

シンガポール人学生の英語観：日本人学生との比較

溝 上 由 紀

Singaporean Students' Attitudes Towards English: A Comparative Study Between Singapore and Japan

Mizokami Yuki

1 . Introduction

English can be seen as the dominant language in Singapore now in terms of the extent of its use in government administration, education, business, number of speakers and degree of prestige accorded etc. (Lim, 1991). The 2000 census reveals that 71% of the population is literate in English (Census, 2000). This diffusion of English can be attributed to the 'language and education policy' Discourse in post-independence Singapore, which has ideologised English claiming that English is equally available to all people in Singapore; that English is the link language which unifies the different ethnic-linguistic groups in Singapore; and that English is utilitarian and neutral. What is apparent in the 'language and education policy' Discourse is that it aims at creating a new Singaporean identity with English. Thus the 'language and education policy' Discourse emphasises superior aspects of English in order to gain people's consensus to make the coloniser's language the most important language in Singapore. Certainly the essential but shady characteristics of English, that is, English as the language of the coloniser and linguistic imperialism, were passed over in the 'language and education policy' Discourse in Singapore under the name of 'pragmatism'.

Today English is used as a medium of instruction in all schools in Singapore. English education has been justified on the grounds that it has pragmatic value for employment and for guaranteeing access to the science and technology of the West. Thus, university students who have climbed up the educational ladder can be seen as the very people who supposedly have acquired the best English through education and who will make the most of English. Therefore, it must be worthwhile to grasp what they think about the position of the English language, the former coloniser's language, in Singapore.

Accordingly, I conducted a survey among students at the National University of Singapore (NUS), which is regarded as the most prestigious university in the country, with the cooperation of its

Department of English Language and Literature¹. The survey was conducted via e-mail in late September of 2001. A questionnaire was distributed as a file attachment to about 800 students including freshman, second and third year students, and they were asked to fill out the questionnaire and to send it back to me via e-mail at their convenience. In the questionnaire some of the questions and the research methodology are based on the survey conducted by Shaw (1981) of 170 Singaporean students' attitudes towards English and it deals with the following topics:

1. The language background of the students and the patterns of their present use of English.
2. Reasons why they study English.
3. Their opinions regarding the present and future position of the English language in Singapore.

Also as an optional question, I asked the students to write anything regarding what they think of English at the end of the questionnaire. To that open question, 31 students gave their comments. In the following discussion, I will quote the students' comments from time to time.

The number of questionnaires returned was 90, which is not many although it is somehow an expected number². Therefore, I would not claim that the following discussion is representative of all Singaporean youngsters. Even so, the results I gained at least show some suggestions about the current Singapore situation. Furthermore, the respondents are students of NUS, who are the would-be elite who have climbed up to the pinnacle of the educational ladder³. Therefore again, the data does not describe the attitudes of the entire population in Singapore. Rather it shows the attitudes of the English-speaking elite. It is still useful, nevertheless, to know their feelings about the English language, since it is those elite who have been and will become decision-makers about language policy. So I may be able to predict the future picture of Singapore by listening to their opinions.

2. Their language background and their use of English

The respondents were students aged 19 to 26 from various fields such as English literature, English language, psychology, chemistry and biology. Of the 90 respondents, 57.78% claimed that their first language (mother tongue) was Mandarin (Chinese) and 26.67% asserted that it was English. Others claimed that another Chinese language, Malay, Tamil etc. was their first language.

Amongst them, 41.11% and 32.22% claimed that they usually talk to their father and mother in English respectively, whereas only 8.89% and 2.22% claimed that they use English when talking to their grandfather and grandmother respectively. On the other hand, when talking to their brothers and sisters, 48.89% stated that they mainly use English, followed by Mandarin (30%). When talking to their close friends, 58.89% stated that their main medium is English only, followed by users of both English and Mandarin (23.33%). What these results show is that young people talk in vernaculars to their

grandparents generation mostly but they use English more with their parents generation. In addition, when they talk to people of their own generation, such as their siblings and close friends, they predominantly use English. Thus it can be said that English looks set to become the main medium of 'inter-ethnic' or 'intra-national' communication by dislocating other languages generation by generation. Students' comments in the following will well explain the situation.

When I speak to my friends, I usually code-switch between Mandarin and English to the extent of using both languages within the same sentence. Similarly, I code-switch between Mandarin and my dialect which is Hainanese when speaking to my grandparents. Although I speak only Mandarin to my dad, I code-switch between Mandarin and Teochew which is my mom's dialect when speaking to her (3 rd year, aged 21, English Language & Japanese Studies major)

English is so widely used in Singapore that I was surprised to find out that Malay is actually our National Language! On the other hand, many young Singaporeans are not fluent in English at all. I think we are transforming into a . . . [sic] we ARE a bilingual society, with youngsters being able to switch between English and their respective second language easily and unconsciously. But it's a shame that many in my generation are losing their dialects (3 rd year, aged 21, Science major)

As Pakir (1994) argues, the preference for English education implies that the majority of children would be shifting their language to English, which would become their dominant language as they went up the educational ladder. In other words, there is the clear shift to the hegemony of English in Singapore.

In contrast, in communication with shop assistants in their local town, they tend to use Mandarin (63.33%) rather than English (22.22%). However, when talking to university tutors/lecturers, university classmates, shop assistants in a department store and service staff in an expensive restaurant, more than 80% in each category claim that they use English. Meanwhile, 84.44% claim that they usually read English newspapers rather than vernacular ones. These results prove that English is used widely in formal and public domains and vernaculars are used in informal domains. The situation is also illustrated in the following comment by a student.

I use each language [English and Mandarin] as the need arises. When talking to a Chinese national, I would use Mandarin, while I can 'shift gears' in an instant to communicate with a student from India in English. To many educated Singaporeans, shifting from one language to another has become second nature. Many would be hard pressed to admit the ascendancy of one language over

another in their daily lives, though to be truthful, Mandarin remains the dominant language of low level, informal communication, while English is still undisputedly the language of government, business and science (2 nd year, aged 22, Chemistry & English major)

3 . Reasons for studying English: A comparison between Singaporean students and Japanese students

Regarding their motivation for studying English, the Singaporean students were presented with a list of sixteen possible reasons for studying it and were asked to rate each one on a scale of four from 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree' to 'strongly disagree' thus indicating the extent to which it was one of their personal reasons for studying English. The methodology is based on Shaw (1981), however the neutral choice was deliberately removed on my scale, since it is said that people tend to choose the neutral option for controversial problems so that it would make the analysis much harder (Otani et al., 1999). Since there were some respondents who did not answer all of the questions, some of the figures do not add up to one hundred percent.

