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Thai English as Discourse of Exclusion and Resistance: Perspectives of Thai Professional Writers on the Notion of Thai English

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THAI ENGLISH AS DISCOURSE OF EXCLUSION AND RESISTANCE: PERSPECTIVES OF THAI PROFESSIONAL WRITERS ON THE NOTION OF THAI ENGLISH

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The proliferation of global English has resulted in the birth of a variety of Englishes that reflect localized and unique characteristics of language users. This qualitative study examined the understudied notion of Thai English from the perspectives of Thai professional writers. Grounded in the World Englishes framework, the central goal of this research agenda was to define Thai English.

Data was drawn from face-to-face interviews conducted in Bangkok, Thailand from November, 2007 to January, 2008. The focal participants were 20 Thai professional writers recruited from four groups: fiction writers, textbook writers, *The Bangkok Post* journalists and *The Nation* journalists. A grounded theory approach and rhetorical move analysis were employed to examine the underlying assumptions of the participants' English positioning in relation to Thai English.

Analysis of interview data revealed 5 different participant views of their English: King's English or Standard English, instrumental English, cosmopolitan English, glocal English and Thai English. The majority of the writers conformed to Standard English, rejecting the existence of the concept of Thai English. Thai English had a very dim existence for them and ultimately it was excluded from World Englishes discourses. Thai English was described as an oral, secondary, lower-standard, and destabilized discourse.

Only one writer validated Thai English discourse. For him, Thai English represented an act of resistance to dominant discourse and ideology.

This empirical study not only demonstrated the ideological and political position of the Thai English discourse but also addressed macro aspects of English usage related to political, ideological and social issues. The participants' reflections on Thai English illustrated that English use in Thailand was situated in a hierarchy of language and was deeply embedded in a colonial construct within the political and economic hegemony of Western Anglophone powers. This query on Thai English yielded vital and nuanced understandings and theoretical insights about language use, power, identity and other aspects of sociolinguistic attitudes and practices related to English in Thailand. These research findings signal a sense of urgency for concerned parties to address political aspects of English for schooling and institutional practices in Thailand.

The PhD dissertation committee of Ms. Adcharawan Buripadki has decided to award this disstertation entitled “Thai English as Discourse of Exclusion and Resistance: Perspectives of Thai Professional Writers on the Notion of Thai English” the award of Pass with Distinction in recognition of the extraordinary quality and scholarship of this research. The award was assigned on the 23rd of September, 2008 by the committee members: Prof. David I. Hanauer (Dissertation Chair), Prof. Gian Pagnucci and Dr. Sharon Deckert.

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CHAPTER I

CONTEXT OF THE PROBLEM

It is diversity that breeds life not uniformity. (Denire, 1998)

Prologue

I am an Indian, very brown, born in
Malabar, I speak three languages, write in
Two, dream in one. Don't write in English, they said,
English is not your mother-tongue. Why not leave
Me alone, critics, friends, visiting cousins,
Every one of you? Why not let me speak in
Any language I like? The language I speak
Becomes mine, its distortions, its queernesses,
All mine, mine alone. It is half English, half
Indian, funny perhaps, but it is honest,
It is human as I am human, don't
You see? It voices my joys, my belongings, my
Hopes, and it is useful to me as cawing
Is to crows or roaring is to lions, it
Is human speech, the speech of the mind that is
Here and not there, a mind that sees and hears and
Is aware. not the deaf, blind speech. (Das, 1997, p. 10)

It is the agonizing reality of being labeled as a non-native speaker of English, as related by Kamala Das, that has inspired me to draft the core idea of this dissertation. Meanwhile, it is pride, hope, and dreams which free me from the insecurity, frustration, and humiliation. This combination of drives moves me forward to address a critical issue in applied linguistics. With respect to this issue, Pennycook (2001) addresses the significance of being critical in teaching and learning English:

> Critical applied linguistics involves a constant skepticism, a constant questioning of the normative assumptions of applied linguistics and presents a way of doing applied linguistics that seeks to connect it to questions of gender, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, culture, identity, politics, ideology, and discourse. (p. 10)

Thus, in setting out to establish my critical agenda in this dissertation, situating myself as an insider, I explore the macro-sociolinguistic characteristics of EFL English in

Thailand. The underlying investigation is about grounding the concept of Thai English in a framework of World Englishes (Details of the framework will be elaborated in Chapter 2). The thinking behind this dissertation lies in the work of the scholars in World Englishes studies, postmodernism, critical applied linguistics, and cultural studies namely—Braj Kachru, Larry Smith, Alastair Pennnycook, Suresh Canagarajah, Robert Phillipson, Edward Said, and Stuart Hall. These critical works not only inspire me to examine my own English (hereafter Thai English), they also provide me with critical lenses for a closer look at other non-native speakers of English for a better and deeper understanding of the multiplicity of Englishes.

My intent in addressing Thai English in this project is, of course, not to contest the global impact of English or the excessive dependence of postmodern society on English. Rather, it is essentially to raise awareness of the significance of the socio-cultural and linguistic diversity of English as a world language. That is, English language learning and teaching can and should move beyond Eurocentric models and theories that represent bondage of native-nonnative conflict opposition, and a canonical form of language. This is, in fact, because we no longer live in "standard language culture" (Milroy, 2001, p. 530). As such, the new ideological orientation that anyone can own English should be celebratory. Simply put, language users should treat one another with respect regardless of differences in language choices and cultural background.

Underlying the ideology of the present study is the premise that every single language, every kind and every variety, must be treated with equal value and dignity. This is because all languages have always been of paramount importance in representing the "ways of being in, and ways of seeing in the world" (Sassool, 2000, p. 61). Besides,

all languages record, express, and reflect an individual's identity, history, and culture. As Holborow (1999) put it, "languages themselves, like their speakers, are the cumulative product of history" (p. 9). As Said (1999), likewise, contends, "Everyone lives life in a given language; everyone's experiences therefore are had, absorbed, and recalled in that language" (p. xiii). Most importantly, as Crystal (2004b) states, "There is energy in any language which derives from its diversity, and this is something which needs to be recognized and celebrated" (p. 534). Thus, it is clear that an attempt to uplift marginalized languages will somehow initiate a new fresh dialogue among us by going beyond the native-nonnative dichotomy. In addition to engaging public interests in the World Englishes perspective, the ambitious ideological construct that this study aims to pursue has been described by Edward Said (1994):

> No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting-points . . . . Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental. (p.136)

In summary, in the world of dynamic races and identities, understanding, respect, and tolerance toward every single variety of World Englishes is too critical to ignore.

To address this concern, then, I devote the remainder of this chapter to a discussion of related issues organized into seven sections: 1) the backdrop of the problem: narrative of my English literacy; 2) the site of the problem: when the land can't smile; 3) the framework of the problem: World Englishes; 4) the status of English in Thailand; 5) purposes of investigation and research questions; 6) researcher's standpoints; and 7) organization of the research.

The Backdrop of the Problem: Narrative of My English Literacy

Non-Native Hands and Non-Native Worlds

> More than 80% of the ELT professionals internationally are non-native speakers. These are teachers working in the remote corners of the world in a small village classroom, often meeting under trees in farms and fields away from the eyes of the professional pundits of the Center. . . . I am not ashamed to say that it is such a charismatic rural teacher who initiated my own learning of the language that has sustained me to this point in a earning a doctorate in English linguistics and serving in the faculty of an English department.(Canagarajah, 1999a, p. 91)

In response to Canagarajah's literacy experiences above, I recollect my childhood, seeing my journey in a similar fashion yet in different sociopolitical contexts. That is, my English literacy in its infancy was solely planted by Thai teachers who held little English literacy themselves, taught with deficient formal English training, let alone English educational degrees, and had rarely been exposed to native speakers. Nonetheless, regardless of such limited pedagogical and theoretical orientations, those teachers schooled me by implanting profound local wisdom through English lessons. The more I look back at the past chapters of my life in relation to English language learning experiences, the warmer the memory of the irreplaceable role of non-native speakers is brought to light.

In the 1980s, my English education would absolutely have been impossible without my fifth-grade English teacher serving her duty in a remote school in southern Thailand. Without a degree in any kind of English, this first teacher held my hands, teaching me to draw ABCs on a pale yellow notebook. From that moment on, this teacher laid the foundation of the first foreign language for a little girl who virtually had no clue what such a language was meant to be in her future. Regardless of that lack of awareness, she was however curious to learn English to make sense of a song her sister listened to

from a radio while working in a rice field. Looking back, this teacher might not know that thanks to her endless effort, the foreign language she planted had flourished at leisure without her notice. Letter by letter, word by word, sentence by sentence, my high school Thai teachers in a later period heightened an English linguistic power in me. English, as an additional medium of communication, provided me an opportunity to roam the foreign worlds where Thai literacy could not take me. In that young age, I adored English naively.

In college, Thai teachers with some background in ELT watered my English plant to grow in a Thai fashion. I remember, throughout the entire four years, only one Thai teacher among many came to class with the stunning accent of a native speaker. Sadly, not so long ago I realized that I did not learn much in that *Speaking* class besides sinking in a sea of wonders of the teacher's Hollywood-movie-star accent, her scent of Paris colognes, her charms, her pairs of shoes, and other components of splendid theatrical performances. In contrast, those teachers who wore stern faces and wilted smiles, uttered English with Thai accents and carried a red pen to frame their students into a grammatical translation mold, were the ones who had the real impact on my English literacy. They nurtured a healthier English plant in me. In this contrastive picture, I also remember learning English with two American teachers. One, who dimly lives in my memory, left me nothing much except one trick about how to pronounce "Robinson" correctly even though there was a slim chance for me to dramatize such a word in a daily life. Every day I left that classroom, drawing a gigantic exclamation mark of my teacher's American English accent in my head. While practicing by speaking "Robinson", I wondered where I could learn to master such an accent. In those days, I was so ashamed of my imperfect

English accent that I wondered where I should hide it. Today I realize that although I spent my whole life learning a Robinson-based trick, I cannot deny the reality that I have an accent. This is because, linguistically, there is nothing much I can do about it. Writing to this point, I recall the learning moment when this teacher punched my stomach to help me explode the right word of Robinson out from my mouth. At this hour, nothing but a fat smile grows on my face when I recall my southern-Thai-accented Robinson. This memory never withers.

In Bangkok, in pursuit of a master's degree in an international marketing program, it dawned on me that beautiful native speakers' accents were simply a temporary happiness I could drink spiritually. Indeed, in longer term reality, those accents that lacked their meaningful essences, at least to me, did not embrace real beauty. Simply put, the authenticity of gracious accents did not complete me intellectually. In retrospect, rather, in this program, Thai teachers, speaking English with a Thai accent, incredibly made me understand content more than *farang*[1] teachers did. In a Thai way, these local teachers sowed the seeds of English, along with other subject matter, to grow beautifully in an intellectual garden. Those seeds of English knowledge were planted under limited conditions in EFL contexts where we students hardly got exposed to native English users. Despite this shortcoming, I witnessed that the teachers' hard work yielded greater fruits when I stepped into professional life years later.

At work, if I had a chance to converse in English, I mainly did this with Japanese, Taiwanese, and Singaporean co-workers. Despite the variety of English accents, we understood one another, and were even able to insightfully debate and to endlessly laugh

[1] *Farang* is a well-known adjective and noun referring to Western people without any specification of nationality, culture, ethnicity, or language (Winichakul, 1994, p. 5).

at our dirty jokes. The use of English in such a working context echoes Kachru's (1998) contention about the presence of English in a global context, "The regional varieties of English have primarily local, regional, and interregional contexts of use: Singaporeans with Thais, Japanese with Indians and … The situation of predetermined interlocutors (native vs. nonnative) has no pragmatic validity" (p. 98).

In the States, where I am pursuing a doctoral degree, I have witnessed several circumstances when native speakers of English seemed not to understand, let alone grasp a glimpse of, foreign Englishes. In those scenarios, we international students and native speakers of other languages, however, sometimes share feelings without exchanging a word of our own hurt, shame, and anger. I remember, in one course, an American professor and some American classmates, who did not speak a second language, tacitly showed their impatience with students who attempted to articulate their ideas by speaking English with an accent.

I am schooled by Thai teachers and use English largely in non-native contexts. Here in a doctoral English program, I have encountered a strong presence of native speakers, an existence of divisions of English, and a dichotomy of US and THEM. It is the first time more than two decades after I left college, when I have to stand up to claim my academic identity hidden in my English. I decided not to as much as I could compromise with mainstream education when it time to write. In this way, at the very least, writing is where I can be myself, able to talk back to those who seem impatient in dialogue with me.

At this point, when looking back, replaying movies in my memory, attempting to forget some shots of them, I still see a stain of colorful pains among these English

episodes. No matter how hard I try not to memorize those lives behind the scene in my old days, I never can erase their tinges from my thoughts. The layers of such memories have heaped up through time. Now, let the English divide episode peel away some insights of ELT in Thailand to you.

The English Divide

Despite adversity in learning English, my view toward it had always been beautiful until, years later in college, when I determined to pursue English education seriously. There were noteworthy circumstances which made a freshman like me painstakingly aware that English knowledge divided people by becoming "a bar between those who can participate using the official language and those who cannot" (Bamgbose, 2000, p. 2). For example, English scores drawn from the national entrance examination or placement tests were the central criteria for screening freshmen into different majors in language arts. On one hand, the higher scores English students obtained, the richer benefits the students gained through admission to alternative majors of study. On the other hand, English aborted the dreams of those students who were qualified in every subject but English. Canagarajah (2006a) claimed that the English classroom is a powerful site of policy negotiation. Every time teachers imposed a uniform variety of language or discourse to students, they are constructing monolingualist ideologies and linguistic hierarchies. Ironically, in response to this argument, I learned that the site of struggle actually did not take place in language classrooms only. Instead, students' destinies were actually determined by the power of their knowledge of the English language even before walking into classrooms.

The interplay of life in English classes of the 1990s never fades from my memory. From a tiny slice of lived events, I remember the students speaking with the accent of a *farang* were endlessly applauded by the crowd. Without a doubt, these students symbolically turned out to be a bar to which other students wanted to reach. Sadly, these students did not even realize the fact that they, linguistically speaking, could never touch such native speakers' criteria for competency. Despite the naïve views of this never-come-true dream, these students still perceived *farang* teachers as well as Thai teachers, who spoke English with *farang*-like fluently, as a role model of quality language learners. In those classes, in contrast, some students sat silently in the corner of the room, reluctant to utter a word because they were afraid that a Thai accent would be caught by their classmates. At the end of the day, these students left the classroom with fear, hatred, and shame for their non-standard pronunciation. Linguistically speaking, these students, including me, were marginalized in this class because, when judged by Standard English, we spoke "bad English." Needless to say, cultural-linguistic biases constructed *farangs* or native speakers by positioning them as the sole judges of what was right or wrong in learning English. Ironically, when these *farangs* spoke Thai with an accent, we Thais not only felt no surprise but even adored them supremely. We tended to deemphasize our language; we appreciated those who were interested in our culture and especially those who were capable of speaking our language, a not-so popular one.

Almost at the end of my sophomore year, I ventured on a rougher English road, learning two momentous lessons. First, learning English brought discomfort. I felt intimidated, rather than challenged in expressing myself freely when my learning was evaluated under Standard English. I felt that there was an invisible bar used to assess my

English. Second, mastering English was not only a struggle; it was also an impossible mission. The more I wanted to express my voice in English, particularly in writing, the more I learned that there was almost no room for me to grow, let alone breathe as a writer, as long as Standard English prevailed as a norm. Certainly, learning English was much more perplexing than I thought when the road of language users was opened up as one avenue only. In addition to a struggle to fit into mainstream English, what discouraged me the most was when I was incapable of using appropriate English in a Standard sense. My voice was overshadowed by grammatical errors, deprived by a red pen, compared with classmates in different leagues *par excellence*. As a consequence, most of the time when I failed at using Standard English, I became even more frustrated, aggravated, and resistant. Revisiting such slices of oppressive English learning experiences in my entire four years, I attempted to explain those situations by framing them, using the following scholarly lenses:

Pennycook (1995) wrote, “Language is a site of struggle. Meanings are always in flux and in contention. The process of using language against the grain is a crucial aspect of global language” (p. 51). Pennycook further argued that what the utmost importance in learning language is the politics of representation, not the structure. Self representation is even more difficult when English serves as a “class maker” (Canagarajah, 1999b, p. 29). In this sense, English becomes a divisive device to locate people into baskets as “us,” “them,” or “other.” For example, a person speaking with an accent, like Kamala Das, previously quoted in the introductory poetry, is justified as a non-native speaker even if English is one of her native languages. In a different context but yet related to the same issue, non-native-English-teachers including my Thai teachers are viewed as “second-

best" by teaching English profession, despite their knowledge of both the terrain and the destination in their EFL/ESL settings (Seildhoffer, 1999, p. 238). Undeniably, the concept of English divide places non-native speakers in the periphery when native speakers are absolute authorities on how English should be spoken in ESL and EFL settings. On the whole, "native speakers' norms of identity and proficiency disempower learners with a sense of inadequacy, preventing local communities from developing their pedagogical and linguistic resources in their own terms" (Canagarajah, 2002b, p. 256).

In fact, ironically such a long-held conviction regarding the dominant Standard English work entirely against the reality of multi-avenues to a linguistic world where language diversity does not lead to a social problem, as some people worry, but adds a great gift to one's life. Let me unwrap the gift in the following episodes to share with you the beauty of being different.

Different but Not Foreign

> As I write in the café in the centre of Canterbury I can see one of our master's students walking across the square. She is from Thailand, which, in the center of over-'English' Canterbury, brings with it the hope of something different and enriching. Even the way in which her English words come out represents a refreshingly different world of thinking which can transport me into a third place. At the same time she is person just like me with ideas and thoughts to share, the essence of which we both hold in common. We are separated by many things- age age, gender, occupation and life aspirations; and what is most important is not her Thainess at all. When we get to know each other she is not 'foreign'. If the *final* thought is that she's 'foreign' then we are lost. (Holliday, 2005, p. 177)

To me, reading the story above was like feeling a rain drop in a Sahara-like land; Holliday brought hope to second language learners in general and Thai English learners in particular. I was wondering if there were people who shared his viewpoint; who accepted second language learners for the fact that they are what language they speak; they are different but not alienated. Could these people be tolerant of foreign grammars,

accents, and usages? What would the linguistic world be like if people were to provide a space for the local knowledge, foreign accents, and indigenous Englishes to thrive?

My narrative, to this point, unveils the paradox of the reality of English as an international language. On one hand, all varieties of Englishes are always beautiful if they are viewed through the lens of Holliday (2005), as stated in his quote at the introduction of this narrative, as being different, not foreign. After all, revisiting my life in relation to English education in my home country and in the States not only allows me to appreciate my past memories, peoples, and places but bringing English episodes into light. This narrative also reflects a breath of my motherland; it retells the nation's history. This is because an individual's life lies closely, and deeply, to the discourse of a nation. In light of this inseparable relationship between individual narrative and that of a nation, this revisit reminds me of how Thailand has gone through the dead end of the so-called national crisis. As Bhabha (1990) states, "To study the nation through its narrative address does not merely draw attention to its language and rhetoric; it also attempts to alter the conceptual object itself" (p. 3). Before I bring my narrative to a close, let me uncover the slice picture of the catastrophe of my country, and most remarkably, of the journey of how this story led to the heart issue of this dissertation.

The Site of the Problem: When the Land Can't Smile

Thailand's full-fledged economic crisis of 1997—the so-called *tomyam kung disease phenomenon*—was a critical national incident leading to drastic economic and social changes. The turmoil of this economic slump changed "people's perception of the present and created a widespread demand for change" (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 253). After the collapse of the domestic economy, many Thais questioned the growth-

oriented values of the 1980s, the political system, the role of the state, the policy makers, and the educational system. Western ideologies deeply embedded in Thai economic, political and academic domains for a long time were challenged. Thai people, who fought hard to save the land of smiles, seriously revisited Thai roots by emphasizing Thai cultural and local knowledge. The essence of such assumptions has led to the ongoing debates between globalists and localists (Phongpaichit, 1998). The globalists have placed emphasis on capitalism ideology based on free market strategy suggested by the IMF[2] (International Monetary Fund); the localists however have proposed alternative paths for Thailand's development.

In the tidal wave of social changes partly governed by globalization, several national movements were intentionally formed to offer an escape from the national economic crisis. For instance, projects from both government and private sectors were launched to overcome the chaos. Those included "self-strengthening for the sake of the Thai way-of-life" (Baker & Phongpaichit, 2005, p. 257). Questioning the role of the state, Thai people called for a reform in terms of the fundamental structure of the country as well as the educational system. To cope with the post-crisis economy, the nation reexamined its own values, local wisdom and the meaning of Thainess. This mission woke up the public to an appreciation of their own cultural values. Similarly, there emerged a trend toward "ethnic de-essentialisation and linguistic and cultural pluralisation" (Tejapira, 2002, p. 219). For example, those people who were able to speak a regional dialect gradually gained recognition. The National Education Curriculum of

[2] With 185 member countries, the IMF is an international organization established to promote international monetary cooperation, exchange stability, and orderly exchange arrangements; to foster economic growth and high levels of employment; and to provide temporary financial assistance to countries to help ease balance of payments adjustment (http://www.imf.org/external/about.htm).

2002 placed importance on local and national cultural values (Wongsothorn, Hiranburana, & Chinnawong, 2003, p. 441). All these trends were echoed in Cameron's (2002) remarks that linguistic diversity is associated with a problem and linguistic uniformity is a form of a desirable practice.

While the Thai government, non-governmental organizations, and a new form of grassroots-level groups made attempts to strengthen the nation to stand on its feet again, many Thais nevertheless seemed unaware of the critical situation. Even worse, they did not even see the necessity of localization. Ironically, in this historic turmoil, foreigners learned to act local to make most sense of Thai ways of life and peoples. The locals, in contrast, seemed to thrive ready to go global blindly. Among these, many acted, spoke and thought like *farangs,* or Westerners, caught up in mainstream values perceived through the media. Furthermore, the situation in education was no different. That is, Western teaching ideology has been deeply held. In English education, in particularly, Standard English, established for decades and decades, has been maintained as an unquestionable norm. Such mainstream ideology has resulted in an unjust treatment toward local teachers. To date, Thai teachers have received lower benefits than the so-called native- speakers regardless of their superior degrees, professional qualifications, and quality of teaching experiences. Recently, for example, "native speaker only", for example, was posted as a key qualification in an advertisement for an English teaching position at a famous university in Bangkok. The side effect of native speaker fallacies (Phillipson, 1992) seeped into people's minds deeper and deeper. Consequently, the lack of public awareness in this regard and the colonial mindset deeply seated in English education are a matter of concern and a challenge.

This concern, in the end, has resulted in a search to get out of this wretched situation; thus this dissertation is an attempt to push a new pedagogical and ideological direction forward for Thai English education in the near future. In this regard, the framework of World Englishes hopefully provides a new lens through which to look at a variety of English and include it to exist equally in the global public linguistic space.

The Framework of the Problem: World Englishes

English, the language "on which the sun never sets" (Crystal, 2004a, p. 10), has spread so pervasively that it appears to be fragmenting and breaking up into regional varieties (Schneider, 2007). Lying in the concept of "the pluricentricity of the language and its cross-cultural reincarnations" (B.B Kachru, 2006b, p. 447), English has been planted and transplanted several times (Pakir, 1997). Even though English varieties have spread in diverse local cultures in worldwide nations, today the English language is fostered into the rest of the complex world as an international prestigious brand. Such a political construct, accordingly, has a monumentally ideological impact on people in the means in which they think and behave. Its status as a dominant language is still maintained, promoted, and marketed through a system of both material and institutional structures, namely the World Bank and IMF or International Monetary Fund (Phillipson, 1992). With this discursive power, people find it difficult to resist the promotion of English under laissez-faire liberalism[3] construed as "natural, neutral, inevitable and beneficial" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 6). Within the same line of thinking, soft-sell terms such as the language of "international communication and understanding, economic

[3] Pennycook (2001, p. 59) defines the term as one of the frameworks for understanding the global role of English. In this laissez-faire liberalism model, English is associated with a functional tool for pragmatic purposes. The implication of this approach for English and language teaching is the belief that we should teach English to whoever needs it. This modernist position on the global role of English is underpinned by the ideology that English is a neutral and beneficial.

development, and national unity" (Phillipson, 2000, p. 99) was employed to promote English as a necessary entity. In a contemporary context, English has mushroomed into, as Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) describe, the language in which "the fate of the world most citizens is decided, directly or indirectly" (p. 441). According to the British Council (1995), English was set to become the global language for economic, social, and personal development. Needless to say, English is manifestly seen as the language of capitalism, a new emblem of imperialism, and the main carrier of the American economy and technological hegemony (Holborow, 1999). The consequence of the interplay between the local and the global forces not only make English a socioeconomic advantage but also shape English to be "a compulsory requirement" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 422) and, most remarkably, "linguistic homogeneity" (J. K. Hall & Eggington, 2000, p. 8). This trend eventually has led to the emergence of World Englishes (details will be presented in Chapter 2).

According to the concept of World Englishes, English diversifies into varieties of different kinds. Local English is gradually established and is appropriately used by the particular local communities. In a context of World Englishes, people tolerate variability and value the multiplicity of English. In the world where cultures and identities have become more plural and the roads are heading in more diversified directions, it makes much sense to promote a paradigm shift from mainstream English to World Englishes. Why do we need to deconstruct Standard English? Responding to this question, Salman Rushdie (1982), who was concerned with the enforcement of the local visibilities, wrote: "the (English) language needs to be decolonized, to be made in other images, if those of us who use it from positions outside Anglo-Saxon cultures are to be more than 'Uncle

Toms'" (p. 8). In the cultural pluralism paradigm, English, in fact, grows from many roots (Rushdie, 1982). The interaction of localism and globalism becomes more increasingly complex and multifaceted than we have imagined. It has led to remarkable changes in the spaces of economics, politics, and culture around the globe. Thailand also cannot ignore these emergent tendencies. Alongside Rushdie's artistic Uncle Toms, as he asserted in his book entitled *The Empire Writes Back with a Vengeance*, other characters such as sister *Somchai,* brother *Sommai, and* aunt *Somporn,* who are representatives of Thailand in this case, hope to co-exist along the others in these trends as well. By this means, Thai society will eventually benefit by engaging in discussion about the production of newer localities rather than following up dominant ideology and shaping Thai culture into a mold of "cultural homogenization like McDonaldization" (Phillipson, 2003, p. 13)

Those studying English in this new context need to take the local differences into consideration because learning should be personal and situated (Kumaravadivelu, 1999). With regard to this issue, Pennycook (2000a) contends that to better understand about the global rise of English and its role English played out in any context, we need to look at English through its local milieus rather than through a priori assumptions about imperialistic effects. In this way, in order to come at a clearer understanding about English usage in Thailand, English should be viewed from Thai contexts, since it can never be removed from the historical, social, cultural, economic or political contexts in which it is used. In response to this matter, Achebe (1975) wrote,

> The price a world language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of use. The African writer should aim to use English in a way that brings out his message best without altering the language to the extent that its value as a medium of international exchange will be lost. He should aim at

> fashioning out an English which is at once universal and be able to carry his peculiar experience. . . . *I feel that the English language will be able to carry the weight of my African experience. . . . But it will have to be a new English*, still in communion with its ancestral home but altered to suit its new African surroundings. (p. 100-103, my emphasis)

As such, to carry the learner's identity as Achebe suggests, second language learners should learn English as a foreign language not as a native language. They should not be evaluated under a native speaker's standards but should be respected as "genuine L2 users" (Cook, 2001, p. 407). In this light, to make meaning of English in a Thai socio-cultural context, Thai learners should have their own choices to "bend the language to their will so that it carries the weight of their individual experience" (Widdowson, 1997, p. 139) and view their own language as one "of additional communication rather than as a foreign language controlled by the 'Other'" (Warschauer, 2000, p. 515). In conclusion, Thai English should be recognized by the world speech community through its unique rhetorical conventions.

Status of English in Thailand

> The Thai nobility recognized early on the importance of English not just as an intellectual interest, but as a vehicle for communicating with countries which threatened to arrive as colonizers. English was used by the Thai people to protect their independence and as a vehicle for absorbing modern ideas and technology into the country. (Masavisut, Sukwiwat, & Wongmontha, 1986, p. 205)

The fact that English in Thailand was originally employed as a political tool to protect Thai sovereignty from colonization threats underscores what Pennycook (1994) contends that language as "located in social action and anything we might want to call a language is not a pre-given system but a will to community" (p. 29). The above notion clearly reflects that Thailand is an example of the linguistic phenomenon of adopting and using the English language to serve her own sociolinguistic will, contexts, and functions.

Historically, the first contact with English in Siam (the former name of Thailand) took place in the reign of King Nang Klaw (1824-1854) when American missionaries were assigned to teach the language to young children of noble birth (Aksornkool, 1980, p. 72). Later, the policy makers during the reign of King Mongkut (1851-1868) (Masavisut et al., 1986) realized the tremendous adversity of not knowing English—the language of the invader. Out of fear of a colonial power and a wave of change, English was therefore inevitably and politically introduced to the royal palace. From that situation, English, at the beginning, was learned on a restricted basis by royal family members and elite groups of Siamese. In later reigns, English was reluctantly promoted outside the palace. English ultimately became accessible to middle-class Thais in the reign of King Vajiravudh (1910-1925) (Masavisut et al., 1986).

From the beginning of the 20th century, Thailand has gradually been experiencing a new paradigm shift regarding English. Foley (2005) discussed the modern use of English in Thailand: "The paradigm has shifted and Thais are using English mainly with other non-native speakers of English, and only to a lesser extent with Native speakers" (p. 6). In the same vein, Watkhaolarm (2005) provided a contemporary picture of English used in Thai contexts through two Thai bilingual writers. In addition to describing the socio-political and linguistic realities of Thai English, in this article Watkhaolarm raised a crucial issue about a study of a localized variety of World Englishes similar to the one this dissertation attempts to accomplish. She suggested, "As more and more people use English in everyday communication in their professional lives, the Thai English variety has potential to develop. Future research could focus on the Thais' use of English in the professional domain" (p. 156).

In recent decades, English has been used by people at all levels of Thai society, from government leaders to bar girls, to fulfill their own objectives (Masavisut et al., 1986). Used as a foreign language, English has however become increasingly crucial both in local and global contexts. Although the use of English in Thailand is restricted as Standard Thai dominates the domestic scene (Rappa & Wee, 2006), among 11 optional foreign languages, English is regarded as the most significant one in Thailand (Wongsothorn, 2000). Called by Smalley (1994) as the language of Thailand abroad, English has become a symbol of modernity (Huebner, 2006). Indeed, the deep penetration of English in Thai society is reflected through its political agenda, which Thai people seem unaware of or which they take for granted.

Purposes of Investigation and Research Questions

This current project is an investigation of Thai English from perspectives of Thai professional writers. The underlying agenda behind this investigation is to address current theoretical issues related to the notion of World Englishes.

The aim of this present project is fourfold: first and foremost, to examine and define Thai English discourse in a professional writing context by using the World Englishes framework; second, to elicit ways Thai professional writers position and construct themselves toward Thai English; third, to examine underlying ideological assumptions behind the positions that Thai professional writers take toward their English and Thai English; fourth and last, to contribute to the further understanding of linguistic, cultural, and pragmatic realities of a localized variety of World Englishes in Thailand.

This study is guided by four underlying research questions:

Q1: How do Thai professional writers position themselves in relation to the discourse of Thai English?

Q2: What are the underlying assumptions that Thai professional writers have toward the concept of Thai English?

Q3: What rhetorical strategies do Thai professional writers employ to promote their Thainess in their work?

Q4: What rhetorical strategies do Thai professional writers employ to marginalize their Thainess in their work?

Significance of the Study

The study of Thai English thus far is undertheorized. A number of contributions of this study are worth highlighting:

First, the most monumental merit for the examination of Thai English is the contribution to a better and deeper understanding about the concept of Thai English and other emerging aspects related to the sociolinguistic position of English in Thailand. Second, drawing upon perspectives of Thai professional writers, this study contributes to a body of literature regarding World Englishes by unveiling the language users' firsthand perspectives on their English for the first time. These insights offer a cultural and political explanation about the position of Thai English based on an investigation of the notion of Thai English conducted outside classroom contexts.

Third, the study allows us to make most sense of how these Thai experienced writers employ their own rhetorical strategies and hierarchical underlying assumptions to construct meanings or negotiate English identities. Fourth, this empirical study permits

nuanced understandings and theoretical insights about language use, power, identity and some other aspect of sociolinguistic attitudes and practices related to English in Thailand.

Last but certainly not least, the exploration of Thai English constructs leads to a clearer, deeper, and more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of World Englishes. In this regard, this dissertation pertinent to Thailand offers a better way to elicit a picture of English used as a foreign language in one of the Expanding Circle countries[4] (B.B Kachru, 1990). By addressing the local identity of English in Thailand, the project broadens the theoretical space of World Englishes.

Researcher's Standpoints

For years, the study of language and culture has been of my interest. Yet it is my dissertation director, Dr. David Hanauer, who has instilled in me a critical view toward this issue. Frustrated yet contesting dominant ideology, I have learned to raise questions about the issue in relation to Thai English and meanwhile have started to listen to my inner voices. In this light, I have gradually put my struggle into perspective, transforming my personal experiences into interdisciplinary knowledge. My zeal for this study basically stems from the deep respect for Thai teachers labeled as non-native speakers of English who paved the way for my English education.

Under the concept of English multiplicity, I seek to promote an English of our own and to endorse the destandardization of English (Graddol, 1997) in Thai educational milieus. Toward this ambitious goal, through this study, I have sought to push the study forward for the 'decolonization of the mind' toward mainstream English. More immediately, within this principle, I hope to see Thai educators and policy makers promote "a more responsive and responsible approach to language" (Crystal, 2004b, p.

[4] Based on Kachru's Centric Circle , in this division, English has a functional status and is learned in school only.

524) through a variety of World Englishes rather than mainstream literacy. In this way, Thai students would not only come to a better understanding of why people appropriate language in the way they do. They would also better appreciate varieties of English and be more culturally oriented to seek choices and possibilities to navigate different discourses in everyday domains and to shuttle across not only sociopolitical but also linguistic boundaries (Canagarajah, 2003). Eventually, in the world, a diverse place in many ways (Geertz, 1983), Thai learners might find an opportunity to be more able to control their English for themselves.

Research Organization

This dissertation is thematically organized as follow:

Chapter I is an overview of the dissertation, presenting the context of the problem, its theoretical framework and the focus of the project.

Chapter II reviews related literature that the dissertation incorporates, mainly in World Englishes study. This chapter conceptualizes and problematizes the concept of World Englishes and a poststructuralist approach to identity.

Chapter III outlines methodological framework. The chapter describes the data collection method pertaining to the research site, participants, and interview procedures, and then ends with a description of data analysis.

Chapter IV presents the research result related to the first research question. It describes the professional writers' self-identification and understanding about English discourse

Chapter V presents research results related to the second research question. It proposes an alternative model of English identity to explain hierarchical underpinning assumptions of the participants' English positioning.

Chapter VI presents the research result related to the third and fourth questions. It describes the rhetoric of marginalizing and promoting Thai English.

Chapter VII interprets, highlights, and summarizes the research findings, then offers implications in terms of ideological and pragmatic concerns.

Chapter VIII is a postscript, narrating the researcher's reflections on the research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

As the world's dominant international language, English comes in many flavours, some of them uniquely Asian (Bolton, 2003)

Opening Remarks

To cast the greatest light on the concept, the significance, and the ramifications of World Englishes, I undertake my writing, as suggested by Richardson (2003), as a method of inquiry in order to understand, capture, and readdress the recent phenomenon of English as World Englishes. I write this chapter from the position of a second language learner, who has been trying to foster understanding about the field and who has just started to see herself as a World Englishes writer. Taking up this stance, I orient my experiences and worldviews along with reviewing relevant contemporary literature. While attempting to describe how World Englishes has been transforming, I, at the same time, will reflect on how my understanding toward myself as a World Englishes apprentice has been morphing as well.

A critical approach frames my discussion and argument. Living in the crisis of representation paradigm (Denzin, 1997), I choose to embrace experimental, experiential, and reflexive approaches in presenting this chapter. Employing narratives makes the chapter carry a personal tone; yet the intent is far from personal. Heading in the World Englishes philosophical direction, I unveil the field by trying not to cling to any norms but my own interpretive and intuitive effort. Canagarajah (2006b) argued that we are moving from the direction of achieving correctness to negotiating reconstituting it pertaining to different genres and contexts while developing higher language awareness. As such, this notion suggests that I will be able to break some particular rules in making a

dissertation read not like a dissertation in a formal sense. In light of this, I will be able to paint colors on conventional texts by reflecting subjective aspects through storytelling into the review of literatures. In this way, "pushing for dissertations that contained stories," as suggested by one of my professors, would invite more people to desire to read dissertations (Pagnucci, 2004, p. 25). The legend among UW graduate students that "if a person stuck a 20-dollar bill in her dissertation and came back in ten years' time, the 20 would still be marking the same page" (Pagnucci, 2004, p. 24) might hopefully not happen to this dissertation. With this hope, this experiment with narratives thus provides me room to design a textual and pedagogical space in a formal genre for my own variety of English (Canagarajah, 2006a). I consider this personal freedom to reconstitute, to narrate, and to reflect a discourse of understanding about the discipline the essence of being a World Englishes learner in general and a World Englishes writer in particular. The essence of this practice is not to leave my cultural values behind but to use them to heat up a cold place, the academic world (Pagnucci, 2004).

In short, then, the conceptualization framework of World Englishes builds on the following episodes of 1) terms and concepts; 2) the old paradigm: world fugitives in the linguistic Alcatraz; 3) leaving the fixity paradigm; 4) revisiting the paradigm shifts; 5) World Englishes premises; and 6) World Englishes ramifications.

Terms and Concepts

The Boom of World Englishes: the Blooming of My Understanding

Theoretically, my memory and relationship with the notion of World Englishes are fresh and young. In reality, dating to 1965, the concept of World Englishes is now almost forty years old. The emergence of the theoretical concept of World Englishes and

its application, however, had not gained currency in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics until the mid 1980s (Bhatt, 2002; Bolton, 2006; Bolton & Kachru, 2006; B.B Kachru, 1985, 1992, 1997b). The key scholars who were engaged in research and theory building in the concepts of World Englishes are Braj Kachru, Larry Smith and Peter Strevens (Brown, 2001). In line with these leading scholars, McArthur (1993) also helped move the field forward. In the following decades, World Englishes flourished. Historical reviews and research on the World Englishes paradigm were widely informed and reinforced; these include B.B Kachru (1990, 1996, 1997a, 1997b), B.B Kachru, Y. Kachru and Nelson (2006) , Jenkins (2003, 2006), Melchers & Shaw (2003), Bhatt (2001b), Bolton (2004), and Bolton & Kachru (2006). The last two decades have witnessed publication of numerous articles in international academic journals, namely *English Today; English World-Wide*, and *World Englishes*. In 1992, the first World Englishes conference was held at the University of Illinois. Current sociolinguistic profiles of language use in different areas conducted in diverse countries have been widely published (e.g., Chang, 2006; Deterding & Kirkpatrick, 2006; Hasanova, 2007; Hilgendorf, 2007; Kamwangamalu, 2007; Lee, 2006; Leppänen, 2007; Sharp, 2007)

In light of its history, World Englishes has walked slowly yet confidently on the path of teaching and learning English. However, I first came across the term World Englishes at the dawn of my dissertation. It was not until spring 2006 when I received an email from my dissertation director suggesting that I review an article in a journal on World Englishes. Interestingly enough, that was the very first time I saved the new term into my applied linguistic bank, without a true understanding of what the expression really meant. At that time, I wondered how many people besides myself were unaware to

the field. Trying to understand the growing field of World Englishes, I am no different from a toddler striving to make sense of the chaotic universe. Long gone are the days in which I lived my life as a blank slate of awareness while the English empire swiftly expanded to diverse corners of the world.

