32 World Englishes in the Media

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1 Introduction

Most of the research on world Englishes in the media focuses on news discourse (including television and radio news broadcasts, printed news, and sports reporting across media) and advertising. Although almost every region has been the focus of analysis, those areas of the world that have been described in far greater detail in this regard include Asia (e.g., T. Bhatia, 1987, 1992, 2000, 2001a; Gonzalez, 1991; Haarmann, 1984; Hsu, 2001, 2002; Jung, 2001; MacGregor, 2003; Masavisut, Sukwiwat, and Wongmontha, 1986; Min, 2001; Natarajan and Xiaoming, 2003; Takashi, 1990; Upadhyay, 2001; Yuen-Ying, 2002; H. Zhang, 2001; L. Zhang, 2002) and parts of Europe (e.g., Berns, 1988; Birken-Silverman, 1994; Dürmüller, 1994; Hermerén, 1999; Hilgendorf and Martin, 2001; Husband and Chouhan, 1985; Larson, 1990; Martin, 1998; Pavlou, 2002; Schlick, 2003; Vachek, 1986; Truchot, 1990), with some additional analyses of media discourse in Africa (e.g., Leitner and Hesselmann, 1996; Mesthrie, 2002; Norbrook and Ricketts, 1997; Sanders, 2000; Schmied and Hudson-Ettle, 1996) and South America (e.g., Alm, 2003). Much information can be gleaned as well from publications written by those who are best known for placing English in a regional or global context while addressing a wide range of issues, including but not exclusively media-related topics (e.g., Bell and Kuiper, 1999; Bolton, 2002; Cheshire, 1991; Crystal, 1997, 1999; Görlach, 1991, 1998, 2002a, 2002b; Kachru, 1990, 1992; McArthur, 1992; McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil, 1992). Various in-depth analyses of certain genres (V. Bhatia, 1993, 2001) such as news media (e.g., Bell, 1991; Fowler, 1993; van Dijk, 1985a, 1988) and advertising discourse (e.g., Cook, 1992; Geis, 1982; Myers, 1994; Vestergaard and Schröder, 1985; Tanaka, 1994) have also been extremely useful.

The bulk of the research conducted to date can be grouped by topical focus into the following main categories: power and ideology, linguistic and cultural identities, language attitudes, intelligibility and linguistic innovation, and language planning, with some of the studies addressing several of these topics

simultaneously. There have also been a few attempts to explore the impact of technology on the spread of English and the shaping of new varieties (e.g., Baron, 2000) plus the occasional study focusing solely on intelligibility of different varieties of English in the media (e.g., van der Walt, 2000). However, more recent technological advances (text messaging on cell phones, e-mail, chat discourse, the use of MP3 technology for downloading music off the internet, and so forth) have been largely ignored by linguists actively exploring other issues related to world Englishes, receiving only passing comments embedded in broader discussions. This is somewhat unfortunate given the pervasiveness of these phenomena in today's society and therefore warrants further empirical investigation.

2   Approaches to Media Communication Analysis

Research paradigms for the analysis of mass media discourse vary considerably as this chapter will reveal. Methodologies used (both quantitative and qualititative) include critical discourse analysis, mediasemiotics, and corpus-linguistic analysis, as well as content analysis supplemented by interviews with media audiences and/or members of the media industry. There is also a growing body of literature reporting the use of media to elicit audience reactions to specific varieties of English as a means of discounting certain pedagogical models (primarily RP).