Meanwhile, for comparison, I conducted a similar sort of survey with Japanese college students. The subjects were 104 students of Aichi Konan College who are taking any one of my three optional English courses in the college. Their fields of study varied from Living Design, Senior Dietitian, Food and Nutritional Sciences, Social Welfare and Liberal Arts to Early Childhood Education. There is nobody who is majoring in English. Most of the subjects are freshmen (age 18 or 19) in the college. The survey was conducted from May to June in 2002 through a questionnaire written in Japanese. The questionnaire contained a list of possible reasons for their studying English, most of which are almost equivalent of the questions put to the Singaporeans.

It is usually argued that there are two types of motivation that people have in learning a foreign language: instrumental and integrative. The instrumental motivation refers to the individuals' interest in acquiring sufficient communicative ability to satisfy their own specific goals, usually economic targets. By contrast, the integrative motivation refers to the individuals' desire to associate themselves ever more closely with a target community to the point of assimilating to it (Ager, 2001). However, there are reasons for studying which are difficult to categorise in either motivation. Suppose a student says, 'I study English because I want to talk to foreign people'. Would the motivation be instrumental or integrative? One would argue that if the student talks to a foreigner for business or educational reasons the motivation is instrumental, and that if talking about general things the motivation is integrative. Nevertheless, the categorisation is not persuasive. When talking to someone in English, it is plausible to regard that the student has both motivations at the same time. Thus the instrumental/integrative dichotomy is not truly clear, but for the convenience of discussion I shall sometimes utilise the categorisation.

First, let me look at the results of the seven reasons why Singaporean students study English which are generally associated with instrumental motivation. For comparison, I shall show the results of the Japanese respondents along with them when applicable. Also, I shall show the exact translation of the questions asked in Japanese in parenthesis. The following seven reasons (a) to (g) are related to the pragmatic value of English that has been stressed by the 'language and education policy' Discourse in Singapore.

(a) I studied English so that I can get information from all over the world.

(I studied English so that I can get information from all over the world; for example through the Internet.)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 43.33% | 47.78% | 7.78% | 1.11% |
| Japan | 13.46% | 37.50% | 36.54% | 10.58% |

(b) I studied English because having proficiency in English enables me to succeed in Singapore

(Japan)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 32.22% | 53.33% | 12.22% | 1.11% |
| Japan | 14.42% | 39.42% | 32.69% | 12.50% |

(c) I studied English because it is required in our educational and social system.

(I studied English because it is required in Japanese society.)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 46.67% | 36.67% | 14.44% | 2.22% |
| Japan | 14.42% | 50.96% | 25.96% | 8.65% |

(d) I studied English because it will help me gain good employment.

(I studied English so that I can gain jobs related to English.)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 25.56% | 47.78% | 21.11% | 5.56% |
| Japan | 0.96% | 21.15% | 36.54% | 40.38% |

(e) I studied English so that I can travel all over the world.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 21.11% | 51.11% | 22.22% | 4.44% |
| Japan | 49.04% | 37.50% | 9.62% | 3.85% |

(f) I studied English so that I can study or work in a foreign country.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 13.33% | 55.56% | 25.56% | 3.33% |
| Japan | 10.58% | 25.00% | 37.50% | 25.00% |

(g) I don't really like English, but I have studied it because it is useful.

(I don't like English, but I studied it because it will be useful in the future.)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 1.11% | 12.22% | 47.78% | 36.67% |
| Japan | 29.81% | 38.46% | 22.12% | 8.65% |

Looking at the results above, the Singaporean students strongly accept the pragmatic and utilitarian value of English compared with the Japanese students. They study English as a passport to higher occupational and educational opportunities. Except for reasons (e) and (g) , many more Singaporean students agree with the reasons above than Japanese students. Reason (e) was strongly agreed with by more Japanese students perhaps because traveling abroad is very popular amongst modern Japanese. It shows that the Japanese students study English so that they can travel abroad, whereas most of them are not particularly interested in studying or working abroad. The result of reason (g) , which displays the biggest difference, clearly shows that the Singaporeans like the English language, whereas the Japanese do not particularly like it. Reason (d) shows the second biggest difference. This clearly suggests that, in Singapore, English ability is directly related to the job opportunities that motivate Singaporeans to study English hard, whereas in Japan it is not. Let me introduce the following comment of a Singaporean student.

English is very much a recognized language throughout the world and is widely used in important areas such as government policies, economics, commerce and more. It will be disadvantageous for an individual to not [sic] be proficient in English if he wants to excel in his work (1 st year, aged 19, Sociology major)

Thus I can say that the 'language and education policy' Discourse in Singapore that emphasises the

pragmatic value of English is effectively internalised by the Singaporean informants.

The 'language and education policy' Discourse has also emphasised the idea that English as the unitary language in both intra-national and international contexts. The following reasons are related to the point.

(h) I studied English so that I can communicate with other people living in Singapore whose language is unfamiliar to me.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 27.78% | 57.78% | 7.78% | 4.44% |

(i) I studied English so that I can talk to non-native speakers of English from all over the world.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 21.11% | 55.56% | 18.89% | 4.44% |

(j) I studied English so that I can talk to native English speakers.

(I studied English so that I can talk to foreign people.)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 11.11% | 56.67% | 17.78% | 13.33% |
| Japan | 49.04% | 32.69% | 12.50% | 4.81% |

The results show that the Singaporean students are well aware of the importance of English as a unitary tool.

English is a major/commonly used language used throughout the world. Its status on the international scene is important. Thus it is inevitable & is a must to know English (2 nd year, aged 20, English Language & History major).

As the well-established language of the world, EL [English Language] has become a language of power, a language that enables us to do wonders. Because of EL, we are able to communicate, to share with one another and to look into each others' world. All of us have a duty to promote it in the utmost manner and help everyone acquire the use of this language. It will be beneficial to us all (2 nd year, aged 20, English Language & Political Science major).

It is recognisable that the above comments expressed by the students are identical to the arguments about the English language articulated by the 'language and education policy' Discourse in Singapore.