Canagarajah (2006c) provoked TESOL professions with a question: "What does it mean to be competent in the English language?" (p. 26). This question has pertinence amidst the current situation when English has been influenced by the three major growing social forces: globalization; digital communication; and World Englishes. By the same token, Kumaravadivelu (2006b) pointed out that the TESOL enterprise has been transitioning from a state of awareness to a state of awakening. After all, he concluded that we are approaching a state of attainment of learning and teaching English. To this point, I cannot afford to ignore this reality. I hope that I do not awaken too late from being unknowing to capture the phenomena of the field and to yield my theory of practice.

Multiple Englishes: Multiple Identities

That note from my advisor was the springboard for this dissertation. Afterward, my worldview toward English shifted. It happened when I set out to pursue the World Englishes discipline on my own terms. While responding to my advisor's email, I nonetheless was too overjoyed with the birth of my dissertation to pay close attention to the unusual spelling of "Englishes". Momentarily, I recognized a plural form but simply took it for granted. Later on, after I had delved into researching its contemporary literatures, it dawned on me that the term reflected a philosophically significant agenda. Embedded in the plural form, the term World Englishes communicates a deep meaning of

its theoretical and functional concept and research areas. Kachru and Smith (1985) spelled out the meaning of the term:

> "Englishes" symbolizes the functional and formal variation in the language, and its international acculturation, for example, in West Africa, in southern Africa, in East Africa, in South Asia, in Southeast Asia, in the West Indies, in the Phillippines and in the traditional English-using countries: the USA, the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. The language now belongs to those who use it as their first language, and to those who use it as an additional language, whether in its standard form or in its localized forms. The recognition of this functional diversity is so important that we have indicated it in the subtitle of World Englishes. (p. 210)

Historically, as the English language has been transformed, through both linguistic imperialism[5] (Phillipson, 1988, 1992) and linguistic pragmatism[6] (Brutt-Griffler, 1998; Quirk, 1988), to non-English sociocultural settings or other culturally unrelated languages such as those to South, East, and South-East Asia and West, South, and East Africa, English has shown linguistic diversification (Bhatt, 2001a, 2001b). English, thus, has been transformed into pluricentric or Englishes. To put it into perspective, English is one medium but constitutes multifaceted cultures, reflects manifold voices, and represents a multiplicity of cannons (B.B Kachru, 1996; Pakir, 1999, 2001). The "-es", according to Canagarajah (2002b), allows voices of English communities in periphery to be heard. Clearly, the term World Englishes, which reflects a hidden philosophical intent, welcomes multiple interpretations.

The term World Englishes originated in the two conferences on English as a world language that took place in 1978 at the East-West Center in Hawaii and at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Braj Kachru and Larry Smith took a

[5] The dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47).
[6] The other term is the econocultural model proposed by Randolp Quirk. This model holds belief that English has been developed as the language of the world market or the commercial lingua franca (Bhatt, 2001a).

leadership role in both conferences (Bolton, 2006; B.B Kachru, 1992; Smith, 1981). Prior to the use of the term, the earlier conceptualization of World Englishes refers to the recognition of a unique linguistic phenomenon and particularly to the changing landscape of the post 1940s (B.B Kachru, 1997b). However, in its more contemporary situation, "a pluralist vision of Englishes" (Pennycook, 2007, p. 18) carries a postmodern discourse of localization, contextualization, and democratization of language use. The discourse of English in worldwide contexts represents linguistic, cultural, and ideological diversity (Bhatt, 2001b). This pluralist framework celebrates global variations in vocabulary, grammar, phonology and pragmatics of English around the world (Melchers & Shaw, 2003). It basically encourages global English users to opt for their own tongues, tastes, and styles. In many cases, there is a fine line between errors and linguistic creativity. Accordingly, under a World Englishes lens, language users are contextually allowed more space to play with the language. Thus, in a certain context, errors in a conventional sense are less restricted and tend to be treated as choices and possibilities (Canagarajah, 2002a). Also, the World Englishes orientation focuses on norms of those multiple Englishes or what Gorlach (1995) called "more Englishes."

The creator of the term, Braj Kachru (1988), defined the characteristics of the World Englishes paradigm into three key elements. First, the English language belongs to whoever uses it. Second, the localized innovations (in English) have pragmatic-based ownership. Third, there is a repertoire of models for English. In this sense, the Englishes language, as Y. Kachru (2001) emphasizes, has carried repertoires of sociocultural identities. According to Kachru's (2006a) recent work, these multicultural identities involve linguistic interactions of three types of participants: native speakers and native

speakers; native speakers and nonnative speakers; and, nonnative speakers and nonnative speakers. He further argues that the English language used in a global context reflects two faces. One represents Western-ness; the other reflects local identities.

Holding a critical stance of the World Englishes approach, Pennycook (1994) uses the term "worldliness" to convey the status of "glocal English," signifying the relationship between English and its diverse local contexts. On the other hand, it is concerned with English used in a local context as well. Taking a neutral position toward the spread of English, Crystal (2001), however, argues that the philosophy of World Englishes does not disregard the notion of Standard English. Rather, students need to learn both kinds of English varieties to maintain international intelligibility and local identities. Kachru (1997c) suggests that World Englishes studies be interdisciplinary and integrative oriented in order to critically capture and examine diverse Englishes' identities and creativity. Despite the diverse ideological and theoretical positions, these World Englishes advocates have laid necessity and awareness of English in pluralist contexts.

Presently, there are several labels used interchangeably with the term World Englishes. These include global English (es), international English (es), new English (es), varieties of English, English as an international language, English as a global language, and so on. These terms have been used almost interchangeably, with minimal varying connotations (Bolton, 2004, 2005; Schneider, 2003). In this chapter, the term is associated with the Kachruvian studies (Bhatt, 2001b; Bolton, 2005) which have been characterized by the importance of inclusivity and pluricentricity in approaches to language use worldwide. This approach offers a balance between the pragmatic

recognition of the proliferation of English and the critical examination of native speaker ideologies (Bolton, 2004). The underpinning endorses a pluricentric approach to World Englishes by focusing on both the sociolinguistic realities and bilingual creativity of ESL and EFL contexts (Bolton, 2005). Moreover, the approach emphasizes both the description of national and regional varieties and other related topics, for instance, language contact, creative writing, critical applied linguistics, and discourse analysis. Furthermore, based on Pennycook (2006) the term recognizes the importance of hybridization. It is, at large, intended to reflect the way English has become locally adapted and institutionalized to create an unprecedented range of varieties of English around the world. In conclusion, the World Englishes concept highlights the freedom that users have in designing their own Englishes without being restricted by Standard norms.

To conceptualize World Englishes and to place this issue of multiple Englishes into a broader context, it is necessary to discuss the issue of identity in relation to language use. The theoretical discussion in this section cannot be completed without addressing the concept of identity in a broader discipline. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to address all aspects of identity theories. Therefore, I will discuss only those theoretical interpretations of identity that offer heuristic understandings of the conceptual interpretation of the phenomena complex of identity in a postcolonial period. In this regard, the discussion in this project centers on aspects of identity based on the poststructuralist approach. What follows are the theoretical background and major concerns of the poststructuralist approach to identity.

Poststructuralist Approach to Identity

In this project, there are key concepts of poststructuralist approach to identity that need to be highlighted here. First, social identity, identification, subject position, subjectivity or positioning describe a process that frames identity not as one but multiple and not as fixed entities for life but as fragmented and contested in nature (Block, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b; Bourdieu, 1991; B. Davies & Harre, 1999; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Giddens, 1991; S. Hall, 1995; Weedon, 1997). With respect to the principle of identity positioning, Davies & Harre (1999) define positioning as "the discursive process whereby people are located in conversations as observable and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines" (p. 37). In particular, in this study the poststructuralist approach looks at how individual writers establish their sense of identity, negotiate, and reach a balance when they come across ongoing struggles while moving across discourse borders—Standard English, Thai English and Thai discourse. The issue of poststructuralist identity in relation to five categories of emerging identity positionings in relation to the concept of Thai English and Standard English will be highlighted in future chapters.

Second, the poststructuralist's take on identity places emphasis on how people negotiate and construct linguistic, political, and cultural identity through discourse. As Block (2006a) claims:

> A poststructuralist approach to identity frames identity as socially constructed, a self-conscious, ongoing narrative an individual performs, interprets and projects in dress, bodily movements, actions and language. All of this occurs in the company of others- either face to face of electronically mediated- with whom to varying degrees the individual shares beliefs and motives and activities and practices. Identity is about negotiating new subject positions at the crossroads of the past, the present and future. (p. 39)

In this view, the choice of language and the use to which language is put are central to individuals' definition of themselves in relation to their contexts (Ngugi, 1986, p. 4). These ideas appear in Chapter 4 which will describe how 20 Thai professional writers with conflicted identities took up diverse English positionings to negotiate themselves in English discourse. Chapter 5 will address underlying underpinning assumptions of English positions. The chapter will delve into the ongoing English identity construction and illuminate why Thai writers positioned themselves toward English in a certain way.

Third, the issues of third space, ambivalence and difference of negotiation (Bhabha, 1994; S. Hall, 1996; Papastergiadis, 2000) are also crucial concerns for the poststructuralist view on identity. As defined by Block (2007a), this concept of ambivalence is the natural state of human beings who are forced to make difficult choices, where negotiation of the difference is a "self-conscious, reflexive project of individual agency, created and maintained by individuals" (p. 865). The issue of appropriation and resistance to mainstream discourse and dominant ideological power will be addressed in Chapter 7.

Poststructuralist Approach and Research Orientation

Fifteen years ago, research pertaining to the aspects of poststructuralist identity such as identity as a site of struggle, the emergence of third-space identity, the negotiation of difference, ambivalence and agency was rarely found (Block, 2007a). Pierce (1995) constructs social identity theory by drawing data from a longitudinal case study of the language learning experiences of immigrant women in Canada. Her empirical study concludes that power relations exerted a powerful role in social interactions between language users and target language speakers. Her work has shifted

SLA research in a critical, cultural, and political theoretical direction that places emphasis on the social context outside language classroom contexts. Norton (1997) also highlights the relationship between language and identity. After a publication by Pierce (1995), research in this area mushroomed and expanded the conceptual and epistemological realm of SLA (e.g., Block, 2006b, 2007a, 2007b; Kramsch, 2007; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004b). There are other critical works in relation to the context of postcolonial and cultural studies, contributing to the body of literature in this area (Bhabha, 1994; Gilroy, 1987; S. Hall, 1992, 1997b). These works cast light on the complex relationship between identity, language, and ethnicity. Like the World Englishes approach, at the moment identity studies appear to have taken a dominant role in the post-structuralist discipline.

The Old Paradigm: World Fugitives in the Linguistic Alcatraz

Grass outside a Window is Always Greener

Alcatraz room 1

> Aya: What do you think about a Japanese accent?
> Tamako: *I hate it. It's not cool. It's disappointing.*
> Yuki: It's hard to get rid of, unless you have a foreign teacher.
> Aya: But you'd rather not have it?
> Yuki: Of course I'd rather not have it!
> Aya: Then, how about English with a German accent?
> Yuki: That's cool. *It's a lot better than Japanese* (accent). (Matsuda, 2003, p. 492 my emphasis)

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Alcatraz room 2

> Shinji: In the train, bad English…in English that is obviously spoken by a Japanese … they say something like "Next stop is …" (with Japanese accent)—I don't know, but it's like, "Is this really Ok?"
> Aya: what do you think about that "English that is obviously spoken by a Japanese"?
> Shinji: *I don't want to speak like that*. (Matsuda, 2003, p. 493 my emphasis)

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Attempting to further understand the ownership of English and to argue for the importance of empowering English as an international language, Matsuda (2003), in her qualitative study entitled *The ownership of English in Japanese secondary schools,* reported that although participant students perceived English as an international language in the sense that it is being used internationally, they nonetheless doubted whether it belonged internationally. In other words, students perceived the Japanese variety of English as either Japanese or incorrect or weak forms of English that deviated from the 'real' English of native speakers. From their perspective the Japanese accent in particular is positioned negatively as an incorrect form of English. Hence, this study points out that meta-instruction for English learners and teachers is necessary in order to endorse a pluralistic view of English and to encourage students' roles and responsibilities as World Englishes users. Other related literature (Matsuda, 2002) found striking results that the participating students strongly held Western-centered view**s** of the world. Both studies not only reflected the dominant role of Standard English but also captured the absence of a critical orientation in learning English in Japanese high school contexts.

The dialogues between Matsuda and her informants—Yuki, Tamako, and Shinji—flashed my memory back to an online conversation I recently had with one of my students, Sirin, who is working as a sale**s** representative in an American company located in Bangkok's Wall Street area.

Alcatraz online room 3

> Ajarn Gob: How is your working life in Bangkok? Have fun?
> Sirin: Yes, *ajarn*, a lot. *Snook mak kha*. But difficult. *My English is not well*. But I need to use English everyday.
> Ajran Gob: Great, well, I think your English is good *naja*.
> Sirin: No, no *ajarn*. *My English is not well*. It's not. I don't speak a lot.

Ajarn Gob: What do you use English for?
Sirin: Write email, send fax. I think *if my English is well*, I'll have power.
Ajarn Gob: You think so?
Sirin: Yes, yes. I will have more salary. I can go abroad. Go conference. *But my English is not well*. It's bad *ajarn.*
Ajarn Gob: Well, . . . well, if you get a chance to visit or come here for training, give me a call, ok?
Siri: thank you *kha*. Impossible *ajarn*. I think it's hard kha. *My English is not well.*
Ajarn Gob: No, no problem at all. It's fine. I understand you everything.

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The above dialogues echo shared underlying ELT situations worldwide. Yuki, Tamako, Shinji, and Sirin lived the reality of English users from the Expanding Circle[7] countries (B.B Kachru, 1985), Japan and Thailand respectively, where they have been desperately trapped in a colonial construction of the mind. The conviction toward their English is held in very low esteem by the dominant English construct. Their voices inherently illustrate the existence of colonial legacy reflected in colonized views of the world (Pennycook, 1998). Longing for that world, these English users reflected a deep-seated view that English provides an absolute magical power, like the fabled Aladdin's lamp (B.B Kachru, 1985). Put most simply, English connoted wonderful things beyond simple linguistic gates to the greater access of international business, technology, science, and travel. These dreamers fantasized that English could magically transform them to new wonderlands deeply embedded in their minds which would never be available otherwise (Matsuda, 2006). As Kramsch and Sullivan (1996) claimed, "most learners of English around the world use English to dream of better worlds. ELT nomenclature is part of that dream" (p. 200). By the same token, now world English teenage users including those in Thailand who have taken pride in American life style, Hollywood and

[7] According to Kachru's concentric circles model, the Expanding Circles countries include China, Taiwan, Japan, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, and Thailand. English has the status of a foreign language in these countries.

pop culture through a predominantly American tongue are increasing. Before these users realize how valuable their own cultures are, the dream of the never-lands has perhaps overshadowed their minds, pride, and dignity already. Needless to say, English has historically journeyed to the complex intersection of cultures, powers, and identities. Up to this point, English has had political repercussions for world communities. Tsuda (1997) concluded that the most serious effect of the hegemony of English is the colonization of the mind. To put this into perspective, Tsuda explained, "You glorify English and its culture while stigmatizing and devaluing your own language and culture. It may sound a bit too extreme, but you are enslaved to English and its culture" (p. 24-5).

In spite of their lack of direct colonial experiences**,** these four English learners**,** living in two entirely divergent cultures**,** still**,** coincidentally mirrored the underlying reciprocal phenomenon of English-using speech communities worldwide. Sadly, I could not find a sound explanation of these colonial episodes to myself but expressed my deep understanding, sympathy, and hope. These people reminded me of my classmates from Japan, Taiwan, China, Korea, and Thailand. I remember seeing them sit in their silent worlds during class discussions just for fear of revealing their deviant accents, wrong grammars, and unstamped ideas. What a fruitful construct of native speakers! One of them, Suzuki, for example, could not hold her frustration every time she did a presentation regardless of her flawless English. Even the day she was preparing to return to her island, she was still sunk in the shame of holding a nonnative English accent. I always wondered if she has now risen to appreciate her unique language gifts enriched by her culture.

Yesterday, this issue of accent as a production of colonial discourse of English (Pennycook, 1998) was served as dessert on a dinner table among Thai doctoral fellows in the graduate program where I am writing this dissertation. A freshman doctorate, Tana revealed his fresh wounds: "Some of my students switched to *farang* teachers because of my Thai accent. It hurts. What can I do? When I ask them, they just talk back to me, Why not? I want to learn with native speakers." Sadly, this student, who has invisibilized his local teacher, is going to leave classrooms to wear a new hat as an English teacher soon. Afraid that the wounds would be opened wider, one of us tried to heal Tana's scar by showing him the other side of the coin. He reminded Tana that "there are a lot of Thai teachers who have something good. You know Dr … and Dr? … They speak English *Thai Thai*[8] but their accents don't mean anything to us, you know, because they're quality teachers."

Paradoxically, speaking about having an accent, even now although I am writing about this issue by attempting to address the equal rights of World Englishes users, I still cannot completely free myself from the colonized ideology deeply ingrained in my realm of thought. I find myself more peaceful having an accent in writing than having it in speaking. Those who never learn a foreign language cannot imagine how miserable it is for us to speak and to spell a word-A-B-C at the same time in order to keep our conversation partners along and survive in communication. What makes Yuki, Tamako, Shinji, Sirin and Tana's student trapped deeper and deeper in those Disney-like worlds? How could my friends and I change Thai students, teachers as well as educators, who are Thai "in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect"?

[8] The way Thai people emphasize when speaking a degree in a Thai tone language. It means speaking English with Thai accent or speaking English in a Thai-ly manner (Baxter, 2006).

(Bamgbose, 1991, p. 4). When and how can we—as nonnative speakers—get out of the native speakers' laws—the linguistic prison? Who has locked us together in this Alcatraz academy for this long?

SLA Fallacy and the Spread of English

The above scenarios by and large invoke the notion that learning the English language is never apolitical but always involved in global inequality (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). In the past ten years or so, Pennycook and Phillipson have been influential in establishing this agenda by inviting a series of political discussions about World Englishes. Particularly, Phillipson's (1992) *Linguistic Imperialism* and Pennycook's (1994) *The Cultural politics of English as an International Language* have contributed to a milestone debate about the politics of English worldwide. Related entries by other scholars who study World Englishes through the lens of critical approach include Tollefson (1995, 2002), Eggington & Wren (1997), Holborow (1999), Ricento (2000, 2006), and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000). Among these literatures, unexplored issues such as language policy, linguistic diversity, and linguistic human rights[9] (e.g., May, 2001, 2008; Phillipson, 1988; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) in relation to the global spread of English and capitalism have been brought to the spotlight to counter a hegemonic spread of English. Pennycook (1994), Phillipson (1992), Skutnabb-Kangas (1995), and Tollefson (1991) have consensus opinions that language policies favoring the spread of English are intimated with unequal social, political, and economic relationships between nations and institutions. Pennycook (1995, 2000a, 2000b) and Tollefson (2000) argue that the global proliferation of English not only has ideological effects on people, but it also

[9]The notion of linguistic human rights is reflected at the level of linguistics communities by the collective rights of peoples to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity and difference from the dominant society and its language (May, 2001, p. 8).

has enormous and complex political implications. Specifically, it contributes to "significant social, political, and economic inequalities" (Tollefson, 2000, p. 8). The negative and low self-perception of their Englishes that the Japanese and Thai users reflected in those conversations definitely brought the notion to light. The repeated melancholy melody toward her English, "*My English is not well,*" which I could sense during the conversation with Sirin, undoubtedly could not take place in a pedagogic vacuum. Yet Sirin's self-marginalization toward her English is historically grounded in English classrooms, politically embedded in language policy, and indirectly influenced by business powerhouses such as textbook publishers, Standardized tests, and pop culture. After all, this process of marginalization makes peripheral learners such as Yuki and Sirin in this case surrender their voices and visions to the center (Kumaravadivelu, 2006a). Indeed, learning English uncritically degrades rather than uplifts learners'souls.

Holding the linguistic imperialism position, Phillipson (1992) views crucial relationships between the global propagation of English and global imperialism. He asserts that the structural power of English is a result of discursive effects of the global rise of English. In such a view, English is constructed in a new form of imperialism or global capitalism with a highly political stance attached to it such as "Americanization" and "McDonaldization[10]" (Ritzer, 2008, p. 1), which results in an imposition of uniform standards and cultural landscapes. This hegemonic position of English as a superior language is maintained and promoted through a system of material or institutional structures.

[10] George Ritzer (2008) defines this term, in *The McDonalization of Society*, as the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant dominates several sectors of American society as well as of the rest of the world.

One of those major milestone institutional structures is a second language acquisition (SLA) philosophical construct. For decades, the mainstream SLA perspective has had political consequences on building the intellectual imperialism model (Bhatt, 2001b; B.B Kachru, 1996). It has resulted in the ideological projection of English which is characterized by 1) the privilege of English as the discourse of the expertise, 2) the focus on abstract language forms alone, and 3) the denial of the importance of heterogeneity (Bhatt, 2002). The past three decades reflect research which has critically examined theoretical and methodological frameworks based on monolingual ideology. This mainstream construct has exerted critical effects on linguistic unity, homogenization, and centralization of language use through careful and conscious exclusion of language variation(e.g., B.B Kachru, 1991, 1996; Lippi-Green, 1997; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Phillipson, 1992; Quirk, 1988, 1990) certainly, the standardization construct has drastically and decisively influenced a “consciousness of being one” (Bamgbose, 1991, p. 14).

This construct co-exists with the presence of the myth of nativespeakership (A. Davies, 1991) that has exerted a powerful force to ELT by overshadowing a presence of non-native speakers. Recent critical applied linguistic studies have conceptualized how the dominant standard views of English language grammar and use are reproduced in both native and nonnative milieus. These studies reported that the monolithic lens has mystified existing power relations and socio-economic constructs (Canagarajah, 1999a, 1999b; B.B Kachru, 1992, 1997b; Lippi-Green, 1997; Parakrama, 1995; Pennycook, 1989, 1998, 2001, 2006; Phillipson, 1992; Ricento, 2000; Romaine, 1997; Tollefson, 1991, 1995). Having said that, the monolingual-based ideology has fundamentally

portrayed non-native varieties of English as “fossil-ridden examples of interlanguages, as inferior examples of incorrect speech” (Brown, 1993, p. 60). Besides, the stereotypical images of second language learners under the linguistic homogenization paradigm are those of transplanted learners (Sridhar, 1994), life-long apprentices (Bolton, 2005), handicaps (A. Davies, 1991), or failed native speakers (Cook, 1999; Kramsch, 1998). These portraits have been widely seated in the ELT community of practice.

The liberal philosophical orientation emphasizes diversification and decentralization of language use and promotes language variation as an instrument of socio-cultural expression (Bhatt, 2001b). The conservative approach, in contrast, divorces learners from their social and cultural contents and milieus. It overlooks the fact that worldwide second-language users, who use language in local environments, learn mostly from local teachers, and seldom get exposed to native speakers. For this reason, little research has been conducted to cast light on multilingualism and language variation (e.g., Bamgbose, Banjo, & Thomas, 1995; Bhatt, 2001b; Chisimba, 1984; B.B Kachru, 1983, 1986b; Y. Kachru, 2001; Lowenberg, 1986, 1988; Mesthrie, 1992).

However, in the past two decades, the supremacy of English, interlanguage theory, and myth about native speakers as absolute experts have been questioned, challenged, and abrogated (B.B Kachru, 1992; Pakir, 2001; Tollefson, 2000). For example, Cook (1999, 2002b) and Firth & Wagner (1997) critiqued the native speaker goal of traditional SLA and TESOL. Grounded in four case studies, Brutt-Griffler & Samimy’s (2001) study suggested that nativeness constituted a “non-elective socially constructed identity rather than a linguistic category” (p. 100). Particularly, Kachru (1992, 1997c) addressed two central issues in relation to native speaker fallacy. First, an

assumption that non-native users of English learn English to communicate with Inner Circle or native users of the language is erroneous. In actual fact, many learners will be using the language primarily for intranational purposes and many will be communicating as frequently with individuals from Outer and Expanding circle countries as they will with Inner circle speakers. Second, it is another fallacy to believe that the Inner Circle provide**s** leadership roles. Hence, Kachru pointed out that focusing on functional nativeness would be more useful than focusing on genetic nativeness.

In this wave of suspicion toward mainstream ideology, research has shifted focus to study positive sides of being nonnative speakers. Pennycook (2006), Megyes (1994), Braine (1999a, 1999b), Kramsch (1997), Kramsch & Lam (1999), Cook (1992, 1999, 2002a, 2002b) and Llurda (2004) and have contributed tremendously to the field. Hitherto, even though underlying discourse supporting monolingualism was, as Canagarajah (2006c) described, "alive and kicking" (p. 12), those major literatures have not only generated a healthier approach, but also have posed questions about the earlier constructs of the status and the roles of native speakers in learning and teaching English as a second and foreign language.

Leaving the Fixity Paradigm

Many Languages Are Absurd

> I am reminded of an incident at Uppasla, where I was presenting a paper on mother tongue teaching. A member of the audience stood up, pointed a finger at me and shouted: 'You people from the Third World, you make unsubstantiated generalizations Can you give me one example of the distinction you are making between monolingualism and multilingualism?' I replied that for you *one language is the norm*. Two languages are a quantum leap, a hundred percent achievement over one. Three or four languages are intolerable, and many languages are absurd. For us many languages are the norm. Any restriction on language use is intolerable. Two or three languages are barely tolerable and *one language is absurd*. (Pattanayak, 2000, p. 46, my emphasis)

Freedom, any freedom, is never free. This includes linguistic freedom. Sadly, the old paradigm historically allows people to believe that they "were only, mainly, exclusively, white, or Black, or Western, or Oriental" (Said, 1994, p. 136). Hence, for second language users such as the Japanese and Thais whose cases I previously presented, it is hard for them to break free from the homogeneous mental custody of Western communities. This is because the belief that multilingualism or linguistic diversity is associated with a number of problems (Bamgbose, 1991; Graddol, 1999) is deeply rooted. To stand against the tide, these people need a certain audacity to talk back to native speakers as Pattanayak (2000) did. In doing so, it is necessary to plant the seed of the view that one language, not many, is absurd. This is mainly because "no one today is purely one thing" (Said, 1994, p. 136). In contrast, in this prescriptive-thinking paradigm, culture has become fixed instead of celebrating the notion of difference (Pennycook, 1998). This tendency to ascribe fixed and often negative characteristics is called by Pennycook as the colonial construction of the Other. In response to this phenomenon, Skutnabb-Kangas metaphorically describes monolingualism as a curable disease that patients do not know they are suffering from (Phillipson, 2000). Said (1994) concludes that this stereotypical dichotomy construct is the most paradoxical consequence of the old paradigm. As such, in the context of the changing new world, those old constructs need to be critically examined.

Global landscapes have changed so rapidly that there comes a call for a radical paradigm and professional discourse revisions. Most specifically, in the course of a fundamental shift, it is a critical turn to seriously revisit the fixed-thinking ideology. In

this regard, Kamaravadivelu (2006b), in *TESOL Methods: Changing Tracks, Challenging Trends*, gave a wake up call to the field:

> We have been awakened to the necessity of making methods-based pedagogies more sensitive to local exigencies, awakened to the opportunity afforded by post-method pedagogies to help practicing teachers develop their own theory of practice, *awakened to the multiplicity of learner identities*, awakened to the complexity of teacher belief, and awakened *to the vitality of macrostructure—social, cultural, political, and historical*—that shape and reshape the micro-structure of our pedagogic enterprise. (p. 75, my emphasis)

Situated within a postcolonial orientation, this awakening signals a paradigm shift. In this reality, metanarratives or grand theories bring doubt in providing "unifying and totalizing explanations for social and intellectual developments" (Canagarajah, 2006c, p. 9). Rather, they lead to recognition of multilingualism as a norm. The new ideological direction is plural, hybrid, fluid, uncertain, and contested (Benhabib, 2002). In essence, this multicultural philosophical construct devalues unity but values differences (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). It largely operates on the inclusive scale of a network relationship of two binaries: us and them, you and me (Pattanayak, 2000). The principle of We-ness rejects the dichotomy between us and them, between the native expert and non-native consumers (B.B Kachru, 1997b, 2006a). Interestingly, these signs of sociopolitical changes have emerged amidst a fast-paced shifting reality.

The 21st century has departed from the rigid paradigm that witnesses the political agenda that "without English, you're not in the race," or "if you don't speak English, you're illiterate" (Friedman, 2000, p. 393). Rapidly, the new century has been heading to the looser position which celebrates the notion that "English is not enough" or "Accent is not everything". Despite the growing presence of English in a number of domains worldwide, the status and power of English has shifted and been shared by other world

languages. For instance, Warschauer (2000) critically studied the relationship between technologies, especially the Internet, and the spread of English. His study concluded that in this capitalism era the demand of English worldwide is still growing tremendously along with new foreign languages such as Spanish, Chinese, and Japanese. Warchauer (2000) also asserted that the goal of the English language is to be used as a language of additional communication rather than as "a foreign language controlled by the others" (p. 515). Consequently, in approaching this new paradigm, language learners held hostage to a perception of native speakers and target culture (B.B Kachru, 1996; Kramsch, 1995) are set free to embrace their roots—local conventions, dialects, and language beliefs in their communities—into their own Englishes.

Revisiting the Paradigm Shifts

Every Englishes Is Privileged

The flattening and shrinking world, called globalization 3.0[11] by Tom Friedman (2006), has been traveling with a fast pace to the moment when going viral has become a new phenomenon, mainly due to the power of cell phones, digital technology, and the Internet network, especially You-Tube[12]. More catastrophically, people in this age of complexity are so intelligent that they are even capable of duplicating, manipulating, and robbing identities of others. In the so-called postmodern globalization paradigm[13] (Appadulai, 1996; S. Hall, 1996), the individual is super-empowered (Friedman, 2000), citizenship is flexible (Ong, 2008), and places in the conventional sense have become

[11] This world is going to be more and more driven not only by individuals but also by a much more diverse—non-Western, non-white—group of individuals (Friedman, 2006, p. 5).
[12] A popular free video sharing website which lets users upload, view, and share video clips (www.youtube.com).
[13] Like non-place concept, in this paradigm space and time become compressed, enabling people to move rapidly between communities and communicative contexts, in both virtual and physical space (Canagarajah, 2006b, p. 25)

non-places[14] (Auge, 1992). Meanwhile, identities existing in conventional places have been slippery in non-places (Hanauer, 2006). The concepts of multilingualism, cultural hybridity, and linguistic flexibility are gaining recognition as central to the forging of a cosmopolitan identity and life-style choice. These realms of the emerging postmodern flow facilitated by the "shifting finance-, techno-, ideo-, media- and ethnoscapes" (Appadulai, 1993, as cited in Rassool, 2000, p. 58) have a significant impact on the character and the status of the English language, making it more dynamic, context-sensitive, and pluralistic.

In the circumstance of this shrinking space, time, and border, not only language users but English *per se* are needed by their users to be adjusted in perception and role to fit in the messier paradigm. As such, while multilingualism becomes the hallmark of the postcolonial condition, multiplicity of English is also the sign of a new linguistic world. In this respect, English is characterized by multicultural and multilinguistic norms (Alatis & Straehle, 1997). The new paradigm has pedagogically, attitudinally, and ideologically addressed a new political agenda in English language learning and teaching. In order to cope with changing tracks and to challenge trends as Kumaravadivelu (2006b) described, TESOL professions thus should realize that the mainstream one-size-fits-all approach is irrelevant. Most crucial to this shift in perspective is the shift to local contexts (Widdowson, 2004) and reverse colonization[15] (Giddens, 2000). In light of these changes, there is a new understanding about five major philosophical, pedagogical, and attitudinal issues surrounding World Englishes which the TESOL and ELT enterprises

[14] The concept of superpostmodernism in which people are always and never at home (Auge, 1992, p. 109)
[15] It means non-Western countries influence developments in the West. Example abound- such as the Latinizing of Los Angeles, the emergence of a globally oriented high-tech sector in India, or the selling of Brazillian television programmers to Portugal (Gidden, 2000, p. 34-5)

should not overlook but revisit, relocate, and move forward for a more promising and fruitful future: native Speakership, ownership, powershift, lens shift, and poststructuralist identity.

Native Speakership

As previously discussed, the *a priori* notion that the native speaker represents the ideal teacher has come to be criticized by many scholars as incorrect and unhelpful in teaching and studying the varieties and literatures in Englishes around the world (Ferguson, 1992; B.B Kachru, 1986a, 1996; Nelson, 1995; Singh, 1998; Widdowson, 1994). That discourse of native speakership is not primarily a matter of linguistics but is socially constructed (A. Davies, 1991; Widdowson, 1994). That is, when language users adopt a language, they adapt it to suit their needs. Hence, under the new paradigm, all forms are equal. No one is privileged. As a result, the discourse of expertise is nothing but a myth. Two decades ago, Smith (1983) provokingly raised this issue. He asserted that English is the means of cultural expression, not an imitation of the culture of the West or any other native English speaking country. Essentially, language usage under the postmodern pragmatic framework moves beyond the Eurocentric model. In light of the decline of the nativeness paradigm, Smith's statement below undeniably illustrates why the notion of nativespeakership has no relevance in the global fluid communicative community:

> A Thai doesn't need to sound like an American in order to use English well with a Filipino at an ASEAN meeting. A Japanese doesn't need an appreciation of a British lifestyle in order to use English in his business dealings with a Malaysian. The Chinese do not need a background in Western literature in order to use English effectively as a language for publications of world wide distribution. The political leader of France and Germany use English in private politician discussion but this doesn't meant that they take on the political attitudes of

> Americans. It is clear that in these situations there is no attempt for the user to be like a native speaker of English. (Smith, 1983, p. 7)

Surprisingly, the above quote is 20-four years old now. Yet, its essence does not seem too old to reflect contemporary realities of English use worldwide.

Ownership

In line with the constant debate about the native-nonnative dichotomy, the notion of English ownership, which holds the belief that the native speaker or the Inner Circle countries own or control the language used in the Outer Circle and Expanding circle countries has also been critically contested. Widdowson (1998) contends that the development of global English has nothing to do with native speakers of England. In the tidal wave of changes that the new paradigm brings, English has been fractured to splintered Englishes. Consequently, English must "necessarily lose its domestic L1 status" (Widdowson, 2001, p. 14). English cannot be promoted as the monolingual property of its native speakers because an "international language means that no nation can have custody over it" (Widdowson, 1998, p. 244-5). Alatis and Straehle (1997) observe that English is now no longer tied to any particular ethnic culture, nation or groups of English speakers. Similarly, Ferguson (1992) argues that English is less and less being regarded as a purely Western language. Its development is less and less determined by the usage of its native speakers. For this reason, Widdowson (1993) concludes, "both Standard and emergent periphery Englishes have their proper place in the scheme of things and both are of crucial concern in English education." In short, although the sense of ownership is beyond a dream of nonnative learners, they need to understand it in order to gradually shift their attitude.

Power Shift

The beginning of the 21st century is witnessing a growing presence of nonstandard English varieties used as both a second and a first langague. With the rise of postcolonial diverse communities, a radical shift has emerged not only in the form and functions of the English language, but also in the power and ownership of the language from native speakers to nonnative speakers (Crystal, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; Graddol, 1997, 1999, 2006; B.B Kachru, 1986b). Crystal (2004a), in *The Language Revolution*, envisages the future of English. He asserts that native speakers of English are no longer in charge of language trends. Instead, he observes that the center of English power is shifting from the native speaker to the non-native speaker. This global language has married with other local languages: living in new houses, wearing new clothes, eating exotic foods.

In Britain, for example, the English language is now a minority dialect of World Englishes. In India, there are now more speakers of English than in the whole of Britain and the USA combined. In Asia alone, there will be 350 million English speakers, which is almost equivalent to the total populations of the United States, the U.K. and Canada combined (B.B Kachru, 1986b). Interestingly, the majority of people in the world are those who use English as a second or foreign language with three non-native speakers for every one native-speaker (Crystal, 1997). Other related entries (Crystal, 1997; Morrow, 2004) report that the more and more users of English today are either bilingual or multilingual. In such contexts, English will be used as a second language or an additional language for communication mostly between non-native speakers (Canagarajah, 2005b; Crystal, 2004a; Graddol, 1999; Smith, 1981, 1983; Widdowson, 1994). Graddol's related

studies (Graddol, 1997, 2006) projected the decreasing numbers of native speakers of English and the fast growing usage of other languages such as Spanish, Hindi, and Arabic within a decade or so. In short, this shift thus needs to be addressed in order to come to a better understanding and a more contextualized teaching and learning approach (Delmont-Heinrich, 2008).

Lens Shift

Graddol (2006) predicts that people on the move is the current demographic trend. These people include refugees, migrant laborers, tourists, business workers, activists, students, troops, and emergency aid workers (Appadulai, 1996; Graddol, 2006). The growth of this phenomenon undoubtedly contributes to the demographic expansion and social extension of English. Along with this trend, "English is on the go" can be best described as the picture of the present World Englishes landscape. In this drastic transition, not only mainstream Englishes such as British English and American English but also local Englishes such as Japanese English, Indonesian English, and Thai English are now traveling through the Internet and pop cultures. Certainly, these devices have become the meeting point where diverse Englishes from English backgrounds (L1) meet those from "un-English" (L2) contexts. In this respect, Kramsch (1997) proposes the perspective of linguistic travel and migration as a healthy approach of World Englishes to critically respond to the issue of native and nonnative dichotomy. She states that under these lenses, everyone will be more or less a nonnative speaker. In her opinion, that position is a privilege. Changing all of the views that one has held for a long time sounds ideal. Nevertheless, adjusting lenses step by step can be the first practical place where anyone can start within his or her comfort zone.

Splintered Selves, Conflicted Identities

Individuals, as multi-faceted subjects, take up different identities at different times to construct and narrate their comforting stories about themselves (S. Hall, 1992). Based on a poststructuralist's take on identity, sometimes the multiple identities that individuals hold are contradictory, overlapping, hybrid, interrelated, fragmented, diverse, and constantly shifting (S. Hall, 1990, 1992; Joseph, 2004a; Pierce, 1995; Wodak, 1999; Woodward, 1997). In this shifting self-identification, individuals learn to continuously reconstruct and reposition themselves in order to adjust to the changing parameters in their milieus. Hall (1990) argues that the process of meaning making or the strategic positioning is never finished or completed. He further contends that identity represents a snap shot or a slice of unfolding meanings.