Most studies focusing on different varieties of English in the media approach language from a "socially-realistic" perspective (Kachru, 1981). Indeed, much of this research is inspired by the work of pioneers in the field of sociolinguistics who introduced and developed the notion of "context of situation" (e.g., Firth, 1935; Halliday, 1978; Halliday and Hasan, 1985; Hymes, 1972) as well as those known for their work in critical discourse analysis and semiotics (e.g., Barthes, 1964; Bentele, 1985; Fairclough, 1995; Foucault, 1981; van Dijk, 1985b). Some of the media studies reported here have adopted speech act theory (Searle, 1969) while considering the relationship between language and ideology (following, for example, Thompson, 1987 and Fowler, 1993). In addition (as noted by van Dijk, 1985a: 7), the field of ethnography of communication can play a vital role in analyses of media discourse:

> Research in sociolinguistics and the ethnography of communication . . . has shown how practically all features of discourse, as well as those of discourse production and understanding, are systematically related to the many features of the socio-cultural context. This means that we also need detailed ethnographic observations about the production and uses (participation) of communicative events in the media, both for communicative events (e.g., talkshows) "in" the media, as well as those "by" the media, i.e. with media users as participants.

Van Dijk (1985b: 69–93) provides a theoretical framework for the analysis of media based on the "thematic" and "schematic" structures of printed newspaper discourse. Setting aside the "micro-organization" of news discourse (such as its lexicogrammatical, morpho-syntactical, and rhetorical features), van Dijk focuses rather on "the formal representation of the global *content* of a text or dialogue" as well as "the overall *form* of a discourse" (van Dijk, 1985b: 71):

> A "pure" structural analysis is a rather irrelevant theoretical exercise as long as we cannot relate textual structures with those of the cognitive and socio-cultural contexts of news production and reception. The development of linguistics and discourse analysis in the 1970s has shown, indeed, that a "context-free" approach to language, for instance in the construction of formal grammars, is one-sided at best and certainly empirically inadequate. Of course, the same holds for the analysis of news discourse.

In his study of public broadcast and printed news in Hong Kong, Scollon (1997) demonstrates "the ambiguity of power in news discourse." Using Goffman's (1981) communicative roles (author, animator, and principal) as a point of reference, Scollon provides a useful framework for the analysis of "discursive power" in the media, examining in detail the following (Scollon, 1997: 384):

1 "the power to command animation and authorship";
2 "the power to give and deny voice"; and
3 "the power to frame discursive events."

Scollon notes, for instance, that bylining practices must be interpreted within the sociocultural context in which they operate. Indeed, whereas attributing a story to a well-known reporter may be flattering in North America (and add a certain prestige to the article), in China it may also be a form of repression as journalists are often clearly identified in the media so that they may be held accountable should the government find the story offensive or otherwise unacceptable (Scollon, 1997: 387).

Altheide (1985) provides fascinating details regarding the choice of programming on American TV networks. Conceding that "TV production leads the audience to confirm certain points of view" (1985: 45), Altheide notes as well that "visual emphasis has a major impact on news content" (1985: 112) and provides numerous examples of pertinent news stories from around the world that were covered by the Associated Press only to be ignored by American television networks such as ABC, CBS, and NBC due to a lack of videotaped footage (see Altheide, 1985: 116–17).

Exploring another media genre, Vestergaard and Schrøder (1985: 16–18) describe the language of advertising from a functional perspective. According to this communication model (based to a large extent on speech act theory, e.g., Searle, 1969), language performs *expressive*, *directive*, *informational*,

metalingual, *interactional*, *contextual*, and/or *poetic* functions, depending on the communicative situation. Inspired by the pioneering work of Geoffrey Leech (1966) on advertising, among others, Vestergaard and Schrøder (1985: 15) describe the communicative situation in terms of "code" (both verbal and non-verbal), "channel" (e.g., sound waves for radio and television), and "context" (which they define as "the situation in which addresser and addressee are placed, including the immediately preceding events, [but also] the wider cultural context of the addresser and addressee, and the knowledge which they share about their total situation and their culture").

As for corpus-linguistic analysis, a main source of material/text types has been The International Corpus of English (ICE) (Greenbaum, 1990). One such example can be found in Schmied and Hudson-Ettle (1996), who examine specific grammatical linguistic features (in this case, the distribution of the verbal suffix *-ing* over various East African newspaper text types).