Question (j) could be also categorised in the integrative motivation, as I pointed out earlier. It should be noted here that when we say 'foreigners' in Japan it often refers to 'white native English speakers', so I regard the Japanese question (j) as equivalent to question (j) for the Singaporeans. It is understandable that more Japanese students agree with this reason than the Singaporeans. As I shall show, the Japanese students tend to study English for so-called integrative reasons much more than the Singaporeans.

Meanwhile, I have pointed out that the 'language and education policy' Discourse actually aims at creating a new Singaporean identity with English. Let me show the result of the following question.

(k) I studied English because I believe that a knowledge of English will make me a better Singaporean (Japanese)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 13.33% | 34.44% | 37.78% | 14.44% |
| Japan | 7.69% | 27.88% | 34.62% | 28.85% |

I aimed at grasping how far Singaporean students link 'English-ness' with 'Singaporean-ness' through this question. As the result displays, more than half of the Singaporeans rejected 'English-ness' as a link with 'Singaporean-ness'. It is understandable that more than 60% of the Japanese did not link 'English-ness' with 'Japanese-ness', since Japanese usually link 'Japanese-ness' with the Japanese language, the so-called national language. Conversely, that quite a few (more than 30%) of the Japanese agree to link 'English-ness' with 'Japanese-ness' reflects that young Japanese people think of English as important in this global capitalist world affected by the diffusion of the 'English as the World Language' Discourse I discussed previously⁴. In contrast, it is remarkable amazing that in Singapore, whose literacy rate in English is 71%, English has not yet been truly considered the language of identity by young people. This result seems to be strongly related to the government's treatment of the Singapore variety of English. As for this matter, I shall discuss it more in detail later.

Next are the results of the reasons generally associated with the so-called integrative motivation, which the 'language and education policy' Discourse in Singapore has never stressed.

(l) I studied English because I'm interested in the cultures of the English-speaking countries.

(I studied English because I'm interested in the cultures of the English-speaking countries such as Britain and America.)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 3.33% | 50.00% | 36.67% | 10.00% |
| Japan | 29.81% | 37.50% | 24.04% | 7.69% |

(m) I studied English because I like the English-speaking countries such as Britain and America.

(I studied English because I long for the English-speaking countries such as America and Britain.)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 7.78% | 25.56% | 52.22% | 13.33% |
| Japan | 28.85% | 45.19% | 16.35% | 9.62% |

(n) I studied English because I like the people who are native speakers of English.

(I studied English because I long for the people who are native speakers of English.)

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 1.11% | 16.67% | 63.33% | 16.67% |
| Japan | 28.85% | 38.46% | 16.35% | 11.54% |

(o) I studied English, simply because I like the language.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 31.11% | 43.33% | 20.00% | 3.33% |
| Japan | 12.50% | 40.38% | 29.81% | 17.31% |

(p) I studied English because it is a prestigious language.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 7.78% | 38.89% | 44.44% | 8.89% |

As far as reasons (o) in the above and (g), which I dealt with earlier, suggest, many Singaporean students do like the English language itself, and this love for the language in fact triggers their motivation for studying the language. For example, one student commented that:

English is a very organised language which is easy to read, write and articulate. Its grammar structure is much simpler than most other languages (especially those involving inflection and conjugations of each word stem) except Mandarin. Thus it's very user friendly and useful as a global language. In general, English is a very beautiful and practical language with a sufficient array of words which convey the same meaning to choose from (3rd year, aged 21, Psychology & English Language major).

However, according to the survey results, the affinity for English-speaking countries and peoples, and even interest in the cultures of these countries, which are usually considered to be the integrative motivation, are not really strong reasons for the Singaporeans to study English. Nevertheless, note that

this does not necessarily imply that the students do not admire English-speaking countries and peoples at all: they may or may not actually long for them. In contrast, the Japanese show a totally different picture. The strong reasons for studying English for the Japanese students are integrative. They admit that their love for English-speaking countries and peoples, and interest in the cultures of these countries are the strong motivating forces for studying English on the one hand. On the other hand, almost half of them claim that their motivation is not love for the language itself.

Overall, I can broadly conclude that, as far as my informants show, the Singaporean students' motivation for studying English is mostly instrumental, which contains individual reasons and social reasons. For individual reasons, they study English to gain a good job or to succeed in Singapore. In other words, English is positioned as essential for their socioeconomic survival. For social reasons, they study English because they think English is a unifying language internationally and intra-nationally. In addition, they also have an integrative reason: their love for the English language itself. Conversely, the Japanese students' motivation for studying English is mostly integrative. They study English motivated by their love for the people and cultures in English-speaking countries. They also have a strong instrumental reason. They study English in order to travel around the countries they like.

4 . What they feel about English

Now I will examine mainly the Singaporean students' attitudes towards the English language. They were presented the list of questions asking about their feelings towards English. Four of these questions may be considered as rather loaded. I deliberately phrased them like this because I would like to grasp how they feel about the relationship between their colonised past and English. The results of these four questions are as follows:

(q) I don't really like English, because it was originally the language of the coloniser's.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|-------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 2.22% | 3.33% | 43.33% | 50.00% |

(r) I think English has become OUR own language in Singapore, rather than the language left by British coloniser.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 26.67% | 51.11% | 20.00% | 2.22% |

(s) I feel comfortable about the situation in which English is widely used in Singapore.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 26.67% | 62.22% | 5.56% | 5.56% |

(t) If English were NOT taught in schools, I would NOT try to learn it.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|-------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 2.22% | 6.67% | 54.44% | 35.56% |

While English has been appreciated for its utilitarian value in Singapore, it is true that it is originally the language of colonialism. However, as far as the results above show, the Singaporean students' feelings about English are characterised more by positive attitudes than negative ones. Seemingly the colonial past has been well digested and overcome, and English has been accepted as the language of post-colonial Singapore. A great majority (90.0%) even state that they would make an extra effort to learn English if it were not required in the school system. Question (t) is the same one asked by Shaw (1981). Shaw's result was: Agree 11.2%, Disagree 70.3%, Neutral 18.5% (Shaw, 1981, 118). Compared with the result gained by Shaw over 20 years ago, the present study's findings might suggest that the younger generation has a greater attraction to English than the older generation. Let me cite some of my respondent's opinions.