The poststructuralist approach to the study of identity has been gaining attention among researchers interested in "how individuals do themselves in different social contexts" (Block, 2006a, p. 40). This framework describes significant aspects of the theoretical understanding of the perplexing nature of identity in a number of ways: first, it allows us to examine, to explain, and to relate negotiation of identities as situated within larger socioeconomic and sociopolitical contexts (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a, p. 3). This framework also approaches identities in more context-sensitive ways than other approaches. Second, this framework offers different aspects of postmodern identity to explain the relation between language use and identity. This approach regards that language "may be not only markers of identity but also sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity or discrimination" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a, p. 4). Third, this approach

argues for the importance of the role of power in the process of categorization. Within this frame of thinking and within the context of global and local political economic environment, it is common to note that particular identities are legitimized or devalued. Last but not least, this poststructuralist approach to the study of negotiation of identities is much more nuanced than other approaches. That is, it allows a more complex and rich understanding of particular negotiations in this multilingual world.

Closing Commentary: World Englishes Wanderers: Personal Reflections on Paradigm Shifts

Last winter break on the way to explore the Mayan Civilization in Mexico, I added a new memorable chapter to my life as a backpacker. The most gratifying experience about this trip was not gigabytes of photos but an arrival at a better understanding about the real concept of World Englishes acquired through the journey, along with multi-canonical Englishes.[16] Throughout the trip, I felt at home exploring the Mayan sites. The reason was neither because Mexico and Thailand have tropical cultures in common, nor was it because everyone thought I was a local and approached me in Spanish. Instead, it was thanks to the fact that I shared the English language with those multiethnic nomads whom I met at bus stations, hostels, Mayan ruin sites, and so forth. This journey filled me up with new rhythms: I appreciated not only others' Englishes but also mine. Back home in Pennsylvania, I recalled the new faces of friends from 11 countries. Interestingly, only three people spoke English to me natively. While journaling stories of this trip, my horizon toward the concept of World Englishes became crystal clear via two lessons I took from this trip.

[16] The notion of multi-cannon attempts to accommodate the current sociolinguistic reality in world English where speakers of a wide range of first languages communicate with one another through English (Bolton, 2004, p. 377)

Lesson no. 1: Rubber band English. Although English is dominantly used as a world language, in the postmodern outlook of language usage especially in Mexico where Spanish is the first language, English is absolutely not enough. To achieve communication, all parties have to be multilateral and multi-dialectal (Canagarajah, 2006a). Put most simply, they really need to adjust, blend and compromise a repertoire of code in English with codes in other world languages. Also, they need to embrace indigenous resources and knowledge such as codes of communication, signs, body languages, etc. The focus is more on strategies of communication rather than grammatical rules. In most circumstances what saved me and, of course, other travelers through the trip was not Standard English but the broken one. In my best experiences, world travelers, who were mostly nonnative speakers, did not need perfect English but a rubber band kind of English that was sensitive to a particular socio-cultural background. That is, we needed English that performs flexibly to fit its speakers' needs, interests and aspirations. It is ideally a kind of English that is not too arrogant in its pride. In this tourism framework, what travelers need the most is survival English. Indeed, few travelers are concerned with Standard English. Instead, the foreign English accent became a starter of everyday conversation such as, "Do you speak English?" or "Your English is good, Where are you from?, When did you start learning English in Thailand?" and so on. At best, this small social greeting with new interlocutors led to a negotiation of a repertoire of World Englishes. Through such bizarre English accents, a warm companionship would be gradually bonded.

Lesson no. 2: Linguistic excursion. In the face of the blurred world territory, tolerance toward other Englishes did exist. Along the road, world travelers showed

patience by listening to diverse foreign accents in informal multilateral interactions. As Kumaravadivelu (2006a) argues, when English is not used as a cultural carrier but as a communicative device, nobody feels inferior because of his or her accent, but enjoys it. Throughout this trip, wherever we met, we helped one another encode messages that each party carried. Indeed, as Kramsh (1997) points out, through the lens of traveling, all English speakers are equal. In short, in my case the English language was temporarily borrowed to bridge communication in a tourism context. In the end, another journey passed by. Then, these world travelers returned to their native tongues. What was left in my memory are the Apocalypse album and the sound of lives echoing through those beautiful yet myriad English accents

World Englishes Premises

Which one gives milk?

> -And what's that animal called Jimmy?
> Pregnant pause
> -That's a coo, Miss Frown.
> -No, it's not. You know better than that, James. It's a cow!
> Wee Jimmy shakes his head firmly.
> -Naw, Miss. You're a cow. That's a coo. (McArthur, 1998, p. 79)

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Korean English

> Asian (shopkeeper): Eighdy fie sen
> D-Fens (Customer): What?
> Asian: Eighdy fie sen
> D-Fens: I can't understand you…I'm not paying eighty-five cents for a stinking soda. I'll give you a quarter. You give me seventy 'fie' cents back for the phone. What is a fie? There's a 'v' in the word. Fie-vuh. Don't they have 'v's' in China?
> Asian: not Chinese … I am Korean.
> D-Fens: Whatever, what difference does that make? You come over here and take my money and *you don't even have the grace to learn to speak my language.* (Lippi-Green, 1997, pp. 100-102)

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Who do you take sides with? The linguistic confrontations in such scenarios may spark not only laughter but also episodes of memories about language learning experiences to many who came across Miss-Frown-and-D-Fens-like people in diverse contexts of language use--both in a native language and a foreign one. Ironically, such multi-racial dramas are far from humorous. Yet, this discriminatory usage of language is one of mankind's tragedies, if only we pause to consider it seriously. These language collisions co-exist with human society. That is, when people hear either nonstandard grammar or nonnative accents as "a social symptom**,**" language then turns to be a "political battleground" (Holborow, 1999, p. 152). Clearly, both cases reflect one of the central problems in today's global world. Put most simply, these scenarios illustrate the tension between "cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization" (Appadulai, 1996, p. 5). Putting these examples into the lens of World Englishes, I realize how much freedom, dignity, and pride language learners have in general, Jimmy and the Asian in this particular case, will be cherished if they are not restricted by the mainstream ideology of Standard English norms. That may be possible if those like Jimmy and Miss Frown reconsider their linguistic attitudes, or reexamine their linguistic bias. In response, Kubota & Ward (2000) called for tolerance and respect toward cultural and linguistic differences and focus on communicative responsibility in cross cultural interactions. From this sociolinguistic clash, how could the World Englishes notion turn the bitter dialogue between the teacher and the student, and the dehumanized business transaction between the seller and the customer into more uplifting ones? How can we teach English and not exclude people? The stories of Jimmy and the Asian address three meaningful

lessons of humanity that English teachers, educators, and learners can no longer afford to ignore.

Lesson No. 1: We Perform Who We Are by Using Varieties of Languages

Quirk's dominant ideology (Quirk, 1988, 1990) strongly holds that appropriated or localized Englishes are a threat to a universal standard. Following in Quirk's footprints, Miss Frown and D-Fens are reminiscent of a number of incidents when my own teachers, colleagues, and worldly friends justified my English. Even now, these episodes of language tension are like my shadow, haunting me day and night. I remember one day my Thai friend, who shared a Basic Writing 101 class with me eighteen years ago, emailed me back from France to correct my English: "You are a PhD student in English, you will be an English teacher soon, remember. So you can't make mistakes. It's *na-kliad* [ridiculous]." Responding with my intent to her, I grew in silence and resistance. "How much do we have to sacrifice the creativity for fear of avoiding errors? Did the errors or creativity carry us?" Miserably yet funnily enough, if I had to worry using Standard grammar chatting with a dear friend like her, I knew I had better switch careers or consider making new friends.

On that day, the long-distance dispute relating to the so-called king's language almost killed our friendship. Both of us were hurt with different wounds. On one hand, I was discouraged by my friend's strong stance toward center-based English; on the other, she mirrored a fact of life. Such disagreement built up my immune system to be ready for a crowd of grammarians like her, whom I will work with in my motherland sooner or later. Needless to say, my friend is another good example of a living Standard English guard. In today's world, people like Miss Frown, D-Fens, and my friend, who nail their

beliefs in prescriptive ideology of language use on public walls, who show impatience with other tongues, and who are Eurocentric, still exist. They seem to live a long life in this multilingualism world, patrolling and conceptually policing others as if they were a linguistic Scotland Yard. To them, it seems that the world will be secure by the use of correct-English only.

Even so, today these groups of language policemen might deny the fact that the world has been gearing toward the course of diversification. As such, English has been evolving from its original form. English itself has become a moving target. Kubota and Ward (2000) observe that even within the United States, English has been changing and becoming pluralized in terms of pronunciation, vocabulary, idioms, and rhetorical style owning to the colonial and postcolonial spread of English. Crystal (2004b) argues that a multilingual society needs nonstandard varieties to express global identities. To put it into perspective, my Thai English, to a significant extent, enables me to provide some insight into Thai community values and attitudes, although it deviates from the West-centered English.

The situational dichotomy of linguistic disagreement illustrated above underscores my pride in one way or another. For instance, I sometimes wonder if I am qualified to be an English teacher, since it is virtually impossible for me to meet native-speaker language proficiency (Cook, 1999). Fortunately, there are a number of people who allow Jimmy in this particular case and other personalities such as Sayaka, Ali, Somsak, Somsri, Malee and so forth' to use Englishes the way they want them to be. In actual fact, on an everyday basis, the liberals who welcome diversity are on the rise.

Academically, a number of researchers have also been contributing by voicing opposition to what they see as wrong in teaching and learning English. Kachru's studies (1986a, 1991), for instance, claim that localized dialects reflect the sociolinguistic rules, communicative conventions, and cultural traditions of the local people that suit best their communicative purposes. Another study by Kachru (1997a) reinforces that the multilingual use of English in various literary contexts in World Englishes provides abundant sources of transcultural creativity. Grounded in firsthand experience, a study by Canagarajah (1999b) demonstrates practical ways of appropriating English to fit in Sri Lankan cultures. This work challenges the notion of linguistic imperialism. In another related study, Canagarajah (2006b) concludes that it is not the center-based rules but the more pluralized English that helps accommodate minority students' needs, desires, and values. Grounded in the study of rap in Japan, Pennycook (2003) raises a significant concern about language diversity in relation to the notion of *performativity*. His conclusion is that Japanese rap is global, local and expressive of Japanese language and culture. After all, he asserts, people use language varieties not as a result of who they are but rather to perform who they are (p. 528).

Lesson No. 2: No Room for Linguistic Chauvinism

Along with Pennycook, Bhatt (2002) asserted that TESOL and applied linguistic professionals should foster in students the awareness of multiple systems of English. He suggested that students recognize that each system serves as "'standard' in its own context of use" (p. 95). In order for teachers to manage postmodern communication, they should focus on competence in a repertoire of codes and discourse rather than developing mastery in a target language (Canagarajah, 2003, 2005b). In teaching and learning

English, rather than judging divergence as error, teachers should orientate to it as an exploration of choices, possibilities, and creativity. In this way, the students will be enabled to infuse themselves into the heart of English discourse and appropriate it in their own terms to serve their needs. Sooner or later, these students will be capable to start to claim and negotiate their agency in English, the highest essence of learning a language.

In light of this issue, I, as an identity facilitator, will encourage Thai students to state their language opinions, to take critical stances, and to exert their rights like Jimmy did. These students should be enabled to employ English discourse not as a "slave but as an agent"; in other words they should not use it "mechanically and diffidently, but creatively and critically" (Canagarajah, 2006b, p. 215). Taking the *laissez-faire* liberalism[17] position, Crystal (1997) asserted that everyone is free to use English in his own right. In other words, if choosing a language is like tuning a radio station, my students should be free to attune themselves to their own wave inspired by their preferences. One day, they may eventually decide to tune to the Thai language to achieve one goal and English for another. I recall a moment when my Puerto Rican classmate shared an experience about how she appropriated her bilingual tongues. "My feelings and the everyday tasks I perform," she revealed, "co-exist between two languages, Spanish and English. When I am happy, I'm happy in Spanish. When I am mad, I'm mad in English." In this case, if my students prefer to have a British English tongue to a Thai tongue or to shuttle between both tongues, their choices should be celebratory. Hence, Jimmy and the Asian shopkeeper in those scenarios had their own authorized right to pronounce "coo" or "Eighdy fie sen" without objection from their conversation partners

[17] The way people view the spread of English as natural, neutral, and beneficial (Pennycook, 1994, p. 6). This notion will be discussed in Chapter 7.

as long as the goal of language use is communication. Pedagogically speaking, consequently, teachers should raise awareness about linguistic and cultural choices. Most significantly, students should come to better understand that foreign pronunciation is not justification of oppression.

In addition to empowering their voices, students need to be aware of the existence of mounting linguistic diversity (Crystal, 2001). While they are free to celebrate their language choices, they also need to respect others' alternative varieties. In this respect, Wright (2004) believes that people need to pursue both "the group of language and the language of wider diffusion"[18](p. 250). Hence, native speakers such as D-Fens in the case above should realize that every language is as gracious as Standard English. More or less, each one is a novice speaker of the other's variety (Canagarajah, 2006a). Besides, the lesson that D-Fens should learn from this linguistic episode is that he needs as much help as a non-native speaker when using English to interact globally. With respect to this issue, Smith (1987) investigated whether the spread of English created greater problems of understanding across cultures. Speakers of nine national varieties of English-China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines, Taiwan, the United Kingdom and the United State participated in his study. Interestingly, the findings reported, "Native speakers … were not found to be the most easily understood, nor were they, as subjects, found to be the best able to understand the different varieties of English" (p. 88). Needless to say, the linguistic dichotomy "coo vs. cow", and "Asian vs. D-Fens", to this point, bring another moral to the story. That is, as Smith (1983) argued,

[18] The language group provides for socialization, rootedness, continuity, and identity and the language of wider diffusion allows access to higher education, international networks, to information in the international arena, to social and geographical mobility (Wright, 2004, p. 250).

"There is no room for linguistic chauvinism[19]" (p. 11). Yet there is always room for linguistic rights and linguistic liberty.

Lesson No. 3: Tolerance toward Diversity and Change

In his best selling book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree,*[20] Freidman (2000) argued that people in today's world need to be skillful not only in interacting across cultures but also in communicating across Englishes. To balance between the Lexus—global values—and the Olive tree—local values—in language learning, language users should be enabled to have control, community and freedom in their discourse (Petzold, 2002). Under the World Englishes umbrella, all users demand recognition, respect, and awareness of the fact that language variation and change are common characteristics of linguistic life (Crystal, 2004b). Schneider (2003) pointed out, "Today's norms may not be tomorrow's usage any longer" (p. 273). Hence, it is definitely important not only to enhance awareness about multiplicity of English but also to develop toleranance toward such changes. MikieKiyoi's statement below is explicit about why tolerance is worthwhile and must be urgently addressed.

> We non-natives are desperately trying to learn English. Each word pronounced by us represents our blood, sweat and tears. Our English proficiency is tangible evidence if our achievement of will, not an accident of birth. Dear Anglo-Americans, please show us you are also taking pains to make yourselves understood in an international setting. (As cited in McArthur, 1998, p. 206)

In addition to raising awareness about tolerance, World Englishes research has addressed the issue of stereotypes and prejudices against other non-English speakers. In response to this issue, Kumaravadivelu (2003) here again exhorts the field with his statistics:

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[19] Chauvinism is excessive and unreasonable patriotism. The word is derived from the name of Nicolas Chauvin, a French soldier who, satisfied with the reward of military honors and a small pension, retained a simpleminded devotion to Napolean (www.britanica.com)

[20] The Lexus represents modernizing, streamlining, and privatizing economies in order to thrive in the system of globalization; the Olive tree represents everything that roots and anchors people, identifies us and locates people in this world (Friedman, 2000, p. 31).

> There exists a harmful homogenization of nearly 3 billion people belonging to cultures as contrasting and conflicting as the Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and many others—all thrown into a *single cultural basket* labeled Asian. Such *homogenization spawns stereotypes* that, over time, develop a stubborn quality to persist. (p. 710, my emphasis)

In this respect, the World Englishes orientation problematizes a potential solution of how the myopic cultural basket issue will be handled by creating awareness at two levels.

First, at a micro level, this philosophy prepares me, as a teaching professional, to take someone else besides Miss Frown and D-Fens as good examples in my English classroom on Monday mornings. Hopefully, at the end of the day, my students will leave classrooms with new understanding about this type of cultural basket by not judging people based on homogenization stereotypes. In this way, they will learn to sharpen a suitable tool to work against ethnocentrism and linguicism[21] (Phillipson, 1992). Second, at a global level, the World Englishes construct in this dynamic, fluid, and changing world offers broader spaces for language users as a performance unit, available to them when they go to school, to work, and to other places that have been discussed as "non-places"[22] (Hanauer, 2006). In so doing, English diversification reflected in the use of multiplicity of English will thus strengthen a degree of autonomy (McArthur, 1987). In the meantime, exposures to diverse Englishes will help prepare language users to be open-minded to other Englishes as well. Morrow (2004) suggests that learners be exposed to as many varieties as possible in order to encounter English as it is actually used in the world.

[21] This term, as defined by Skuttnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (1992, p. 214) means ideologies, structures, and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language.

[22] The places where individual identity is conceptualized based on "available semiotic resources as described by supermodern understandings of the world" (Hanauer, 2006, p. 2)

In summary, the principle of World Englishes aims to deconstruct prescriptive grammar associated with Standard English or what Metzger (1992) called thoughtful orderliness. This is the most ambitious interpretation of the two previous linguistic confrontations. The milestone change that World Englishes has brought to the field is "the democratization of attitude to English everywhere on the globe" (McArthur, 1993, p. 334). Another meaningful attempt of this framework is to "pluralize the norms" because a single dialect of English "fails to equip our students for real world needs" (Canagarajah, 2005b, p. xxv). The most rewarding of the World Englishes orientation is its ideological principle in elevating every English, which breaths human souls, to the equality dignity. In this light, it opens up alternatives of meanings and possibilities and allows new ideas to emerge. All language learners such as Jimmy, Asian, and the others breathing inside and outside the Asian basket do not have to hide in a dim linguistic corner any longer.

World Englishes Ramifications

State of Mind: Linguistic Healthy

In essence, the World Englishes approach seeks to fruitfully pave a new philosophical direction, value, and attitude toward language use as follow**s**. First, it calls attention to those who think that their English is superior but others are not. As Kachru (1986b, 1991) argued that a variety of Englishes should be considered independent Englishes in their own right rather than being given secondary or inferior status. Second, the World Englishes philosophy seeks understanding, cooperation, and spirit from those who believe in dominant English. Third, this orientation creates a tension between the rigid and loose cannons. It is a wake up call to English teachers to differentiate students' errors from linguistic creativity. For example, when native speakers such as Susan Orlean

(2004) write “I travel heavy”, it is categorized in an art basket. Ironically, when nonnative speakers use the same sentence, it is however thrown in a basket of linguistic blunder. Why don’t we teachers allow them to play with languages? Last but not least, the World Englishes theoretical construct infuses confidences, rights, and voices, encouraging non-native speakers to take pride in their own unique Englishes.

The liberal philosophy on English teaching and learning seeds a state of mind into learners by making them proud that their English has the same value as mainstream English. The question has to do with what attitude these learners have when they use English. Are they proud of it, or ashamed of it? How do they see themselves as being identified with English? Are Thai learners ready to be identified with their Thai English? Prior to writing this present chapter, my knowledge about World Englishes was shallow, my understanding of the field of English studies was slightly superficial, and my position toward my own English was especially shaky. Writing this chapter has incredibly shaped me to grow my own voice. Starting with a small step, I have manifested English with greater confidence. I let my writing dance; my inner voice sing; my passion blossom. No longer do I worry if my Thai English is wrong as long as my feeling is right. I have pursuit in the beauty of writing, although its genre does not allow room for me to do much. Also, I find aesthetic freedom in addition to the pleasure of writing agency. Nor am I discouraged when I cannot write English British-ly or American-ly (Baxter, 2006, p. 15). My English smells Thai-ly since I am thinking in Thai but writing in English. This experience illustrates the notion that using English Thai-ly “goes beyond strictly linguistic elements: it is the means by which I can say, “I’m an English speaker” (Baxter, 2006, p. 15). Following this principle thus brings the concept of World Englishes to light.

I now truly understand what World Englishes means through an act of writing. Like Hip-hop or rap music, the writing performativity (Pennycook, 2006) of this dissertation sets me free from conventional writing oppression. Writing in my own English eventually heals my soul which was injured with a red pen a long time ago in college writing classes. After all, I understand that English is not the language of the others anymore; yet it can be mine and, of course, whoever uses it.

This manifestation of writing has resulted in a tremendous decolonization of my mind. In light of this, it has broadened my horizon of how the philosophy of world Englises helps other second language learners exercise their will in the language and their ability to maintain linguistic health[23] (Phillipson, 2000). In this case, Bhatt (2002) viewed Yuki, Sirin, and other characters previously described as needing the reinforcement, by postmodern English curricula, textbooks, and resource materials that contain local relevance. In addition, the pedagogical resources need to more widely used as a global language, it will be expected that speakers will foster in students the belief that being unable to speak like a native-speaker accent will not be a sign of poor competence (Graddol, 2006). Along similar lines, learners should also view themselves not as speakers of "broken English" but as speakers of a recognized variety of English (Morrow, 2004). In this world of growing inequality, it is hard to deny that a crowd of people choose English to serve their needs as international communicators. Studying World Englishes from a linguistic futurology approach,[24] Graddol (2006) elaborated, "as English becomes their nationality and other aspects of their identity" (p. 117). Even so,

[23]According to Phillipson (2000, p. 271), linguistic health focuses on creating conditions that permit language groups to develop their cultures along lines that they wish, to modernize in ways that their cosmologies and that allow users of a language to adapt it in sustainable ways in response to local and global pressures.
[24] The principle is to predict trends in the spread of English and English teaching worldwide (Bolton, 2005, p. 71)

Warschauer's contention (2000) stated that most people employ a local variety of English rather than following the colonial standardized norms to project their identity and values. For example, the Singaporean who was proud of his root**s** illustrated how much Singlish enriched his identity:

> When one is abroad, in a bus or train or an aeroplane and when one overhears someone speaking, one can immediately say that 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. (Tongue, 1974, p. iv)

This voice from Singapore surely represented other voices of English learners, including me.

Closing Remarks

World Englishes philosophy ideally seeks to "decolonize and democratize applied linguistics" (Bhatt, 2001b, p. 544) particularly in the area of SLA studies. The related literatures so far have yielded the insightful understandings of the field. More precisely, it informs us of the new mindset that English should be treated, not as a language controlled by the others, but as an additional means of communication. On this pragmatic platform, the greatest challenge for TESOL and applied linguistic professionals is; therefore, how to stay away from a uniform mode of seeing and thinking, teaching and learning. Rather, and most crucially perhaps, the field needs to push forward alternative avenues toward the underlying ideologies of inclusion, the divergence of visions, the discourse of hybridity, and the inclusivity of teaching approach to ensure linguistic health to students. Essentially, English classrooms need to foster a generation of tolerant citizen**s**. The concerned enterprises need to raise awareness of the issues of plurality of knowledge, languages, and cultures along with a pluralism of Englishes. To paraphrase Canagarajah's (2006a, 2006b) notion, teachers need to teach English in a manner that includes rather

than excludes learners, complements rather than competes with local languages and local interests. The growth of English, in other words, should not be a trade-off for the expense of local languages.

Drawing this section to a close, I would leave the reader with the quest of genuine hope as a point of departure. Although the development of a perspective of variousness (B.B Kachru, 2006b) and the shift from the norms of the Standard English have been subtle and slow, I, a World Englishes writer, hope that in the traffic of the brave new world there will, sooner or later, exist a no-accent line as a language barrier. I hope that we do not have to wait until September 26 every year to celebrate World Language day (Crystal, 2004a). For World Englishes speakers, every day will be World Language day.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study centered on the investigation of Thai English discourse through the lenses of Thai insiders: Thai professional writers. Underlying the specific research issue of this project was to define what Thai English was and to explore how these writers positioned themselves toward the notion of Thai English. In this respect, this study was designed to yield descriptive information about Thai English based on the World Englishes framework. To accomplish this goal, this research project employed a principled and systematic approach to the analysis of the interview transcripts (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The specific questions set for this study were:

Q1: How do Thai professional writers position themselves in relation to the discourse of Thai English?

Q2: What are the underlying assumptions that Thai professional writers have toward the concept of Thai English?

Q3: What rhetorical strategies do Thai professional writers employ to promote their Thainess in their work?

Q4: What rhetorical strategies do Thai professional writers employ to marginalize Thainess in their work?

This chapter is structured into four sections. The first section presents a theoretical framework of the research methodology. The second section describes the methodological elements relative to an interview inquiry. The third section deals with five stages of data analysis: 1) interview transcript preparation; 2) text reviews; 3) building a coding system; 4) presentation of a pattern analysis and research findings; and

5) rhetorical move analysis. Finally, the fourth section addresses the issues of validity and reliability in the current project.

Theoretical Framework

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) , who pushed forward the critical issue of conducting research in a postmodern paradigm, asserted, “We are in a new age where messy, uncertain, multivoiced texts, cultural criticisms and new experimental works will become more common” (p. 15). Situated in a Thai socio-cultural context, this study attempted to make sense of or interpret phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3) in terms of definitions and meanings of Thai English that individual participants brought to the study. The aim of the project was not to strengthen the generalizability of the universe; rather, it was “to construct realities of one study to seek initial illumination of the context of another study” (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993, p. 45). In other words, it sought to expand meaning in the field of World Englishes study. This present study undertook qualitative inquiry because of the suitability of its purposes, questions, methods, and nature. The face-to-face interview, which was the research tool mainly applied for the inquiry, was appropriate for an examination of the multiple realities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) , the complexity, and the nuances of the social situation under investigation (Jenesick, 2000).

Research Method

Interview

As a method of inquiry, a face-to-face interview was of high priority for this study. First of all, interviewing was the best method to allow participants to express themselves and to offer the researcher an opportunity to access their “ideas, thoughts, and

memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher" (Reinharz, 1992, p. 19). Interviews also "permitted the respondent to move back and forth in time- to reconstruct the past, interpret, and predict the future"(Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 273). Besides, this method provided the researcher with a deeper and better understanding of the issue regarding a variety of World Englishes and its complexity in Thai sociopolitical context (Seidman, 2006). Further, interviewing allowed a description of routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 3). Most significantly, interviews permitted the researcher to gain "an insight into the hidden conceptual and emotional world of the individual" (Hanauer, 2003, p. 78). For reasons of quality and ethic, the design of the interview for this study was semi-structured and fully overt (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Interview questions were open-ended to maximize a description of discovery, to produce nonstandardized information and most importantly to permit the researcher to "generate theory" (Reinharz, 1992, p. 18). An audio recorder was used to capture all data to reduce the threats to the validity of the study (Maxwell, 1996, 2005).

Participants

The focal participants in this study were purposely selected from both fiction and nonfiction writing categories. There were 20 participants in total: 5 bilingual fiction writers, 5 bilingual textbook writers, 5 journalists of *The Bangkok Post* English daily newspaper, and 5 journalists of *The Nation* English daily newspaper. All participants were native Thai speakers. Ten of them were men and 10 were women between the ages of 28 to 70. The following Table 1 presents a brief profile of the participants.

TABLE 1

Participants' Profile

Participants	Strands of Writing	Working & Educational Background	Country of Education
Fiction Writers			
Kanda	Poetry, essays	Literatures	UK
Saijai	novels, short stories, poetry	Physical Therapy	Australia
Pitan	novels	Political Science	USA
Tanin	short stories and novels	Chinese and Spanish	UK
Sirikul	poetry	English	USA
Textbook Writers			
Kampol	business	Business	Thailand
Pimpan	food, culture	Journalism	Thailand
Rda	English language learning and teaching	English	USA
Tasana	Buddhism	Sociology	Thailand
Chat	English language learning, Thai culture	Political science	India
The Bangkok Post Journalists			
Malai	international news	English	Thailand
Rnan	horizon & travel	Mass Communication	Thailand
Nithi	Movie critique	Marketing	Thailand
Wichai	horizon & travel editor	English	Thailand
Saman	perspective editor	Engineering	Thailand
The Nation Journalists			
Pim	business	Marketing	Thailand
Ladda	environment	Mass Communication	Thailand
Saksit	international news	Anthropology	UK
Pairat	politics, business, culture	Mass Communication	USA
Tnan	politics, editorial	English	Thailand

Interview Procedure

Data collection and data analysis were based on 20 interviews carried out from November 18, 2007 to January 15, 2008 in Bangkok, Thailand. To begin with, the researcher sent an invitation letter via email and/or snail mail to 35 Thai fiction and nonfiction writers. Eventually, 20 writers voluntarily participated in the project. Three months later, the face-to-face interviews took place at 5 different sites in suburban areas of Bangkok: 10 interviews were conducted at the participants' workplaces; 6 at participants' residences; 1 at a public library; 1 at a church; and 2 at a public restaurant. The interviews were carried out in both Thai and English based upon the participants' willingness. If the participants used English, this language choice allowed the researcher

to observe the participants' spoken language use. The interviews lasted between 40-90 minutes.

Before proceeding with the interview, the researcher briefed the informants about the goal of the study and the interview procedure. Then, the researcher asked the participants to sign an informed consent form, which indicated that they were free to drop out of the research study at any time. Next, the researcher asked permission from the participants to audiotape the interview. Each interview session started with a warm-up conversation, employing "grand tour" questions (Spradley, 1979, p. 86). For instance, questions about the participants' current publications and their views toward a writing career were asked. After that, the researcher focused on set questions divided into 4 categories: English literacy background, writing reflections, Thai English evaluation and strategies in using the discourse of Thai English.

The researcher regarded the interviews as a dialogue with a purpose (Dexter, 1970) and the participants as "conversation partners" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 14). Throughout the interview process, the researcher performed the art of hearing data by listening rather than talking, and exploring rather than probing (Seidman, 2006). In all, the researcher sought to listen to the voices of the participants by not interrupting (Creswell, 2003) and creating asymmetrical trust (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) while interviewing to encourage natural and relaxed conversations. To reiterate, the interviews were conducted in a way that allowed participants to have reflection and the most control possible over the process.

Interview Protocol

This study sought to examine the notion of Thai English through the perspectives of 20 Thai professional writers. The interview questions were therefore conceptually designed to allow the participants to reflect their understandings, beliefs, and insights into the use of the English language in general and Thai English in particular. The entire sequence of question sets was arranged as follows. However, specific questions were omitted if the respondents had already addressed them in previous questions and/or had tied together several topics in one answer. In sum, the interviews followed a protocol in which the questions were structured into 4 thematic areas.

Set 1: English Literacy Background

This first set of questions centered on the participants' English educational background as well as their working experience as English writers.

1. Please describe your English educational background.
2. Please describe your English writing learning background.
3. Please describe your working experiences as an English writer.

Set 2: Writing Reflections

The second set of questions was designed to explore the participants' attitudes toward their English work such as poetry, short stories, novels, columns, textbooks, and etc. Before the interview began, the participants were asked to revisit a couple of their writing pieces and then to reflect about them in the interview session. This task allowed the writers to reflect upon their language ideology, language beliefs, and rhetorical strategies, if any, in conveying their voices and Thai textual and socio-cultural identities. The following questions guided the inquiry.

1. Could you please explain to me why you chose these particular pieces of work?
2. Is there anything special about each? What makes you proud of each work?
3. What does each piece say about your understanding of writing in English?
4. Have you ever written about this issue in Thai?
5. What would be different if you wrote it in Thai?
6. Why did you choose to write about this issue in English?
7. Would your voice change if you wrote this piece in Thai? If so, how would it sound?
8. Generally speaking, what does it mean to you to compose in English?

Set 3: Thai English Evaluation

This section dealt explicitly with participants' attitudes, awareness, and conceptualizations toward the discourse of Thai English. The questions in this section included:

1. Do you think you have a Thai voice in English?
2. If yes, what does it mean to you?
3. If no, what voices do you have, then?
4. How would you describe your English?
5. Do you think your English is an example of Thai English? Have you considered your English Thai English?
6. If yes, what does it mean to you?
7. If no, how do you consider it?

Set 4: Strategies about the discourse of Thai English

Over the course of the interview, especially in this section, the researcher left substantial spaces for the informants to reflect on their understanding toward Thai English and to elaborate their opinions toward its discourse. Seven questions were designed to elicit information to determine whether participants promoted or marginalized Thai English.

1. Some research in English has claimed that there is a Thai form of English that is unique. What is your opinion about this statement?
2. How much are you concerned about constructing Thainess in your writing?
3. Have you actively promoted Thai English? If so, how? Please provide examples.
4. If yes, what does it mean to you to promote Thai English?
5. If yes, what are your rhetorical and compositional strategies in promoting Thai English or pushing Thai English forward?
6. If no, why do you disagree with the statement? Why do you reject the term Thai English?
7. In other words, if no, what does it mean to not promote Thai English?

Data Analysis

The data analysis and interpretation for this study, as stated earlier, utilized a grounded theory approach as a principled and methodologically systematic framework applied to the content analysis of transcribed verbal interview data (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This approach involved a procedure of translating and transcribing interview tapes, reading and rereading interview transcripts, establishing a coding system, evaluating and interpreting the data, and reaching conclusions pertaining to the concept

of Thai English. The crucial component of this data analysis was to generate conceptual categories for coding. The next section provides theoretical arguments of why the coding/category system is crucial for this study.

Theoretical Framework

A categorization system was a significant discourse-analytic tool for text analysis. Emphasis in conceptualization of the coding process was placed on research device building, re-conceptualization, interrogation, and analysis of raw interview data under investigation (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996). Consequently, a coding system was established as an analytical method to underpin content analysis (Krippendorff, 2004; Ryan & Bernard, 2003). As the "heart and soul of whole-text analysis" (Ryan & Bernard, 2003, p. 780), the coding technique was designed to construct systematic elicitation to identify lists of elements that belonged to a cultural domain and to assess the relationships among these elements. As stated by Coffey and Atkinson (1996), coding went beyond the data; it was "thinking creatively with the data, asking the data questions, and generating theories and frameworks" (p. 30). The coding system allowed the researcher to differentiate, combine and reflect upon the data retrieved. Due to its exploratory research nature, new coding categories emerged at a later period. In this regard, Miles and Huberman (1994) simply stated that "coding is analysis" (p. 6).

To conclude, the interview data was analyzed and interpreted through five stages:

Stage 1: Data Preparation

The first stage of data analysis involved translation, transcription, and initial reading. Grounded in the content analysis approach, the data preparation focused on a broad transcription. That is, in this transcription procedure, the researcher attempted to

center on macrostructure or a body part of the interview transcript, keeping original voices or meanings conveyed by the interviewees as much as possible. In principle, transcripts were produced to serve readability purpose. In doing so, transcription and translation were conducted in a broad manner. As such, excerpts of transcripts displayed through out this dissertation were not a natural speech spoken by the interviewees because elements of microstructure such as pauses, silences, hesitations and dysfluencies (Gee, 2005) were excluded. In fact, those excerpts were a mixture of actual relevant utterances of the interviews chosen and arranged by the researcher.

The aim of data analysis at this preliminary stage was to prepare texts that could be built into a coding system. This stage lasted approximately two months. The result of this stage was written interview texts, prepared for interpretation in order to generate a coding system.

Stage 2: Initial Analysis

The second stage comprised the careful reading of all interview transcripts. The aim of the comprehensive reading process was to constitute a coding system that could be analyzed to define Thai English and to elicit the participants' self positioning toward their English. To achieve this goal, the researcher read, reread, and examined all of the transcripts to draw out common and divergent groups, themes, and patterns related to the conceptual and structural elements of the Thai English discourse. The researcher kept a careful record of this text reading task. This process of rereading and analyzing the interviews for specific evidence to use in defining of Thai English lasted for about one month. The result of this reading stage was a tentative coding system.

Stage 3: A Coding System

The third stage included the modification, verification, and description of the coding system established in Stage 2. At this stage, all interview data were reread and reanalyzed by comparing it with the ongoing coding system. The new emerging themes, if any, were noted. The goal of this task was to assure that each coding had a clear differentiation from one to another. Eventually, a coding system relative to Thai English and English positioning was established. In brief, the coding system comprised five main categories: KING'S ENGLISH, INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH, COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH, GLOCAL ENGLISH, and THAI ENGLISH. The first coding, KING'S ENGLISH, was drawn from one participant's term. The detailed definitions of each coding category and their results will be addressed Chapter 4. The end result of this stage was an exhausted and exclusive system of categories that could be used as an analytical platform for all interview data. This coding development process lasted about one month.

Stage 4: Pattern Analysis and Findings Presentation

The primary goal of this stage was to test the reliability of the categories. At this stage, as Wolcott (1994) describes, "The researcher transcends factual data and cautious analysis to begin to probe into what is to be made of them." (p. 36). To give meaning (Dey, 1993) to what Thai English was through the lenses of the Thai professional writers, the final process involved a data analysis and a trend analysis. In this regard, the researcher analyzed all interview transcripts based on the 5 coding components established in Stage 3. Next, the researcher located 5 self positionings of Thai professional writers and presented them in a diagram with simple statistical frequencies

and percentages. Then, the researcher examined if there was a pattern in the findings among the four groups of participant writers. The result of this stage was a descriptive account of the research project with respect to the definition of the discourse of Thai English, the positioning of Thai professional writers toward Thai English, and the underlying assumptions these writers had toward the concept of Thai English. This process lasted about three months. The findings regarding these 5 English positions will be presented in Chapter 4 and 5.

Stage 5: Rhetorical Move Analysis

In order to examine how Thai English was positioned, a rhetorical move analysis was another specific and important area of the data analysis needed to be articulated. Van Dijk (1984) contended that when people stated their opinions in everyday conversation, they tended to ensure that their ideas plausible, reasonable and acceptable. This investigation involved an examination of (1) the rhetoric of promoting Thai English and (2) the rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English. Central to this stage was the identification of rhetorical strategies that the writers employed to identify themselves with English and to delve into the insightful explanations behind the English positioning construct. The analytical orientation of rhetorical analysis, by its nature, is a highly interpretive activity (Canagarajah, 2004). To ensure the validity of the study's outcome, the researcher worked along with her director and other researchers to interpret the data. Central to the theoretical framework of this chapter was illustrating the relationship between the English positions and the rhetorical strategies played out by the professional writers. This process lasted about one month. The details of the rhetorical move analysis and its findings will be presented in Chapter 6.

Validity and Trustworthiness

Maxwell (2005) defines validity as "the correctness or credibility of a description, conclusion, explanation, interpretation, or other sort of account" (p. 106). To minimize plausible validity threats to the study's findings, interpretations, and conclusions, the study employed: 1) a member checking process by allowing the participants to reconfirm their relevant interview transcripts to reassure "the validity of the constructions the interviewer had made" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 271) and 2) a peer debriefing process to ensure that the definitions of the coding categories was warranted (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). Throughout this code building stage, the researcher involved her dissertation director and a doctoral researcher in a data cross-checking process to assure the validity and trustworthiness of the data analysis device.

CHAPTER IV

SELF-IDENTIFICATION TOWARD ENGLISH DISCOURSE

As stated earlier in Chapter 3, the system designed to analyze the data from the interviews in this study consisted of data preparation, initial analysis, development of coding system, pattern analysis and presentation of the findings. Conducted in both Thai and English, the interviews of the 20 Thai professional writers took place in Bangkok, Thailand from November 18, 2007 to January 15, 2008. The following assemblages of responses from the interviewees exemplify initial unrehearsed reactions from some participants to the notion of Thai English.