3   Power and Ideology

A recent study on the effect of American cinema on children's attitudes towards minority groups powerfully illustrates the importance of examining media language in terms of power and ideology. Pandey (1997) explores in exquisite detail different varieties of English portrayed in Walt Disney movies directed at children (e.g., *The Jungle Book*, *101 Dalmatians*, *The Lion King*) and notes that there is "a consistent attempt to present speakers of nonstandard varieties of English as powerless proletarians of low cultural and socioeconomic status" (p. iii). Through her in-depth analysis of excerpts from these and other animated films, she provides convincing evidence that, in the Hollywood movie industry, language functions as an ideological tool where "dialectal variations are systematically synthesized with variations in power and moral worth" (p. iii).

In his study of English loan words in Thai print media, Kapper (1986: 17) claims that English is widespread in Thai journalistic discourse and that the favored domains for English (e.g., business and marketing) "suggest social, economic and political motivations" and "a kind of linguistic imperialism":

> Language-exporting countries are those which create a need for their language by being a source of consumer products, technology, "innovation" and sometimes "aid." The result of all this is that countries like Thailand are literally buying into western culture. This is the mechanism which maintains the status of English as a global prestige language. (Kapper, 1986: 17)

Similar observations reverberate elsewhere in the literature. Truchot (1997) claims that remakes of movies originating in the Expanding Circle get more recognition internationally if filmed in English, noting that French film-maker and producer Claude Berri was disappointed that his adaptations of Marcel Pagnol's novels (*Jean de Florette* and *Manon des Sources*, distributed around the

world in their original French version with subtitles) were less successful than he had hoped. Truchot (1997: 70) concludes: "The idea that a product reflecting too closely the culture of a particular country, and written in a national language, will not reach an international audience is now largely accepted . . . As a consequence an increasing number of films (and also television programmes, songs) are produced along the lines of so-called international standards largely inspired by those of the USA, and English is their *lingua franca*."

4 Linguistic and Cultural Identities

The debate over linguistic and cultural identities in the media has been approached from several different angles. In addition to Pandey's (1997) study on animated movies mentioned earlier, other scholars have noted the lack of respect for "non-native" varieties of English and the misrepresentation of culture in the media. A very insightful survey of twentieth-century African American language and cultural images in American advertising, for instance, appears in O'Barr (1994: 107–56) along with a discussion of other ethnic minorities in the media. (See also Avraham and First, 2003; Haarmann, 1984; Mufwene, 1993 and 2001.) Another example is provided by T. Bhatia (2001b: 279) who describes how Indians are portrayed "in an overwhelmingly negative light" in American media, leaving the Indian American population feeling "betrayed and exploited":

> Gruesome images left by movies such as "Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom" do irreparable damage to the perception of Indians by Americans. Their sacred symbols, especially Hindu symbols, are exploited for commercial gains and damage their religious tolerance. Two recent cases in point are Madonna wearing the sacred *Vaishnava Tilak* (which is a symbol of purity) on her forehead, and the Aerosmith album cover that shows distorted and mutilated images of Krishna.

Many Indians worldwide find solace, however, in Bollywood films, which Bhatia describes as "the lifeline of the promotion of the Indian identity," noting that "Indians abroad take this identity, perhaps, much more seriously than Indians in India" (T. Bhatia, 2001b: 282). Gokulsing and Dissanayake (1998: 117) have made similar observations: "Indian popular cinema, particularly through the influence of its music, is producing a different kind of empowerment – its impact on the reconfiguration of diaporic Asians is powerful." One very positive development of the growing international success of Bollywood films has been the celebration of diversity and ethnicity in both the recording industry (e.g., world music) and cinema. An example is the worldwide recognition of an Indian musical genre known as Bhangra. Gokulsing and Dissanayake (1998: 118) report that this form of celebratory folk music was exported to Britain from India by Punjabi immigrants in the 1950s and 1960s and has since evolved into a highly popular dance music

mixing several different genres (rap, reggae, house, soul). Indeed, Bhangra is featured in the music soundtracks of many Indian movies that have gained international recognition. As for choice of language for the Bollywood dialog, acclaimed Indian film director Mira Nair, whose movies include *Monsoon Wedding*, *Kama Sutra*, *Mississippi Masala*, and *Salaam Bombay!*, notes in a recent interview that, in her films, English is used as merely one form of communication among others so as to imitate as closely as possible the language mixing that occurs in everyday life:

