sheep
- he was trying to fool them a third time



| (Deterding & Salbrina 2013: 25) |          |          |  |  |
|---------------------------------|----------|----------|--|--|
|                                 | [θ]      | [t]      |  |  |
| thought                         | 28       | 25       |  |  |
| threaten                        | 23       | 30       |  |  |
| third                           | 24       | 29       |  |  |
| Total                           | 75 (47%) | 84 (53%) |  |  |
|                                 |          |          |  |  |

#### Voiceless TH in the interview

i didn't (0.5) think [trnk] of it at first but (0.6) now, now that i've (0.6) worked there, i think [ $\theta rnk$ ] it's something that i might (1.1) go into after (.) university

## Voiceless TH in SE Asian (Deterding & Kirkpatrick 2006)

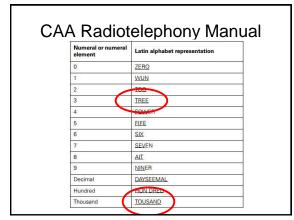
FSingl: and i think [tɪŋk] er anyway you all may er join in the ... celebration

FLao : new many thing [tɪŋ] from Singapore

FViet: i don't have to teach theories

[tɪrɪz]

FMyan: er three [tri:] times



#### Voiceless TH

 If pilots are required to have [t] at the start of three and thousand, why should we insist on our students having [θ]?

**Avoiding Vowel Reduction** 

## **Avoiding Reduced Vowels**

In the UBDCSBE read passage, every single speaker has a full vowel in *that* and also *had* in:

a wolf that had just escaped from the zoo

## Japan (F35)

(Deterding & Salbrina, 2013, p. 40)

erm (0.5) i would want to go to japan [dʒæpæn] first



### Japan (M4)

err anime soundtrack ... er from japan



## Japan (F24)

Interviewer: if you if you could travel

anywhere in the world, where

would you like to go to

F24: mmm ... japan /dʒepæn/
Interviewer: why japan /dʒəpæn/
F24: i wanted to see the sakura

#### **Japanese**

currently i'm taking Japanese



(from Nur Raihan, forthcoming)

## solidity / terminology

The transcription of students can indicate their pronunciation.

2. solidity

/spili diti/

6. terminology

/t3=minəlbd3i/

solidity & terminology transcriptions by 50 students

/e/ /p/ /ɔː/ /ɔ/ /ʊ/ /ʌ/
solidity 43 3 1 1 1 1

/e/ /p/ /ɔː/ /e/ /a/
terminology 35 11 1 2 1

## sociology

i would love to teach um (.) sociology



## anthropology / sociology

i want to be a (.) an anthropologist or a sociologist



## sociology / anthropology

sociology (.) and anthropology



## phonology

is it phonology



(from Nur Raihan, forthcoming)

## continuously

and then continuously the next day we went to labuan



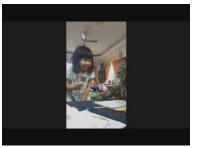
## comparisons

we only care about the price comparisons



(from Nur Raihan, forthcoming)

## purple or violet (Brunei Child Aged 3;11, Nurhana 2015)



#### Reduced Vowels in Brunei

- Some speakers have reduced vowels in the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words such as japan, computer, advice ...
- Almost nobody has reduced vowels in function words such as of, as, than, to, that had
- Does the absence of reduced vowels enhance or reduce intelligibility?
- If you avoid vowel reduction, vacation would not be misunderstood as vocation.

## Reduced Vowels and Spelling

- Nobody in Brunei would write could of instead of could have.
- --- unless they have lived in the UK for a while (Aznah Suhaimi, personal communication).

## Absence of Reduced Vowels in SE Asia

(Deterding & Kirkpatrick 2006)
MThai : grammar translation method
[meθpd]

MIndon: it's officially [pfɪʃəli] launched

FBrun: i can't compare [kpmpeə] now

FPhil: these er six grade graduates [grædju:eɪts] from the elementary

level

## **CAA Radiotelephony Manual**

| Numeral or numeral element | Latin alphabet representation |  |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| 0                          | ZERO                          |  |
| 1                          | WUN                           |  |
| 2                          | 100                           |  |
| 3                          | TREE                          |  |
| 4                          | FOWER                         |  |
| 5                          | EIEE                          |  |
| 6                          | SIX                           |  |
| 7                          | SEVEN                         |  |
| 8                          | AII                           |  |
| 9                          | NINER                         |  |
| Decimal                    | PAISELMAL                     |  |
| Hundred                    | HUN DRED                      |  |
| Thousand                   | TOUSAND                       |  |

#### The CAA and Vowel Reduction

- For the crucially important domain of airtraffic communication, reduced vowels are avoided in *hundred* and *thousand*.
- It seems that use of full vowels and evenly stressed syllables enhances intelligibility.