Researcher: *Have you ever considered your English Thai English? Is your English Thai English?*
Kanda: *I don't know. I haven't looked or thought and I don't think I shall [laughs loudly].*
Rda: *No, mine is not Thai English. I don't believe so.*
Tasana: *Thai English? I don't think we have Thai English. We speak with a Thai accent.*
Wichai: *No, I haven't considered it as such.*
Ladda: *Absolutely not, if my piece of writing is edited.*
Nithi: *Oh, I really can't answer this question, I must confess. I really don't know.*
Malai : *I must admit that I don't know. I haven't thought about this issue before.*
Tanin: *No, it's my own.*
Rnan: *Never analyze my English. Have only heard about Singlish, see, Singlish is distinctive.*
Saijai: *To be honest, I've never thought of Thai English. I don't think my English is Thai English. It's just like English by a non English person generally.*
Chat: *Yes, I guess so.*

In an attempt to make sense of varied reactions to the idea of Thai English, this chapter takes a closer look at the interview transcripts, identifies the coding system, and presents the results of the content analysis. Analysis of the face-to-face interview data concentrated on the understandings of Thai professional writers' attitudes toward

discourse on Thai English and how Thai English was situated in the writers' minds. As stated earlier, the study was based on the methodology of grounded theory. Thus, the results are not organized according to the interview protocol but according to the hierarchy of the analysis, based on main thematic categories that emerged. The analysis disclosed that the participants had diverse, complex and overlapping perspectives toward their English. Thus, the coding (categorization system) applied for this study was on the basis of inclusive categories rather than discrete categories. This inclusive coding system not only allowed the participants' views to emerge but also provided the researcher room to better understand and interpret the participants' voices, presenting their perspectives and attitudes toward English in a sensible fashion.

In attempt to probe the first research question, this chapter includes three strands. The first strand outlines the categorization system. The second strand highlights the study's results of five English categories and their relevant details. The third strand summarizes the key research findings in response to the research inquiry of how the participants position themselves toward English.

The Coding System

Data analysis provided an in-depth understanding of the interview texts and generated the coding system in relation to the participants' self-identification toward their English. This coding system was the most pivotal aspect of this study. As described in Chapter 3, the process of building a coding system involved the content analysis approach. In this process, the researcher first drew texts from individual writers' interview statements, then read and reread, analyzed and reanalyzed those texts and eventually recorded emerging themes responding to an English position. Ultimately, this

process of the coding construction revealed that the participants expressed multiple and different views toward their English and the notion of Thai English. Over all, five distinct views or positions of English emerged from the data analysis. These included KING'S ENGLISH, INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH, COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH, GLOCAL ENGLISH, and THAI ENGLISH (see Table 7 for the summary of the categories). The following sections describe these English positioning categories. Each section addresses the following issues:

- Definitions of the categories with the specific data sets in each
- The Categories Summary Table, presenting results with frequencies and percentages
- The advocates of each category and the rationales they employed to support their positions.

Language Position 1: KING'S ENGLISH

KING'S ENGLISH was a compliant position regarding Standard English. Advocates in this position were strict with grammatical rules and prescriptive language conventions. They believed that the use of language, especially writing, should be presented in a correct form—Standard English. The participants' responses in line with this position reflected that Standard English was the only legitimate discourse (Bourdier, 1977).

TABLE 2

Language Position 1: KING'S ENGLISH

Groups	Fiction Writers	Textbook Writers	*The Bangkok Post* Journalists	*The Nation* Journalists	Total
Names	Saijai Pitan 2/5=40%	Kampol Pimpan Rda Tasana 4/5=80%	Rnan Saman 2/5=40%	Pim Ladda Saksit Pairat 4/5=80%	
Total	2	4	2	4	12
Percentage	17	33	17	33	100

In this category, there were 12 advocates: 2 fiction writers, 4 textbook writers, 2 from *The Bangkok Post,* and 4 from *The Nation*. *The Nation* journalists and the textbook writers were predominant with an equal number taking this position toward the discourse of mainstream English. Some participants appeared to demonstrate the King's English preferences implicitly by referring to "standard English," "perfect English," "right English," "original English," "correct English," "proper English," "professional," "RP accent," "high level," and "international." Others, however, explicitly stated their stance toward their English by using "BBC English," "Queen's English," "Oxford English," "snobbish English," "King's English" or "American English." Let's turn our attention to the highlighted issues and central arguments that the advocates of this position employed behind these terms.

A young journalist of *The Nation*, Pim, for example, called her English "Thaiglish" and described that it had a Thai smell. Her aim as a writer was to dispose of "Thaiglish" and even Thainess in her English. She longed for the day when her English could reach the bar of American English, which in her mind signified "international," "professional," and "high ranking" images. With such identification, Pim revealed, "I hope my "Thaiglish" will be gone soon. I will make it American English." Asked why she wanted to do away with "Thaiglish," Pim smiled, then reasoned, "If you make it look

Thai style then it will be like you're in an elementary level; you are not in a university level; you are not in bachelor degree yet." In her view, Thai English, if it existed, was ranked at a lower position when compared with Standard English. In particular, when placed next to American English, Thai English held even less currency. Pim further explained why she disassociated herself from Thai English:

> Because I'm writing for professional, for executives, for businessmen in high ranking, people in high level. Then I also write mainly for international people to read. That's why you know they don't want to read something that they don't understand although they very appreciate on Thai. But when you write in English, you have to make it English. Don't make it look Thai.

Obviously, this excerpt reflected her negative attitude toward the notion of Thai English. Saijai, a poet and a novelist, opted for the use of King's English even though she has been actively contributing to a construction of Thainess in her work. In response to her stance, Saijai recalled her educational history:

> Because when you're taught by the nuns, the nuns taught you the perfect English. They don't expect you to go off. They don't expect you to go off like Singapore English, like they say 'come come, don't shy, come sit like that, you know. They don't expect you to do that. So I'm very strict with my grammar. I would try to write King's English as much as I can.

Here, King's English or Standard English seemed to be located at a higher position than Thai English. In Saijai's opinion, it appeared that even Singapore English was perceived with relatively lower status than King's English.

Famous for his adventure novels, Pitan acknowledged that his writing style was influenced by what he called "American book doctors" (editors). Also, he revealed that Western canonical texts, especially American novels, sharpened his writing skills. Asked if he would consider his English to be Thai English, Pitan preferred to call it "American Thai". In principle, his understanding about English discourse leaned toward this

KING'S ENGLISH position. He emphasized that his intent as a novelist was not to create Thai English but rather to write English correctly by keeping standard usage.

With more than a decade of experience at *The Bangkok Post*, Rnan did not hesitate when asked about her take on Thai English. The primary concern for her as a journalist was conforming to Standard English. She remarked, "As long as my writing is grammatically correct, it's fine with me. I prioritize grammar." Further, she explained that the nature of news reporting as well as the target readers of the newspaper seemed not to allow her room to deviate from the Standard English norms. Judging from spoken forms, Rnan viewed that Thai English was not obviously recognized when compared with Singapore English. Over the course of the interview, she regularly expressed her comfort with English, describing her interest to "write correctly, based on Standard English." Interestingly, even if Rnan loved playing with the language, she said that she did this within the framework that her job required. In all, Rnan did not contest the Standard English rules but valued their essence for her profession.

In contrast, Ladda's viewpoint diverged from Rnan's although the responses from both journalists were in line with the Standard English variety. Called a NGO (non-governmental organization) writer by her colleagues, Ladda shared the mounting frustration she felt toward her editors every time the proofreading process distorted the real intent that she wanted to convey in her writing. She eventually gave up writing opinion pieces as she was not confident in selecting the vocabulary with the right shade of meaning. Asked if her English was Thai English, she was quick to disagree. Her response was, "Absolutely not, if my piece of work is edited … and if my Thai thinking is adjusted." In her view, the editing process not only influenced on language usage but

also on a journalist's voice. A form of Thai English and/or Thainess perhaps disappeared as they were screened before a writing piece was published. Ladda's goal as a writer was thus to contest mainstream media by presenting her opposing journalistic standpoints. Realistically, however, she said she could not ignore the demands of mainstream English required by the newspaper she wrote for. Like Rnan, Ladda strongly believed that *The Nation*'s target readers, the constraint of the writing space, and the nature of the media with its own standards and discipline determined the quality of English, not Thai English. As she put it:

> When you write in English, you need to meet English standards. You'd better not write English news or anything in a Thai way, say, with Thai grammar, because it isn't the kind of English that people around the world understand. By the same token, we, Thai people, expect *farangs* to write the Thai language the way we do. Don't you think? (Translated from Thai)

In her view, a news reporter who aimed to construct a form of English such as Thai English rather than conveying a clear message to the readers lacked responsibility as a journalist. Interestingly, almost at the end of the interview, Ladda showed her conflicted position by challenging contemporary thought about the dominant discourse:

> To be honest, English isn't my mother tongue. Thus, it is not only we who have to adjust ourselves. I think language owners or English native speakers in this sense have to adjust themselves as well. They should understand that we Thais use English this way, so it's not only I who understands you but it's you who has to understand me as well. (Translated from Thai)

Saksit, an anthropological journalist, illustrated profound understanding of the politics of global English. He addressed the issues related to "a mixed bag of different cultures, creolized identity," and the legacy of colonialism in today's pluralistic world. Asked to describe his English, he laughed loudly before saying, "Bizarre, neither in the West nor the East, and drawn somewhere in the Atlantic ocean, influenced by American,

the Philippines, and British English." When it came to the issue of Thai English, Saksit stated, "I really can't pretend to speak like most Thais, the way they speak English." He further clarified, "it's useful because you can refuse to be identified, pinned down as a Thai when you travel abroad. When you speak English, people don't really place you. So that's interesting." Saksit went on in his conversation, opening his mind honestly and revealing English preferences. In this light, he said that he felt brainwashed by Oxford English. From this perspective, it showed that Saksit identified his take on the dominant English discourse. As he remarked:

> Sadly I must have been brainwashed by middle England, which is Oxford. I think [Oxford English] is beautiful, on top of being snobbish. But snobbery aside and pretension aside, I see this as the beauty of the so called Queen's English or Oxford English, although my exposure to that was very limited.

A Buddhist textbook writer and a Tai-Chi teacher, Tasana did not put herself forward as a Thai, Chinese or English writer. Like Saksit, she did not hesitate to take a position toward British English or what she called BBC English, although she had been influenced by American English while spending a high school year in an AFS (American Field Service) scholarship exchange program in Texas. Living over two decades with her family in England, Tasana strongly believed that her exposure to the British press has exerted a great impact on her outlook and, most importantly, on her English:

> To read the British press you know, it takes you to another angle of thinking, which is much broader. And the way of arguments. It's something that the Thai people cannot do, which a lot of the things; it needs courage as well; it needs freedom of expressing. Like in Thailand as we all know you can express certain things but you can't express certain things [laughs]. But in England, you can express whatever you know from everything. So you're exposed to these very broad ways of thinking which all these absorb into me quite naturally and in the way that I don't know so it reflects in my written work. So, without living in England, I don't think my ability in expressing my self both in talking and writing will be in this way. It's impossible.

Indeed, the above excerpt reflects that Tasana's standpoint was in line with this category. In alignment with this KING'S ENGLISH position, she planned to have an English tutor to teach her how to, as she described it, "speak really proper English, to be able to speak with an RP [Received Pronunciation] accent." Asked why she aimed to speak with such an accent, she spelled out:

> It's not high class but it's more a Standard English you know, and I would like to speak like that. . . . When you articulate in English you know people like to listen to you [laughs loudly]. It's a natural thing. And it also helps to express yourself better. I think it's a normal thing. When you want to do thing, do it properly, you see.

The last but not least respondent in line with this KING'S ENGLISH category was Kampol. A product of a Thai open university, Kampol wrote his *Thailand Tales and Business* and *Bridge the Gap* with the lens of a business guru and a Thai insider. His columns offered solutions related to cross-cultural misunderstandings among foreign investors and local businessmen in Thai business arenas. Using a story telling technique influenced by both Western and Thai canons, Kampol had learned to hone his English skills from several years of experience working in international firms, particularly Citibank. Despite his strong background in business and his prolific writing, Kampol disclosed his concern about his English skills. He analogized his own English as a country song and Standard English as a classical song. His goal was that one day he would be capable to play that classical song. At the moment, he said, he was not there yet. Further, Kampol was highly aware of the mounting weight of the Western influence on Thai culture in several aspects. He recognized that branding and brainwashing have been deeply ingrained in Thai people's minds. In his view, many Thais seemed to devalue Thai culture. Instead, they tended to assume that Western entities such as

farang's brand-name goods were superior to local products made in Thailand. Seeing this growing power of the Western ideology in Thai society, he concluded, "We Thais are Americanized." Nonetheless, there were contradictions in his views when he came to evaluate Thai English. In effect, Kampol conformed to a conventional writing approach. Responding to establishing Thainess in discourse, he asserted:

> I've noticed something odd about the way Thai people use English. For example, some mix Thai words with English words such as *Dear Ajarn [teacher] Kampol. Please help na kha [if possible]*. I think that this is odd. I do understand that these people intend to convey politeness by making it Thainess. But I don't feel appreciative; neither do I feel bad about this practice. Yet, I won't do this way. Why don't they write in a formal form like *Kampol* or Dear *Kampol*? Now you see, even *Khun* is a part of Thai English writing. I really don't buy this practice. If I use it, I will use *Danai*, not *Khun [Mr.] Danai*. Another example is that I prefer using best regards, instead of *khob khun kha* [Thank you]. I have a casual personality, you know. Yet, when it comes to writing, I'm a bit conservative. I'm very strict with a written Standard form of language. Perhaps, because this is how I was trained at my workplaces. (Translated from Thai)

This passage affirmed that this business columnist did not sanction the idea of mixing Thai words with English in formal writing. In short, he disagreed with a structural construction of Thai English.

Language Position 2: INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH

INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH was a compliant position regarding functional language usage. The participants whose responses in line with this view seemed not emotionally invest in any specific type of English. Rather, they regarded English as a communicative device. In other words, the ultimate goal of this position was keeping writing rules determined by institutions and genre convention. For instance, Saman's responses reflected this instrumental view. As he put it, "You use English as a medium to

convey the Thainess, not turn English into a Thai English." As a journalist, he focused on communicating his core message rather than creating a form of Thai English.

TABLE 3
Language Position 2: INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH

Groups	Fiction Writers	Textbook Writers	*The Bangkok Post* Journalists	*The Nation* Journalists	Total
Names	Tanin	NA	Rnan Wichai Saman	Ladda Pairat Tnan	
	1/5=20%	0/5=0%	3/5=60%	3/5=60%	
Total	1	NA	3	3	7
Percentage	14	NA	43	43	100

In this category, there were 7 supporters: 1 fiction writer, 3 from *The Bangkok Post,* and 3 from *The Nation*. Responses that fall into this position were predominantly and equally from *The Bangkok Post* and *The Nation.* In all responses, the participants laid claims on this position through a descriptive role of English as "a tool," and/or "a medium."

In this position, it was evident that the writers prioritized what their workplaces, daily newspapers in most cases, required them to do rather than paying heed to a type of English. For example, Tnan, who said he learned English much more during his six months of his first job than what he learned in four years in college, stated his English standpoint by describing the nature of his job:

> Here it is not literature work. It's something universal. What I've been doing is the same thing as what other people, English newspaper people, are doing. One formula, one soup, one universal. English newspaper. One universal pattern to look at.

As such, aware of the nature of the medium and its discipline, Tnan regarded English as an apparatus at work. Central concern for him was writing to serve *The Nation*'s target audiences. When asked about the Thai English issue, he simply responded, "It doesn't come to my head." Then, he added:

> When I write, it's about, you know, conveying my opinions and informing the readers. There're two main concerns; when I write opinion, I just want to convey my thinking, my thoughts, the issues, that's it. When I write new story, I want to convey the notion, that's it. How about the Thai thing? It doesn't come to my head.

Wichai, likewise, made the same line of argument on the justification of Thai English. Spending his first and current job for almost two decades at *The Bangkok Post*, Wichai admitted that his English language was "still a language of others" and English writing "is never easy." By and large, his writing approach was framed by the following thoughts:

> English is just a tool. That's it. For writers, the most important thing in writing is that no matter what tool you use, either Thai or English, whatever you write, whoever you are, for instance a novelist or a columnist, you have to communicate your thoughts to readers. That is, get your message across effectively. If you fail to convey your ideas, your thoughts, writing means nothing. It's pointless. (Translated from Thai)

In response to the notion of Thai English, Wichai answered at once, "In a case of newspaper writing, there's no need to make writing Thai English." In his opinion, the underlying goal of newspapers was to convey messages as quickly and as best as possible to grasp readers' attention. Hence, he said he avoided illustrating his articles with phrases in Thai English unless "it was necessary." Keeping writing succinct and engaging, he highlighted, was his principle to enhance the newspaper's competitiveness. In his conception, Thai English, if it existed, related more to an oral discourse than a written one. At any rate, Wichai disassociated himself from Thai English but not Thainess. Whenever an opportunity permitted, he said that he identified himself as Thai and showed Thai perspective.

By the same token, Saman, whose perspective on English was in line with Standard English, perceived that English was a means not an end in media communication.

Deciding not to pursue an engineering career, he has made journalism his life and has adopted mainstream English in his writing. His argument on the rejection of Thai English was, "If you want to write in any language, you have to stick to what, the way that people in those countries use it. Not to make it, you know, 'this is Thai English'." Saman told a story of Thai fish sauce to take his stand:

> I try to avoid doing thing say a Thai word in my story. . . . We tend to think try to use the Thai word unnecessarily. You don't have to say *Nampla*, just say fish sauce, right? Unless you write an article about *Nampla*- specifically. The story about how *Nampla* is made. But then in day-to-day reporting, I try not to use *Nampla*, like in "somebody throws fish sauce into somebody". People who don't understand Thai will be wondering, *Nampla*, what is it? If you don't put the word *Nampla* in the headline, you put fish sauce in the headline. People read everywhere around the world now. We have to be careful not to use this. We can use the Thai word but not in the way to confuse the readers. We have to make it clear that you don't have to say *Nampla* when fish sauce conveys the same meaning. Like chili is chili; you don't say it *Prik* [chili]. Or *Rod-Tid* [a traffic jam]; I don't know why people use *Rod-Tid* when there's a traffic jam. Everyone understands what a traffic jam is, right?

Significantly, when asked further how concerned he was about the construction of Thai English at *The Bangkok Post*, Saman responded the same way as Wichai did: "On a regular basis, we try not to." In similar fashion, Ladda, Rnan, Tanin, and Pairat conceptualized their English and echoed their perspectives in line with the INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH. In brief, there were consensus viewpoints among these supporters that English should be used as a medium to convey their convictions as Thais but not to turn their writing into Thai English.

Language Position 3: COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH

COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH was a compliant position regarding lingua franca English. The principle of this position was that language is flexible, appropriate, and potentially multicultural. In this light, the participants considered themselves to be world

citizens who could move in and out of cultures and languages. As a global language, English has evolved and reflected different aspects of local cultures, knowledge, and values. Besides, this position understood that English language usage did not necessarily follow the mainstream norms but served local needs. The advocates of this position were aware of English varieties, the notion of pluralism, and the rising role of global English. For instance, Saksit contended, "English is the lingua franca of the world today and it will continue to be so. So this means that aside of Thai, many more people from different cultures, who have access to whatever I'm writing in English." Along a similar line of the argument, Kanda asserted, "I don't mind at all that I speak English with an accent."

TABLE 4
Language Position 3: COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH

Groups	Fiction Writers	Textbook Writers	*The Bangkok Post* Journalists	*The Nation* Journalists	Total
Names	Kanda Tanin	Pimpan Rda Tasana	Malai Nithi	Saksit	
	2/5=40%	3/5=60%	2/5=40%	1/5=20%	
Total	2	3	2	1	8
Percentage	25	37.5	25	12.5	100

There were 8 advocates of this position: 2 fiction writers, 3 textbook writers, 2 from *The Bangkok Post*, and 1 from *The Nation*. By way of comparison, responses from the majority of textbooks writers fell into this position. However, each particular writer had distinct explanatory support for this stand. Some respondents designated their stance explicitly through descriptive statements such as "lingua franca," "beauty of language," "global communication," "imperfection," and "diversity." Other arguments were interpreted and inferred.

A useful place to start in this category is Kanda, who strongly contested the ideas of separating things, mastering a language, and treating a language as a sacred object. Influenced by Buddhism and seeing herself as a romantic, she believed that a language,

any language, was a life. When asked to describe her English, this renowned poet responded spontaneously, “I can’t.” In fact, she was actively yet unconsciously engaged in constructing cosmopolitan discourse. As she succinctly put it:

> I create a lot of new terms, but not necessarily from my Thainess. It’s just, if you read my poems in the collection of *the White Empty Page*, you will find a lot of new terms. But they are new because I feel that it works, because I feel that it fits my feelings, my thoughts, not necessarily Thai or English or whatever; they’re just me. The terms just serve what I try; what I want to express. There’s no consciousness of Thai terms; I’m a Thai in myself. I mean, why would I have to care so much about creating something Thai? It’s already there. And that the Western in me is already there. Why separate it? Why make such a conscious effort to separate it? It’s just there. Don’t make life too difficult.

The notion of Thainess, in her view, was not her conscious focus in writing. As Kanda responded simply, “It’s just there. Why construct something Thai?” Indeed, throughout a one-hour interview, she expressed her concerns, philosophy, and understanding about the substance of being Thai, and most strikingly, about the core concept of World Englishes. Her view toward the idea of a foreign accent could be the most salient example to support her standpoint toward this category:

> A French man speaking English with a French accent and errors of the French, you know, is very charming. And it makes it what it is. Thai also, when I go reading my English poems on a stage, I know I have this Thai kind of intonation; it’s not perfect English, absolutely. But I think I always find that the Westerners who listen to my reading on stage or whatever, I think they look quite mesmerized. I think it’s because of the flavor that is carried by my accent.

Like Kanda, Pimpan, an experienced copy writer, a food columnist, and a translator, coincidentally raised the same issue. As she contended, “National accent is very charming. Look at French, and Thais can speak English with the Thai accent with fluency, and charm. I’ve heard it often and it’s quite nice.” Most remarkably, her understanding about language use and the emphasis on language beauty, rather than on perfection, implied her self-identification with the English position of this category:

> I'm not able to say that my English is anywhere near perfect because I've not been educated enough to be able to claim that. My Thai isn't perfect either. So who's perfect in any language? . . . I'm not looking for perfection, anyway. I'm just looking for competence and … for a high proportion of beauty in the use of language, any language.

In agreement with Pimpan, Nithi reflected on the relationship between Thai culture and others in the globalization contexts. His comments related to the notion of Thai English reflected that his English positions were ambiguous. However, his profound understanding about the global role of English placed him in this category. Realizing the vast promulgation of varieties of English, Nithi pointed out, "Now, it's not easy to define English by using a geographical territory like a country as a basis. English really has become an international language." In this light, when asked to describe his English, at first Nithi was uncertain if he was capable of doing that. This was because he strongly believed that the way he wrote English was different from the way other Thais used the written langauge. Taking high pride in his English, Nithi claimed, "To some extent, my writing flows. I think my English is good and my writing is smooth enough to the point that it isn't easy to be pinned down by others on whether or not it's Thai English or American English."

Following Nithi's line of thought, Rda, Saksit and Tanin echoed his awareness about the dynamic growth of international English and the power play this language has in global villages. Rda, for example, offered an alternative perspective on English discourse. She was the first and the only participant who directly addressed the notion of World Englishes. In light of this discussion, she disassociated the idea of Thai English from this framework. In her view, Thai English was closely connected with a Thai accent. In other words, Thai English, if it existed, could be found as a form of oral

discourse rather than as a written form. The following excerpt reflects her theoretical stance toward this notion:

> What we're talking about echoes the idea of David Crystal, the concept of World Englishes. That is, English will evolve according to locations of usage; English is locally situated. Look at Singapore English, for example. The way Singaporeans use English is very distinctive. But our English isn't that recognizable. In this case, I think it is more about pronunciation. . . . The Indian English language is flowery. Educated Indians write in a flowery way because they were influenced by their colonizer. They write English beautifully. They also read a lot because books are cheap. Yet we Thais don't read much. The exposure to English here, we have to admit, is incredibly limited. (Translated from Thai)

In this respect, Saksit's self-identification toward English agrees with that of Rda. His English position was mixed and conflicted. Implicitly, he also conceptualized English phenomenon through the lens of World Englishes. One of the points he made was applicable to this category:

> You're a part of a much wider community of people who share common, yet not identical. We all know we have different versions, forms of English, dictionary of English languages. So I think you have a clear awareness that you're a part of this very, cosmopolitan class or, I don't know, community of people who stretch around the globe, basically. But I confess I do entertain the idea of calculating how much longer English will remain the language lingua franca of the world. I think, English, we, I identify myself as part of this; I think we're going quite decades.

Last but not least, Tanin's positions toward his English overlapped within this COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH position and the GLOCAL ENGLISH category. His critical and constructive ways resonated in the notion of Thainess. The following section will illustrate his positions in detail.

Language Position 4: GLOCAL ENGLISH

GLOCAL[25] ENGLISH was a compliant position reflecting balanced approach between local and global English. Underlying this category was an acknowledgment and

[25] The term stemmed from the researcher's idea of using a combination of the terms "global" and "local".

celebration of locality along with an understanding of differences in the world. This position neither denied the existence of Standard English nor opposed the power of dominant mainstream values. Rather, it placed emphasis on the notion that local knowledge, voices, and traditions should be taken into account. In other words, the participants who took on this position believed that they did not have to sacrifice their Thai identity in order to use Western discourse and ideology. These people believed that English language users should incorporate both local and global entities to complement each other.

This position incorporated two components of arguments: first, the writers put emphasis on expressing their Thainess through Thai cultures, beliefs, and ways of life rather than focusing on a form of Thai English. In this regard, the writers valued and were aware of Thainess as a construct in their English work. Second, the writers knew how to appropriate the English language to fit into local contexts and vice versa. In short, this position reflected that the participants understood the roles of English locally, regionally, and internationally. Also, these participants were capable of spelling out the inter-relationship between expressing Thainess versus expressing Englishness. This position focused on the notion of Thainess meanwhile did not reject the importance of the Standard form of English. For example, like Saman, Tanin disagreed with the use of a Thai term like *Nampla* [fish sauce] and *Rod-tid* [a traffic jam] in English writing. This is because he strongly believed that the essence of writing was not the form of the language but the level of authenticity. In other words, he placed emphasis on how Thai people believed and viewed the world influenced by Thai culture. He asserted, “Language is not the key issue; language is superficial if you can’t reflect souls.”

TABLE 5
Language Position 4: GLOCAL ENGLISH

Groups	Fiction Writers	Textbook Writers	*The Bangkok Post* Journalists	*The Nation* Journalists	Total
Names	Kanda Saijai Pitan Tanin Sirikul 5/5=100%	Rda 1/5=20%	Malai Nithi Wichai 3/5=60%	Pairat 1/5=20%	
Total	5	1	3	1	10
Percentage	50	10	30	10	100

There were 10 supporters of this view: 5 fiction writers, 1 textbook writer, 3 from *The Bangkok Post*, and 1 from *The Nation*. The fiction writers were predominant here: *The Bangkok Post* was second, and *The Nation* and textbook writers shared third place. These writers, starting with Saijai, made different arguments for why they leaned toward this position.

After WW II was over, Saijai spent a high school year in a convent school in Penang, Malaysia, where she learned to appreciate English taught by Irish nuns. Saijai revealed that this early literacy background made her strict with what she called King's English, which the nuns "drilled into her head everyday." Her stance toward Standard English previously presented in the first category and toward the notion of Thainess in this category was equally recognized. With respect to her Thai identity, Saijai stated that she never reflected it in her work. Yet, if Thainess emerged, it was always intentional. The two following excerpts exemplify what she meant by the deliberate invention of Thainess:

> When I translate *Love in the Fish Market*, I would say *Tailaew* [Oh my god]; *Aow* [Oh dear]; *Yae* [Too bad]. Then a French gentleman who lives here, who writes and translates work, criticizes my book that having too much Thainess. This is relevant to what you're doing. Too much Thainess. But I thought Thai people they don't cry Christ, Jesus, Almighty of God. They say *Tailaew* [Oh my god] so I say *Tailaew* [Oh my god]. You see, that is again reserving my characters, what do you think? Should I do that or not or should I just say Christ?

> Once this British editor wanted me to use league, nine leagues or something like that, instead of *yod*. I said Thai people don't have league; we have *yod*. I want to use *yod*. He said English speaking people won't understand *yod*. But I said I'd like to keep my Thainess or I would like to keep the Thai atmosphere of the book. So I would look up one *yod* means how many thousands meters of distance so we can put in the footnote. I think if you're a non Thai, you want to read a Thai literature; you would want to know something. You would want to gain some knowledge about Thai culture. League you know; *yod* you don't know. But you can find out. Oh!! How long is the *yod* ? I would be very careful there. You know I would not lose identity or my nation identity unnecessarily.

Interestingly, it was ironic that Saijai strongly believed in Standard English ideology even though, as the above message shown, she was criticized by the native speaker, the British editor, for having too much Thainess.

Tanin, likewise, took up the same position but offered a different lens to talk about his strategy in conveying Thainess. He addressed his profound understanding about the role of English as a liaison to convey local cultures to a wider global community. Within this line of thought, he claimed, "To stick to the belief that English language belongs to British only is nonsense." At the opposite extreme, Tanin disagreed with Saijai about using Thai words in projecting Thainess. As he asserted, "I don't feel that they add or subtract when you do things. I'd rather get to the truth of the feeling behind it rather than decorate it with that, you see." Although Tanin's conceptualization about English discourse fall into the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH stance as previously presented, his worldview about Thainess, interestingly, was deeply interwoven in his three novels: *Naga's Journey*, *Fragile Days*, and *Tales from Bangkok*. In these works, he applied the concept of Thainess a lot through the notion of authenticity. He remarked, "Writing as a Thai is in a way revealing another dimension of Thai society as it is." To reach the stage of truth, Tanin further explained that he focused on listening not to words, but to feelings

that Thais expressed. He also stressed respecting Thainess that "was not about the language but respecting the way Thai people think." In this regard, he elaborated, "It may be *Thaism* if you don't get to the level of authenticity." Over all, it could be interpreted that his English position fell into this GLOCAL ENGLISH category as well. The excerpt below demonstrates his insight and understanding about the relationship between Thai culture and global cultures:

> If you take my short stories about Bangkok, and then my stories about *Tsunami*, about my novel, *Naga's Journey*. I'm writing really about something which is local. That means that there're conflicts, contradictions, and stuffs as Thais. . . . Writing in English has allowed me to look at it from a different angle and to appreciate certain details or certain issues that arrive in some situations. As a Thai, of course, I understand what's going on as a Thai. I use it as advantage as being both in and out. . . . Everything I write; I try to convey Thainess in a modern world. What does it mean to be Thais in this world? See, everything comes from the outside world. Consumerism, values and so on so forth but we're still Thais. Thai people who're trying to stay against capitalism.

In principle, Saijai shared this position with Tanin although both somehow differed in the details of establishing Thainess. That is, Tanin conceptualized Thainess through the truth of feeling. He avoided exoticizing the Thainess construct in his novels. For example, he tried not to overuse adjectives that conveyed tropical moods. Instead, he let a character narrate Thai culture and soul. Saijai, on the contrary, intentionally employed both conceptual and structural approaches to get her Thainess message across to her target readers. After the interview session was over, she e-mailed the researcher, making another strong statement regarding to her conception of Thainess. This excerpt from that message also illustrates the contrastive view between Saijai and Kampol over the same Thainess building issue:

> First, say this, in Thai English, we do not write 'To all' or 'Dear all' because it implies that we do not care enough for each receiver of our message. By so doing we also make our friends lose their identity. Another point against this is -

> because you are embracing a good number of people, you may relate news that some people don't yet know but some already know. This is repetition and does not look very smart. And it is true that Thai people don't do it. Americanized Thais do it, including my son. Somehow I don't think it is practical or really good enough for we Thais to adopt this practice. Second, some people write your name on a mailing envelope without the word Mr., Mrs, or Miss or Ms.in front of the name. Is it again the American way? Third, some people write an e-mail letter without addressing you, e.g. Dear John or Dear Mary. It must be because they think that your email address is already there, so it is understood that the letter is to John or to Mary. But in my opinion, you are just too busy to honor your friend with his or her identity.

The next advocate of this position is Nithi, a product of English education in Thailand. Nithi felt so attached to English that he embraced this foreign discourse as part of what he called odd identity. Responding to the discourse on Thai English, he commented, “I’m not patriotic in that sense, I mean, to the point that I will stand up to actively promote Thai English.” As addressed earlier, on one hand, Nithi inclined toward the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH position; on the other hand, he placed his concern in displaying unique aspects of Thai culture through his movie critiques. Hesitant to make a justification of Thai English at first, he clarified later, “If the definition of Thai English includes a delineation of Thai ways of thinking, sense of humor, usages of metaphors and analogies, then I can say that my English might be considered Thai English.” In one of his commentaries, “Every Breath You Take”, Nithi performed his deep understanding of not only his motherland’s culture but also the global phenomenon of language use. Playing with a famous song written by Sting and originally performed by *The Police*, Nithi captured the soul of Thai bureaucracy. Looking at the issue through a Thai lens, he ridiculed Thai politicians. Finally, Nithi made use of his flawless English skills with his satirical style of writing, turning an international love song into a sardonic Thai version:

> Every asset you reveal.
> Every secret you conceal.

Every satang you steal.
Every free-loading meal.
I'll be watching you.
Every FTA you sign.
Every nuclear-power plant you desire.
Every high-speed train you require.
Every human right you undermine.
I'll be watching you. (Chorus)

Needless to say, judging by his strong voice as a homegrown journalist, Nithi's stance fell into this GLOCAL ENGLISH category.

As presented in the previous category, Pairat's English positionings were mixed and unfixed. In this GLOCAL ENGLISH category, his goal in writing was to depict Thainess in original English. As he put it:

> My spirit I guess is 100 % Thai but then when I express it I want to express it in the original English language because I communicate mostly with the foreign readers or highly educated Thais who understand English. . . . Even though my writing is in English, even though the medium is in English, even though this is daily English language newspaper, it's just presented, it is air out from the perspective of a Thai who loves moderation, who would like to suggest the middle path, who loves his country, who loves Buddhism, who loves the simple Thai way of life, and who loves fairness, justice, and who accepts the reality of being a Thai and accepts kind of limitations of being Thai and the limits that we can go.

Like Wichai, Pairat remarked, "English is still very alien to me. I still have to struggle a lot." In fact, he demonstrated his advanced skills of an English writer. Regardless of such confidence in his English capability, sometimes Pairat found out that "his very Thai" message written in what he called original English was not always understood by his readers:

> It [my English] has a Thai smell, very thick and dark sometimes to the point that *foreigners sometimes think that I'm anti-foreigners*. . . . *Sometimes the foreigners have a hard time understanding the meanings that I try to convey here and there in my writing*. . . . Sometimes I use symbols, some idioms, expressions, very Thai … I mean it's difficult to explain. It's very Thai and has Thai characters in it. Particularly, when I write feature articles about Buddhism.

Structurally, Pairat identified himself with mainstream English. In doing so, he read *Financial Times*, *Financial Daily*, and other UK publications in order to "get expressions and the tempos." Conceptually, Pairat, however, seemed to value his Thainess more than anything else. Thus far, he has placed emphasis on promoting the soul of Thais. His self-observation on the notion of Thainess was too remarkable to fail to overlook here. He offered a constructive aspect in looking at his English, "I'm not a native born English speaker. I think I can express myself ninety to ninety five percent when I write in English. That's a charm of it. If I can express one hundred percent of it, there would be no Thainess."

Unlike other writers whose opinions fell into this position, Sirikul suggested a new lens to look at Thai English discourse by addressing the English educational system in Thailand. In this regard, she problematized why Thainess building through English discourse was historically far from easy. As she put it:

> Sadly, what we learn in school is mostly about the West. We know about William Wordsworth way too much than our classical writer Sri-Prat. We know about the American Civil War, sometimes even better than our own history. We don't know much about King Naresuan but know too much about … We have to admit this. It would be nice if we could employ examples from Thai contexts. We drill lots and lots of English vocabularies into our head. Yet we don't even know what to call many Thai things in English. This is because we don't know what such stuff is called in Thai; we really don't understand our own culture. We just know it on a surface level. This is because we're always taught about subject matter imported from the West. (Translated from Thai)

Silently, Sirikul opposed the Western theoretical orientation and its representation that have been deepening in English pedagogical practice in Thailand. The use of WE pronoun implied that she intended to address the issue to those who were in the same boat with her.

A *Bangkok Post* journalist, Malai stayed in the same ideological camp with Sirikul. Even so, she offered an interesting contrast. On one level, she seemed uncertain about her identification with Thai English. Her lightning response to the discourse on Thai English was, "I really don't know. I might not understand its concept." On the other hand, when asked about her take on the Thainess construct, she articulated her thoughts with high pride in Thai culture and, in particular, her English. Claiming herself to be a hard-headed journalist, she contended, "English writing is not only about writing but also presenting who you are. This is crucial." Thus, even though her area of writing was international news, she has been trying not to sit silently but to stand up to voice her mind as a marginalized writer in the office. In particular, when it came to the subject of editing, her Thainess was provoked:

> As a matter of fact, we're not *farang*. We don't learn English under an English speaking environment. We have our way of thinking as Thais. Unavoidably, when we write in English, one way or another, our writing reflects a smell of *Namprik-Prathu* [a typical Thai dish composing of dipping sauce and fried fish]. So when editors read our work, they don't have to change our Thai perspectives. They should respect our Thai ways of thinking. Unfortunately, many times, these editors cross the line. Correcting language is the most precarious practice. They try to make adjustments, with which I often disagree. When they rewrite our language, our writing style, they try to make it mainstream, you know. And this is the most detrimental! So I always negotiated: Why don't you let me write as it is? Please don't interpret my writing because there's nothing to interpret here. What I write is what it is. We often have a fight, you see. I'm a hard-headed kind of person. (Translated from Thai)

Malai used the Thai typical dish—*Namprik-Prathu*—as a symbol to methaphorize how Thainess or Thai identity would be somehow shown in English writing. In other words, a smell of this Thai dish was compared with a Thai learner speaking English with an accent. To uphold her Thainess, Malai not only flouted the power of mainstream discourse, but also challenged the validity of English hegemonic discourse:

> To communicate with people around the world, I think that English is also limited. Sometimes it is unable to express and describe Thai religious beliefs, ways of life, cultures, so on and so forth. Something surely will be missing if we use an English word. For example, the terms *nirvana*, *Lord Buddha*, *self sufficiency*. In particular, the heated concept self-sufficient economy. When we use this term, most *farangs* totally misunderstand. They think, 'Oh! So you have to lock up your country from the outside world?' This is completely misleading. Don't you think? This English term can't capture all the essence of the meaning that we intend to express in Thai, a Buddhist language. (Translated from Thai)

Rda, a textbook writer, a translator, and an English college professor, draws the comments of the presentation in this category to a close. Like Tanin, Pairat, and Saksit, Rda presented an optimistic view toward English. Her undersanding about English discouse, in fact, showed the dynamic and overlapping pictures of her English positions. First, like over half of the participants, she subscribed to Standard English. Second, like the other eighteen participants, she also distanced herself from Thai English. Her take was:

> As for Thai English, I think it has a long way to go. This is because of the limited exposure. You see, Thais, who know English well, I mean who are very fluent in English, are quite small in number. What I mean is English as an everyday language, like Singapore English, Indian English … a kind of English that is used in listening, writing, speaking. Here, Thais who use English as an everyday language are quite limited. I think our situation is like Japan and Korea. We all know this, don't we? We still teach English in Thai. (Translated from Thai)

Third, leaning toward this GLOCAL ENGLISH position, Rda contended, "Although we're much influenced by the West, deeply we're Thai. Thus, we absolutely will, one way or another, reflect Thainess." She addressed an aspect of language use related to etiquette and pragmatic issues to support her point:

> When we adopt English, we should not adopt everything and throw away our own culture. We had better preserve our customs and manners. An EP program [English for a Particular Purpose] is the best example. The students in this program pick up the English language, but unfortunately their Thai manner is gone, really gone. They don't respect teachers at all anymore. (Translated from Thai)

Central to her concern was that she did not want to see English turn out to be a real killing language.