> Like music and costumes, language is also something we play with very much in India. It's very common and totally natural to speak mixing two or three languages: Hindi, English and Punjabi in this case. [In *Monsoon Wedding*] we just went with the absolute honest flow of exactly how we would do it in life . . . to celebrate being from India rather than look upon the west as anything as close to happiness in any way. (Director commentary provided on DVD for *Monsoon Wedding*)

Gill (2000: 85–102) paints a similar picture of linguistic and cultural diversity in her description of Malaysian radio advertisements. Focusing her analysis on the different subvarieties of Malaysian English, she notes that "the English language and how it is employed in radio advertisements in Malaysia plays an integral role in reflecting Malaysian identity" (p. 89). This observation is confirmed by copywriters who emphasize the importance of "understanding the consumer's mind-set" and using local varieties "to create closeness to the audience" (Gill, 2000: 98). Gill observes that in Malaysia, the subvariety of Malaysian English chosen for the ad depends on the target group, the brand image, the function and positioning of text within the ad (opening, main text, final summary), or may simply be used as an attention-getter.

Although studies such as these have done much to dispel cultural stereotypes and clarify the notion of local varieties of English, the misrepresentation of cultural and linguistic identities remains, unfortunately, a recurring theme in the literature on world Englishes in the media. In his book on rural Indian advertising, T. Bhatia (2000) observes that rural consumers are bombarded with Western images and values that do not correspond with the local perceptions, sensibilities and traditions, and highlights various problems associated with the use of English when addressing this audience (e.g., pronunciation of English product names, misinterpreted slogans, irrelevance and lack of appeal, etc.).

Those who study news discourse have also pointed to English as both a marker of globalization and the language most used for international media. Referring to Hong Kong and the media coverage of the 1997 handover from British to Chinese rule, Yuen-Ying (2000: 328) notes "the outside world's dependency on Western sources for news and analysis," claiming that "often these mediated images are distorted and narrowly framed, reinforcing established stereotypes." The author concludes that the solution lies in training

local journalists in the art of English-language news reporting "for the global stage" in order to avoid the often misformed observations made by "parachute reporters" (those who only remain a few days in the country for the purposes of reporting a story) and the "typical colonial discourses that often portray Hong Kong before and after the 1997 handover in black and white terms" (Yuen-Ying, 2000: 333). (For additional research on Asian news discourse see Bolton, 2002; V. Bhatia, 2001; Natarajan and Xiaoming, 2003; Scollon, 1997.)

5   Language Attitudes

Some of the research on world Englishes in the media has investigated whether certain audiences favor one variety of English over another in global media discourse. The results of several studies suggest that, through the influence of American films, television programs, and pop music, American English is becoming increasingly attractive (and intelligible) to certain media consumers. Based on a study involving a questionnaire and listening samples of both British and American varieties of English distributed to 760 students, Mobärg (1998) reports that younger audiences in Sweden express a clear preference for American English and strongly favor English rock lyrics over Swedish. They also much prefer the use of subtitles for English-language movies (as opposed to dubbing) (Mobärg 1998: 256–7). One of the author's conclusions is that "the traditional insistence on RP as a model accent in schools does not fully respond to the positive momentum created by the students' being exposed to popular media" (p. 261). Oikonomidis (2003: 56) notes a preference for subtitling English-language movies and television programs in Greece. Martin (2002a) describes different varieties of English in French television advertising.