English has become the world language. A means of communication between people of different cultures. It has gained economic importance and its significance as the coloniser's language is irrelevant in Singapore now (2 nd year, aged 20, English major)

I think it is precisely that English is such a "de-ethnicized" language that so many people around the world can use it comfortably (apart from the dubious colonial past of Britain). It is indeed a very useful tool for communication (1 st year, aged 20, Biology major)

In my opinion, I don't think most Singaporeans think of English as a 'leftover' language of our colonial past, but as a very important medium of communication between us and the global society. Personally, I love the English language and feel that it is the language medium with which I can express my thoughts best among the languages I know (3 rd year, aged 21, English Language & European Studies major)

Thus it can be said that these results above prove both (1) Gopinathan's (1980, 184) assumption that language has become a less sensitive issue in Singapore, and (2) Kuo & Jernudd's (1994, 87-88) conclusion that the language issue in Singapore has undergone a process of depoliticisation on the one hand. Nevertheless, more importantly, what these results confirm is that the 'language and education policy' Discourse which emphasises the 'neutrality' of the coloniser's language has firmly been rooted in Singapore. Needless to say, the Discourse has worked to make people believe that English is the 'natural' and 'right'

choice for Singapore.

Next, let me look at another question regarding the students' attitudes towards English.

(u) I think people in Singapore (Japan) should learn to use English fluently.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 46.67% | 48.89% | 2.22% | 1.11% |
| Japan | 7.69% | 45.19% | 28.85% | 18.27% |

The remarkable thing I can read from my survey is that Singaporean students are displaying ambiguous attitudes towards English in current Singapore. Whereas in question (u), a great majority (95.56%) claimed that people in Singapore should learn to use English fluently, in question (k) which I have dealt with before, more than half (52.22%) disagreed that a knowledge of English will make them a better Singaporean. This means that while the majority of students appreciate the national acquisition of English as a tool, half of them do not yet regard it as their language of identity, or the national language. These findings contradict Bloom's argument that:

there is a strong association between proficiency in English and the sense of national identity; so much so that it might even be reasonable to suggest that knowing English relatively well actually makes people better Singaporeans. All in all . . . English is becoming a Singaporean national language not in the next generation, but right now (Bloom, 1986, 339).

I cannot of course reach any firm conclusion by simply comparing two conflicting arguments. Nonetheless this contradiction itself may signify Singaporeans' insecure position in regard to English as the colonised. There has been an English/Singlish conflict in recent Singapore which seems to be reinforcing their insecurity of identity as I shall discuss below in detail. By contrast, that more than 50% of the Japanese claimed that people in Japan, where the acquisition of English is not essential to survive compared with Singapore, should learn to use English fluently suggests that the 'English as the World Language' Discourse has been quite effectively internalised by the Japanese students.

Meanwhile, a majority (77.78%) asserted that English has become their own language in Singapore, rather than the language left by British coloniser in question(r). They rather seem to articulate confidence in English as their own linguistic possession there. The following result, to the contrary, disproves their confidence.

(v) I think there is well-established Singapore literature in English.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 5.56% | 37.78% | 53.33% | 3.33% |

Here, more than half disagreed or strongly disagreed that there is well-established Singapore literature in English. This would conversely suggest that for Singaporeans, English has not yet become a language of expressing themselves, as the emergence of local English literature would prove that English has become their means of expressing identity, or that it is no longer the other tongue but their own tongue. I would argue that this is also related to the English/Singlish controversy that I shall deal with in the next section.

(w) I will make sure that my children learn to use English fluently.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|-----------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Singapore | 68.89% | 31.11% | 0% | 0% |
| Japan | 29.81% | 35.58% | 17.31% | 15.38% |

(x) If/when you have children, what language would you speak to them? (Asked to Singaporeans only.)

| | |
|---------------------------|--------|
| English | 45.56% |
| English & Mandarin | 26.67% |
| English & other languages | 12.22% |
| Other | 14.44% |

(y) If there was only one official language in Singapore, what should it be?

| | |
|---------|--------|
| English | 92.22% |
| Other | 6.67% |

In Japan, more than 60% of the students claimed that they will make sure that their children learn to use English fluently. The results of questions (k) (u) and (w) show that Japanese students apparently regard English as something important to gain. It is crucial to point out that most of the Japanese informants have limited facility in English although they have studied it for 6 to 7 years, whilst all of the Singaporean informants are supposed to have a great command of English. The Japanese do not speak English, so theoretically they have never actually benefited from English. However, they think that Japanese people in general and the Japanese people of future generations should acquire English so that they can gain something good. This reflects the Japanese students' fantasy of English. It

can prove how English has been presented as superior and important which people are urged to dream of through the 'English as the World Language' Discourse.

In Singapore by contrast, a great majority (84.45% altogether) claimed that they would speak to their children in English only or both English and the vernacular(s) in question (x). Moreover, 100% of Singaporean respondents claimed that they will make sure that their children learn to use English fluently, and 92.22% of respondents asserted that if there was only one official language in Singapore, it should be English. These results may predict that in the next generation English speakers may become the majority and there will even be many Singaporeans who can speak only English. In such a situation, it is strange then, that people regard English as just a tool but not as the language of their identity. Such contradiction in their feelings about English could be the very outcome brought about by the 'language and education policy' Discourse in Singapore, which stresses only the pragmatic aspects of English and makes people ignore other aspects of it such as colonialism and inequality. Besides, as I mentioned many times, there is a problematic dichotomy regarding English in Singapore, which is the English/Singlish dichotomy.

5 . The English/Singlish dichotomy: the spell of British English

The understandable but striking finding in my survey is that there seems to be a strong spell of British English in Singapore. This is suggested by the following result:

(z) Which variety of English do you think should be taught at schools in Singapore?

| | |
|---|--------|
| British English | 71.11% |
| American English | 8.89% |
| The variety that is unique to Singapore | 7.78% |
| British & American English | 6.67% |
| British & Singapore English | 4.44% |
| Australian English | 1.11% |
| Any other variety | 0% |

As I have discussed, the majority of subjects claimed that English has become their own language apart from their colonial past, and also that English should be the sole official language in Singapore. These results may display Singaporeans' pride in their own English. Then it should be thought that the category of 'the variety that is unique to Singapore' would be chosen by the majority in question (z). However, on the contrary, an overwhelming mass still regard British English as the norm to be pursued. This result demonstrates that while Singaporeans somehow think that English has become their own language on the one hand, they have little confidence in their own unique variety of English on the

other. Thumboo, an academic researcher and a well-known writer in Singapore, once expressed a concern about the Singaporean variety as follows:

Our linguistic pond is rich in herring, some red. One swims in the shape of "Singapore English". Although fascinating in itself, the question whether it is a stable, and therefore identifiable variety, is less pressing than how work on English in Singapore can directly benefit the learning of standard English by those - in schools and tertiary institutions - with the ability to cope (Thumboo, 1979, quoted in Bloom, 1986, 421).