Language Position 5: THAI ENGLISH

THAI ENGLISH was a compliant position regarding Thai English. In this position, the participants conceptually and structurally identified their English as one of the varieties of World Englishes. Its advocates believe that when Thai people write or speak in English, they structurally and conceptually reflect uniqueness of language usage and socio-cultural aspects of their nation.

TABLE 6
Language Position 5: THAI ENGLISH

Groups	Fiction Writers	Textbook Writers	*The Bangkok Post* Journalists	*The Nation* Journalists	Total
Names	NA	Chat 1/5=20%	NA	NA	
Total	NA	1	NA	NA	1
Percentage	NA	1	NA	NA	100

Of all 20 participants, only one textbook writer, Chat, made comments that could be put into this category. This writer took on the THAI ENGLISH position although he was strict with grammatical rules. As previously presented, most of the participants were either unaware of the notion of Thai English or did not believe in its existence. However, Chat was not only conscious of his Thai English but also was proud to identify himself as a Thai English writer. Running away from poverty, this writer decided to enter monkhood with the hope that his new decision would bring him a better life. From that point on, a close relationship with the English language came his way by chance. The poor boy learned to use English during his monkhood years in Northeast Thailand because during that time few people were capable of communicating with Western monks.

Chat earned a bachelor's degree, a master's degree, and a PhD in political science from India. He left his monkhood while he was a graduate student. Spending years in India, he did not deny that his English was influenced by what he preferred to call British English rather than Indian English. Chat took a position that legitimized the Thai English form structurally and conceptually. He made a striking statement with respect to the ramifications of Thai English construction:

> Works written in English show the world that Thai people are also capable of using English. We can express Thai ways of thinking to the world. It's about time that the West uses our words; we have been using their vocabularies for a long time so why don't they use ours? We don't have to follow them all the time. (Translated from Thai)

With this goal in mind, Chat contextualized writing strategies to build up Thainess or Thai English discourse in his writing:

> I don't like to use *farang* proverbs or expressions. I love to create terms by myself such as, 'I was born a poor child but I'll never die a poor man.' In addition, I create a sentence structure, a new term that doesn't exist. Plus, in my books, I don't use foreign examples but local ones from Thai contexts only. For example, instead of using John and Mary, I use *Dang* and *Somchai.* And in this TOEIC book, I want to make it global but also maintain Thainess. So, I contextualize it. I use for example '*Sawasdee*' instead of 'Good morning". Last but not least, I emphasize a design of book covers which maintain Thai identity such as using a temple instead of the famous Big Ben or Eiffel Tower. (Translated from Thai)

From this perspective, Chat did not only endorse the Thai English position but also transformed his passion into practice. A number of his textbooks are evidence of his contribution to promote Thai English over the course of 20 years after returning from India.

Next, Table 7 presents across references between the five strands of English positions and the four groups of the professional writers.

TABLE 7

Self-Positioning of Thai Professional Writers toward Their English

Participants	English Positions				
	KING'S ENGLISH	INSTRU-MENTAL ENGLISH	COSMO-POLITAN ENGLISH	GLOCAL ENGLISH	THAI ENGLISH
Fiction Writers					
1. Kanda			X	X	
2. Saijai	X			X	
3. Pitan	X			X	
4. Tanin		X	X	X	
5. Sirikul				X	
Textbook Writers					
6. Kampol	X				
7. Pimpan	X		X		
8. Rda	X		X	X	
9. Tasana	X		X		
10. Chat					X
***The Bangkok Post* Journalists**					
11. Malai			X	X	
12. Rnan	X	X			
13. Nithi			X	X	
14. Wichai		X		X	
15. Saman	X	X			
***The Nation* Journalists**					
16. Pim	X				
17. Ladda	X	X		X	
18. Saksit	X		X		
19. Pairat	X	X		X	
20. Tnan		X			
	12 /20=60%	7/20=35%	8/20=40%	11/20=55%	1/20=5%
Total	12	7	8	11	1
Percentage	31	18	20	28	3

Summary

The conception of Thai English discourse ascribed to by these particular Thai writers was predominantly negative. Still, there were some positive representations of mainstream English or Standard English. Several significant emergent issues regarding diverse self-identification toward English are worth highlighting:

- As Table 7 illustrates, the majority of the participants took multiple, contradictory and diverse positions toward English. In each professional group several writers including Tanin, Pairat, and Rda explicitly and subtly implied conflicted English positions. There were only five participants who held one sole position toward KING'S ENGLISH, INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH, GLOCAL ENGLISH, or THAI

ENGLISH. In fact, even these five writers might subscribe to more than one English position if further research were conducted.

- Over all, the KING'S ENGLISH or Standard English position was the most frequently claimed by the participants (31%) and the THAI ENGLISH position was the least frequently claimed (3%). It is important to note that these advocates of KING'S ENGLISH were mainly the journalists of *The Nation* and textbook writers. Only one participant, a textbook writer, showed his understanding about English that was in line with the THAI ENGLISH position. As a minority of one, Chat argued for the importance of Thai English and proudly regarded his English as Thai English. Aware of his English position, as previously discussed, he turned his conviction into practice by employing tangible and structural strategies to build up his Thai English discourse.
- Although the majority of the participants subscribed to Standard English and rejected the existence of the form of Thai English, many vindicated the GLOCAL ENGLISH position (28%). As shown above, comments from all of the fiction writers and the three journalists from *The Bangkok Post* fit into the GLOCAL ENGLISH position. Even though these writers were not in favor of the form of Thai English, they made their efforts to voice their Thai identity. Whenever opportunity permitted, these writers unconsciously and consciously conveyed Thai messages through stories, socio-cultural elements, and Thai perspectives. The fiction writers, in particular, claimed more freedom to express their Thainess. This position showed that the advocates gave importance to the essence of Thainess rather than the form of Thai English.

- Those who did and did not advocate KING'S ENGLISH subscribed to the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH position. This position illustrated the participants' worldview understanding about the multiplicity of World Englishes.
- Compared with other four professional groups, the journalists from both *The Nation* and *The Bangkok Post* tended to subscribe to INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH. As supported by their excerpts earlier, these journalists argued that their writing language was controlled by their editors, the target audiences and the nature of media. They did not resist the conventional norms imposed on them.
- Regarding the conceptualization of Thai English, 19 out of 20 participants, as described earlier, did not believe in the existence of the notion of Thai English. Conceptually and structurally, there was low awareness and little acceptance of this concept among these writers. In contrast, there was high awareness of Standard English and English varieties such as American English, Singapore English, and Indian English. Among those who had objections to Thai English, some acknowledged that they were unaware of the Thai English concept, others did not believe in it, and some hesitated to discuss the concept. To some of them, the term Thai English was associated with an oral language rather than a written one. In addition, the term itself carried political connotations for them. For example, they denoted Thai English in comparison with Standard English as "not international," "not professional," "not acceptable," "not proper," "not standard," or "not original" types of English to be used in international contexts. Nonetheless, the writers differed in their rationale on the issue. In other words, they employed a variety of rhetorical

devices to distance themselves from Thai English. Chapter 6 will address these in detail.

The next chapter will delineate the hierarchical underpinning assumptions that provide a theoretical explanation of why these participants situated themselves in particular English positions.

CHAPTER V

HIERARCHICAL UNDERPINNING ASSUMPTIONS OF ENGLISH POSITIONING

The prior chapter not only illustrated varied political and ideological positions pertaining to English discourse but also revealed an unequal relationship among those discourses and an uneven distribution of prestige. The central focus of this chapter seeks to touch on theoretical assumptions underpinning the participants' English positions. To better understand why the participants came to identify themselves with a set of certain English discourses and/or to shuttle from one English position to another, further theoretical analysis is needed. Therefore, the underlying task for this chapter is to establish a framework of how the participants defined and developed their understandings of their English, what factors of identification were involved and, most importantly, why they perceived Thai English negatively and placed it at the margin of the English-speaking discourse hierarchy. In so doing, this chapter discusses hierarchical underpinning assumptions that underscore the participants' definitions of English.

This chapter contains two sections. The first section describes four central hierarchical features that underscore the construction and the development of English self-identification. These include: hierarchy of King's English vs. Thai English; hierarchy of King's English vs. Thai discourse; hierarchy of a Spoken vs. Written Discourse; hierarchy of Conscious vs. Unconscious Discourse. The second section proposes three alternative conceptual models of English identity. These models include: A PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY, A VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY, and A WHEEL OF ENGLISH IDENTITY. Through a visual representation, these artistic

models were designed to shed light on the hierarchical assumptions. The following section addresses four hierarchical underpinning assumptions in detail.

What follows are four central hierarchical features that underscore the construction and the development of English self-identification.

Four Hierarchical Underpinning Assumptions

Hierarchy of King's English vs. Thai English

The first relationship in the discourse hierarchy was between King's English and Thai English. Within this continuum, King's English or Standard English was placed at the pinnacle of the discourse or identity hierarchy. This English variety was predominantly positive and held high currency. In this hierarchy, the participants regarded English native speakers' competence as an authoritative norm. Obviously, this type of English was at the top of the participants' conscious minds. Within this relationship, it seemed that King's English tended to be idealized as a benchmark for assessing language users.

In contrast, Thai English was placed at a lower level on this discourse hierarchy. In this position, it was deemphasized and it held less value than Standard English. In comparing these discourses, King's English was validated; Thai English, however, had a long way to go. As Chapter 4 disclosed, most of the participants' responses were in line with the Standard English variety. The notion of Thainess, however, if constructed, appeared to be masked by a Standard English form. In this hierarchy, the participants were prone to have linguistic stereotypes, to maintain prescriptive grammatical forms, and to believe in standardized culture. Particularly, many framed their English identity

within Eurocentric mindsets. In brief, Standard English in contrast with Thai English was associated with an ideology of elite modernity.

Hierarchy of King's English vs. Thai Discourse

In this relationship, English discourse was not only compared with Thai English, it was also placed along a discourse continuum. Simply put, when the participants addressed English ideology or even Thai English discourse, a portion of Thai language was included as a point of comparison. As presented in the foregoing chapter, the dominant English discourse or King's English was, as described by several participants as, "more beautiful," "classy," "snobbish," "sophisticated," "international," "professional," "original," "right" and so forth. More specifically, some writers saw Standard English as tied to European or American culture. By contrast, Thai discourse, regardless of its eloquence, was sometimes associated with the descriptors like "clumsy," "old fashioned," "not subtle enough," and "lacked of shades." On the whole, in some of the participants' minds Thai discourse, in comparison with Standard English, seemed to have secondary status.

Hierarchy of a Spoken vs. Written Discourse

In this hierarchy, the participants defined English discourse based upon a structural linguistic system. In this view, written discourse was established and legitimized; oral discourse however was viewed as invalid. In this study, some writers associated Thai English with a Thai English accent, a Thai form of pronunciation, or an oral form of language only. Hence, the respondents with such a frame of justification, for example, Wichai, came to the conclusion that their English might be considered Thai English. Nevertheless, when Thai English was evaluated on the basis of the written

platform, these journalists did not believe that it was a valid language. Some entertained the idea of categorizing Thai English into an oral language system. Within this line of argument, suffice it to say that Thai English was ascribed as a less privileged language identity. It was situated at a lower level on the hierarchical continuum.

Hierarchy of Conscious vs. Unconscious Discourse

Central to this hierarchy was an awareness of the stages of language use. That is, the participants' conceptualization of English discourse revealed that Standard English was a conscious form; whereas Thai discourse appeared to function unconsciously. Besides, Thai English was not the participants' focus when they composed their pieces namely poems, editorials, and columns. The writers whose comments in line with this hierarchy were more concerned with institutional rules and policy than with labeling their forms of English. As Rnan put it, "Here, we use the same writing format—British writing style. . . . Perhaps that's why I'm not concerned with this Thai English thing." Considered through the lens of this pair of hierarchical relationships, Standard English received prime recognition among the participants, whereas Thai language and Thai English discourse were almost nonexistent for them.

To reiterate, the five categories of English positionings reflected different relationships between the participants' English identity constructs and their concepts of social positions. In-depth data analysis suggested that most of the participants conceptually placed Thai language and Thai English lower than Standard English along the hierarchical continuum of discourse. Even when unaware of the concept of Thai English, the participants set themselves apart from it by using a rhetoric of separation to describe it (details of these rhetorical strategies will be elaborated in Chapter 6). In sum,

put in the frame of these four hierarchical assumptions, Thai English was oral, second rate, and non-standardized. In other words, in relation to Standard English and other English varieties, Thai English was stereotyped, diminished and exoticized.

The next section is dedicated to a visual presentation of English identity in relation to the above hierarchical assumptions. The following three graphic models of English identity outline conceptual background, discuss signification, and demonstrate the models and how these four hierarchical underpinning assumptions functioned in each English position.

Conceptual Models of English Identity

As presented above, those four sets of hierarchical underpinning assumptions, which include: King's English vs. Thai English, King's English vs. Thai discourse, spoken vs. written discourse, and conscious vs. unconscious discourse, spelled out the background explanations why the participants positioned themselves toward English in five different categories, as described in the previous chapter. Chapter 7 will readdress this issue by providing an indepth discussion and explanation of the impact of neo-colonialism that exerted a powerful impact on the participants' minds. It explained why these writers held one of these four hierarchical assumptions. Thus, the next section elucidates an in-depth interpretation of these assumptions via three conceptual models of English identity: A PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY; A VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY; and A WHEEL OF ENGLISH IDENTITY.

There was one caveat of the visual models: these illustrations of English identity served as an artistic presentation, not as an empirical purpose. In other words, the representation was an aid for comprehension of empirical data, not data itself. These

English identity models allowed a closer look at diverse aspects of relationship among five English positions and the hierarchical discourse components described earlier. Further, the models helped shed more light on how these individual writers constructed their understanding of English before they came to adopt the English position (s) of their choice. Ultimately, the goal of this visual construct was not only to arrive at a better understanding of how such different ideological constructs of English play out, but also to draw out shared patterns among the participants in the four professional groups.

The following representation explicates definitions of the three English identity models, including significations, repercussions, and connections among the models.

A Pyramid of English Identity

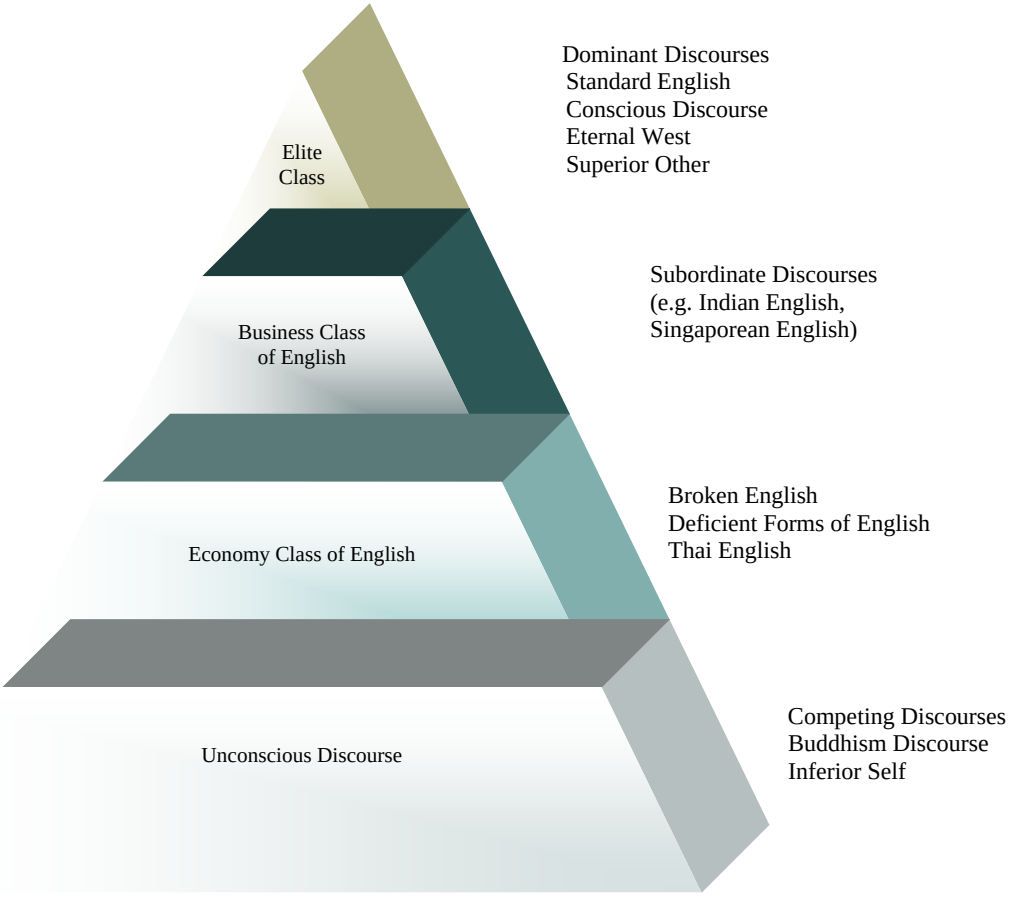

Figure 1: A Pyramid of English Identity.

As Figure 1 illustrates, the first model, the PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY, represents a visual understanding of those participants who had ideological positions and constructs pertaining to Standard English or the nativeness paradigm. Responses of the writers who leaned toward KING'S ENGLISH position fell within this model. The participants who drew on this conceptual model of English identity were prone to perceive linguistic landscapes as linear, fixed and hierarchical. Hence, they tended to view the relationship among discourses in the shape of a pyramid as illustrated above. Like passengers on an airplane in a compartment-oriented system, discourses were seated in different classes: elite, business, and economy. Within this construct, Standard English or King's English or conscious discourse was situated in an elite class at the top of the pyramid. Other English varieties or subordinate English discourses were situated in a business class in a lower status position. Thai English, Thai discourse, unconscious discourse or other forms of English viewed as deficient, if these were mentioned, were close to the bottom of the pyramid.

In this conceptualization of hierarchical relationships, the participants' responses reflected that they associated the elite English discourse with legitimacy. As a consequence, Standard English was regarded as a norm of language usage. Although the position of Standard English seemed to be fixed at the pinnacle of the pyramid, the participants whose responses were in line with this position believed that their status was unfixed but adjustable. Therefore, in order to shift their position from a lower status to a superior one—to reach the top of the pyramid—these participants believed that they needed to attach themselves to a legitimized form of language use—Standard English discourse. In so doing, they distanced themselves from Thai English and following

Standard English rules. Maintaining Standard English signified their psychological desire to alter their social class, carried by English from a lower status to a higher one. Eventually, to belong to the same space where Standard English was located, the participants consciously adhered to prescribed forms of language usage. Needless to say, the major repercussion of this ideological discourse pyramid model was a validation of Standard English.

A Venn Diagram of English Identity

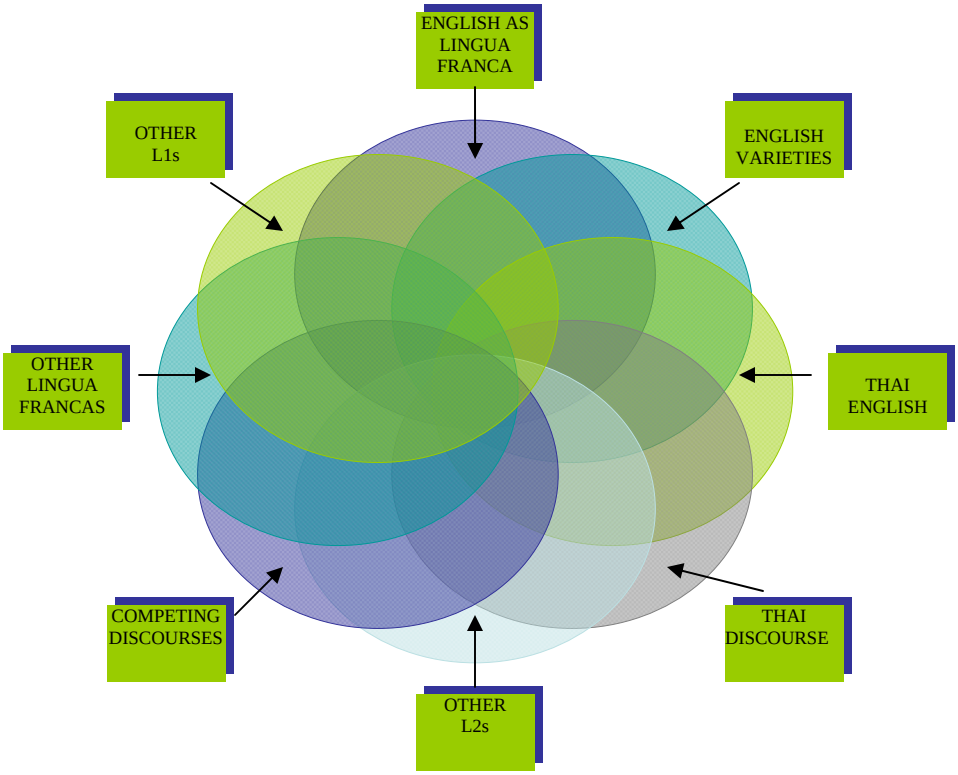

Figure 2: A Venn Diagram of English Identity.

As Figure 2 exhibits, the second model, the VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY, is a visual illustration of the participants' ideological positions and constructs pertaining to the World Englishes paradigm. Responses of the participants who took on the positions of COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH, GLOCAL ENGLISH, and/or THAI ENGLISH were in line with this model. The Venn diagram represented a fixed

picture in a process in which all of these circles were constantly changing in both size and in their interactions with one another. In these dynamic circles, discourse entities such as language varieties, Thai discourse, and competing discourses, as taken out and shown in a small box above, interretated, overlapped and acted in a constant manner. In other words, the circles were textually driven and in motion.

Within this construct, the participants were likely to conceptualize linguistic landscapes as a part of a chaotic, dynamic, interconnected, and fluid universe of discourse. In this coated complexity, English thus served linguacultural situations; English is appropriate to serve needs in diverse sociopolitical contexts around the globe. Further, these participants tended to view that individual language users were composed of multiple "selves", or what Saksit, *The Nation* journalist, called "creolized identities" that were dynamic, unfixed, and contradictory. In principle, these participants were in agreement holding the ideological position that English was not superior but equivalent to other discourses. Hence, in this VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY construct, Standard English was perceived as less prestigious than it was in the PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY. Instead, it was perceived to be at the same position where other discourses claimed their space. The VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY centers not on the norm of Standard English. It focuses, rather, on the discursive construction and the negotiation of multiple meanings of different discourses, as illustrated above. Of primary repercussion of this model of conceptualization was a deconstruction of Standard English.

In effect, there was a contradiction in the locating Thai English in this conceptual model. On one hand, Chat was the only writer who validated the existence of the THAI

ENGLISH position. In line with this conceptual model, his central argument implied that on principle Thai English deserved to belong to the VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY; Thai English discourse should be included as a member of global discourses. His underlying argument was to grant official recognition to a form of Thai English. On the other hand, the writers whose responses were in line with the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH and / or GLOCAL ENGLISH positions opted for inserting their Thai voices or maintaining Thai identity without Thai English form constructs. Even when Thainess prevailed in their work, it was written under the participants' conscious monitoring. To reiterate, the participants whose conceptualization of their English fell into this English identity model displayed their Thainess in different layers: 1) with and without the Thai English form; and 2) under conscious and unconscious stages of inserting Thai identity during composition.

A Wheel of English Identity

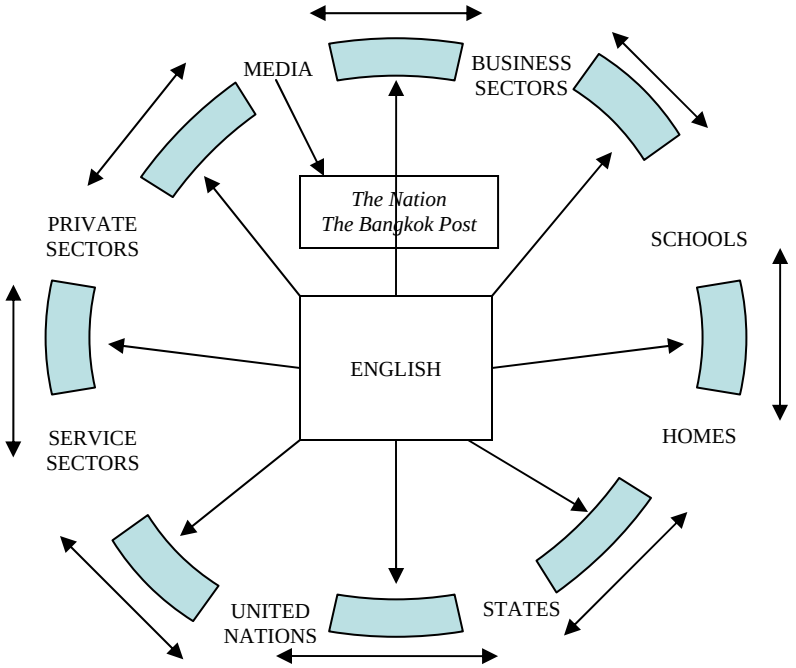

Figure 3: A Wheel of English Identity.

As Figure 3 demonstrates, the third model, the WHEEL OF ENGLISH IDENTITY, represented a visual understanding of the participants who had ideological positions and ideological constructs pertaining to neither the Standard English nor World Englishes paradigm. Responses of the participants who took up INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH position were in line with this model. As presented in Chapter 4, the majority of the advocates of this position were journalists writing for *The Bangkok Post* and *The Nation* journalists. In this WHEEL OF ENGLISH IDENTITY model, the writers did not frame their understanding of English like others did in the previous models. Rather, they distanced themselves from English discourse by regarding it merely as a device to get a task completed. As shown in the graphic above, English was like an arrow alongside a circle, orchestrating a global community. In international contexts, in particular, English came to symbolize as a global linguistic machine. In this regard, its pivotal role was to keep worldwide networks running and to bring the world closer. Within this construct, Standard English, if it existed for the participants, did not have any relationship with English varieties or even other discourses. Practically, the journalists explained that they had maintained Standard English in their writing due to their institutions' rules and policy. In sum, this model of English identity did not belong to either the World Englishes or the Standard English paradigms. In fact, it was a global English language without identity; there was no emotional link between this discourse and identity.

Closing Remarks

English position or identity does not take place in a vacuum. In effect, it is historically and discursively constructed in particular contexts. To underpin a better explanation of why the participants took up each English position, this chapter laid out

four hierarchical assumptions and then expanded the investigation in the form of artistic representations of the three models of English identity. A possible explanation of both tasks was that the participants' English positionings strongly depended on their frame of assumptions toward English discourses. In other words, the models of English identity employed by the participants to visualize their English discourse eventually determined their stands on their conceptualization of English. In all, there were significant patterns and distinctions among 5 English positions in relation to the assumptions and the models of English identity:

- Responses of the participants who took up KING'S ENGLISH position illustrated that their conceptualization on English and Thai English discourse was in line with the PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY. In this model, King's English or Standard English obtained superior positions in the discourse hierarchy.
- Responses of the participants who took the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH, GLOCAL ENGLISH and THAI ENGLISH positions exhibited that their understanding about English and the notion of Thai English fell into the VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY. Unlike the KING'S ENGLISH position, these three positions leveled dominant English discourse and focused more on meaning negotiation or appropriation of discourse than on maintaining power relations.
- Responses of the participants who took INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH position showed that their understanding about English and the notion of Thai English was in line with the WHEEL OF ENGLISH IDENTITY. Unlike those prior models of English identity, this model centered on the role of English as a tool. As such, English situated within this model possessed no identity.

- Over all, the main findings, as illustrated in the following Table 8, revealed that the participants' conceptualization of their English and the notion of Thai English was diverse and could be presented visually in three different ways. A greater number of participants's responses were in line with the VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY than with the other models (44%); the second most frequently responses fell into PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY (35%); and the responses in line with the WHEEL OF ENGLISH IDENTITY were the least popular (21%). Among 20 writers, 8 writers' responses were in line with a singular model of English identity; the other 12 writers' responses fell into multiple models.

TABLE 8

Summary of Conceptual Models of English Identity

	Conceptual Models of English Identity		
Participants	A PYRAMID OF ENGLISH DENTITY	A VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY	A WHEEL OF ENGLISH IDENTITY
Fiction Writers			
1. Kanda		X	
2. Saijai	X	X	
3. Pitan	X	X	
4. Tanin		X	X
5. Sirikul		X	
Textbook Writers			
6. Kampol	X		
7. Pimpan	X	X	
8. Rda	X	X	
9. Tasana	X	X	
10. Chat		X	
The Bangkok Post **Journalists**			
11. Malai		X	
12. Rnan	X		X
13. Nithi		X	
14. Wichai		X	X
15. Saman	X		X
The Nation **Journalists**			
16. Pim	X		
17. Ladda	X	X	X
18. Saksit	X	X	
19. Pairat	X	X	X
20. Tnan			X
	12/20=60%	15/20=75%	7/20=35%
Total	12	15	7
Percentage	35	44	21

Put into a broader perspective, the three conceptual models of English identity displayed so far reflect how these Thai professional writers negotiated and constructed their identities in English discourse. Interestingly, in this process of English identification, several participants held more than one visual English model and the models that contradicted one another. The multiplicity of the English models that the writers pictured in their minds illustrated the complex issues of identity construction, power, and subordination within representation.

The next chapter will deal with rhetorical strategies that the participants employed to take on their English positions.

CHAPTER VI

THE RHETORIC OF MARGINALIZING AND PROMOTING THAI ENGLISH

The previous chapter responded to the first two research questions. It explicated the five categories of English identification described by the participants and the hierarchical underpinning assumptions pertaining to these English positions. To explain why Thai professional writers took up the English positions in such different ways, the current chapter delineates rhetorical strategies that the writers tailored to identify themselves with their English positions. Ultimately, the aim of this chapter is not only to cast significant light on rhetorical strategies that the writers employed but also to delve into some insights behind the English positioning constructs. Central to the theoretical framework is the illustration of the relationship between the stated English positions and the rhetorical strategies played out by these 20 professional writers.

This chapter contains four sections. The first section defines and exemplifies nineteen distinct thematic moves. The second section provides the result of the rhetorical move analysis. The third section presents the interpretations of the rhetorical move analysis concerning individual identity. The final section, the conclusion, synchronizes the result of the rhetorical move analysis and English identity and draws out shared commonalities of the thematic moves within each professional group.

Rhetorical Moves

Rhetorical analysis is “an effort to understand how people within specific social situations attempt to influence others through language” (Selzer, 2004, p. 281). The rhetorical move analysis in this chapter was built primarily on the distinct set of thematic moves composing the argumentative discourses developed by the participants during the

interviews. Each thematic move functioned as a way for the participants to position themselves toward their English and in the meantime to reject other positions. To arrive at a global understanding of the interview texts, the move identification was based on close and thorough examination of interview transcripts. Central to this analysis was the examination of the use of rhetorical strategies as a collection and a process that the participants employed to support their English stances.

Over all, there were 19 repertoires of themes emerging from the rhetorical move analysis. The following section defines and exemplifies each of these thematic moves.

Move 1: ENGLISH ROOTS

The rhetorical move ENGLISH ROOTS concerns the historical background of English in the Thai socio-cultural context. The essential function of this move was to question the existence of Thai English. The participants employed this move to reject Thai English on the basis of three arguments. First, the discourse of Thai English, if it existed, needed to have a connection with the colonial past. In fact, Thailand has never been physically colonized by any English-speaking nation. Consequently, in a linguistic sense, Thais have not been forced to use English. Second, the discourse of Thai English, if it existed, should be shared and used by a mass population. Indeed, a context of English in Thailand differed from other colonized countries such as Singapore, Hong Nithi, and Malaysia. That is, English is not an everyday language for Thais. Third, exposure to English in Thailand was limited. Only a small percentage of the Thai population was fluent in English. In essence, these arguments implied that Thai people did not have English identities yet. Underlying this decisive argument was that Thai English had no

roots. Hence, Thai English was not recognized as valid. Tanin's statement, for example, exemplified this move:

> Muangthai [Thailand] was never colonized of an English speaking country. You see you have Indian English or Trinidadian English or even African English, why? Because the English is there. We never had anybody there so we don't actually need to adapt anything like that. . . . If we're colonized a hundred years ago like other countries; I think we would have a voice shown ethnicity.

Move 2: IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

The rhetorical move IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE is a language usage orientation toward Standard English ideology. Although most of the participants unconsciously inserted Thainess in the form of Standard English in their work, this line of argument explicitly showed that they conformed to dominant English discourse. In other words, regardless of their realization of their Thai identity, the participants maintained Standard English in their writing. This practice exemplified the inherent superiority of Standard English. Pim, for example, described her English preference:

> I'd like to use standard of American English because I feel like, not I feel like, many times I discover that American English is more concise and quite easy to understand. And then it uses more simple words, the words that are not quite complicated like English English, British English.

Further, some participants tended to assume that mastering the English language required an immersion in English speaking cultures. Within this assumption, the participants obtaining English education in Thailand doubted that their English was considered Thai English. For example, Saman stated, "My English isn't perfect, perhaps because I didn't study in a foreign country."

Move 3: GENRE CONVENTION

The central argument for this move was that the nature of the media and target audiences determined the way writers presented stories. The function of the move

GENRE CONVENTION was to focus on communication rather than linguistic forms. With respect to this argument, the participants, mostly the journalists, thus tended to subscribe to Standard varieties of English. Wichai, for example, argued:

> We are writing for English audiences who read English newspapers. We have different types of readers from all walks of life, Americans, Japanese. So, we try to make writing neutral as much as we can so that our readers can understand our message. We try to keep writing simple, not to pepper colors in writing. (Translated from Thai)

As this passage shows, the ramifications of mainstream media discourse had an impact on the participants' perceptions of non-standard English varieties. Relatively little attention, therefore, was paid to Thai English discourse.

Move 4: PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS

The rhetorical move PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS referred to composition orientations that abided by a workplace's norms and policies. The highest concern for the participants was to professionally meet their institutional requirements. In doing so, they sought to serve the workplace's policy rather than to promote Thai English. For example, Saman explained, "We use British English here—Z instead of S, double R, for example." Rnan echoed Saman's opinion: "Here, we use the same writing format—British writing style. As for newspaper writing, you really have to be strict with Standard English usage. Perhaps that's why I'm not concerned with this Thai English thing."

Move 5: AUTHENTICITY

The rhetorical move AUTHENTICITY represented an effort to prioritize writing essences rather than language forms or linguistic components. In this line of argument, the participants asserted that the key elements of their writing were a level of authenticity, a concept of voice, and a truth of feeling. Hence, in order to maintain

Thainess, these writers believed in the use of stories, not any specific form of English. They argued that if writers let real voices come out naturally, a Thai identity, after all, would emerge. For example, Kanda stated, “Writing is more or less natural. There’s not much thought of structures or forms or anything. I just begin and then it flows.” Saijai agreed, adding:

> But when occasion arises that I think I should put in my Thainess, I will put it in. I think writing is spontaneous, if you plan it too much, it becomes unnatural, anything unnatural, it will look and will sound forced.

Move 6: EDITING

The function of the EDITING move was an attempt to question the imposing influence of editors on language usage. The central argument of this move was to address a vital impact of an editing process on writers’ voices. The move EDITING provided significant ramifications of editing on the validity of the Thai English concept. In this line of argument, the participants, especially the journalists from *The Bangkok Post* and *The Nation*, pointed out how editors influenced their work. Simply put, although these participants did not pay attention to the notion of Thai English, they said they could not deny that examples of the essence of Thainess, such as Buddhist perspectives, somehow were reflected in writing. Even so, their editors would turn Thai English or Thainess, if it existed, into mainstream English or mainstream thinking. As a result, a Thai English structure could not be maintained. In this regard, Nithi explained:

> If our English has a Thai smell, it will be cleaned up to fit into Standard English mode. For example, in Thai we usually say, ‘*I think you can’t do it’*. It will be corrected to ‘*I don’t think you can do it’*. (Translated from Thai)

Move 7: AUTHORITY CLAIM

The rhetorical move AUTHORITY CLAIM referred to an influence of Western ideology on the way the participants conceptualized English. The intention in this move was to specify sources of authority. Simply put, the move illustrated the influence role of imported publications, especially literature and theories from the West, on the Thai authors' ways of thinking. The Western representatives, including global media, were indicators of the inseparable relationship between the Thai writers' writing and the Western canon's philosophy. Because of the great impact of the West as a role model, this move, AUTHORITY CLAIM, implied that it was virtually impossible for Thai English to develop. As Pairat put it, "I read *Financial Times, Financial Daily*, and other UK publications in order to get expressions and the tempos."

Move 8: DISCOURSE FORMS

The rhetorical move DISCOURSE FORMS signified the use of a structural approach to move away Thai English. In this view, Thai English was not valid as it was associated with an oral discourse rather than a written one. In other words, Thai English was not an established rhetorical form; it was more associated with a non-native accent. Some participants believed that their English might be regarded as Thai English based on the evaluation of a Thai accent. For example, Wichai remarked, "I can't see such a thing as Thai English in a written form." Tasana, likewise, asserted, "We don't have Thai English but we speak English with a Thai accent."

Move 9: RESISTANCE DISCOURSE

The rhetorical move RESISTANCE DISCOURSE was an expression of disagreement with mainstream ideologies, discourse, and institutions. This move drew on

two major forms of resistance. First, the participants posited the editor's role. That is, they challenged editors when their intended message was changed to fit in mainstream discourse. Second, the participants employed social critique that was a major tool of resistance. That is, they wrote from the perspective of marginalized writers who brought voices to the powerless in Thai society. This rhetorical move RESISTANCE DISCOURSE signified two lines of arguments related to Thai English: 1) the concept of Thainess, if it existed, would be felt via writers' voices, not in a Thai English form; and 2) Thai English prevailed as a form of resistance. In this light, Ladda, for instance, remarked, "I realize that there are too many mainstream media. What I've tried to do is to reflect voices of a marginalized group of people in a Thai society." Believing in the existence of Thai English, Chat asserted, "It's time the West should use our own vocabularies."