Sajavaara (1986) also reports attitudinal data regarding English in the media, claiming that for young people in Finland television seems to be a major source of English. Of the 539 students surveyed as part of the Jyväskylä Anglicism Project, a research initiative designed to measure "the impact of English on the Finnish language and Finnish culture," "at least one English-language TV programme was seen by 70 percent of the informants every week" (Sajavaara, 1986: 68–71). This research effort is particularly worth noting, however, in that it measures audience reactions to the use of English in many different media genres, including press news, comic strips, advertisements, job announcements, popular music, television, and translated fiction (p. 70). One of the most interesting findings is that self-reported language attitudes do not necessarily reflect social behavior, even when one is being observed in a controlled research environment. Whereas a very large majority (90%) of the informants claimed that English appearing in Finnish advertisements rendered them "less efficient," they were just as likely to choose "anglicized ads" over those containing only Finnish (p. 75).

6   Intelligibility and Linguistic Innovation

Other attitudinal studies measure audience's reactions to different language varieties in the media while underscoring the notion of intelligibility. Van der Walt (2000) used recordings of television and radio broadcasts to test "the international comprehensibility" of South African English. Varieties included in the study were traditional "White" South African English, Indian English, Cape English, Black English, and Afrikaans English, with 140 study participants in Germany, the Netherlands, Canada, and the USA. She found that although "all varieties of South African English are comprehensible internationally . . . those Englishes spoken by the advantaged white communities ('Traditional White' and 'Afrikaans') and by communities that speak English as a first language ('Traditional White' and 'Indian') receive the most positive responses" (van der Walt, 2000: 145–8).

Myers (1994: 90–104) provides some fascinating examples of language varieties used for special effect in advertising. One strategy consists of writing English text in such as a way as to imitate other varieties. This is achieved by producing a line of nonsensical text (such as a slogan) that, when pronounced by an English-speaker, becomes intelligible, as in: *De woord onder bus es Oranjeboom . . . Not everyone will get it* (British bus poster campaign for the Dutch beer "Oranjeboom"). To illustrate the foregrounding of different varieties of English in advertising, Myers (1994: 98) also shares an ad for Brooks running shoes used in South Africa: "It shows a naked man, his groin covered by pictures of shoes. The text says *'I feel naked without my Brooks.' Mark Page*. This works as a pun only in South Africa, where *brooks* is borrowed from Afrikaans, as slang for shorts." Myers (p. 97) also points out that consumers associate certain concepts with particular varieties of English in advertising and that British ads are notorious for exploiting this technique.

The "cross-fertilization" between different varieties of English as a result of exposure to international media discourse has been noted by many including McArthur (1992: 1025), who writes, "a global market in films, television programmes, and print products . . . has affected national and regional language usages within the English-using world [leading, for example, to] the adoption of Americanisms in the UK and to a lesser extent Briticisms in the US." There are also many studies illustrating the impact of English on other languages. In conducting an in-depth analysis of English borrowings in several copies of Austrian newspapers (*Kleine Zeitung* and *Die Presse*), Viereck (1986) found a greater occurrence of partial substitutions over a ten-year period (1974–1984), suggesting that "the tendency to form compounds in German has increased further under English influence" (1986: 167) and that "in comparison with the sports language in the Federal Republic, Austrian sports terminology has been considerably more influenced by English terms" (p. 171). As for intelligibility, Viereck's results indicate that younger Austrians (aged 18 to 30) and those with the most education were more likely to understand English borrowings

in the press. There was also some indication in the data that borrowings introduced most often via aural media such as radio or television were more difficult to parse in their written form.

Another growing body of literature examines language-mixing in advertising with a particular focus on the symbolic functions of English and the tremendous linguistic creativity encountered in advertising copy (e.g., Buamgardner, 2005; T. Bhatia, 1987, 1992, 2001a; Cheshire and Moser, 1994; Hsu, 2002; Kelly-Holmes, 2005; Jung, 2001; Martin, 1998, 2002b, 2006; Pavlou, 2002; Piller, 2003; Takashi, 1990).