## Syllable-Based Rhythm and Intelligibility

- Many people in the world find syllablebased rhythm more easily intelligible.
- In stress-based rhythm, many syllables are not clear.
- Maybe avoiding vowel reduction and using syllable-based rhythm enhances intelligibility.

However, sometimes misunderstandings do occur

data from Deterding and Kirkpatrick (2006)

Speaker from Laos
Listeners from Malaysia and the Philippines



Speaker from Vietnam
Listeners from Brunei and Malaysia



Speaker from Myanmar Listener from Indonesia



Misunderstandings in English as a Lingua Franca

(Deterding, 2013)

Deterding, D. (2013). Misunderstandings in English as a Lingua Franca: An Analysis of ELF Interactions in South-East Asia.
Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.



#### **CMACE Data**

- · 183 tokens of misunderstanding
- obtained from 6.5 hours of recordings in the Brunei component of the ACE Corpus (http://corpus.ied.edu.hk/ace)
- all tokens are available in the CMACE corpus:

http://fass.ubd.edu.bn/research/CMACE/home/index.html

## Speaker from Laos

MLs: so but (.) erm: (.) for the food (2) for the ?? the ?? er: i would say similar in my country laos



### Speaker from Laos

MLs: so but (.) erm: (.) for the food (2) for the weather the weather er: i would say similar in my country laos

3 contributing factors:

- medial TH as [t]
- vowel in first syllable as [eɪ]
- · MLs starts to talk about food

## Speaker from Laos

MLs: so usually: i: see: er: the food er they serve in (.) ??? or: the ?? is usually er have the chicken



## Speaker from Laos

MLs : so usually: i: see: er: the food er they serve in (.) coffee-break or: the lunchtime is usually er have the chicken



## Speaker from Laos

i saw: (.) some ?? from er: my former president to your ??



## Speaker from Laos

i saw: (.) some present from er: my former president to your sultan



- · /r/ is missing in present
- sultan has three syllables

## Speaker from Laos

oh: everybody open your menu? oh no sorry sir i don't like ??. erm (.) so you see (.) no i don't talk about the ??



## Speaker from Laos

oh: everybody open your menu? oh no sorry sir i don't like Man U. erm (.) so you see (.) no i don't talk about the football



## Speaker from China

er the president of er international ?? they talk to the: (.) the office?



## Speaker from China

er the president of er international club they talk to the: (.) the office?



- · club has /kr/ at the start
- · the listener heard crowd

## Speaker from Nigeria

MNg: the way you have to ?? me if i come to your office (.) can you sit down? can i offer you something? that is what they want in the place of work

## Speaker from Nigeria

MNg: the way you have to handle me if i come to your office (.) can you sit down? can i offer you something? that is what they want in the place of work



The listener from Brunei heard 'undo'.

### Speaker from Nigeria

i'm not sure maybe (.) it's on the right one i'm not sure it's like (.) it's ?? again to know (.) am i right



## Speaker from Nigeria

i'm not sure maybe (.) it's on the right one i'm not sure it's like (.) it's help us again to know (.) am i right



## Speaker from Nigeria

they are not looking for anything. that time they will be calling them because they are ?? (.) they need their service



## Speaker from Nigeria

they are not looking for anything. that time they will be calling them because they are hot cake (.) they need their service



The listener from Brunei heard 'outkick'.

## The Following are Included in the LFC

- initial consonant clusters (present, coffeebreak)
- distinctions between /l/ and /r/ (lunchtime, club)
- distinctions between /l/ and /n/ (football)
- initial /h/ (handle, help, hot cake)

## 183 Misunderstandings

| Category    | Examples                  | Number |
|-------------|---------------------------|--------|
| /pr/, /br/, | present, coffee-break     | 20     |
| /l/ ~ /r/   | lunchtime, club           | 6      |
| /l/ ~ /n/   | football                  | 10     |
| initial /h/ | help, handle,<br>hot cake | 6      |

Most of the issues with pronunciation involve features included in the LFC.