Move 10: STEREOTYPE

The rhetorical move STEREOTYPE centered on language myths and linguistic bias. In this move, the participants made generalizations and/or stereotypical statements pertaining to language ideology and language use. In the course of the interviews, there were many times when the participants mystified language usage. Basically, the point they made was loaded with linguistic prejudice about privileging Standard English over Thai English. As Pim put it, "I don't think Thai English works for international world. And English is universal language. So English is the language that is understood by people from every country."

Move 11: UNCONSCIOUS THAINESS

As addressed earlier in Chapter 4, the majority of the respondents were oriented to conventional English usage. However, the intention of this rhetorical move UNCONSCIOUS THAINESS was to indicate that within the dominant discourse platform, Thai identity would be somehow divulged in writing. This was because the writers basically built a frame and conception of knowledge through Thai lenses. Wichai, for example, observed, "I probably have a Thai voice. But yet, if it exists, it's not intentional." Saksit, too, made the remark, "I don't make a conscious effort to present or put my Thai viewpoint. If it's there, it's there."

Move 12: THAINESS BUILDING

In contrast with the prior move, the emphasis of the rhetorical move THAINESS BUILDING was that Thainess or Thai English, if it existed, was an intentional construct. The goal of such a construction was to convey messages about Thai cultures to foreign audiences. In this light, the writers, who took on the Thai English position or exhibited Thainess, produced Thai English discourse at three levels: 1) terminology and idiomatic expressions, 2) micro local content, 3) book packaging. Saijai, for example, exemplified how she built up Thai identity in her novel:

> If I let my Thai characteristics go in, that is where I really want it to go in. I'm aware that other people, non-Thais, who read something written by the Thai, they want to know something special. For example for *Nee Sua Pa Ja Ra Khe*, if I write from the pot into the flying pan, what do they gain? They don't gain anything. They already know this idiom. But if I think it was as if "She ran away from a tiger only to meet, to confront, a crocodile," then they know. There's a comparison. Very vivid. Very good.

Move 13: POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER

The rhetorical move POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER established an optimistic construct toward not only English discourse but also Western ideologies, lifestyles, and tastes. In this move, the participants expressed emotional and ideological investment pertaining to English. Simply put, the participants portrayed positive images of English discourse through positive lexicalization toward English. The more the participants expressed themselves, the more emotional attachment to English was revealed. As Nithi, for example, put it, "Everyday I keep asking myself why I have such a strong bond with English. I wish I knew the answer. Indeed, English has become my identity. I feel attached to it ideologically and intellectually." Saksit, too, unveiled his story: "Sometimes I have an urge to speak in English because perhaps I feel I could express myself better, not just better, but more satisfactorily, emotionally speaking."

Move 14: NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF

On the contrary to the foregoing move, the rhetorical move NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF exemplified the way the participants located themselves in a subaltern position. These writers illustrated not only a deep-seated inferior self-image but also a detachment from Thai English. In this regard, they compared and contrasted a deficit status of their English with their imagined Standard English. One of the prominent statements related to such inferiority was the belief that incapability to speak perfect English or Standard English was a marker of lower intelligence and prestige. As Kampol remarked:

> My English isn't perfect. I worry about my English a lot. . . . My English is too simple, not that sophisticated, uneducated, something like that. . . . Speaking about Thai English, I've noticed for example *Khun* [Mr.] Anan's English. I think his English is so beautiful, classy and sophisticated, but mine isn't. I think my

> English is at a lower class level compared with his English. (Translated from Thai)

Move 15: DISCOURSE CRITIQUE

The rhetorical move DISCOURSE CRITIQUE addressed pragmatic issues and raised a central question about the functional role of the Thai language in comparison with the English language. The participants improvised two main arguments in this move. On one hand, some participants addressed a negative proposition of Thai discourse and its limitations. For instance, these participants employed negative lexicalization toward Thai discourse such as "eloquent but clumsy," "limited," "not subtle," "repetitive," "narrow," " lack of shades," "uninteresting," and "old fashioned." On the other hand, some participants offered a different lens to look at English discourse. This group believed that the English language, in fact, could not represent the world. That is, sometimes it was too limited and narrow to capture the real original meaning carried by the Thai language. At any rate, although both groups differed in their stances on Thai discourse, they shared commonalities in setting themselves apart from Thai English. Pitan, for example, provided this example in relation to Thai discourse, "There are two Thai terms that can't be literally translated in English. That is *Kriengjai* [can be interpreted as *be considerate*] and *Mansai* [can be interpreted as *can't stand*]. Culturally, there is no way to find an exact synonym for both words in English." Nithi, in contrast, provided his example pertaining to English discourse:

> In English the adjective 'dark' opens up room for multiple interpretations. Its meanings might be drugs, politics, ghost, misery, or broken heart. But in Thai, this word dark or *muad* has fixed or limited meanings. We can't play with it that much. (Translated from Thai)

Move 16: STIGMATIZED ENGLISH VARIETIES

The rhetorical move STIGMATIZED ENGLISH VARIETIES signified negative attitudes toward non-Standard English variety constructs. In this move, non-Standard English varieties were trivialized. The move illustrated how a subordinate status of Thai English was deeply grained in the participants' minds. For instance, the views of Pim and Saksit toward their Thai English exemplified this move:

> I'm writing for professional, for executives, for business in high ranking, people in high level. Then I also write mainly for international people to read. That's why you know they don't want to read something that they don't understand although they very appreciate on Thai. But when you write in English, you have to make it English. Don't make it look Thai.

In somewhat the same vain, Saksit, who spent high school years in the Philippines, expressed his view:

> I don't think I have carried the Philippines accent or some of the usage I think because there's distinct consciousness in me to keep it, cling close to either the American or English tradition, somewhere between British or that of American English. . . . I am very conscious of trying not to speak like the Filipinos. . . . It must have been my father who got education in France. He had negative impression of Filipino English. It's very sad!

Move 17: UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES

The rhetorical move UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES represented an effort to bring voices to non-mainstream English varieties. The intention in this move was to conceptualize Thai English beyond national boundaries. To do so, the participants built the move resting on two distinct themes: structural and conceptual informed knowledge of English varieties, and a positive attitude toward a national accent. As Chat put it,

> When I want to write about a Thai concept but a word does not exist in English, I create my own. And I want *Farangs* to use it, so I give a definition, like the word Tsunami. You know, the Japanese created this word to describe a gigantic wave Tsunami, and now, see, we people around the world know what this word means. I really want to do something like this. (Translated from Thai)

Move 18: BUDDHISM DISCOURSE

The rhetorical move BUDDHISM DISCOURSE signified subtle Thainess constructs influenced by a competing discourse—Buddhism. Simply put, the participants recognized that there was an influence of Buddhist ways of thinking in their work. Although most of them unintentionally incorporated such concepts in their English work, the presence of Thainess hidden in their work implied how much impact this competing discourse had. The repercussion of this move was that there was Thai identity reflected in English discourse. For example, Kanda made remarks, "[It is] the Buddhist in me that makes me do the way I do." Tanin, along the same lines, made the remark, "Most of my stories, issues, emerge from this basic theme, Buddhist theme."

Move 19: GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS

The rhetorical move GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS placed the notion of English discourse into a larger context. Through this move, the participants did not address Thai English directly, but rather placed emphasis on global English. That is, they demonstrated their profound understanding of the proliferation of English. Besides, they raised the issue of what Saksit called "creolized identity." Through this concept, this move brought topics of linguistic, cultural, and political plurality into the interview agenda. For example, Pimpan's comment on the Thai educational system reflected her standpoint regarding a current linguistic world:

> A living language should expand, should absorb new influences, things like that. Look at the French, look at English; they add words to their dictionary all the time. For our Thai language, we not only do not add words, but we, actually, our *Podjananukrom* [a Thai dictionary] shrinks.

Closing Remarks

In sum, the above descriptions of the nineteen thematic moves provided the diverse arguments that these Thai professionals employed to identify themselves with their positions. The remainder of this chapter deals with the results of the rhetorical analysis. The following section delves into the result of the rhetorical moves in relation to individual participants. This section focuses on the ways individual writers employed rhetorical strategies to construct their identities in English discourse.

Individual Identity Negotiation of English Discourse

This section presents an individual analysis in relation to the five strands of English identity. The rhetorical move analysis discloses significant differences in the rhetorical strategies that individual writers employed to identify themselves with English. Three major points emerged from this analysis:

First, individual writers had different and unique ways of playing with their English positions. Simply put, their collection of rhetorical moves was basically contradictory and manifold. All writers utilized more than one thematic move to position themselves toward English or to be positioned by English. Interestingly, these individual participants employed a different collection of rhetorical moves although their responses were eventually categorized into the same English positions.

Second, there were five participants who each held a singular English identity. These writers explicitly stated their preferences for a specific English variety. The rest took up plural English positions. Interestingly, in the latter group, there was a contradiction in the positions that some participants took. The cases of Pairat, Ladda, and Rda serve as examples. On one hand, taking the GLOCAL ENGLISH or

COSMOPOLITAN position, these writers gave importance to the issues of localities, Thainess, and Thai cultures. On the other hand, in their remarks about writing convention and language use, all of them leaned toward Standard English.

Third, individual writers supported their arguments by deploying one of these divergent rhetorics: 1) the rhetoric of distancing themselves from Thai English or henceforth the rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English; or 2) the rhetoric of attaching themselves to Thai English or hereafter the rhetoric of promoting Thai English. There were shared patterns among the participants. That is, there were 19 participants who employed the rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English; there was only one who deployed the rhetoric of promoting Thai English, or in other words, took up an oppositional stance toward Standard English.

The following section illustrates how the English identities of individual writers played out. It lays out examples of rhetorical moves participants used to develop the five strands of English positions. Particularly, key relevant excerpts that the individuals applied to support their positions are provided. In brief, these detailed examples contribute explicitly to an understanding on how individual writers constructed their English positionings or negotiated their English identities through the rhetoric of marginalizing and promoting Thai English.

Fiction Writers

Kanda's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

Opposed to the ideology of separation, Kanda negotiated her two English positions—COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH—by employing four

rhetorical moves: UNCONSCIOUS THAINESS, UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES, BUDDHISM DISCOURSE, and GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS.

For example, Kanda employed the rhetorical moves UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES and GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS at the same time to position herself toward COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH. Both rhetorical moves were echoed in the following excerpt:

> A French man speaking English with a French accent and errors of the French, you know, is very charming. And it makes it what it is. Thai also, when I go reading my English poems on a stage, I know I have this Thai kind of intonation; it's not perfect English, absolutely. But I think I always find that the Westerners who listen to my reading on stage or whatever, I think they look quite mesmerized. I think it's because of the flavor that is carried by my accent.

Interestingly, when asked to address the notion of Thai identity or Thainess, Kanda shifted her position toward GLOCAL ENGLISH. In doing so, she deployed the rhetorical move UNCONSCIOUS THAINESS to take her stance. As she put it, "The Thainess in me, the Western in me, the whatever in me. It just comes naturally. Why try to construct something Thai? Because it's already what it is. It's already there."

Saijai's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

A bilingual novelist, Saijai constructed her two English positions—KING'S ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH—via two rhetorical moves: IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE, and THAINESS BUILDING. On one hand, through the GLOCAL ENGLISH position, Saijai made a clear argument about her take on maintaining Thainess and at the same time on being able to follow prescriptive Standard English rules. Employing the rhetorical move THAINESS BUILDING, she stated, "If I let my Thai characteristics go in, that is where I really want it to go in. I'm aware that other people, non-Thais, who read something written by the Thai. They want to know something

special." On the other hand, Saijai changed her position to KING'S ENGLISH when asked about her belief regarding to language use. The rhetorical move IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE, as illustrated below, resonated in this position:

> The nuns taught you the perfect English. They don't expect you to go off like Singapore English … like they say … like that. So I'm very strict with my grammar. I would try to write King's English as much as I can.

Pitan's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

Like Saijai, Pitan, a bilingual novelist, took two English positions—KING'S ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH. He constructed both positions through three rhetorical moves: IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE, PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS, and DISCOURSE CRITIQUE. The following passage clearly echoed his ideological and political position toward the KING'S ENGLISH position. Using the rhetorical move PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS, he said, "I'm strict with grammar. Also, my most important goals when I write are accuracy and fact. You know I visited all the scenes that appeared in my novels. I'm a good student. I do follow American book doctors' advice." In response to the concept of Thai English, he did not believe in the existence of the notion. However, when he discussed the issue pertaining to Thainess construct, it seemed that Pitan's English position was shifted to GLOCAL ENGLISH. The use of the rhetorical move DISCOURSE CRITIQUE resonated in his example. He explained, "There're two Thai terms that can't be literally defined in English. That is *Kriengjai* [be considerate] and *Mansai* [can't stand]. Culturally, there is no way to find an exact synonym for both words in English." This rhetorical move showed his profound understanding not only in English discourse but also in his own culture. It was crucial to

note that Pitan's two positions were shifting from time to time over the course of the interview.

Tanin's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

A novelist and a short story writer, Tanin constructed his three English positions—KING'S ENGLISH, COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH—by employing five rhetorical moves: ENGLISH ROOTS, GENRE CONVENTION, AUTHENTICITY, BUDDHISM DISCOURSE, and GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS. Tanin strongly believed that the historical background of English in Thailand was the pivotal factor related to the non-existence of the notion of Thai English. In this regard, he employed the rhetorical argument of ENGLISH ROOTS to support his stance toward KING'S ENGLISH. The rhetorical move was delivered through the following passage:

> Muangthai [Thailand] was never colonized of an English speaking country. You see you have Indian English or Trinidadian English or even African English, why? Because the English is there. We never had anybody there so we don't actually need to adapt anything like that. . . . If we're colonized a hundred years ago like other countries; I think we would have a voice shown ethnicity.

In subsequent dialogues, Tanin reflected his ideological and political perspective as a novelist. His statement, "Through the authenticity, I try to convey Thainess in a modern world. What does it mean to be Thais in this consumerism world?", demonstrated that he shifted his position toward GLOCAL ENGLISH by using the rhetorical move AUTHENTICITY. Besides, Tanin's world knowledge about a variety of World Englishes implied that his ideological view was in line with the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH position. His take resonated in the rhetorical move GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS.

As he succinctly put it, “To stick to the belief that English language belongs to British only is nonsense. Everyone has the right to speak it wrongly or rightly.”

Sirikul’s Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

Calling her English semi-English, Sirikul negotiated her singular English position—GLOCAL ENGLSH—via two rhetorical moves: RESISTANCE DISCOURSE, and POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER. In fact, unlike other participants, Sirikul’s position was not clearly stated. She showed her passion about building Thai discourse and Thai customs. However, her rhetorical moves POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER and RESISTANCE, as shown in the extract below, implied her position toward the GLOCAL ENGLISH category. The following passage reflected how Sirikul viewed the fade of Thai culture in the midst of the influx of Western ideology. As she put it,

> Sadly, what we learn in school is mostly about the West. We know about William Wordsworth way too much, compared to our classical writer Sri-Prat. We know best about the American Civil War, sometimes even better than our own history. We don’t know much about King Naresuan but know too much about … We really don’t understand our own culture. We just know it on a surface level. This is because we’re always taught about subject matter imported fom the West. (Translated from Thai)

Textbook Writers

Kampol’s Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

A business columnist, Kampol constructed his singular English position—KING’S ENGLISH—by deploying three rhetorical moves: STEREOTYPE, POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER and NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF. Kampol obviously expressed his awareness and concern about the fact that neo-colonialism in Thailand has been deeply rooted and affected Thai ways of life. On one hand, he raised

the issue of brainwashing and the deep inpact of Eurocentric ideology on Thai people. On the other hand, Kampol's positive responses in line with the KING'S ENGLISH category were reflected from time to time. The use of the rhetorical moves STEREOTYPE and NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF, with out a doubt, echoed this position. As he contended, "If one's written language is beautiful, we tend to assume that the person is smart. I think my English is too simple, not that sophisticated. My English is like a country song. I still can't make it classical."

Pimpan's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

A food columnist, Pimpan negotiated her two English positions—KING'S ENGLISH and COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH—via three rhetorical moves: AUTHENTICITY, DISCOURSE CRITIQUE and UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES. For example, when taking the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH position, Pimpan demonstrated her worldview about unique varieties of global English. To claim this position, she employed the rhetorical move UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES. Her stance resonated in the following passage when she addressed the notion of a national accent:

> I'm not able to say that my English is anywhere near perfect because I've not been educated enough to be able to claim that. My Thai isn't perfect either. So who's perfect in any language? . . . I'm not looking for perfection, anyway. I'm just looking for competence and … for a high proportion of beauty in the use of language, any language.

Rda's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

A textbook writer and an English professor, Rda negotiated her three conflicting English positions—KING'S ENGLISH, COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH—by using three rhetorical moves: ENGLISH ROOTS, UPLIFTED ENGLISH

VARIETIES and BUDDISHIM DISCOURSE. Like Tanin, Rda employed the rhetorical move ENGLISH ROOTS not only to support her argument of why Thai English did not exist but also to position herself toward KING'S ENGLISH. However, her argument was slightly different from that of Tanin. Grounding on the historical background of English in Thailand, Rda explained, "Unlike Singaporeans…, we Thais don't use English as an everyday language. There is a long way to go for Thai English to emerge." Then when the dialogue about this issue went on, Rda mentioned the beauty of Indian English. To this point, her position was shifted to COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH. Her take was presented through the rhetorical move UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES. The following quotation reaffirmed her position:

> What we're talking about echoes the idea of David Crystal, the concept of World Englishes. That is, English will evolve according to locations of usage; English is locally situated. Look at Singapore English, for example. The way Singaporeans use English is very distinctive. But our English isn't that recognizable. In this case, I think it is more about pronunciation. . . . The Indian English language is flowery. Educated Indians write in a flowery way because they were influenced by their colonizer. They write English beautifully. They also read a lot because books are cheap. Yet we Thais don't read much. The exposure to English here, we have to admit, is incredibly limited. (Translated from Thai)

Besides, when Rda revisited her educational history, it appeared that she changed her position to GLOCAL ENGLISH. Her stand related to this position was reflected in the rhetorical move BUDDHISM DISCOURSE. As she narrated, "When I was in college, I always analyzed papers from the lens of Buddhism. I've just realized now that it did influence my writing."

Tasana's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

A Buddhism writer and a Tai-Chi teacher, Tasana constructed her two English positions—KING'S ENGLISH and COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH—through five

rhetorical moves: ENGLISH ROOTS, IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE, AUTHORITY CLAIM, POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER, and BUDDHISM DISCOURSE. Although Tasana took two English positions and it seemed that she shifted her position from one to another, over all, her responses were in line with the KING'S ENGLISH category. From time to time, she made a number of arguments to support this stand. In tandem with Rda, Tasana believed that the way Thais used the English language was different from the way the people in the Southeast Asain region did. Thus, this factor, in her view, played a pivotal role in forming the concept of Thai English. Using the rhetorical move ENGLISH ROOTS, she took her KING'S ENGLISH position and to show her belief of why Thai English had a long way to go. She concluded, "We don't speak English on a regular basis like the Singaporeans, the Malaysians do … I don't think we Thai people have our own English identity yet because we can't make our own English. We can't think in an English way." Meanwhile, Tasana's same position was presented through the different rhetorical move—POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER. As she put it:

> Specially living in England, to read the British press, the British newspaper, all these things, you know … it takes you to another angel of thinking, which is much broader. And the way of argument, something Thai people can't do.

Chat's Rhetoric of Promoting Thai English

A textbook writer, Chat constructed the THAI ENGLISH position by employing five rhetorical moves: AUTHENTICITY, RESISTANCE DISCOURSE, THAINESS BUILDING, UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES, and GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENEESS. As presented in the previous chapters, Chat firmly took his position toward Thai English discourse. In doing so, he delivered his rhetorical strategies clearly.

For example, he employed the rhetorical move RESISTANCE DISCOURSE to convey his strong belief about why Thais should embrace their own English. Further, through this rhetorical move, he performed an act of resistance to mainstream discourse. His resistant account seemed not need a further interpretation. As he stated it clearly, “It’s time that the Westerners better use own words; we have been using their vocabulary for a long time. So why don’t they use ours? We don’t have to follow them all the time.” Moreover, Chat’s responses relative to THAI ENGLISH was presented in the rhetorical move UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES. Through this move, he expressed his appreciation in not only his English but also in Indian English. Confidently, he took his stance by saying, “There’s Indian English, why not Thai English? I want the world to know that Thais are capable of English. I want foreigners to better understand our country, our cultures, and our people.”

The Bangkok Post Journalists

Malai’s Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

Considering herself a hard-headed journalist, Malai constructed her two English positions—COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH—through four rhetorical moves: EDITING, RESISTANCE DISCOURSE, DISCOURSE CRITIQUE, and BUDDHISM DISCOURSE.

Grounding on the rhetorical move RESISTANCE DISCOURSE, she argued, “In this office, there is someone, a marginalized writer, a hard-headed person like me, who has her own voice and wants to stand up to speak for the voiceless in Thailand.” Her take on COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH was implied in her statement. Later, when she addressed the limit of the use of English as a world language, it seemed that Malai’s

position toward English was shifted to GLOCAL ENGLISH. That is, employing the rhetorical move DISCOURSE CRITIQUE, she asserted, “English is limited and sometimes unable to capture Thai religious beliefs, ways of life, and cultures. Something will be missing if we use the English word, for example, the concepts of nirvana and self sufficiency.”

Rnan’s Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

A traveling journalist of *The Bangkok Post*, Rnan negotiated her two English positions—KING’S ENGLISH and INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH—through two rhetorical moves: GENRE CONVENTION, and PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS. Paying most attention to her job descriptions, Rnan made herself clear in terms of her belief as journalist and her dream as a language user. She felt attached to English discourse so much that she involved it in her professional life; she regarded English as a tool for her growth. Over the course of the interview, Rnan’s positions on English were shifting from KING’S ENGLISH to INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH. The following assertive statements reflected her overlapping positions on both categories. Rnan employed the rhetorical moves PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS and GENRE CONVENTION respectively to state her conceptualization on the positions:

> In news reporting, we can’t deviate from Standard English because our audiences are farangs except that when we want to write about subject matter related to Thai culture, such as Kriengjai [be considerate].(Translated from Thai)

> Here, we use the same writing format—British writing style. As for newspaper writing, you really have to be strict with Standard English usage. Perhaps that’s why I’m not concerned with this Thai English thing. (Translated from Thai).

Nithi's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

A movie pundit of *The Bangkok Post*, Nithi constructed his two English positions—COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH—by deploying four rhetorical moves: EDITING, UNCONSCIOUS THAINESS, DISCOURSE CRITIQUE, and GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS. Nithi shared similar views on English and the idea of Thai English with Malai. However, his rhetorics employed in taking his positions were slightly different from what Malai did. That is, Nithi employed the rhetorical move GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS to take on COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH. As he put it, "Now, it isn't easy to define English based on a geographical location such as a country's border. This is because English really is becoming an international language." Afterward, he shifted his position to GLOCAL ENGLISH by using the rhetorical move UNCONSCIOUS THAINESS. As he contended, "I'm not patriotic in that sense, I mean, to the point that I will stand up to actively promote Thai English. I'm Thai, I think in Thai and I speak Thai. So, somehow Thai English might reflect in my work. No doubt about it." By and large, it appeared that Nithi, like most of the participants, changed his positions from time to time over the course of the discussion.

Wichai's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

Wichai, *The Bangkok Post*'s Horizon column editor, negotiated his two English positions—INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH—via three rhetorical moves: GENRE CONVENTION, DISCOURSE FORMS, and UNCONSCIOUS THAINESS. Wichai regarded English as a tool and yet he gave importance to Thai culture. His contention on these issues was implied in his rhetorics. For instacne, he employed the rhetorical move GENRE CONVENTION to position himself toward

INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH. He emphasized, “No matter what tool you use, either Thai or English, whatever you write, whoever you are, you have to get your issue across to target audiences. If you fail to convey your message, it’s useless.” Asked if he considered his English Thai English, he simply responded, “To me, Thai English relates more with a spoken language than a written one. So, if judged by the way I speak, my accent … my language may reflect Thai English. This is unavoidable because I’m Thai.” This rhetorical move DISCOURSE FORMS implied that Wichai, to this point, shifted his position to GLOCAL ENGLISH.

Saman’s Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

The Bangkok Post’s Perspective column editor, Saman constructed his two English positions—KING’S ENGLISH and INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH—by deploying four rhetorical moves: IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE, GENRE CONVENTION, PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS, and DISCOURSE FORMS. Interestingly enough, Saman shared the same English positons with his co-worker, Rnan. Nevertheless, his rhetorics were somewhat different and seemed more complicated than hers. For example, Saman employed the rhetorical move DISCOURSE FORMS to position himself toward KING’S ENGLISH and INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH and meanwhile to detach himself from THAI ENGLISH. Strongly, he contended, “If you want to write in any language, you have to stick to what, the way those people in those countries use it. Not to make it, you know, ‘This is Thai English.’.” He further clarified his position by employing the rhetorical move GENRE CONVENTION. This move reaffirmed both of his positions:

> You use English as a medium to convey the Thainess, not turn English into Thai English. . . . I try to avoid adding a Thai word in my story. People read our newspaper everywhere around the world now, you know.

The Nation Journalists

Pim's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

A business journalist of *The Nation*, Pim constructed her singular English position—KING'S ENGLISH—by employing six rhetorical moves: IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE, AUTHORITY CLAIM, STEREOTYPE, POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER, NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF, and STIGMATIZED ENGLISH VARIETIES. Undoubtly, Pim's responses were in line with KING'S ENGLISH. Her rhetorical statements employed throughout the course of the interview showed that she detached herself from THAI ENGLISH. For example, she used the rhetorical move AUTHORITY CLAIM to support her argument of why she needed to improve her English. She explained:

> My boss keeps saying you have to make it looks like what you see in *Wall Street Journal* and *Financial Time*, very professional newspapers of the world. So, I have to upgrade my working to have a very high standard.

In addition, the rhetorical move STEREOTYPE supported her understanding about why Thai English was not legitimized. Simply put, she argued, "I don't think Thai English works for international world. And English is universal language. So English is the language that is understood by people from every country, everywhere around the world now."

Ladda's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

As an environmental journalist, Ladda aimed to bring voices to the powerless in Thai society. Ladda negotiated her three contradictory English positions—KING'S

ENGLISH, INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH—via five rhetorical moves: PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS, AUTHENTICITY, EDITING, RESISTANCE DISCOURSE, and STEREOTYPE. Ladda expressed her multi-faceted views toward her own English, English in general and Thai English in particular. Taking KING'S ENGLISH position, she played with a different set of rhetorical moves. For example, when she said, "If my English was edited, it wasn't Thai English anymore. It was adjusted to fit into Standard English.", she used the thematic move EDITING as her rhetorical strategies to convey her stand. Later, her same position was maintained by the rhetorical move STEREOTYPE. As she succinctly put it, "When we come across a beautifully written essay, we tend to assume that a writer must grow up or be educated from abroad." After that, it seemed that she shifted her position to GLOCAL ENGLISH when she addressed her mission as a journalist. The rhetorical move RESISTANCE DISCOURSE was echoed in her statement: "In this mainstream media, what I've tried to do is speaking up on behalf of marginalized groups in Thai society." This passage implied that Ladda did not want to surrender her voice to mainstream thinking.

Saksit's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

Spending high school and undergraduate years in the Philippines, Saksit negotiated his two at odds English positions—KING'S ENGLISH and COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH—via four rhetorical moves: ENGLISH ROOTS, IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE, STIGMATIZED ENGLISH VARIETIES, and GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS. As presented in Chapter 4, although his responses fell into Oxford English or KING'S ENGLISH, Saksit showed his sound understanding about Thai people, Thai culture, and global culture. For example, the rhetorical move

IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE used for several times during the interview obviously illustrated Saksit's take on KING'S ENGLISH. As he put it, "You're made to become conscious that this (English) is the language of the elite, or the winner of ruling class of the world, which is in a way very unfortunate. But I could say I'm part of it." Then, when he addressed the notion of "creolized identity," it seemed that he shifted his position to COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH. Employing the rheotorical move GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS, he stated, "Why should anyone be bothered about identity or voice? If you're yourself, a mix bag of different culture… It never occurs to me that I try to pin it down and sort of classify it. I think you know it's just a creolized identity."

Pairat's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

Working for over two decades as a journalist at *The Nation*, Pairat constructed his three contradictory English positions—KING'S ENGLISH, INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH—via four rhetorical moves: IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE, GENRE CONVENTION, AUTHENTICITY, and THAINESS BUILDING. Generally, Pairat's rhetorical strategies illustrated that he shifted his positions from one to another. As a journalist, he strongly believed in, as he described, the use of "original English" as well as the ability to express Thainess. Through the rhetorical move IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE, Pairat took stance toward KING'S ENGLISH when he said, "My English has a Thai smell, very thick, very dark…my spirit I guess is one hundred percent Thai but I want to express it in the original English." Meanwhile, his position was changed to GLOCAL ENGLISH, as reflected in the use of the rhetorical move AUTHENTICITY. His assertation was, "I can express myself ninety

to ninety five percent when I write in English. That's a charm of it. If I can express one hundred percent of it, there would be no Thainess."

Tnan's Rhetoric of Marginalizing Thai English

Enjoying experimental writing, Tnan constructed his single English position—INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH—via two rhetorical moves: GENRE CONVENTION, and AUTHORITY CLAIM. Unlike most of the participants holding overlapping and contradictory positions, Tnan appeared to position himself toward English discourse in a straightforward fashion. That is, his rhetorics were based on the belief that an English newspaper was a universal entity, performing a task as he described, "one formula, one soup." Therefore, journalists, in his view, should look English simply as a communicative apparatus to convey news substance. His take on the issue was illustrated through the use of the rhetorical moves AUTHORITY CLAIM and GENRE CONVENTION.

> Here it is not literature work. It's something universal. What I've been doing is the same thing as what other people, English newspaper people, are doing. One formula, one soup, one universal. English newspaper. One universal pattern to look at. That's to see how Time magazine, Asian Wall Street journal or AP tackles an issue (AUTHORITY CLAIM).

> When I write a news story, I just want to convey the notion, that's it. How about the Thai thing? It doesn't come to my head (GENRE CONVENTION).

Closing Remarks

The discussion thus far confirms that each individual's English identification was a multilayered process (Omoniyi, 2006). To make an explicit understanding about identity negotiation of English discourse, the subsequent section shifts the focus from individual analysis to group categories, as exhibited in the following Table 9. Crucial to this illustration is to provide a broader picture of how the rhetorical moves played out in each professional group of the writers. The underlying interest here is a closer look at

English positions by group to draw out commonalities, patterns and/ or connections, if any, between individual and group identities.

Group Identity Negotiation of English Discourse

TABLE 9
Rhetorical Moves vs. Group Identity Negotiation in English Discourse

Participants	Fiction Writers					Textbook Writers					*The Bangkok Post* Journalists					*The Nation* Journalists				
Thematic moves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. ENGLISH ROOTS				X				X	X									X		
2. IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE		X	X						X						X	X		X	X	
3. GENRE CONVENTION				X								X		X	X				X	X
4. PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS			X									X			X		X			
5. AUTHENTICITY				X			X			X							X		X	
6. EDITING											X		X				X			
7. AUTHORITY CLAIM									X							X				X
8. DISCOURSE FORMS														X	X					
9. RESISTANCE DISCOURSE					X					X	X						X			
10. STEREOTYPE						X										X	X			
11. UNCONSCIOUS THAINESS	X												X	X						
12. THAINESS BUILDING		X								X									X	
13. POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER					X	X			X							X				
14. NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF						X										X				
15. DISCOURSE CRITIQUE			X				X				X		X							
16. STIGMATIZED ENGLISH VATIETIES																X		X		
17. UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES	X						X	X		X										
18. BUDDIHISM DISCOURSE	X			X				X	X		X									
19. GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS	X			X						X			X					X		
Total moves	4	2	3	5	2	3	3	3	5	5	4	2	4	3	4	6	5	4	4	2

Note: Fiction writers include: 1. Kanda 2. Saijai 3. Pitan 4.Tanin 5. Sirikul.
Textbook writers include: 6. Kampol 7. Pimpan 8. Rda 9. Tasana 10. Chat
The Bangkok Post journalists include: 11. Malai 12. Rnan 13. Nithi 14. Wichai 15. Saman.
The Nation journalists include: 16. Pim 17. Ladda 18. Saksit 19.Pairat 20.Tnan

As shown, Table 9 lays out a detailed pattern of how each group of professional writers identified itself with English through the use of rhetorical strategies. In a broader picture, each professional group incorporated its own sets of different rhetorical moves to take on the five English positions. There were no major shared commonalities among

these four groups in relation to the use of rhetorical moves. Nonetheless, two emergent issues are worth hightlighting:

First, as presented in Chapter 4, responses from the majority of textbook writers and the journalists from The Nation fell into the KING'S ENGLISH position. However, the writers from both groups employed different sets of rhetorical moves. Along the same lines, all of the fiction writers and three of the journalists from *The Bangkok Post* whose responses were in line with the GLOCAL ENGLISH position used a different set of moves to take this position. Interestingly, no matter what thematic moves these writers employed, in the end, these moves led them to take the same English positions.

Second, among the four professional groups, three journalists from *The Nation* and three journalists from *The Bangkok Post* whose responses fit into the INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH position seemed to show more shared characteristics than the other two groups. These journalists employed similar sets of rhetorical move strategies. This incident could be interpreted that the journalists were more oriented themselves to institutional policy regarding Standard English and other journalistic concerns than paying attention to creating the form of Thai English. This finding implied that the media houses, *The Nation* and *The Bangkok Post*, exerted a powerful role to these journalists not only on writing convention but also on shaping their attitude toward mainstream English. In contrast, the sets of the rhetorical moves used by the fiction writers and the textbook writers showed that these writers were less restricted by institutional regulations. The collection of moves used by the writers in both groups implied that their conception of Thai English was shaped by diverse factors taking place

outside institutional contexts. These writers seemed to have more freedom in writing than the journalists.

In sum, the collection of different moves employed in each professional group reflected that individual writers had their unique and diverse ways to conceptualize their English, in other words, to negotiate their English identities. One assumption can be drawn from this finding is that working environments and historical backgrounds of these participants influenced the participants' ideological and political position constructs. These macro and micro factors affected the ways these individual writers validated certain English positions and rejected others.

The final section summarizes the findings across references between 19 thematic moves and 5 strands of English positions. The result of this section lays out a broad picture of a collection of the thematic moves in each English position.

Summary of the Key Findings

As previously described, these 20 participants developed repertoires of multiple rhetorical moves to take up their positions toward English and Thai English. Although these writers shared a similar cultural history, they had different understandings of English. The underpinning analysis of rhetorical strategies illustrates how each participant incorporated a different collection of strategies or an individual process of identification with English. Those individuals employed different rationales or rhetorical moves that led them to take on their English identities. In principle, the participants deployed a set of thematic moves to take one English position and a new, different nexus of thematic moves when taking another. Table 10 exhibits the overlapping nature of these positions.

TABLE 10

The Result of the Rhetorical Move Analysis

English positions Thematic moves	KING'S ENGLISH	INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH	COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH	GLOCAL ENGLISH	THAI ENGLISH
1. ENGLISH ROOTS	X		X	X	
2. IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE	X	X	X	X	
3. GENRE CONVENTION	X	X			
4. PROFESSIONAL CONCERNS	X	X			
5. AUTHENTICITY			X	X	X
6. EDITING	X	X		X	
7. AUTHORITY CLAIM	X	X			
8. DISCOURSE FORMS	X	X			
9. RESISTANCE DISCOURSE			X	X	X
10. STEREOTYPE	X	X			
11. UNCONSCIOUS THAINESS	X	X	X	X	
12. THAINESS BUILDING				X	X
13. POSITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF OTHER	X		X	X	
14. NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF	X				
15. DISCOURSE CRITIQUE	X	X		X	
16. STIGMATIZED ENGLISH VARIETIES	X				
17. UPLIFTED ENGLISH VARIETIES			X	X	X
18. BUDDIHISM DISCOURSE	X		X	X	
19. GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS	X		X	X	X
Total	15	9	9	12	5
Percentage	30	18	18	24	10

In summary, in this ongoing process of identification and formation of relationships with English discourse, five pivotal patterns emerged:

- The participants' responses fit into the KING'S ENGLISH position composed of a vast variety of thematic moves. On the whole, there were 15 collections of moves, including ENGLISH'S ROOT and the move GLOBAL ENGLISH AWARENESS. All of these moves (except 11, 15, 18, and 19) explicitly built up positive attitudes toward Standard English while implicitly conveying political connotations toward Thai English. Furthermore, it appears that each participant deployed a particular set of these moves that reflected Standard English ideology. As a process, these 15 moves

formed the mainstream English category and led to the objection to the THAI ENGLISH category.

- The participants' responses in line with the INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH position composed of different combinations of 9 thematic moves. Like the moves employed in the prior position, almost all of the moves in this category (all except 11 and 15) geared the participants' views toward the instrumental position. Most importantly, those moves signified a superior image of Standard English and implicitly destabilized the weaker position of Thai English. The ramification of this collection of moves was to render authority to Standard English as a universal tool for global communication.
- The participants' responses in line with the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH position composed of a combination of 9 thematic moves. These moves allowed the participants to embrace both global and local entities of English into their consideration. The moves numbered 1, 2, 13, 17 and 19 illustrate that the participants leaned toward global English identity; meanwhile, the other 4 moves they employed (5, 9, 11, and 18) indicate that these writers did not disregard the local contexts. As discussed in Chapter 4, the ramification of this collection of moves ultimately shows how the participants attempted to balance their global and local discourses by conforming to Standard English ideology and at the same time maintaining their locality.
- In line with the GLOCAL ENGLISH position, the supporters of this position took up a different collection of 12 thematic moves. Most of the moves in this position were similar to the moves employed in the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH position, with

the exception of 6, 12, and 15. These three moves, especially the THAINESSS BUILDING move, connoted the core message of this position. That is, although the participants did not endorse Thai English and did not deny the role of Standard English, their GLOCAL ENGLISH position placed most emphasis on the concept of authenticity, Thai identity, and Thai perspectives. Further, the EDITING move and the DISCOURSE CRITIQUE move designated that appropriation of language use and resistance to mainstream English and dominant ideology were of paramount importance to this position.

- Taking the THAI ENGLISH position, Chat employed 5 collections of thematic moves. Explicitly, the AUTHENTICITY move, the THAINESS BUILDING move and the RESISTANCE DISCOURSE move set this position apart from the previously mentioned English positions. With respect to the THAINESS BUILDING move, in particular, this writer provided detailed strategies for promoting Thai English at both micro and macro levels, as presented in Chapter 4. The outcome of the collection of moves in this category was an endorsement of Thai English discourse.