7   MTV English

A topic that has received relatively little attention in the research on world Englishes is the public's exposure to English via the recording industry. While many acknowledge the spread of English through pop music and other musical genres, the vast number of varieties of English sung on the radio, television and the internet (not to mention music CDs, music videos, and DVDs) has not been the primary focus of much research to date. McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil (1992: 26) underscore, with fascinating examples, the extent to which English dominates this industry:

> English as the language of international pop music and mass entertainment is a worldwide phenomenon. In 1982, a Spanish punk rock group, called Asfalto (Asphalt), released a disc about learning English, which became a hit. The Swedish group Abba recorded all its numbers in English. Michael Luszynski is a Polish singer who performs almost entirely in English ... Luszynski notes wryly that a phrase like "*Stysze warkot pociagu nadjedzie na torze*" does not roll as smoothly in a lyric as "*I hear the train a-coming, it's rolling down the line ...*" (McCrum, Cran, and MacNeil, 1992: 26)

Céline Dion, a famous pop recording artist from Quebec, also markets her music internationally through the medium of English. Indeed, even in France where she can very easily communicate with her audiences in French, television commercials for her latest recordings feature English lyrics and album titles. During a recent television interview on a major French network (TF1), she alludes to the fact that English opens doors to an international career. When asked why she sings in English, she responded: "*Vous savez, comme moi, que la langue anglaise, c'est la langue internationale. Alors, je pense qu'il faut mettre toutes les chances de son côté*" ('You know, as I do, that English is the language for international communication. I feel I should do what's necessary to succeed'; TF1 interview with Patrick Poivre D'Arvor, March 2002. My translation).

Roe and Cammaer (1993) have investigated the impact of music television on adolescents in Flemish provinces of Belgium. Indeed, as they note, this

form of mass communication popular among young people is not to be ignored: "Since its inception in 1988, MTV-Europe, The Music Television Channel, has become a significant factor on the European media scene. It now broadcasts non-stop, around the clock, seven days a week, to around 36 million homes in 26 countries" (Roe and Cammaer, 1993: 169). Questionnaire data solicited from 783 area high school students regarding their MTV viewing habits suggest that music videos have totally captivated this segment of the television viewing audience – 42 percent of respondents reported watching MTV at least every other day and 61 percent remained tuned to the channel during commercials. As a result, an overwhelming majority (80 percent) were able to recall a specific brand name featured in MTV advertising, with Coca-Cola, Braun, and Nike topping the list (Roe and Cammaer, 1993: 173; see also Wallace-Whitaker, 1989). The authors also noted audience reactions to English in this "hybrid medium":

> While beamed predominantly at Continental Europe, the dominant language of MTV is English. However, this did not appear to present a problem for most of our respondents: only 29 percent gave negative responses regarding this dominance and only 24 percent stated that they would watch more MTV if more programmes were in Dutch. (Roe and Cammaer, 1993: 173)

8   Legislation

Any discussion of English in the media would be incomplete without some mention of government-led efforts to curb its use in certain contexts. The pervasiveness of English in blockbuster movies, syndicated television programs, music broadcast on radio and other media has, indeed, met with some resistance. A case in point is France, a country that has made repeated attempts to limit the amount of English in the media through official legislation (e.g., 1975 Bas-Lauriol law; 1994 Toubon law). With their long history of language policy aimed at "protecting the French language" (and numerous organizations, starting with the *Académie Française* founded in 1635), the French have been attacking anglicisms since Americans began seriously exporting their products (including Hollywood movies, television programs, and popular music) after World War II. This "cultural invasion" led to the adoption of certain English borrowings and that which French language purists refer to as *Franglais* (or "Frenglish," a mixture parodied by French literary scholar René Etiemble (1964) in his famous book *Parlez-Vous Franglais?*). Soon thereafter came the creation of various organizations funded by the government (e.g., Haut Comité pour la défense et l'expansion de la Langue Française, 1966; Haut Conseil de la Francophonie, 1984) whose mission was to promote the French language and enforce, to the extent possible, the use of French terms coined by government appointed terminology commissions to replace anglicisms. In more recent years, there has been stricter legislation specifically

targeting the media, such as the French language quota for music broadcast on French radio (1994 Pelchat amendment to the Carignon law adopted in 1996) and the 1994 Toubon law (Articles 2 and 12) requiring "equally legible" French translations for all foreign languages appearing in advertisements in print and broadcast media.