Thus the colonised victims are led to deem the coloniser's language and culture as the superior norm that they should follow.

The above finding is greatly different from that which Shaw (1981) obtained. Shaw asked the Singaporean students to choose the variety of English that they should learn to speak. His result was as follows:

| | | |
|--------------------|-------|---------------------|
| In their own way | 38.9% | |
| British English | 38.3% | |
| American English | 14.4% | |
| Australian English | 0.6% | |
| Others | 7.8% | (Shaw, 1981, 120) |

In Shaw's survey, the respondents were almost equally divided between accepting a British standard or a Singaporean variety. As for the Singapore variety, Pakir argues that there has been a recent show of pride in the indigenization of English in Singapore and a 'new confidence' among users in the value of colloquial and informal Singapore English, or Singlish:

the policy planners have given birth to a new breed of Singaporeans who see English as their language, but not the kind of English envisaged by the makers (Pakir, 1994, 177).

I cannot simply compare my result with Shaw's, for they are different in time, number of respondents, method and the wordings of the questions themselves. However, what is clear is that the self-assurance and confidence that Singaporeans have in their own variety, which Shaw (1981) and Pakir (1994) display, cannot be proven in my survey.

For comparison, let me show the result of a similar sort of survey on the English language I conducted in Canada in June to July 2001⁵. The respondents were 46 Canadian citizens who are aged from 19 to

75⁶. Their occupations varied from students, teachers, college administrators to retired. As Canada also has a history of being a British (and French) colony, it was felt interesting to compare the results gained in Canada and those in Singapore. The survey was done with a questionnaire, some of the questions of which were almost the same as the ones asked for Singaporeans. While Canada is absolutely considered as one of the core-English speaking countries, with a distinct "Canadian English as a fully elaborated national variety" (Bailey, 1982, 168), it is a bilingual or multilingual society with an extensive number of immigrants. In that sense, Canada shares similar linguistic aspects with Singapore, although its official languages are English and French, reflecting its colonial past, and the mother tongue population of English is much bigger than in Singapore⁷. Of 46 respondents, 76.08% claimed that their mother tongue (first language) is English, and 23.91% claimed other languages. As the respondents in Canada are different from those of Singapore in terms of age and occupation, a simple comparison of the two results may not be applicable. Still, the following results are considered noteworthy in the context of the discussion.

(A) Which variety of English do you think should be taught at schools in Canada?

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------|
| The variety that is unique to Canada | 52.17% |
| British English | 23.91% |
| American English | 2.17% |
| Other | 2.17% |
| N/A ⁸ | 19.57% |

As for this question, one Canadian respondents commented that :

You cannot teach anything else, since this [the variety that is unique to Canada] is what the teachers know (teacher, male, aged 36)

(B) I think English has become our OWN language in Canada, rather than a language left by British coloniser.

| | strongly agree | agree | disagree | strongly disagree |
|--------|----------------|--------|----------|-------------------|
| Canada | 21.73% | 65.22% | 13.04% | 0% |

As it has been much longer since Canada achieved its independence⁹, it is understandable that most people agreed that English is their own language. The same tendency can also be seen in the survey in Singapore. The difference comes up in question (A). While it is interesting to note that Canadians somehow show loyalty to their British coloniser rather than showing intimacy to its neighbouring

country, the U.S., unlike my Singaporean respondents, more than half of the Canadian respondents claimed that the Canadian variety of English rather than the British variety should be taught at schools in Canada. By looking at these results, it could be argued that the Canadians have confidence in their own variety much more than the Singaporean informants.

Canadians may formerly have seen in the differences between their English and that of Great Britain and the United States cause for concern and even distress, but today Canada's sense of linguistic difference is a source of pride and an assertion of independence (Bailey, 1982, 168)

I would argue that the excessive appreciation of the British standard is certainly blocking the way of an independent and confident Singaporean English. A recent example of the appreciation of the British standard in the official language and education policy in Singapore is the 'Speak Good English Movement (SGEM) launched in 2000 by the Singaporean government. When English became quite diffused in Singapore, the government's concern shifted to the diffusion of good English rather than Singlish.

Our new goal is to become a first-world economy and a world-class home. . . One important way is to make sure that our people speak standard English. English is important because it is the language of commerce, science and technology. It enables us to break out of our small geographical confines and reach out to the rest of the world (speech by Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong, 1999, SGEM website)

The Prime Minister dismisses the Singapore variety as follows :

Singlish is not English. It is English corrupted by Singaporeans and has become a Singapore dialect. I am not referring to accent here. Our Singaporean accent is acceptable. We do not need to fake an American or British accent. Singlish is broken, ungrammatical English sprinkled with words and phrases from local dialects and Malay . . . In the schools, we should teach good grammar and pronunciation. . . At home, let us discourage the younger generation from using Singlish (speech by Prime Minister Goh C. T., 1999, SGEM website)

The SGEM is a movement initiated by the government to "encourage Singaporeans to speak good English and reduce the use of Singlish" (Press Release, 2002, website) What 'good English' means would be controversial. However, judging from the SGEM Discourse, the interpretation of good English is apparently towards the British standard. The movement targets mainly younger generations. It contains television and radio programmes promoting good English and telephone lessons on good

English in collaboration with the British Council. It also includes censorship of the scripts of television and radio programmes and even films. In short, television and radio programmes are required to avoid using any Singlish. A typical occurrence is that a 15 second trailer for the movie *TalkingCock : The Movie*, which is a comedy about the lives of ordinary Singaporeans, was once pulled from the air for excessive use of Singlish. When they eventually dubbed over the trailer in a thick British accent, then it was allowed. However, after all, the film itself was rated as an NC-17 by Singaporean officials, which means people under 17 could not see it not because of sex or violence but because of bad English grammar (Colin Goh, website; Tan, 2002)

The SGEM Discourse emphasises the division between (good) English and (bad) Singlish.