Closing Remarks

In the preceding chapters, five categories of English identity emerged from data analysis. One major finding was that the position on Thai English was predominantly negative. The strongest position against Thai English was Standard English. To assist in understanding such phenomenon, in this chapter, individual writers' argumentative statements were integrated and examined based on an analytical framework of rhetorical moves. This analysis of rhetorical moves in both the individual and group categories presented the different processes, constituting a multiplicity of positionalities. That is, the

participants took different approaches to position/reposition themselves within English discourse. The way the rhetorical strategies played out reflected meaningful constructs of identity in a language. The rhetorical moves illustrated how the writers formed, imagined, and reinforced their relationships with Standard English and Thai English. The multiple identifications in English discourse that this chapter revealed were confounding, contingent, ambivalent, and conflicted. The next chapter discusses these issues, offering interpretations, and implications of the key empirical results of this study as revealed in earlier chapters.

CHAPTER VII

INTERPRETATION & DISCUSSION

> Identity is like a bus! Not because it takes you to a fixed destination, but because you can only get somewhere — anywhere — by climbing aboard. (S. Hall, 1995)

The central notion of the research agenda for this study was to define Thai English, grounded in the World Englishes framework. To contextualize this interpretation and discussion of the research findings, the chapter is organized into three major sections. The first section is a revisit of the research results of the aforementioned three chapters. The second section discusses interpretations of the empirical results. Pennycook's (1994, 1998, 2000a, 2001) frameworks of critical applied linguistic and the cultural politics of global English are the main theoretical frameworks applied to conceptualize the research findings. This section contains four subsections: 1) identity positionings and the global role of English, 2) the global hegemony of English in Thailand, 3) postcolonial identity, appropriation, and resistance, and 4) Thai English: discourse of exclusion and resistance. Last but certainly not least, the third section sums up the research project with the study's signification and political and theoretical research implications.

Overview of the Research Findings

To address each research question in context, the following summary recapitulates the over all research findings covered in the foregoing chapters. This summary describes the results in response to the four underlying research questions that the study has attempted to probe:

Q1: How do Thai professional writers position themselves in relation to the discourse of Thai English?

In response to this question, Chapter 4 described five English positions emerging from the data analysis: KING'S ENGLISH, INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH, COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH, GLOCAL ENGLISH and THAI ENGLISH. The participants responded to English positionings in different ways. That is, most of the participants positioned and repositioned themselves toward the English language advocating more than one position. In general, the participants' responses related to English discourse were in line with KING'S ENGLISH the most and THAI ENGLISH the least. The crucial finding in this area was that the attitude toward Thai English discourse was predominantly negative. Nineteen out of twenty participants had objections to this notion.

Q2: What are the underlying assumptions that Thai professional writers have toward the concept of Thai English?

To answer this research question, Chapter 5 discussed the four hierarchical underpinning assumptions that underscored the writers' English positions. These basic assumptions included: King's English vs. Thai English, King's English vs. Thai language, spoken discourse vs. written discourse, and conscious discourse vs. unconscious discourse. Further, this chapter proposed three alternative conceptual models of English identity to illuminate these assumptions in a more concrete fashion by exemplifying the hierarchical relationship between Thai English and other discourses. These models included the PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY, the VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY, and the WHEEL OF ENGLISH IDENTITY. The participants who ascribed to the PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY tended to conceptualize their English in the frame of colonialism or the Standard English paradigm.

In this model, power and inequality along the discourse hierarchy were produced through the domination of Standard English. The participants whose responses were in line with the VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY were prone to conceptualize their English in the frame of the World Englishes paradigm. In this model, the focus was on a deconstruction of Standard English. The participants whose conceptualization of English discourse fell into the WHEEL OF ENGLISH IDENTITY were likely to position themselves toward English based upon an instrumental framework. The core argument of this model was that English was an international communication tool rather than a marker of identity. In all, within this conceptual model, English was merely a language without identity.

To sum up, the main finding of this chapter was that Standard English represented a form of consciousness whereas Thainess discourse tended to prevail outside conscious awareness. The majority of the participants, all except one, did not consider the concept of Thai English as a valid language system. However, there was a consensus opinion among most of the writers that Thainess or Thai identity was somehow constructed within Standard English discourse. Eventually, the result unfolded that the conceptual models of English identity were the salient answer for why Thai English did not come into existence for these writers.

Q3: What rhetorical strategies do Thai professional writers employ to promote their Thainess in their work?

Q4: What rhetorical strategies do Thai professional writers employ to marginalize their Thainess in their work?

To answer both questions, Chapter 6 examined the rhetorical move strategies related to the five strands of English positioning. This task sought to achieve a deeper understanding of how the participants positioned themselves toward their English. Based on the thematic move analysis, the participants resorted to two contrastive directions of rhetoric: the rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English and the rhetoric of promoting Thai English. The majority of the participants, nineteen writers, employed the former rhetoric; only one writer applied the latter one.

To reiterate, the research results yielded a complexity of political, ideological and attitudinal English positions taken on by the 20 Thai professional writers. These participants' reflections on their understandings toward their English captured a paradox in identity constructions and negotiations. One of the central issues emerging from the result was the interaction of power, discourse, position of authority and attainment in Standard English. The following section turns our attention to the interpretation and the discussion of the key research findings.

Interpretation and Discussion

The insights gleaned from the participants as summarized above, without a doubt, did not take place in a vacuum. To interpret the empirical research findings, the discussion is basically grounded in the interdisciplinary theoretical framework of critical applied linguistics (Canagarajah, 1999b; Pennycook, 1994, 1998, 2000a, 2001; Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 2000, 2006), World Englishes studies (B.B Kachru, 1986a, 1986b, 1990, 1997b), cultural studies (Bhabha, 1994; S. Hall, 1992, 1997a, 1997c) and postcolonialism (Said, 1994). Pennycook's entries, in particular, offered a better understanding about the global role of English, the repercussion of the propagation of

global English, and the cultural politics of English as an international language. The multiple English positionings, as discovered in Chapter 4, told a multitude of stories and posed a series of theoretical research questions. For instance, where and how should English learning and teaching in Thailand advance from this point? This issue will be expanded in the implementation section of this chapter.

A number of theoretical, ideological, and pedagogical issues emerged from the study results. Essentially, four major concerns pertaining to Thai English and the global proliferation of English are worth articulating at this point. These include:

- Identity positionings and the global role of English
- The global hegemony of English in Thailand
- Postcolonial identity, appropriation, and resistance
- Thai English: discourse of exclusion and resistance

Identity Positionings and the Global Role of English

As shown by the English positionings and the rhetorical move strategies of English position in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively, these writers illustrated different production and conceptions of Thai English. Through 19 thematic moves, individual writers made a variety of arguments in positioning themselves *vis-à-vis* English in general and Thai English in particular. The way the writers took on their positions was based on the construction and negotiation of their ideologies or subject positions in English discourse through the use of rhetorical moves. To put this into perspective, this section employs Pennycook's (2001) frameworks of understanding for the global role of English to look closely at an interpretation of the phenomenon of identity positioning through the discourse of English. This framework underpins those constructs and allows

a deeper understanding of why the participants conceptualized and positioned themselves in these specific ways.

In brief, the participants established four English models to conceptualize their English and to understand the global role of English: colonial celebratory position, laissez-faire position, linguistic hybridity position and postcolonial performativity position.

Colonial Celebratory Position

This colonial celebratory or colonial language position[26] serves to trumpet the benefit of English (Pennycook, 1999). The model is grounded in the premise that English is intrinsically and extrinsically a superior language and that Standard English, in particular, is a sacred language (Bhatt, 2002). This colonial celebratory view is primarily documented at length (e.g., Bailey, 1991; Pennycook, 1994, 1998, 2000b; Phillipson, 1992, 2000, 2003). Specifically, the publication of Phillipson's *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992) is a historic milestone that has had a major impact in steering subsequent debate on the politics of English.

In this view, English is linked with the elite class and the glorious English culture, literature, civilization, and etc. Further, a crucial premise of this framework is that English is an inherently useful language. Hence, in this sense, teaching English is "a mission of salvation"[27] or "a mission to the world" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 59) to spread "light" and to "civilize" the savage population of Asia and Africa (Y. Kachru & Kachru, 2006). Besides, Pennycook (2001) claimed that when English was tied to Christianity, it

[26] Dr. David Hanauer, the director of this dissertation, gave a lecture about this issue in a *Second Language Teaching* course in 2008. He simplified Pennycook's framework, using the term colonial language for the colonial celebratory position, modernist for the laissez-faire position, postmodern for the linguistic hybridity position and post-structuralist for the postcolonial performativity position.

[27] This term was defined by Dr. David Hanauer in the mentioned lecture.

came to represent the superior Western civilization. In effect, this colonial celebratory position linguistically and culturally consecrates Standard English privilege (B.B Kachru, 1991; Sridhar, 1994). With respect to this English glorification construct, this framework raises debate as English is not free of political values but is used as an apparatus of domination. Ultimately, this line of understanding about the role of English not only leads, unfortunately, to "economic and ideological servitude" (Nicholls, 1993, p. 357) but also to "arrogant appraisal of English and disdain for other languages" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 59).

In this research, the majority of the participants (31%) manifested a strong affiliation to this colonial celebratory position. Responses that fall into this model came from those who took on the KING'S ENGLISH position and based their assumptions about their English on the PYRAMID OF ENGLISH MODEL. As the results indicated in Chapter 4, these writers held strongly to a prescriptive ideology of language use. For this group, Standard English ideology functioned deeply and firmly. As shown, the notion was portrayed toward the positive lexicalizations and expressions. Compared with Thai English and other discourses, Standard English was placed in a position of prestige in discourse classification. For example, mainstream English was described as "beautiful," "expressive," "international," "appropriate," "subtle," and "professional." Besides, the use of labels symbolized the power of English—for instance, "Oxford English," "King's English," "perfect English," "universal," "high ranking," and "original English." These descriptions of English to some degree implied how Thai English or Thai discourse was marginalized or devalued.

Although the advocates of this position shared similar views toward the above positive expressions of English, they differed from one another when it came to providing rationales for their English positions. Pim, for example, strongly desired to distance herself from her "Thaiglish" and to detach to American English. Her take on this colonial celebratory position resonated in her argument: "If you make it look Thai style then it will be like you're in elementary level; you are not in a university level; you are not in bachelor degree yet." Unknowingly naïve to the imperial concept of English, Pim marginalized herself, devaluing her own English to the point that she wanted to eradicate it. In this prevalent ideology negotiation, Pim sought to project homogenization through imitation (Samir, 1989, p. 111). Saksit, likewise, subscribed to the Queen's English community of practice. His story echoed the superior position of this colonial celebratory position:

> Sadly I must have been brainwashed by middle England which is Oxford. I think it is beautiful. On top of being snobbish, but snobbery aside and pretension aside, I see this as the beauty of the so-called Queen's English or Oxford English. Although my exposure to that was very limited when I was in the Philippines, I learn to see some beauty of American English, but not Texan accent.

In tandem with Saksit, Saijai shared Oxford English or dominant ideology with him. Without a doubt, her English educational background in Penang framed her attitude into this position. As she put it, "When you're taught by the nun, the nun taught you the perfect English, they don't expect you to go off like Singapore English." This historical statement rationalized her assent toward Standard English ideology. As such, she affirmed, "I will try to write King's English as much as I can."

In somewhat the same vein, Pitan followed his American book doctors strictly in terms of writing style in his novels. He made a remark: "I'm a good student. I do

everything the book doctors ask me to do. And I did it well." Last but certainly not least, Suwapan sought to speak with an RP (Received Pronunciation) accent as she believed that it was a "natural and normal" thing to use English "properly." As exemplified, these authors seemed to render privilege and superiority not only to Standard English discourse but also Western ideology. Interestingly, it is worthy of note that these advocates of the Oxford English, Standard English or Queens's English positions were very much influenced by their schools, workplaces, and media houses. They did not contest or question but were highly proud when they were able to comply with conventional norms of language use.

In effect, this naïve celebratory position is problematic. As stated earlier, most of the participants embraced the Anglocentric ideological tenets. The pitfall of this Anglocentric argument is prejudice of the Standard English variety over other discourses including Thai English. This static view of the language does not seem to provide a place for a sense of diversity. The result hints that learning or using English, in fact, does not just mean learning or using a foreign language but "unconscious implantation of the Anglocentric attitudes or the perspective of the dominant race in the native's mind" (Tripasai, 2004, p. 11). Examining how colonialism was constructed in Thailand through Western literature analysis, Tripasai (2004) further argued that Western culture was regarded as the prototype that Thais should replicate. In response to this practice, some of these writers, who became pro-West and were unaware of "intellectual imperialism" (Bhatt, 2002), strongly believed that English not only held a hegemonic position but was also designated as the sole official language and viable choice for modern education.

Finally, the underlying ramification of this glorification of English as the language of the skies and the seven seas (Bolton, 2004) is a powerful imperial construct of English.

Laissez-Faire Position

The laissez-faire or the modernist position on the global role of English is underpinned by the ideology that English is a neutral functional tool for pragmatic purposes. English, in this view, is a lingua franca or the language of globalization *par excellence* (Bamgbose, 2003; Crystal, 1997). This apolitical approach to language is the most common line of English within the field of English language teaching and applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001). The underlying premise of this pragmatic framework is that English is constructed, reconstructed and internalized as apolitical (Crystal, 1997), or as Pennycook (1994) put it, as "natural, neutral and beneficial" (p. 7). The debate about this claim is on the rise worldwide (e.g., Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; Tollefson, 2000). Central to this laissez-faire framework is the assumption that English is an instrumental tool—an aid to help language users develop themselves and to have an economic advantage. The pivotal belief of this economic progression argument is that learning English equates with an economic growth. The most recent work regarding this line of thinking is Crystal's (1997) approach on the global propagation of English.

Analysis revealed that 18% of the participants capitulated to this laissez-faire position. The supporters with an instrumental view were mostly the journalists of *The Bangkok Post* and *The Nation.* Both groups took up the INSTRUMENTAL ENGLISH strand and the WHEEL OF ENGLISH model to conceptualize their English. As the rhetorical moves in Chapter 6 illustrated, these writers employed concepts of audiences, genre convention, and editors' roles as the thematic moves to disassociate from Thai

English and finally to take on the instrumental English position. Their argument also reflected the impact of the editing process on their conventional writing.

For example, Tnan displayed this instrumental view, contending, “Here is not literature work. It’s something universal. English newspapers are doing one formula, one soup, one universal.” Echoing Tnan, Saman, expressing a macro-assumption of English as a world language, claimed, “You use English as a medium to convey Thainess, not turn English into Thai English. . . . I try to avoid adding a Thai word in my story. People read our newspaper everywhere around the world now.” These instrumentalists with universal and stereotypical views toward discourse and media seemed not concerned with other aspects of language use, namely identities, cultures, or emotional components. The justification of English as a global media device perhaps made these journalists overlook political and ideological aspects of English.

The modern thinking that English is merely an instrument is widespread. Within this construct, English with the universalism profile has been softly marketed as the prestigious brand of the language through ELT worldwide. The problem with this position, however, is that it is mistaken and unhealthy. Simply put, this position dodges “all the crucial concerns around the global use of English, and buys into the apoliticism of applied linguistics and TESOL” (Pennycook, 2002, p. 38). The view that English just happens to be in the right place at the right time (Crystal, 1997) turns out to be especially problematic when “the seductiveness of this English position makes its social and political naively dangerous” (Pennycook, 2000a, p. 109). Besides, such a view of English as lingua franca terminally consigns English to “the level of a technical language stripped

of expressive and aesthetic characteristics and denuded of any critical or self-conscious dimension" (Said, 1994, p. 369).

The participants whose responses were in line with this position seemed unaware of this hidden agenda accompanying the English language. Rather, they were similar in their unquestioning acceptance of the dominant social and political position of Standard English. This conception exerted an impact on language users such as Ladda, Rnan, and Pitan, who therefore naively perceived English as the natural choice for progress (Crystal, 1997). Their practice was echoed in May's (2005) assertion, " What most often tends to happen here is that the current hegemony of particular majority languages in any given national context come to be viewed, retrospectively, as inevitable, unproblematic and, crucially, uncontested" (p. 324).

On the pragmatic view of English, Phillipson (2001) labeled English advocates such as Crystal as Eurocentric, claiming that these people ignored the grave ramifications of the global propagation of English for other languages. In effect, the hidden agenda of this mode is that English is politically and economically a form of colonial control. Based on the argument of economic progression, Pennycook (1994) claimed that the underlying goal of the promotion of global English was to "protect and promote capitalist interests" (p. 22). Indeed, in this neutral message, this selling point of English appears to serve economic and political purposes only. In tandem with Pennycook, Tollefson (2000) remarked, "At a time when English is widely seen as a key to the economic success of nations and the economic-well being of individuals, the spread of English also contributes to significant social, political, and economic inequalities" (p. 8). Undoubtedly, another acute problem of this instrumental English domination is the

production of an English language industry around the world (McArthur, 2001). As a consequence of the colonial discursive construct, the neo-colonial ideology remains even stronger today (Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Phillipson, 1992; Willinsky, 1998).

However, this laissez-faire view has its drawback. That is, it fails to account for the power of English or to analyze the global politics of English. Tollefson (1991) put this position into a wider context:

> Language educational professionals must reject the notion that learning a language is an ideologically neutral act intended simply to develop an employment skill. That some people must learn English to get a job is a result of unequal relationships of power—not a solution to them. (p. 210)

Simply put, within this instrumental frame of thinking, the chance for Thai English to be granted as a variety of English therefore was virtually impossible from the very beginning. It became clear that the currency of the Thai English brand was too low to be marketized in the world language market, let alone in Thailand.

Linguistic Hybridity Position

This third framing of English is synonymous with postmodern orientation. In contrast with the colonial celebratory position, this linguistic hybridity position centers on the ideology that languages and cultures evolve and adapt. The multiplicity of Englishes represents diverse linguistic, cultural, and ideological voices or identities or multicanon (Bhatt, 2001a, 2001b; B.B Kachru, 1991). In a multilinguistic ecology, this position claims that all discourse is equal and thus deserves to be promoted. Heading toward the multilingualism direction, Phillipson (1993) argued that all languages have rights and individuals and groups should respect the rights of speakers of other languages. Bhatt (2001a), grounding his argument on the pioneering studies in the field (e.g., Ferguson, 1992; B.B Kachru, 1992; Smith, 1981, 1983, 1987), concluded:

> This conceptual-theoretical shift has extended the empirical domain of the study of English. English is regarded less as a European language and an exclusive exponent of Judeo-Christian tradition and more as a pluricentric language representing diverse sociolinguistic histories, multicultural identities, multiple norms of use and acquisition, and distinct contexts of function. (p. 528)

Although this shifting direction allows the particularized Englishes to emerge, it is obvious that this model raises some concerns. One of the noteworthy aspects of this position relates to linguistic human rights, arguing that English might pose a particular harm to minority discourses.

As Chapter 5 illustrated, this linguistic hybridity position was endorsed by the writers who subscribed to the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH position (20 %) and by some of those who ascribed to the GLOCAL ENGLISH position (28 %). Kanda, Pairat, and Pimpan, for example, did not endorse Thai English yet maintained Standard English. Interestingly, the way these writers conceptualized their English, especially the issue of a national accent, exemplified that these writers took other secondary discourses into account. To be more specific, Kanda viewed a language as a part of human beings. She asserted, “A French man speaking English with a French accent and errors of the French is very charming.” Pimpan, too, posed a critical question via her take on this accent issue. She argued, “I’m not able to say that my English is anywhere near perfect. My Thai isn’t perfect either. So who are perfect in any language?” Echoing Pimpan’s viewpoint, Pairat valued his English so much that he was able to turn it to his advantage. A confident writer, he pointed out, “I’m not a native born English speaker. I think I can express myself in English 90-95%. That’s a charm of it. If I can express 100% of it, then there would be no Thainess.” In all cases, the writers put themselves in the positions where

they opened up an opportunity to see their English discourse in a wider context and embraced repertoires of English into their discourse community as well.

Still, a downside of this perspective, as Pennycook argued, is that it is blindness to threats posed by arrays of global forces. In the end, this position naively serves the global capitalism.

Postcolonial Performativity Position

Arguing against an apolitical understanding of English, this postcolonial performativity or the poststructuralist position regards English as part of postcolonial politics. Foucault (1980) argued that English was never neutral and value-free since it concealed subjective power. Along the same lines, Ngugi (1981) asserted that English may be the most racist of all human languages. In the field of World Englishes studies, Kachru (1986b) is the first to apply Foucault's work on power and knowledge directly to the study of global dissemination of English. In principle, this position moves toward the ground that English is political. In Pennycook's (2000a) contention, English hegemony and the cultural politics of resistance and appropriation are the most salient components of this position. Also, Pennycook stresses that contextualized language acts should be taken into account.

As Chapter 4 exhibited, one writer who held the THAI ENGLISH position and a small group of writers who took on the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH position fell into this framework. Whereas most of the participants were geared toward mainstream English, this marginal group sought to speak their voices in order to create their own spaces—"third cultures" or "third spaces" (Bhabha, 1994; S. Hall, 1992; Kramsch, 1998). This practice reaffirmed that English does not reflect colonialism and neocolonialism but

rather serves multiple purposes of hybrid human beings who are involved with multiple aspects of localized languages and cultures. This result has significant ramifications for English learning and teaching in Thailand. That is, English educators should take the politics and resistance aspect of English into consideration by promoting particularized varieties of Englishes. English classrooms are the fundamental and direct sites to deal with the complexity and cultural politics of English in due course.

Closing Commentary

To reiterate, the majority of these writers took on compound English positions to present their different professional, political and ideological views on English and Thai English. Such shifting positionings and the hierarchical underpinning assumptions related to their English positions were of utmost significance for this the research. The study results reaffirmed that English in a Thai sociopolitical context is situated in a hierarchy of language and involved in the colonial discourse (Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Phillipson, 1992). Suffice it to say that colonial power still imposes its presence and potency in the participants' minds even though Thailand has never been a colony of a European nation. This finding theorized the cultural and ideological domination of English, the underlying politics, and most significantly the powerful construct of colonial English in Thailand. Further, the rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English illustrated that most of the participants were linguistically, culturally, and professionally marginalized within hegemonic mainstream discourses—English and also media discourses. This finding was echoed in Markee's (1993) assertion, "The sociolinguistic reality of actual language use is less important than the symbolic assertion of cultural and political separateness which is embodied in the designation of English as the sole official language" (p. 351). With this

thinking in mind, needless to say, those who vindicated Standard English tended not to include Thai English as an official language.

Pennycook's analytical frameworks finally permitted a better understanding about the participants' conceptualization of English, their blended identity positions, and colonial marginalization. On one hand, the majority of the writers conformed to Standard English. This implies that mainstream English discourse has enjoyed recognition in this so-called the land of the free–Thailand. English prominence seemed to continue for decades in the country. The colonial celebratory position, in particular, explained hegemonic forces of Western discourse, the politics, the inequalities, and the cultural effect of English, and the hegemonic relationship of English. On the other hand, there was a creation of the so-called "counter-discourse" or "counter-articulations" or "insurgent knowledge" (Pennycook, 1994, 1995) by a marginal group of the Thai writers opposed to this domination. Some writers, but not all, sought to challenge the domineering ideology hidden in Standard English, negotiating this challenge not only through a linguistic approach but also ideological space. To oppose this symbolic domination process, participants' challenges emerged in different forms of ideological negotiation. This issue will be expanded later in this chapter. The next issue touches on one of the most vital research findings—the global hegemonic English discourse in Thailand.

The Global Hegemony of English in Thailand

The most salient research finding was that English use in Thailand was deeply embedded in a colonial construct within the political and economic hegemony of Western Anglophone powers. This result validates the notion that English language usage is never

apolitical and is always involved in global inequality and imposition of ways of thinking (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). Although Thailand has never been physically ruled by European imperialism, the study results ferreted out a close connection between English and colonialism. The way the writers conceived of Standard English in relation to Thai English unveiled the powerful construct of English discourse hidden in language use. Indeed, English hegemony ran deep in most of the participants' minds. This colonial construction of the mind and colonial view of the world illustrate the unfortunate consequence of the cultural politics of promotion of English (Canagarajah, 1999b; Pennycook, 1994, 1998).

To sum up, the rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English, as mentioned in Chapter 6, provided us with a rich example of how the hegemonic position of English was unconsciously and consciously constructed and enacted by the participants. In short, these professional writers established three major discourses on the global hegemony of English in Thailand: discourse of standardization, discourse of stereotype and discrimination, and discourse of self-marginalization.

Discourse of Standardization

The first scenario of the hegemonic English construct that repeatedly emerged was concerned with standardization construct. The KING'S ENGLISH position and the PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY revealed that the majority of the writers' conceptualization of their English was in line with Standard English the most. Further, the rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English demonstrated how the participants constructed a positive attitude toward mainstream English, meanwhile distancing themselves from Thai English. Such constructs played out around a collection of rhetorical moves

including the IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE move, the PROFESSIONAL CONCERN move, the DISCOURSE FORM move, and the AUTHORITY CLAIM move. All these moves suggest that the participants conceived of English based on the Western orientation. Also, the hierarchical underpinning assumptions of English illuminated that Standard English, as a form of power, was located at the pinnacle of a discoursal hierarchy. In national and global order relations, Standard English was hegemonic in its effect when it implied that Thai English was not.

Analysis confirmed that Standard English was associated with Western ideology. Some participants connected it with sacred imagined community (Anderson, 2006). This finding echoed Joseph's (1987) notion that refined version of the language or Standard English was linked with being rational, moral, civilized, and intelligent; whereas, the vulgar version or non-standard English varieties were seen as irrational, emotional, materialist, and imprudent. This standardization construct also echoed Bourdieu's (1991) notion of unequal power relations, symbolic domination, and symbolic power. These unequal power relations can result in symbolic violence that takes place, as Bourdieu (1991) described, "When individuals mistakenly consider a standard dialect or style of speaking to be truly superior to the way they themselves speak, rather than an arbitrary difference afforded social significance" (p. 170). Most participants attempted to maintain this symbolic power of English in their work despite tensions and struggles. Essentially, the motivation for this practice was the belief in the eloquence of Standard English that functioned as "a mantle of power" and increased "personal standing" (Joseph, 1987, p. 43). This practice reflected that Standard English held ideological, economic, and political power that "project one's practice as universal and common sense" (Fairclough,

2001, p. 27). Set into a global perspective, this powerful construct of the standardization discourse is resonated in Bhatt's (2001a) contention:

> Standard English ideology seems only to reproduce socio-economic inequalities as it privileges only those who have access to its possession, leaving others disenfranchised. Thus, the struggle between Cockney and Standard English, between African and General American English, or between English and Hindi in India, or English and Filipino in the Philippines, is indeed a struggle between competing economic interests: Standard English serving the elite and native language serving mainly the working class. (p. 414)

After all, the upshot of the revealing discourse of standardization in this study is a justification of the grand narrative of which Europe is the norm. In this linguistic utopian construct, the dominant discourse has an association with "goodness"—the quality of English users that becomes so natural, desirable and venerated.

Discourse of Stereotype and Discrimination

The second scenario maintaining English hegemony with discriminatory power was through discourse of stereotype and discrimination employed against non-standard varieties (Bhabha, 1990; Bourdieu, 1991). As Milroy and Milroy (1991) put it:

> Even though public discrimination on the grounds of race, religion and social class is not publicly acceptable, it appears that discrimination on linguistic grounds is publicly acceptable, even though linguistic differences may themselves be associated with ethnic, religious and class difference. (p. 3)

This cultural stereotyping "connotes rigidity and an unchanging order" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 66). Loomba (1998) asserted that stereotyping is a way to control images and ideas by making them simple and manageable forms. It eventually results in fixated form of representation. The findings in relation to this stereotyping confirm that Western discourse is linked to power, hinges on racist stereotypes, and continuously reproduces itself.

The rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English presented in Chapter 6 revealed a deep and pervasive underlying prejudice against not only Thai English but also other non-English varieties. This manifestation played out around the STEREOTYPE move and the STIGMATIZED ENGLISH VARIETIES move. Both moves implied that the participants deemphasized English varieties such as Philippines English, whereas they legitimized the higher status English varieties such as American English or British English. This discriminatory discursive process indicates that English seems to prevail everywhere yet it seems not equal to everyone (Holborow, 1999).

For example, Ladda, along with Pim and Saman, had objections to Thai English. Their stereotypical ideology was that Thai English was not "the kind of English that people around the world would understand." Saksit, too, disclosed his bias toward Oxford English. His expression captured the paradox of his discriminatory attitude toward non-standard English varieties as well as his awareness about the root of the unfortunate phenomenon:

> I don't think I have carried the Philippines accent or some of the usage I think because there's distinct consciousness in me to keep it, cling close to either the American or English tradition, somewhere between British or that of American English. . . . I am very conscious of trying not to speak like the Filipino. . . . It must have been my father who got education in France. He had negative impression of Filipino English. It's very sad.

Interestingly, some of the participants even recognized that there was prejudice toward non-Standard English varieties. Ladda and Kampol, for instance, made similar remarks about the status of Thai English. As Ladda put it, "Here, when we come across a beautifully written essay, we tend to assume that a writer must grow up or be educated abroad. At the same time, when we come upon weak or strange writing, we tend to think that it was written by Thais." Her observation illustrated that this discriminatory

discourse dies hard. Eventually, it seems that such a discourse might keep buoying up the hegemonic position of English in Thailand.

Discourse of Self-Marginalization

Central to this English hegemony construct is the classic colonial production of an inferior Self and a superior Other. Manifestations of this discourse of self-marginalization refer to the way in which language learners on the periphery yield their voices and visions to the center and maintain marginalizing relations with English through an us-them mentality (Kumaravadivelu, 2006a). In this vein, some members of the dominated group, unknowingly, "legitimize the characteristics of inferiority attributed to them by dominating group" (Kumaravadivelu, 2006a, p. 22). Finally, this uncritical acceptance of those on the periphery toward the dominance of the native speaker or the Eurocentric norms results in legitimizing their own marginalization.

The advocates for the KING'S ENGLISH position viewed the world from the perspective of colonial subjects. These writers placed themselves marginally in the discourse hierarchy in relation to the dominant discourse and Western ideology. Moreover, the rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English demonstrated the creation of a colonized image of non-Western writers, Thai writers or Thai English as inferior Self and the construction of the Standard English, Western media such as *Wall Street Journal*, *Times*, and *Newsweek* as the superior Other. Formation of this position occurred through several rhetorical moves—the STEREOTYPE move, NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF SELF move, and the STIGMATIZED ENGLISH VARIETIES move.

The premise that the West or the Western ideology was more advanced and sophisticated was deeply situated in the participants' minds. The hierarchical assumptions

of discourse, as illustrated in Chapter 5, reaffirmed that the writers devalued their English, had low self-esteem, and even put down their own discourse. For example, Rnan, Pim and Kampol, perceiving English as the language of others, regarded themselves as vulnerable and not privileged. Pim, in particular, strove for the day when her "Thaiglish" would fade. Also, Ladda hoped that one day her opinion pieces could be published in the way she wanted to without sacrificing her voices to her editors. Kampol, who evaluated his English as "low class, too simple, not that sophisticated, and uneducated," made these remarks about the root of the marginalizing social relationships in Thailand:

> I think after all it's about perception. This is how most Thai people conceive of English. And I don't think it's a good idea to have this kind of attitude, let's say, about this face issue. We shouldn't measure others on outside appearance. For example, we have a perception that if one's written language is beautiful; we tend to assume that one is smart. (Translated from Thai)

The discursive production of self-marginalization reflected the interconnectedness of language, power struggles, and social class. This construct was embedded in ideological and political positions toward Thai English discourse. Canagarajah (2002b) problematized this phenomenon, arguing, "Native speakers' norms of identity and proficiency disempower learners with a sense of inadequacy" (p. 256). Along these lines, Tsuda (1997) contended that no matter what scenarios regarding imperial constructs of English took place, the most serious effect of English hegemony was the "colonization of the mind." As she put it, "You glorify English and its culture while stigmatizing and devaluing your own language and culture. It may sound a bit too extreme, but you are enslaved to English and its culture" (p. 24-5). Putting this issue into a global context, Moran's (2001) study in Korea found out that American Standard English was regarded

as the international language. Like this study, this view resulted in Koreans' seeing their cultures and languages in a hierarchical fashion; Koreans felt inferior to white Americans, yet superior to people from various other countries.

In the end, this practice of self-marginalization, as this project revealed, seemed to reinforce the disempowerment of and dependence on the English language to the Western Other.

Closing Commentary

One of the classic grand narratives of Thailand known among Thais is that her people are proud of not having been detained by a Western colony; Thailand is truly the land of freedom. As Streckfuss (1993) described, "Thailand's narrative of nation is framed by colonialism—made conspicuous by its absence" (p. 123). In the interviews, many participants narrated the same story they had been told. However, when this comforting narrative was reinterpreted through a colonial English lens, it brought a new aspect of colonization history into the narration of the nation. The English hegemony discursively constructed through the mentioned three discourses illustrated how powerful the influence of colonization power has been on Thai people. Hence, this narrative of the free nation seemed not hold water any more.

To reiterate, these three discourses on the global hegemony of English captured the position of English in terms of the larger social relationships, power relations, hierarchy, inequality and domination. The discourse of standardization and the discourse of stereotype and discrimination can also be applied to a broader context. As laid out above, these discourse constructs have exerted critical effects on linguistic unity, homogenization, and centralization of language use. As a consequence, the constructs

have deemphasized language variation (e.g., B.B Kachru, 1986b, 1990; Lippi-Green, 1997; Milroy & Milroy, 1985; Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Phillipson, 1992; Quirk, 1988, 1990). Certainly, such constructs have drastically and decisively influenced a "consciousness of being one" (Bamgbose, 1991, p. 14). Further, the discourse of self-marginalization illuminated a significant picture of imperial English that held firmly in the participants' hearts. The repercussion of this construct is echoed in the following notion:

> Economics and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control its tool of self-definition in relationship to others. For colonialism this involved two aspects of the same process: the destruction, or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, its art, dances, religions … and the domination of people's language by that of the colonizing nation. (Ngugi, 1985, p. 118)

As exemplified through the three discourses above, the hegemony of English in any form, any scenario brought about mental control by the language of colonizing nation. Ultimately, in this case the power of imperial English is at the cost of the Thai people's own culture, values, and traditions. To some writers, even Thai discourse is of secondary importance to the superior English.

Poststructuralist Identity, Appropriation, and Resistance

One of the most crucial aspects of the English positionings and rhetorical strategies, as illustrated in Chapters 4 and 6, was the multifaceted construct, the plasticity and the complexity of postcolonial identity phenomenon. The analysis unveiled complexities, tensions, contradictions and transformations involved in English identity constructs in different dimensions. The way the participants negotiated their identities or positioned themselves toward English reflected the phenomenon that identity was a site of struggle (Norton, 2000).

Most of the participants (75%) held multiple English positionings. This phenomenon confirmed the social theory of hybridity and the nature of identity as dynamic, hybrid, ambivalent, and contested (Block, 2007a, 2007b; S. Hall, 1992). In addition, cultural studies described this linguistic, social and political identity as plural, complicated, and contingent (e.g., Bhabha, 1994; Gilroy, 1993, 2000; S. Hall, 1992). As shown in Chapter 6, the majority of participants used different moves in justification their positions even though they eventually subscribed to mainstream English. In this process, they involved the notions of multiple, conflicted poststructuralist identities, appropriation, and resistance. The way the participants established their English positionings indicated shifting identities, ongoing negotiation of identities and struggles over representation. As Canagarajah (2005a) put it, "People negotiate language policies in their favor in their everyday lives in micro-social domains" (p. 427). Hall (1988) contended that identity is constituted within representation and it is never complete. These shifting positions, as shown in chapter 4 and 6, also captured "the tension between self and other, desire and lack ... consciousness and unconsciousness" (Elliot, 1996, p. 6). They also reflected the way the participants negotiated their "new subject positions at the crossroads of the past, present and future" (Block, 2007b, p. 27). As presented earlier, these three writers—Pim, Tasana, and Kampol—disclosed their different forms of struggles as professional English writers. Pim attempted to do away with her "Thaiglish"; Tasana, practiced an RP accent to belong to the British English community; Kampol placed emphasis on reducing grammatical errors in his writing. In short, these writers shared arrays of stories and experiences that not only reflected how they conceptualized their English but also efforts they made to fit into the particular positions they desired.

In the process of identity negotiation, ideology plays a primary role in the construction and negotiation of one's numerous identities (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2002). This factor is a monumental concern of postcolonialism theory (Pennycook, 2001). As chapter 5 and 6 illustrated, these Thai writers employed different models of hierarchical assumptions and sets of rhetorical moves not only to state their political and ideological positions but also to incorporate strategies of appropriation and resistance. In other words, they enacted different forms of negotiation by positioning themselves within and against dominant discourse. As Hall (1989) contended, "One is always inside a system of languages that partly speak us, which we are always positioned within and against" (p. 12).

The participants performed three major acts of appropriation and resistance to cultural and linguistic domination and control: subscribe to the dominant discourse space, take a balanced approach to construct an English identity, and challenge the dominant ideology and deconstruct the hegemonic English position.

Subscribe to the Dominant Discourse Space

The first mode of identity manifestation was compliance with Standard English ideology. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the largest population of participants (31%) took on the KING'S ENGLISH position, idolizing Westerners and their ideology. Resting on the PYRAMID OF ENGLISH IDENTITY, the writers were apt to subscribe themselves to the privileged-class identity positions rather than the lower class ones. Simply put, these writers negotiated with the dominant discourse space by conforming to the Standard English variety as they seemed not want to remain on the peripheries of linguistic world. Meanwhile, there were economic reasons and educational credentials that these writers

needed to take into account. Hence, the outcome of this negotiation resulted in unequal power relationships and struggles.

In this process of conforming to the privileged English variety, some writers found that it was a challenge to embrace the force of dominant discourse. The rhetoric that they employed to justify their positions demonstrated that "Westernization was not only legitimate but also necessary and desirable" (Heryanto, 2007, p. 56). For example, Tasana sharpened her RP accent to join the bandwagon of Queen's English discourse. The loyalty to Western authority, as shown below, mirrors not only her positive attitude toward British English but also toward British ideology:

> To read the British press you know, it takes you to another angel of thinking, which is much broader. And the way of arguments, it's something that the Thai people cannot do, which a lot of the things, it needs courage as well, it needs freedom of expressing. Like in Thailand as we all know you can express certain things but you can't express certain things [laughs]. But in England, you can express whatever you know from everything. . . . So, without living in England, I don't think my ability in expressing myself both in talking and writing will be in this way. It's impossible.

Saksit, likewise, recognized the powerful role of global English and colonial legacy. He consciously subscribed to Oxford English. As he put it, "You're made to become conscious that this is the language of the elite, or the winner of ruling class of the world, which is in a way very unfortunate. But I could say I'm part of it." This dominant ideology, as reflected by both writers, seemed to demonstrate not only a world vision but also an attitude to catch up with the mainstream ideology (Samir, 1989).