A fascinating description of the French crusade against English appears in Nelms-Reyes (1996: 310), who writes "the much ballyhooed cultural objective of the Loi Toubon remains frustrated because the statute as worded is unable to affect the way French is spoken in 'everyday discourse,' which is where a language truly exists." Nevertheless, an organization known as the General Association of French Users, or AGULF (Association générale des utilisateurs de la langue française), created in 1976 "to defend the linguistic and cultural patrimony of French speakers" (Nelms-Reyes, 1996: 283–4), has brought several "language offenders" to justice, including the Paris Opera which was cited for "non-use of French" after publishing a five-page program in English for a theatrical production with a much shorter French version (Nelms-Reyes, 1996: 286). Other well-known French court cases include those targeting the bottled water EVIAN because of the slogan "Fast Drink des Alpes," the cigarette sold under the brand name NEWS by another French company SEITA (both examples appearing in Hausmann, 1986: 93), and the Paris Metropolitan Transit Authority (RATP) which was fined 4,000 francs (approximately $800 at the time) for selling bus and subway tickets written in English (Nelms-Reyes, 1996: 286). (See also Truchot, 1997: 74–5.) It has been clearly demonstrated, however, that members of the media industry in France (advertising agencies in particular) have found ingenious ways of circumventing the legislation, including registering slogans (e.g., Nike's *Just do it*) and expressions (e.g., *airbag*) as trademarks and liberally exploiting English in areas that are not targeted by the Toubon Law (such as product names and jingles) (Martin, 1998).

Another context in which the limits of English have been legally defined is Quebec, where similar legislation (Bill 101, or Charter of the French Language) was passed in 1977. The large English-speaking population in the area of Montreal, however, provided an interesting twist whereby a group known as Alliance Quebec defending English language rights offered financial assistance to several people accused of putting illegal English on shop signs (McArthur, 1992: 833). (Crystal, 1997: 358 provides an example of Welsh nationalists defacing English on road signs as a sign of protest. See also Watson, 1997: 212–30.) The section of the bill targeting shop signs was declared unconstitutional in 1988, after which the Quebec government adopted additional legislation (Bill 178) authorizing English shop signs for inside use only. This new measure became, as McArthur (1992: 833) puts it, "an ordinance mocked by some Anglophones as the 'inside outside' law." (See Robinson, 1998 for in-depth analysis of Canadian language policy and the media; Hausmann, 1986: 99–100 also addresses language legislation in Quebec.)

9   Directions for Future Research

One of the main objectives of world Englishes scholars working on media related issues should be to seek out opportunities to collaborate with members of the media industry and those who conduct media communications research. Much knowledge and insight can be gained through a continual cross-disciplinary dialog of this nature. There is also a general lack of information on audience reactions to different media with most of the research reported thus far involving only "captive audiences" such as students. Whereas audience statistics are readily available, tapping into the attitudes of media consumers has been a somewhat more challenging task, but one well worth pursuing nonetheless. The impact of emerging technologies on everyday discourse has also opened new avenues of research which have yet to be fully explored, creating, in essence, new sub-genres (such as chat, e-mail, and text messaging), all of which are resurfacing as colloquial discourse in other media genres. This gradual reshaping of different varieties of English is all the more intriguing in that these new discourses sometimes defy geographical description due to the global electronic environment in which they exist. Other topics which have received relatively little attention to date include the pedagogical applications of various media (e.g., Baik and Shim, 2002); broader regional varieties (such as the "Euro-English" or "Mid-Atlantic" variety described in Modiano, 1996; see also McArthur, 2003), and the impact of language policy on minority languages in the media. These and other research efforts will help determine whether the media consistently and accurately reflect the "pluricentricity" of English or, on the contrary, largely misrepresent both linguistic and sociocultural reality.

See also Chapters 22, Genres and Styles in World Englishes; 33, World Englishes in Global Advertising; 34, World Englishes and Global Commerce.

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