Singlish uses Chinese syntax and Singlish speakers often use literal translations of Chinese phrases. . . My concern is that if we continue to speak Singlish, it will over time become Singapore's common language. Poor English reflects badly on us and makes us seem less intelligent or competent. . . Younger Singaporeans are not only better educated but have the advantage of being educated in English. They can speak good English and should be encouraged to do so. They should not take the attitude that Singlish is cool or feel that speaking Singlish makes them more "Singaporean" (speech by Prime Minister Goh C. T., 2000, SGEM website)

The division actually seems to be well internalised by the students. Let me introduce the following comments.

A lot of people think that Singapore's bilingual education system is good, but you will find that a lot of the grammatical inaccuracies in English here exist because of a carryover of constructions from Mandarin or Malay. This is the commonly known Singapore English, or Singlish. What we then have is a population where everyone is technically competent in 2 languages, but actually a master of none. The sad thing is that the educational system where English is concerned requires much reform because it has lost its emphasis on teaching grammar. However, most students now do not have the foundations to pick up correct grammar, and weaker students may not even be able to differentiate between a noun and a verb (3 rd year, aged 23, English & Japanese Studies major)

I feel that English is tool for communication and exchange of information across the borders, among people of all races. So, it is important that people here known [sic] when to speak proper English and when to speak Singlish, ie. When speaking to a native speaker it looks quite bad to

speak in Singlish. On the other hand, it is much easier to speak Singlish to our peers (3rd year, aged 23, Biology major)

The former opinion expresses a strong sarcasm about the Singaporean variety of English referring to it as the "inaccurate" English. The latter comment differentiates the 'native speaker of proper English' and 'our peers who speak Singlish'. This may reveal that Singaporeans do not consider their English to be authentic, and there is another variety that is considered to be correct. The next comment articulates the image of 'proper' English that only a small number of elite who possess economic and social success share in Singapore.

Using English well in Singapore is still a mark of excellence, a sign of privilege (whatever that privilege might be . . . a person who speaks it well is assumed to be any number of things: well-to-do, Westernized, educated, cultured, etc.) It is also easy to be alienated from certain sections of the populace by speaking so-called 'proper' English (3rd year, aged 23, English Literature & Language major)

As I have shown, Singaporean students think that English is their own language on the one hand, however they develop an unfortunate inferiority complex to the British standard on the other. The cause could be attributed to the 'language and education policy' Discourse in Singapore which has worked to make people believe that authentic English is coloniser's English and that the English of the colonised is bad English.

The chief concern of language policy makers in Singapore has been to increase people's competence in English. Another concern is the maintenance of standards in the language with exonormative standards, or the foreign (British) standard as the reference points (Pakir, 1994). Naturally, therefore, the teaching of the formal high variety of English, or Standard English and proficiency in it has been a primary responsibility of schools. To implement such a policy, 'native speaker' expatriate English teachers have been massively recruited from the U.K., the U.S., Canada, Australia and New Zealand to teach in local schools and to train local teachers.

[T]here should be no compromise on 'standards'. The clarion was and is still for increased competence, and the elimination of local 'nativised' varieties (Pakir, 1994, 165)

It sounds unnatural that a country in which 71% of the population is reported to be literate in English still imports 'native speakers' from other core English-speaking countries.

Moreover, in the domain of mass media, it is reported that the Singapore Broadcasting Corporation

(SBC), the government-run broadcasting station, has chosen to train its newscasters to enunciate in RP (British Received Pronunciation) or an accent closer to RP than to the accent used by highly educated locals who have a distinctive Singaporean accent (Pakir, 1994). Therefore Singaporean newscasters' English is highly British. The Straits Times, the most widely circulated daily morning English newspaper in Singapore, is written in Standard British English. These institutions of minimising the Singapore variety deprive the Singaporeans of their confidence and pride in their own unique variety of English.

Society's favourable treatment of graduates from universities of core English-speaking countries may also work to reinforce the inferiority complex felt by Singaporeans: All of the 1996 cabinet ministers in Singapore, except one who received his primary and secondary education in Mandarin, are English-educated, and all received their higher education in Britain, the U.S., Australia or Canada (Bokhorst-Heng, 1998). In the same vein, it is reported that of all Chinese Singaporeans who went abroad to study, over half chose to go to Britain or America, whereas only 4 % went to Chinese-speaking countries (Noguchi & Ikeda, 1994). As long as those educated in Britain and other core English-speaking countries are in decision-making positions, and there is official support to encourage matter of fact acceptance of British norms, Singapore, being in British hands, may not be able to overcome the position of the colonised in a real sense.

6 . 'Singlish' as the possible force to be independent

I have shown some comments by the Prime Minister and some students which dismissed Singlish as bad English that should be corrected. In fact, the following is the only comment by an official figure, Singapore's Permanent Representative to the United Nations I managed to find, which articulated his pride in Singaporean English.

[W]hen one is abroad, in a bus or train or aeroplane and when one overhears someone speaking, one can immediately say this is someone from Malaysia or Singapore. And I should hope that when I'm speaking abroad my countrymen will have no problem recognizing that I am a Singaporean (Tommy T.B. Koh, 1974, quoted in Bloom, 1986, 413).

However, at the non-official level, there are people who celebrate the uniqueness of Singlish, which could give evidence of Pakir's (1994) argument that there has been a recent show of pride in the indigenization of English in Singapore and a confidence among users in the value of Singlish. There is a popular website in Singapore (TalkingCock.com) formed by journalists, writers, teachers, doctors, lawyers, cartoonists and so on, which launched the 'Save Our Singlish' campaign. One of the leading figures is Colin Goh, the producer of *Talking Cock: The Movie* and one of the editors of *The Coxford*

Singlish Dictionary. He comments on Singlish:

Why we're fighting for Singlish, is because it is simply a part of our culture. In fact, it may be the ONLY thing that makes us uniquely Singaporean. It mixes all the various languages, which to me, seems to spread multi-cultural understanding. I thought this was something to be proud of. . . Singlish is not just broken English. . . The connection between Singlish and Singaporean identity is very important (C. Goh, website)

It is argued that Singlish has a consistent grammar different from British English (see Alsagoff & Ho, 1998; Ho & Alsagoff, 1998; Talib, 1998) So it can be said that surely Singlish is not just a broken English contrary to the Prime Minister's claim I cited before. Singlish is a unique blend of English and local Chinese, Malay and Tamil words. Singlish combines many languages. Certain English words or phrases have also acquired local meanings which differ from their original meanings. After all, Singlish is the language by which many Singaporeans communicate with each other regardless of race.