# Misunderstandings in Brunei English

(data from Ishamina, forthcoming, b)

### FBrunei + FMaldives

Md: <1> yeah yeah yeah </1>

Br: <1> for the </1> a religious school yeah

Md: so what are what are the subjects (.) they are

studying

Br: in ???? <2> school? </2>
Md: <2> yeah </2> yeah yeah



#### FBrunei + FMaldives

Md: so what are what are the subjects (.) they are studying

Br: in ugama <2> school? </2>
Md: <2> yeah </2> yeah yeah

Br: erm ah

Md: you mean (.) government?

B: goven- in the government will be like erm how do you say?



## Code-Mixing

- Code-mixing is very common in Brunei (McLellan, 2010).
- Code-switching can sometimes lead to misunderstandings.
- Use of the term *Ugama school* is also very common (Noor Azam, forthcoming).
- Speakers need to remember that people from elsewhere may not understand terms like *Ugama school*.

#### MBrunei + Listener from France

MBr: so your last resort is to speak malay to them (.) that's what they think (.) they think that erm (.) by: when you speak that ah malay ah you ?? ah you have a ?? that you're not er a good english speaker

#### MBrunei + Listener from France

MBr: when you speak that ah malay ah you thought ah you have a thought that you're not er a good english speaker

The listener could not understand this; he guessed it as 'tell'.



#### MBrunei + Listener from France

MBr: when you speak that ah malay ah you thought ah you have a thought that you're not er a good english speaker

However, the problem is not just the initial TH sound; it is also the absence of a final /t/.

#### FBrunei + Listener from Vietnam

er last time i: (.) have my diploma? then i teach er in primary school? then after that i (got) er the chance to ?? my studies er here?



(Ishamina, forthcoming, a)

#### FBrunei + Listener from Vietnam

er last time i: (.) have my diploma? then i teach er in primary school? then after that i (got) er the chance to further my studies er here?

There is a [d] for the medial voiced TH. Medial voiced TH can sometimes be misunderstood.

FVietnam heard 'final'.

#### FBrunei + Listener from China

FBr: yeah that ?? was the last one i: (.) not only visited but i studied there

#### FBrunei + Listener from China

FBr: yeah that (the) korea was the last one i: (.) not only visited but i studied there



#### FBrunei + Listener from China

FBr: yeah that (the) korea was the last one i: (.) not only visited but i studied there

FCh heard 'today'; this might be because of the spurious 'the' before it. It seems unlikely to be because of a full vowel in Korea.

(Ishamina & Deterding, 2015)



## **Teaching Pronunciation**

## **Pronunciation Teaching**

- · Good pronunciation is important.
- It is vital for speakers to know where the problem is and how to fix it.

## **Big Holes**

MLs: yeah we have some problem. we

have big holes [houns] (.) in in some

areas

MMa: hones? sorry?

MLs: holes [hount] you know holes [hount]



## Fixing the Wrong Thing

- The speaker tries very hard to fix the problem.
- He even adds a spurious [t] on the end of hole.
- But the problem is actually [n] instead of ///.
- · He does not know what the problem is.

### **Pronunciation Teaching**

- Raising awareness about a speaker's pronunciation is important.
- Speakers need help in fixing their pronunciation.
- Some features of pronunciation are more important than others.
- Teachers should focus on the features of pronunciation that are important.

#### Attitudes towards the LFC

- How would students in Thailand and Indonesia feel about LFC-based teaching?
- Most students in China still prefer a native speaker model (Ho & Miller, 2011).
- Many teachers would not be willing to allow [t] for voiceless TH.
- However, there seems to be an increasing acceptance of local norms.
- Ho (forthcoming) finds many UBD students prefer teachers with standard usage but local pronunciation.

## Accents of English

- Use of [t] for voiceless TH is probably not very important; there are more important things for teachers to focus on.
- Use of vowel reduction does not seem to improve intelligibility in an international setting.
- Some features of British pronunciation hinder rather than help intelligibility.
- You don't need to pretend to be from the UK in order to be highly intelligible.

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