The ostensible aim behind the Speak Good English movement is to improve our global competitiveness. We hear complaints from all quarters that Singaporeans are not innovative enough, Singaporeans are not creative enough, Singaporeans are not daring enough. The media and the arts are spaces where we express our thinking, our creativity and our thinking. How can we tell Singaporeans to be creative, daring, and innovative, but only in the right language? How can we ask Singaporeans to dare to speak their minds and take risks in order to be more globally competitive and yet silence the way we normally communicate? (C. Goh, website)

The aim of the 'language and education policy' Discourse is to totally wipe out Singlish in the future by making younger generations fluent in standard English. The SGEM bans Singlish in the media. The SGEM encourages younger people not to use Singlish even at home and in other informal domains as well as at schools and other formal domains. The contradiction is that the government does not ban British and American TV programmes such as dramas and comedies even though they often use colloquial (bad) English such as Cockney in London derived from the standard.

It might be true that the appreciation of standard English in the name of progress and global competition at formal domains such as school, business and government cannot be helped in Singapore provided that English has already diffused in Singapore to a great extent and that English has been actually dominant in this global capitalist world. However, the appreciation of the (British) standard and the ban of Singlish even in informal domains and the media may result in reinforcement of the (superior) coloniser(inferior) colonised division which perpetually confines Singaporeans within the

inferiority complex. In fact, some students express concern for the excessive appreciation of standard English and subordination of the Singapore variety.

I'm thoroughly intrigued by the form of 'standard English' passed on by our British colonial masters, but as a Singapore[sic] living in a 'melting pot' society, I'm not the least 'disgraced' by the type of English that has evolved over the last 50 years or so either. Singlish, they call it, the government isn't too keen on such colloquialisms and has relegated it to the confines of ordinary conversations. Of course, this is a bid to get people to adopt 'good' standard English but still, acceptance of local English hasn't[sic] very forthcoming (3 rd year, aged 21, English Language & Information Communications Management major)

[T]he brand of English used is not exactly the same in all parts of the world, and the notion of Standard English, which is really a term coined by a certain group of academia and politicians, has caused people to have a feeling of intolerance of other English dialects, whether those spoken in the United Britain or elsewhere (2 nd year, aged 22, English Language & Chinese Language major)

Here, I would like to argue that the appreciation of Singlish could be a strong force for Singaporeans to undermine the coloniser/colonised division. As pointed out earlier, Singlish is a mixture of English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil. For example, in Singlish, when one cannot understand what is going on, one says 'Sorry, but I catch no ball, man' which stems from the Hokkien *lah boh kiew* (Tan, 2002). 'Take bag go where, ah?' in Singlish means 'Where do I go to collect my luggage?' in English. 'Can, lah' means 'It's alright' (C. Goh, website). They are unique and colourful. Singlish should not be seen as just the broken or bad English. Rather, Singlish is the English language uniquely colonised by local Singaporean languages such as varieties of Chinese, Malay and Tamil. Singlish is a product of Singaporeans; a hybrid Singaporean language.

In fact, as Singlish is the only language indigenous to Singapore, I would assert that Singlish should become the national language of Singapore in which people can feel confidence, pride and Singaporean identity. One of the necessary steps towards that goal may be the codification of Singlish to establish a 'standard' of Singlish which already has a consistent grammar. This may sound ridiculously unlikely, as the Singapore government is trying to wipe it out even in informal domains and the media. Therefore non-governmental efforts may be needed to codify Singlish. In fact, the publication of *The Coford Singlish Dictionary* in 2002 can be seen as one of the trials to codify independent Singlish. Singaporeans seem to support the movement to preserve their unique Singlish: According to Tan (2002, July, 29), the dictionary has sold over 20,000 copies since its April 2002 release which is an

extraordinary feat given that just 1,000 sales will ensure a book's addition to Singapore's Top 10 list.

To conclude, in order to gain real independence, I would argue that Singaporeans need a language of their own rather than aiming at assimilation to their coloniser, for the assimilation may only reinforce the coloniser/colonised division which instills an inferiority complex in the colonised. The appreciation of Singlish can be a possible force to undermine the division, since Singlish is the unique language made by Singaporeans.

7 . Overview of the survey

My findings suggest that the 'language and education policy' Discourse in Singapore is very efficiently internalised by the young Singaporean students and is likely to be maintained by them. The Singaporean students' opinions about English, including their insecure feelings about it, seem to be manufactured by the 'language and education policy' Discourse to perpetuate the status quo. On the one hand, the Discourse has promoted the learning of English as a useful tool for modernisation and national unity, but on the other hand it has displayed English as someone else's language by imposing a foreign (British) standard. The less confidence that Singaporeans have in their own variety of English, the more power the people with 'proper' standard English can exercise.

The colonised people, who were given the inferiority complex, can not easily divorce themselves from the coloniser's influence. The colonised people are defined by the language and culture of the coloniser.

Every colonised people - in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality - finds itself face to face with the language of the civilising nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonised is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards (Fanon, 1967, 18).

In short, for the colonised, there exists the absolute 'norm', which is the coloniser's superior language and culture. So the colonised are required and encouraged to identify as closely as possible with the norm so that they "will come closer to being a real human being - in direct ratio to his mastery" (Fanon, 1967, 18) of the norm. A coloniser thus directly and indirectly forces the colonised to remain perpetually as its (linguistic) colony. As long as Singaporeans have this psychological insecurity, that is, thinking that English is their own primary tool for communication, but that their English is not the authentic and correct one, colonialism may never end.

I have concentrated on only the position of English rather than the bilingual aspect of Singapore. Also, I have concentrated on only Singapore rather than the former colonies in general. Therefore, the

discussion would be limited within the context of the English language in Singapore. However, one possible solution that would subvert the coloniser/colonised division, which perpetuates colonialism and produces new inequalities in Singapore, would be to establish their unique Singaporean language, or Singlish, as their respectable national language and language of identity with confidence and pride, perhaps firstly through the non-governmental or academic codification of Singlish.

Notes

- 1 I would like to express gratitude to the Department of English Language and Literature at the National University of Singapore, especially to the Head of the Department, Professor Anne Pakir, and the Senior Administrative Officer, Madam Angeline Ang for their generous assistance. I would also like to express a special thanks to the students who gave me their kind cooperation with my survey.
- 2 Before the survey, I was told by the NUS staff that the return rates of any survey at NUS was extremely low, since Singaporeans in general suffer from a sense of 'questionnaire fatigue'. So this low return rate was an expected one.
- 3 According to the 2000 census, the proportion of students who were studying in local universities in 2000 was only 4.7%. In 1990, it was 4% (Census, 2000)
- 4 See Mizokami (2001)
- 5 I had a chance to go to Canada to accompany students' 2001 summer English tour. While staying in the city of Nelson, British Columbia, Canada, I asked the students' home-stay family members, teaching and administrative staff of Selkirk College (the sister college of Aichi Konan College) and other people in Nelson to cooperate with my survey.
- 6 I would like to express gratitude to the people who were willing to cooperate with my survey.
- 7 It is reported that the English-speaking population in Canada is 73.4%, followed by 25.2% French-speaking population (Ito, 1997)
- 8 N/A stands for No Answer.
- 9 Canadian Confederation, which was the prototype of the present Canada, was established in 1867 by the British North America Act. Canada is a member of the British Commonwealth (Ito, 1997)

Works cited

- Ager , D(2001) , *Motivation in Language Planning and Language Policy* , England: Multilingual Matters.
- Alsagoff , L. & Ho , C. L(1998) , 'The Grammar of Singapore English' , in Foley , J. A. et al(eds.)(1998) , *English in New Cultural Contexts: Reflections from Singapore* , Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Bailey , R. W(1982) , 'The English Language in Canada' , in Bailey , R. W. & M. Gorfach (eds.)(1982) , *English as a World Language* , Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bloom , D(1986) , 'The English Language and Singapore: A Critical Survey' , in Kapur , B. K. (ed.)(1986) , *Singapore Studies: Critical Surveys of the Humanities and Social Sciences* , Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Bokhorst-Heng , W(1998) , 'Language Planning and Management in Singapore' , in Foley , J. A. et al. (eds.)(1998) , *English in New Cultural Contexts: Reflections from Singapore* , Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- Department of Statistics (2000) , *Census of Population 2000: Education, Language and Religion* , Statistical Release 2 , by L. B. Geok , Singapore.
- Fanon , F(1967) , *Black Skin, White Masks* , trans. by C. L. Markmann , New York: Grove Press.
- Goh , C. <<http://www.talkingcock.com>>.

- Goh , C. T(1999) , Speech at the Marine Parade National Day Dinner , 1999 , 29 , August , Official SGEM home page , <<http://www.sgem.org.sg/>>.
- Goh , C. T(2000) , Speech at the Launch of the Speak Good English Movement , 2000 , 29 , April , Official SGEM home page <<http://www.sgem.org.sg/>>.
- Gopinathan , S(1980) , 'Language Policy in Education: A Singapore Perspective' , in Afendras , E. A. & E. C. Y. Kuo (eds. 1980) , *Language and Society in Singapore* , Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Ho , C. L. & L. Alsagoff (1998) , 'Is Singlish Grammatical? : Two Notions of Grammaticality' , in Gopinathan , S. A. Pakir , Ho W. K. & Vanithamani Saravanan (eds. 1998) , *Language, Society and Education in Singapore: Issues and Trends* , 2 nd. ed. , Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- Ito , H(1997) , *Canada no Bilingual Kyouiku: Immersion Programme to Nihon no Eigo Kyouiku no Setten o Motomete* , Hiroshima: Keisuisha.
- Kuo , E.C.Y. & B. H. Jernudd (1994) , 'Balancing Macro- and Micro-Sociolinguistic Perspectives in Language Management: The Case of Singapore' , in Kandiah , T. & J. Kwan-Terry (eds. 1994) , *English and Language Planning: A Southeast Asian Contribution* , Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- Lim , C(1991) , 'Plenary Lecture: The Writer Writing in English in Multiethnic Singapore: A Cultural Peril , A Cultural Promise' , in Chan , M. & R. Harris (1991) , *Asian Voices in English* , Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Ministry of Information , Communications and the Arts , 'Launch of Speak Good English Movement 2002' , Press Release , 12 , April , 2002 , Official SGEM home page <<http://www.sgem.org.sg/>>.
- Mizokami , Y(2001) , 'How Has the 'English as the World Language' Discourse Been Constructed?: Revealing the Deceptions of the 'Common-sense' Discourse' , *Aichi Konan Tanki Daigaku Kiyo* , 30.
- Noguchi , T. & M. Ikeda (1994) , 'Shakai to Kyouiku' , in Ayabe , T. & Y. Ishii (eds. 1994) , *Motto Shiritai Singapore* , 2 nd ed. , Tokyo: Koubundo.
- Otani , S. , E. Kinoshita , N. Goto , H. Komatsu & T. Nagano (eds. 1999) , *Shakai Chousa e no Approach: Ronri to Houhou* , Kyoto: Minerva Shobou.
- Pakir , A(1994) , 'Education and Invisible Language Planning: The Case of English in Singapore' , in Kandiah , T. & J. Kwan-Terry (eds. 1994) , *English and Language Planning: A Southeast Asian Contribution* , Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- Shaw , W. D(1981) , 'Asian Student Attitudes towards English' , in Smith , L. E. (ed. 1981) , *English For Cross-Cultural Communication* , U. K.: Macmillan Press.
- Talib , I. S(1998) , 'Singapore Literature in English' , in Foley , J. A. et al. (eds. 1998) , *English in New Cultural Contexts: Reflections from Singapore* , Singapore: Oxford University Press.
- TalkingCock.com website <<http://www.talkingcock.com/>>.
- TalkingCock.com (2002) , *The Coxford Singlish Dictionary* , Singapore: Angsana Books.
- Tan , H. H(2002) , 'A War of Words Over "Singlish" ' , *TIME* , 2002 , July , 29.

Early Childhood Education Department
 Aichi Konan College
 172 Ohmatsubara , Takaya
 Konan 483 - 8086 , Japan