Nonetheless, for many writers, the cost of joining this prestigious discourse community was immeasurable. In this process of appropriation of dominant English, some writers self-marginalize without being conscious of it. Pim, for example, seemed unaware of the political inequality of discourse; she regarded Thai English as by all

means inappropriate for international communication. To her, the Thai form of English discourse was a marker of lower intelligence and local image. Her ambition was to stamp out her "Thaiglish" and instead to register an American English that conveyed more international and professional image. Linguistically and ideologically, Pim's self-consciousness to dissociate from Thai English and to live in the Other's existence resonated in the following notion:

> The black man wants to be like the white man. For the black man, there is only one destiny. And it is white. Long ago the black man admitted the unarguable superiority of the white man, and all his efforts are aimed at achieving a white existence. (Fanon, 1967, p. 2)

The way these writers negotiated their English identity exemplifies how self-marginalization functions in colonial constructs. Unfortunately, none of the three writers seemed to recognize this ongoing internal colonialism. Unlike these three writers above, however, Kampol was aware of his elevation of Western ideology. The central remark he made was that Thai people, including himself, were "Americanized and brainwashed" by Western discourse and Western thought. Ironically, even so, when it came to writing, Kampol ascribed to the ideology of conventional English. Sad but true, his following statement captures the whole story of the tension between his awareness and his self-marginalization. The excerpt also helps us make more sense of how English hegemony and Western ideological dependence came to be in Thailand. As Kampol put it:

> Since birth, we know that this is the *farang*'s product, this is the Japanese peoples' product. I remember when I studied at St. John College ten years ago. During that time we had a value that imported brand-name goods were the best. I remember we used to stroll around downtown Bangkok to buy brand-name clothes. Especially at *Sanamluang*, a very popular spot at that time, we went there to shop for second-hand *farang*'s brand-name products. When we grew up, we came to realize that Thai products have a quality similar to those imported brands. But yet this type of Western value is deeply rooted in us, indeed. The influence of branding is very deep and powerful, I must admit. *Farangs* are

> really keen on making us believe this. I think that we're brainwashed. Speaking about Thai English, I haven't thought and I haven't seen it before. I've noticed the English of other Thais, for example, *Khun* [Mr.] *Anan*'s English. I think his English is so beautiful, classy and sophisticated, but mine isn't. I think my English is at a lower class level compared with his English. *There're hierarchies of English usage, you know*. (Translated from Thai)

Sad yet true, the above passage told a story of the discursive colonialization construct in Thailand. Paradoxically, Kampol's self reflection on the symbolic capital of the English language and other Western entities raises the question of whether Thailand was really free from colonialism. In effect, although Thailand has never been colonized by a Western nation, she has been "lured into Western Neo-colonialism by means of economic, cultural and intellectual colonization" (Noobanjong, 2003, pp. 207-208) In other words, the other side of the coin shows that the narration of Thailand's freedom was a myth. As Noobanjong (2003) claimed:

> The myth of Thainess has played a crucial role in the creation of the image of Self for the Thais, which is also used to project the image of Others for foreigners, especially Westerners. It provides a premise for the claim by the Thais that the West has never colonized their country. (p. 339)

The identity negotiation, as demonstrated through the scenarios thus far, demonstrates that even though Thailand could evade imperialistic colonialism by Western powers, she was unable to escape the web of neo-colonial influence (Tripasai, 2004). Hence, the deep impact of English on each individual's self conceptualization was a form of Western Neo-colonialism (Noobanjong, 2003). Like economic, intellectual, and cultural forms of domination, English was another example of the powerful form of domination in Thai society. The findings in this section represent the complicated dynamic of language and social identity at the level of colonial influences (Errington, 2008) in Thailand.

In sum, it is pivotal to note that the repercussion of English identity negotiation led to unquestioned conformity with mainstream English and Western thought. This research implies that the politics of this negotiation nurture self-marginalization. This finding might challenge the course of the grand narrative of the nation and the way it will be told in the near future; the pride of Thai people surviving colonial captivity might not be the same if this version of the narrative is told.

Take a Balanced Approach to Construct English Identity

The second approach of identity negotiation is balancing the dominant discourse/ ideology with local views. In this approach, Thai culture/Thai English/Thai ideology negotiated, modified, and absorbed global culture/English discourse/Western ideology in a unique way. As Kumaravadivelu (2006a) described this phenomenon, "the global is brought in conjunction with the local, and the local is modified to accommodate the global" (p. 7). In this process, the participants negotiated their meanings of English and maintained their home culture and language. The results revealed that having "a dual consciousness" or "double vision" or "in-betweenness" (Bhabha, 1994; Canagarajah, 2002b) permitted these writers to have a critical vantage point in intercultural engagement and transnational identity negotiation.

Supporting the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH and GLOCAL ENGLISH strands and the VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH MODEL, these advocates vindicated Standard English while engaging with in the ongoing construction of local knowledge. For example, Kanda, Nithi, and Pairat valued Thai culture yet appreciated diversity of world cultures. Within this frame of thinking, these writers displayed their comfort in consuming multiple or global identities originating in cultural identity megamarts. This

act of negotiation echoed Said's (1994) assertion, "No one today is purely one thing" (p. 136). Even Saksit, who had a contradiction in his pluralistic takes on English as mentioned repeatedly in chapter 4 and 6, recognized this transnational identity phenomenon:

> Languages have their own strengths and weakness. I think different languages have their own strengths in certain areas. Yah, so it's not about you know, saying which one is better or different and it has its own beauty, cruelty, and biases. And as I said it's a different kind of prison, yah. It has its own kind of prison, and that the beauty. I feel sorry for people who don't have a second language command. They have to stuck in the prison of their very own one mother tongue.

Obviously, these participants were confident English writers, demonstrating their strategies in wrestling with globalization and the social and political forces imposed on them.

This balanced approach was an art of global identity negotiation that took place when language users related "micro relations of language use to macro relations of social context" (Pennycook, 2001, p. 64). On a macro level, these writers struggled to preserve their traditional values and culture; on a micro level, like the rest of the world, the writers "attempted to reconcile themselves with the omnipotent Western technology, way of life, practice, and values" (Noobanjong, 2003, p. 326). For example, Tanin and Saijai were good illustrations of how the paradox of identity played itself out. Tanin left Thailand when he was young but his novels showed his profound understanding about Thai people and his motherland. Tanin also deeply valued the eloquence of the Thai language yet he opposed the idea of using Thai terms in English work. Rather, in all of his novels he placed emphasis on the concept of authenticity to portray how Thai people maintained an essence of Thainess amidst a capitalist tension. In contrast, Saijai, who advocated the KING'S ENGLISH position, consciously insert Thai terms in her English novels. As she

contended, “I won’t lose my Thai identity unnecessarily.” Saijai was highly aware of her Thai identity; meanwhile, she was keen on projecting her English identity. Her rhetorical moves tacitly signified negotiation and allocation of power. To appropriate and to reappropriate English usage in everyday life, as she once put it:

> My English [laughs], by way of speaking, if I meet friends from Penang, I would start speaking Pidgin English at once, yes la, no la, yes man, no man. It will come automatically. If I am with other people, I will be more careful, depend on the company [laughs].

So, Saijai projected her Thainess and meanwhile was confident as an English writer even though she, like most of the participants, conformed to Standard English. In short, this mode of negotiation eventually resulted in a creation of the notion Thainess in a form of Standard English or GLOCAL ENGLISH as mentioned in Chapter 4.

Challenge Dominant Ideology and Deconstruct Hegemonic English Position

The third manifestation of identity negotiation is challenging the position of dominant ideology and deconstructing hegemonic English. Interestingly, even though the majority of the participants had objections to Thai English, the VENN DIAGRAM OF ENGLISH IDENTITY yielded the result that 44 % of the participants did not completely concur with Standard English norms. Rather, such flexible and dynamic view toward global English put these writers in a different position to negotiate with dominant players or dominant discourses. It also allowed these writers to resist impositions of any kind. The participants sharing ideology in this sense were those whose responses were in line with the COSMOPOLITAN ENGLISH, GLOCAL ENGLISH and THAI ENGLISH positions. In principle, these groups signaled their resistance to fixed identity, dominant ideology, and mainstream media. These writers enacted their resistance theories

(Canagarajah, 1999b) by expressing their challenges to dominant social structure and ideology in a variety of ways.

Malai, for instance, did not believe that the concept of Thai English existed, yet she strongly valued her roots and her voices. She pointed out, “When the editors revise our work by looking at language use, that’s really detrimental. Every time they correct our language, they always change our English to mainstream one.” Frustrated and contested, Malai made a constant attempt to have her voices heard by not only *The Bangkok Post*’s readers but also by her organization—a site of oppression. Her argument over the power of editors of *The Bangkok Post* being exerted on her conveyed a sense of resistance. As she put it, “I want them to know that in this office there is someone, a marginalized writer, a hard-headed person like me, who has her own voice and wants to stand up to speak for the voiceless in Thailand.”

Ladda, too, shared similar linguistic and ideological tensions. Discouraged by her editing process, Ladda was a good example of a paradox in the reality of English users in Thailand. On one hand, she believed in a doctrine of correct language usage; on the other, she struggled to oppose mainstream English. In wrestling within her conflicted and multiple selves, she strongly resisted marginality and attempted to reposition herself through her English discourse. Unfortunately, Ladda decided to quit writing opinion pieces after experiencing that her meaning was being distorted by the editors. She learnt that she could not reach the bar of the “real” *farang* language usage after all. While surrendering to dominant English, she still challenged it:

> To be honest, English isn’t my mother tongue. Thus, it is not only we who have to adjust. I think language owners or English native speakers in this sense have to adjust themselves as well. They should understand that we Thais use English this

> way, so it's not only 'I' who understand 'you,' but it's 'you' who have to understand 'me' as well. (Translated from Thai)

Echoing Malai's standpoint, Nithi, another confident English writer, performed his Thai identity through his movie commentary. Interestingly, although he did not endorse Thai English discourse, he dabbled in the idea of experimenting with Thai English in his creative writing in the near future. He asserted, "Many writers such as Salman Rushdie can do it. Why not I? " Most remarkably, Chat, as previously demonstrated over and over, played an active role as a social actor, exercising what he believed about Thai English. His practice resonated bell hooks' (1989) notion of "talking back" to the dominant discourse with an awareness of his roots. Even if Chat represented a minority opinion within the participants, his work and his will to push Thai English forward were a win-win negotiation. This writer demonstrated that the production of Thai English was a process of "cultural self-theorizing and re-envisioning in relation to fluid power dynamics, whether at the level of inter-personal relations or at the level of national politics and geopolitical posturing" (Ong, 2008, p. 452). The repercussion of his act of resistance was a critical questioning of hegemonic authority and deconstruction of the established order (Widdowson, 2004).

Those appropriation and resistance practices echoed Canagarajah's (1999a) empirical study carried out in the Srilankan Tamil community. His research project exemplified the ways of appropriating English and contesting linguistic imperialism. In his study, individual writers exercised their agency to resist being positioned marginally in dominant discourse and to seek alternative positions to fulfill their goals (McKay & Wong, 1996; Rampton, 1995). In so doing, they shifted the focus from the forces of changing global markets (global identities) to localization (national, regional, and local

identities). In somewhat the same vein, the Thai writers tended to touch the very core of writers' voices and authenticity rather than forms of English. As Canagarajah (2004) argued, "It is at the level of voice that we gain agency to negotiate these categories of the self, adopt a reflexive awareness of them, and find forms of coherence and power that suit our interests" (p. 268). For this group of Thai writers, the shift in the focus on creating their own space for localities, rather than paying attention to a form of Standard English, demonstrated that dominant ideology of Standard English is constantly evolving; meanwhile, it bargains with local ideologies in order to maintain power (Dua, 1994). In the end, the endorsement of Thai English even from only one writer could represent the very beginning of the shifting focus of English in Thailand from the center-based English to the particularized one.

Closing Commentary

So far, this discussion presented three different ways the participants framed their English identities. As Valentine (1993) stated "there is always the search for identity, which has become even more difficult in these multilingual settings where English now has become a part of the culture and has claimed a certain profile" (p. 363). An individual's decision to belong to a social group rests not only on ethnic and gender components (Tajfel, 1974) but also on personal beliefs and economic conditions. In the interviews, it was not easy for some participants to articulate their English identity at first when asked to conceptualize their English. Most of the participants acknowledged that the notion of Thai English was new to them. The conflicted reactions of the participants when asked to describe their English showed that their identities were being contested and renegotiated (Norton, 1997).

The pluricentric English positionings reflected that identity both constructed and was constructed by language (Norton, 1997). Norton described identity as the desire for recognition, belonging, and security in discourse communities. The cases presented above were significant illustrations of the relationships between identity and symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1977)—many of which revealed an unequal structure. According the collection of rhetorical moves, while the majority of writers invested in the higher status of the social hierarchical discourse, there were some individual writers who were active agents, taking the apposite direction. Simply put, this group was constantly in search of new social and linguistic resources that allowed them "to resist identities that position them in undesirable ways, produce new identities, and assign alternative meanings to the links between identities and linguistic varieties" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a, p. 27). In summary, in this hyper-modern, non-place, and neo-liberal democratic environment, this identity negotiation had crucial consequences. One of them was that the act of resistance "challenged the axiomatic conceptions and authenticating power structures located in the West" (Bhatt, 2002, p. 77). In all cases, the ways the participants negotiated their English identities echoed that writers brought a repertoire of strategies and responses to the site of struggle as the ways to cope with it and resisting it (S. Hall, 1996). After all, the negotiation of these English ideologies led to the justification of Standard English and the overarching rejection of Thai English.

The following section addresses the last and most significant issue of this dissertation inquiry—the definition of Thai English. On this point, the complicated information of the interview data eventually revealed an essence of the characteristics of Thai English.

Thai English: Discourse of Exclusion and Resistance

Based on the data related to the prior discussion, Thai English had a very dim existence. Essentially, Thai English was described and justified as an oral, secondary, lower-standard, and destabilized discourse. Like Ebonics or other non-standard varieties of English, Thai English was "defined and evaluated in terms of that which it was not—Standard English" (Collins, 1999, p. 212). Thai English was perceived by some participants as a fossil-ridden example of interlanguages, or as an inferior example of incorrect speech (Brown, 1993, p. 60). Saksit made one of the strongest arguments, explaining why Thai English did not exist:

> If you read some poor written English by Thais, you could notice that they have problem with you know singular, the plural. They don't have identical system. When you read it, perhaps, you could pin it down, and say perhaps this is written by a Thai, mistakenly transferred to English format. There're sort of grammatical structures transfer that into the English format when they write in English. But I wouldn't call it Thai English such as a clear Thai accent. For most Thai when they speak English they ended up sentence with *na* or whatever or problem with the 'L' and the 'R' or the singular and the plural. It's the distinct mistake I personally wouldn't call it Thai English.

As stated earlier, the majority of these Thai writers did not endorse Thai English but accepted only the higher Standard English. As such, Thai English was denigrated and excluded from world English varieties. This concept of Thai English was not perceived and recognized as legitimate. The data in Chapter 5 allows us to interpret Thai English as "minoritized" or "stigmatized" (May, 2005, p. 323) by some writers when this notion was placed at a lower position than mainstream English. Thai English, for them, was just the discourse of marginality (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). In a hierarchical and economic sense, Thai English lacked symbolic power and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991).

This secondary status of Thai English did not evolve overnight but was constructed and enacted, positioned and repositioned within a discursive power structure. The negative aspect of the Thai English concept was discursively formed and deeply rooted in the sociopolitical context of Thailand. As Bamgbose (2003) claimed, "Whenever there is a privileged class, there is bound to be an element of exclusion" (p. 424). The rhetoric of marginalizing Thai English underscored why the writers distanced themselves from Thai English. Further, the PYRAMID OF ENGLISH MODEL, as described in Chapter 5, exemplified that the way the participants conceived of Thai English rested on a hierarchical discourse construct.

As Chapter 6 exhibited, perspectives on Thai English discourse were diverse and mixed. The participants' opinions about Thai English were divided into two major ideological camps. At one end of the continuum, there were 19 writers who did not subscribe to Thai English; at the other pole of ideological spectrum, there was only one writer who validated Thai English. The following section spells out the background and the ramification of these ideological divisions:

Camp 1: Exclude Thai English from the World Englishes Realm: Thai English is Not My Tongue

The first camp had nineteen advocates. These writers differed from one another in English identity building as discussed in the foregoing sections. Even though some writers remarked that Thai English might be under construction, all of these writers negotiated their positionalities by conformity with mainstream English, or in other words, their ideological expectations. For those in this camp, Thai English discourse did not come into existence but was excluded from hegemonic discourse. Residing in the

rhetorical claims that marginalized Thai English, the participants tacitly conveyed their preference for Standard English. The central arguments explaining why these writers did not endorse Thai English but deemphasized it were:

- *Historical roots*. In Southeast Asian countries, English was introduced as a result of colonialism (Y. Kachru & Nelson, 2006). Yet Thailand was the only country in this region that physically escaped colonization by Europeans. English in this EFL context was thus not used as an everyday language as it was in, for example, the Philippines or Singapore.
- *Structural and functional justification*. Thai English was not considered a variety of English as it lacked a distinct form when compared with postcolonial varieties of English such as Indian English or Malaysian English or even Australian English. Hence, some writers preferred to consider Thai English as only a spoken discourse.
- *Secondary branding status*. Thai English obviously did not enjoy any official recognition but conveyed its political connotations. To be more exact, the term Thai English itself: (a) connoted a weak form of English; (b) lacked prestige and economic value and mobility; and (c) conveyed negative meanings, as local, not international; broken English, not perfect English; non-standard English, not Standard English; an oral discourse, not a written one. In brief, the term Thai English had negative associations.

Pim, for example, strongly held the belief that Thai English did not meet the international standard; it could not communicate with global audiences. As she succinctly put it, “I’m writing for professional readers. . . . They don’t want to read something they don’t understand. When you write in English, you have to make it English, don’t make it look

Thai." Her self-marginalization toward her own English and her preference toward a variety of English were present. Saksit, in particular, was an example of those who did not want to identify themselves with Thai English. He stated:

> I really can't pretend to speak like most Thais the way they speak English. . . . It's useful because you can refuse to be identified, pin downed as a Thai when you travel abroad. . . . When you speak English, people don't really place you. So that's interesting.

Finally, one of the most significant repercussions of this ideological camp was that Thai English became the discourse of exclusion from World Englishes discourse.

With respect to the objections to Thai English, Rappa & Wee (2006) pointed out that two crucial factors preventing the nativization of English are the limited exposure of Thai people to English, and most importantly, Thailand's history as the only Southeast Asian country that has never been colonized by Western powers. Another possible explanation for the non-existence of Thai English, according to these scholars, is that the hegemony of Standard Thai has been maintained and never challenged. This is because the language policy of Thailand has allowed the dominance of Standard Thai, and no other languages, to grow in strength.

Camp 2: Include Thai English in World Englishes Tongues; I Was Born a Poor Child But I Will Never Die a Poor Man

The second camp had one supporter. Chat sought to exercise his personal agency and actively negotiate his positionality in English discourse. Unlike some writers who resisted the dominant ideology, Chat overtly demonstrated his capability to retain a significant degree of control over the process of identity negotiation—autonomy or agency (May, 2005). In this ideological camp, Thai English was not only a manifestation of a negotiation between the globalization/dominant power and the local/secondary one,

it was also the representation of an attempt of individuals' struggles against Western colonialism and foreign influences. This writer argued for the importance of the existence of Thai English. He posited a critical question: "There's Indian English, why not Thai English?" Then he opposed native-speaker-of- English ideology:

> Work written in English shows the world that Thai people are also capable of English. We can express Thai ways of thinking to the world. It's about time that the West should use our words; we have been using their vocabulary for a long time so why don't they use ours? We don't have to follow them all the time. (Translated from Thai)

Strongly, Chat not only maneuvered his linguistic power but he also took a further step to enact his marginal identity. That is, he confronted and competed with the dominant Standard English ideology (Bhatt, 2002) by bargaining with hegemonic English discourse. Coincidentally, Chat's stand on Thai English was echoed in Raslan's (2000) position on his Malaysian English:

> We can appropriate and reinvent the language to our own ends. . . . The rhythm of things—you have to get that. . . . If the Indian can do it in Indian English, I don't see why we can't do it in Malaysian English. It is all a matter of confidence . . . . It is rather like an artificial limb which you turn to your own advantage. We should not be so constrained by the fact that it was the language of our oppressors. If we want to think of it as the language of our oppressors, then it will oppress us. (p. 188-9)

As discourse was a site of action, Thai English was a meaningful act of resistance and resilience and a site of struggle (Ngugi, 1997). In effect, Thai English was "counter-discourse, and insurgent knowledge" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 326)) to the one and only writer who valued it and believed in its existence. Although Thai English was rejected by the writers in the first camp, in this second camp Thai English represented an effort from a Thai user who sought to constitute his own English. Chat's attempt to establish Thainess—from designing a book cover with a Thai style to using Thai lexicalization in

his English textbooks—were proofs of how sincerely he fought to deconstruct colonial English at the level of culture, values, feelings and attitudes. As such, to democratize and to negotiate the established conventions of language use, this Thai writer set out his own agenda by producing a competing set of values to validate Thai English (Bourdieu, 1991). Clearly, the production of his Thai English represented a "counterlegitimate language variety" (Bhatt, 2002, p.90)—a small yet critical step to involve other Thais and the Thai community in a critical discussion of World Englishes. This resistance was driven by the notion, as Raslan described, "It is all a matter of confidence."

Put into a broader perspective, the powerful construct of intellectual freedom or agency against marginalization was the monumental ideology that both Chat and his neighboring scholar, Raslan, had in common. Chat created his own space for this new opposition to exert his agency in appropriating Thai English. In this new space, he was able not only to serve his own interests and values but also to mirror Thai cultural realities (Thumboo, 1988). His "negotiation of difference" (Papastergiadis, 2000) was not to conform to dominant English discourse uncritically but to develop more complex orientations to voice in language use and eventually to endorse Thai English. Chat's take on Thai English echoed the notion that "languages may not only be a marker of identity but also sites of resistance, empowerment, solidarity or discrimination" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a, p. 4). This process of reconstituting English against the grain as this Thai writer attempted to do is a crucial aspect of global language use. As Hall (1997b) claimed, "That is how and where the margins begin to speak. The margins begin to contest, the locals begin to come to representation" (p. 53). Ultimately, one of the ramifications of this act of reconstituting English in this ideological camp was that Thai

English was regarded as a vernacularization of English, equal to the Standard variety and included in World Englishes discourse.

Conclusions & Implications

This empirical project was an attempt to define Thai English through the lenses of the Thai insiders. The underlying agenda behind this inquiry was to address current theoretical issues related to the notion of World Englishes. Toward this end, the investigation of Thai English has not only better illuminated how Thai insiders negotiated meanings or identities in English; this query has also yielded vital and nuanced understandings and theoretical insights about language use, power, identity and other aspects of sociolinguistic attitudes and practices related to English in Thailand. Further, these reflections on Thai English have described the power relations in which the identities were enmeshed. Six major points emerging from the foregoing discussion are worth highlighting:

First, a powerful construct of imperial English or the coloniality of the English language in Thailand is undeniable. The research results illustrate how deeply colonial power was constructed and how a positive role for colonialism was practiced through English usage in the professional writing context. This finding challenges the classic narrative that "Siam or Thailand has never been colonized by the West." The study also unveiled that colonial power was monumental and still lingers on; most participants strove to speak in the master tongue, driven by the ideology that "I am what I speak." In the process of negotiating their English identities, the majority of the writers slid completely into the Western worldview, Western popular culture, and Western news media. Compared with Thai English, Standard English, being constructed as powerful

and normative, is the most prestigious code. Both Thai English and Thai discourse were marginalized within their own culture. Placed in a macro-perspective, Western colonialism took various forms in different places and times. It was not far from the truth to state that English in Thailand, like other discourses such as architecture, was a concrete form of Western colonialism. The colonial construct of English discourse in Thailand was not different from the way architectural artifacts exerted their imperialist impact on architectural landscapes in Thai society. The way Thais consumed English was not different from the way they consumed other imported brand-name commodities. As Noobanjong (2003) claimed:

> The rise of Modern Architecture in Thailand indeed signifies the Western colonization process, economically, intellectually and perhaps the most important, culturally. Despite the fact that Post-colonial theory itself is Western, it reveals this imperial process in the international arena (the hegemonic tactics of the European to assert its power over Siam, and by the same token, the native's response to the West in terms of anti-colonialism and nationalism). (p. 16)

Second, the colonial state of mind underpinned the way the Thai professional writers positioned themselves toward Thai English. To the majority of the participants, Thai English conveyed the political connotations linked with a breadth of the negative features such as weak forms, oral language, and broken English variety. By distancing themselves from Thai English, this group showed their objections to this notion. To the minority participant, Thai English however was an act of resistance and a site of contestation toward dominant discourse and imperial power. Only one writer, Chat, was unwilling to conform to the symbolic power hidden in Standard English. He attempted to negotiate and renegotiate his identity in response to hegemonic language ideologies which demanded homogeneity (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004b). Defining himself as

different, Chat finally managed to claim space for Thai English by reconstituting his own version of English, resting on the World Englishes model.

Third, the ideological and political positions of Thai professional writers on their English, the objections to Thai English, and the endorsement of Thai English exemplified that there were strong social and discursive relations between language and power and systems of domination and subordination (Pennycook, 1998; Phillipson, 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). The study reflected the notion that English could never be removed from the historical, social, cultural, economic or political contexts in which it was used (Pennycook, 1994). English in Thailand held ideological and symbolic domination as most of these writers strongly believed in the legitimacy of English (Bourdieu, 1991). This domineering status was underpinned by implicit monolingual ideology and standard culture.

Fourth, the English position in Thailand was predominantly influenced by the theme of the colonial celebratory position and utilitarian instrumentalism. This prevalent and natural construct of English in Thai contexts brought Ives's (2004) contention into the spotlight. He strongly argued that the vast spread of global English is not by state coercion or military action, but by language users. That is, these Thai writers appreciated the prestige and utility of English languages phrase or terms as described earlier. In particular, English has played a significant role in Thai media. For instance, in order to advertise Thai products, Masavisut et al. (1986) noted, "Thai words sound corny or awkward," while, "English brand names give these products credibility and imply superior standards or production" (p. 203-204). In this practical business sense, English seemed to hold more marketability value than Thai discourse.

Fifth, the status of Thai English implies that the proliferation of English in Thailand has never been apolitical but has had deep and subtle ideological effects on its people's thoughts, cultures and ideologies. Most strikingly, its impact on the ways in which Thai people thought and behaved was congruous. These Thai journalists and textbook authors especially, who voiced their opinions on behalf of their newspapers or publishers, seemed to be in the crucial position where their viewpoints would "affect horizons of potential viewing" (Delmont-Heinrich, 2008, p. 162). This is because "media texts often reflect and help reproduce certain preferred, privileged, agenda-setting representations of the human social world"(p. 162). In brief, their works can be a representation of the global hegemony of English.

Last but not least, this study illustrated that the negotiation of identity and English usage were bound in power relations (Heller, 1995). Data analysis revealed that "some identity options are more valued than others" (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004a, p. 3) English language in Thailand, like other colonial contexts, was a site of discursive power. In the process of vindicating Standard English, the Thai professional writers demonstrated their ongoing tensions, struggles, and contradictions in order to represent themselves amidst the force of globalization. These writers' acts and attitudes implied that their English positions were always within "a social order, a cultural politics, a struggle over different representations of the self and other" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 34). Put in a wider perspective, the position of Thai English portrayed how economic, political, and social inequality in Thailand were created and sustained through colonial discourse constructs (Tollefson, 2006).

To conclude, although most of the writers did not conform to the notion of Thai English, the question of what Thai English really was allowed us to explore an understudied area of sociolinguistics regarding English in Thailand. The investigation of these issues has significant ramifications by creating an agenda for discussion and future debates.

Significance of the Research Findings

This current study has attempted to extend knowledge of Thai English. As shown in Chapter 2, the body of literature about Thai English is still small. In effect, this issue thus far is undertheorized. To date, there are only two empirical studies based on linguistic orientation.

First, Chutisilp (1984) was a pioneer scholar in bringing the concept of Thai English into light. Her study rested on linguistic analysis with data drawn from novels, short stories, newspapers, and magazines. Some of the texts employed for data analysis were original; others were translated from Thai to English. This linguistic-based study concluded that Thai English was another developing variety of World Englishes. The researcher contended that Thainess in English resulted from the contextualization process.

Second, grounded in Kachru's (1987) framework in analyzing texts, Watkhaolarm (2005) investigated writing strategies of two Thai bilingual writers. Her study discovered that the Thai English literary texts illustrated uniqueness and creativity. Its conclusion was that the authors' writing style may be termed as a Thai English variety. In response to the existence of Thai English discourse, Watkhaolam presented her take:

> English is not infused in the Thai identity. It has never been needed as a lingua franca in Thailand. It is not associated with the experience of colonialism. Thus, the English language, to Thai people, is the language of the others. (p. 155)

She further predicted that English would be increasingly nativized in the near future when judged by the increasing role of English in Thai people's professional lives. Interestingly, Pitan, who participated in this dissertation and whose work was used in Watkhaolam's study, did not endorse Thai English, preferring to call his English American Thai. He realized that his writing was influenced by American canons, although reflections of Thainess such as Buddhist plots prevailed in most of his novels.

In brief, both pioneering studies have paved the way for future research of the Thai English concept. Believing that Asians could own English like others do, Bolton (2003) made remarks about the development of Thai English:

> In the coming years, as the use of English spreads in Thailand, Thais may well continue making their own unique contribution to the English language, giving rise to the recognition of a special style of 'Thai English', alongside the other Englishes of the Asian region. (p. 7)

Taking a different approach from those two studies, the empirical research conducted in this project serves as a firsthand examination of the notion of Thai English through the lenses of language users who lived outside English classrooms and were in a position that allowed and required them to use English on an everyday basis. Drawing upon the writers' conceptualizations of their English through a rich example of interview extracts, the critical applied linguistics approach employed in this research allowed us to take a closer look at English language use in Thailand. This study has ramifications and has raised concerns for World Englishes studies and applied linguistic research on four levels:

(a) *From a research viewpoint*: This research has contributed to a body of knowledge of World Englishes by providing empirical evidence and offering critical insights into the current situation of English language use in Thailand. The salient research finding presented thus far was that English usage in Thailand—the nation that is never colonized by any country during a colonization era—was embedded in a colonial construct. These conceptualizations of English by 20 Thai professional writers demonstrated the impact of English in the construction of colonial discourse, not only in their written works but also in their minds.

(b) *From a theoretical standpoint*: This empirical study probed into the theoretical understanding of sociolinguistics in Thailand. The definition and the position of Thai English in relation to the dominant discourse described the phenomena of linguistic hegemony, power relations, and postcolonial identity. This is the first time that the discourse hegemony in Thailand that lurks under the global rise of English has been addressed. This study has taken a small yet critical step in the direction of exploring a particularized English and global identity in an EFL context in a Southeast Asian region. Needless to say, this inquiry of Thai English offers an interesting invitation to delve into this line of research. For better understanding of World Englishes studies in Thailand, more research is needed in this important strand.

(c) *From a pedagogical perspective*: For the first time, the political aspect of English use in Thailand has been addressed. The conceptualization of English reveals the participants' tensions and contradictions in negotiating their identities; English use turned out to be a site of struggle. This finding suggests significant adjustments or changes are

needed in terms of theories and practices related to learning and teaching English in Thailand. In classrooms, English should no longer be regarded as an apolitical entity.

(d) *From an ideological perspective*: The perception of these Thai professional writers toward Thai English has ideological ramifications. Most of these writers consciously advocated for the Standard variety of English rather than Thai English. This finding implies a powerful role of ELT, with Thailand serving as an important site where dominant linguistic and cultural forms are secured and universalized (Bhatt, 2002, p. 93). Conceptually, this finding addresses the central concern of how policy makers, educators, and media should play their roles in deconstructing colonial English by raising awareness not only of Thai English but also of other World Englishes varieties.

To reiterate, the analysis of the writers' perspectives and conceptualization of their English is of paramount importance for understanding power relations including the fundamental inequality of discourse, language use, and postcolonial identity in Thailand. This project suggests that language, ideology, and power are intertwined. It not only has offered a great deal of critical insights into the sociolinguistic context of Thailand, but it also has allowed us to better understand the theoretical, conceptual, ideological and power-related concerns of World Englishes. This research opens up future studies to explore Thai English in these significant areas. To a greater extent, the study sheds light on the status of the World Englishes paradigm in Thailand.

In conclusion, it seems that more questions are raised than answers given in exploring the ongoing complex relationship between language use and postcolonial power in Thailand. One of the applied questions this study posits is how the concept of

World Englishes should be implemented in Thailand. The next section will address major concerns and implementation issues that should be taken into consideration.

Issues of Implementation

The investigation into Thai English as presented thus far has unveiled new and momentous sociolinguistic aspects of English use in Thailand. This empirical study not only demonstrates the ideological and political positions of these Thai professional writers toward their English, but also addresses macro aspects of English language use related to political, ideological and social issues. Such emerging topics signal a sense of urgency in their implications for schooling and other institutional practices. The research findings pose a number of concerns on conceptual and pedagogical levels. The following issues of implementation should be taken into account:

(a) On a conceptual level: English language teachers have been served by a body of knowledge stating that English is politically and culturally "natural, neutral, and beneficial" (Pennycook, 1995, p. 55). Unfortunately, this notion fails to address the cultural and political implications of the proliferation of English. The colonial English status in Thailand and the hegemonic position of English call attention to all parties involved to review theory and practice related to ELT in Thailand. The self-marginalization position of the participants, in particular, raises two key concerns:

Firstly, policy makers and educators should undertake the deconstruction of apolitical views of English. In order to push for a change in the course of colonial discourse, the issue of the immense, complex, political role of English needs to be addressed first, at a language policy and planning level. This project has prompted ELT educators in Thailand to take language policy seriously and take status planning into

account (Bamgbose, 2003). Hence, the political agenda and the dominance of English are the escapable facts that the policy makers and the educators must come to terms with by involving local knowledge and culture into English curricula. In line with this curricular innovation, raising awareness about the propagation of English has political and ideological implications that need to be addressed at both national and local levels. Secondly and finally, the promotion of insurgent knowledge and counterdiscourse (Pennycook, 2001) needs to be implemented in English classrooms. Teachers should be encouraged "to use English to oppose the dominant discourse of the West and to help the articulation of counter-discourse in English" (Pennycook, 1995, p. 55). This practice offers room for students to engage in an active process of deconstructing dominant discourse.

(b) On a pedagogical level: Methods of teaching languages are oriented to native speaker and target culture (B.B Kachru, 1996; Kramsch, 1995). English education in Thailand, likewise, is patterned on British and American models (Tripasai, 2004). The repercussions of Eurocentric ideology accompanying English education, as discovered in this study, seem subtle yet profound and detrimental. This Eurocentric belief has worked gradually to discriminate Thai cultural contexts from the dominant Western culture. As Phillipson (1992) stated, "ELT has embraced Anglo centric ideological tenets which have come to be seen as commonsensical" (p. 73). The ramification of this Eurocentric notion is echoed in Sirikul's powerful statement:

> Sadly, what we learn in school is mostly about the West. We know about William Wordsworth way too much, compared to our classical writer Sri-Prat. We know best about the American Civil War, sometimes even better than our own history. We don't know much about King Naresuan but know too much about … We really don't understand our own culture. We just know it on a

> surface level. This is because we're always taught about subject matter imported from the West. (Translated from Thai)

Thus, in order to decolonize self-marginalization and deconstruct colonial English in classrooms, this study offers a number of suggestions for pedagogical intervention:

(a) *Self-decolonization*: The insights gleaned from this study suggest that a good place to start to deal with the self-marginalization issue in English educational contexts is teachers. As Gee (1994) pointed out, "Like it or not, English teachers stand at the very heart of the most crucial education, cultural, and political issues of our time" (p. 190). In this regard, Thai teachers, first of all, need to recognize the issue of the self-marginalization construct by involving in the process of decolonizing of their minds (Dissanayake, 2006; Phillipson, 2000). Central to this decolonization process is a concept of psychological and linguistic liberation—setting free of the imaginary (Simmons-McDonald, 2003). This liberation occurs when language users shift their focus from a form of language to message.

Further, the study suggests that teachers oppose the structure of inequality—the global structures of neo-colonialism (Pennycook, 1996). In the current situation, teachers have to wrestle with English-speaking materials predominance and Western English-language media. Hence, the great challenge for teachers is to maintain locality and relevances to students' lives. In teaching English, teachers might consider giving students localized content in order to "de-colonize its words, to de-mystify its meanings, … to rip out its class assumptions, its racism ... to make it truly common" (Searle, 1983, p. 68).

In addition, the study suggests Thai teachers address a connection between language and power in classrooms. Viewing teaching and learning English as negotiable activities might allow teachers to better deal with the political, cultural, and ethical

contexts of language education in classrooms. Teachers will be in a better position when they see themselves as active agents in teaching situations rather than as recipients controlled by prescribed pedagogical teaching methods imported from the West. This practice will offer teachers an opportunity to regain their agency.

Last but not least, in order to claim their agency and pedagogical space, the study suggests that teachers, as agents of changes, should foster a sense of agency not only within themselves but also in their students. When teachers understand the implications of this idea, they might be prepared to reposition and to reconstitute themselves to push classrooms toward a postcolonial performativity position. To claim agency as an alternative to being marginalized, teachers might help students by showing them how to appreciate their local knowledge and culture. This local context makes them unique and important entities. Finally, by providing a place of agency in English classrooms, teachers help capitalize on students' identities, their learning background and context.

(b) *An English classroom as a site of creativity building*: The domineering status of the English language situated in the minds of the Thai writers is unquestionable. Hence, in order to deconstruct such powerful status of English and to bring changes to Thai users, two pivotal components pertaining to an attitude toward language learning should be taken into consideration:

First, teachers might find themselves to be in a better position if they shift their view toward language learning from an abstract cognitive process to a highly complex social and cultural process. Pennycook (2000a) asserted that language classrooms should be regarded as an intersection of different ideologies and cultures and as a social domain where social relations are played out. Thus, viewing the classrooms as a place to

empower rather than to marginalize learners might permit teachers and students to deconstruct the power accompanying English. In other words, this study suggests that teachers should reinforce English classrooms as sites of creativity building rather than sites of struggle and discrimination. In short, teachers might find that critical teaching offer them an opportunity to view language teaching as "a vehicle of freedom rather than submission to hegemony"(Joseph, 2004b, p. 361).

Second, based on postcolonial performative view of language, English should be used as an additional resource to perform an art, not as a form of colonization. In so doing, teachers who become aware of these issues might consider designing a space for individual students to orientate their English to perform who they are, in other words, to enact their identity. This practice might allow English learning to be composed of meaningful and sustainable experiences. Creative writing offers students a venue to capitalize their learning experiences, to find their own voices, and to negotiate with dominant discourse (Canagarajah, 2004). Ultimately, this writing genre will open up "a representational space" (Dissanayake, 2006, p. 557) for students. If used effectively as a meaningful resource of negotiating alternate textual identities (Kramsch & Lam, 1999), teachers might find that such genre help build up agency and dissuade students from passivity in the classroom.

(c) *World Englishes framework from an inside-out, not an outside-in, position*: An ability to claim ownership of a language will reinforce language learners to consider themselves legitimate speakers (Bourdieu, 1977). To accomplish this goal, the study suggests that teachers raise World Englishes awareness in English classrooms. Within this practice, students first will learn not to devalue their voices or their agency. In this

regard, they may be better prepared to proudly own their ability to communicate in their own English. In so doing, teachers might provide broader spaces for students to be able to see themselves as World Englishes users and to bend their English to serve their purposes. Students who have such opportunities might then develop the belief that each kind of English is worth study in its own terms on its own ground. Further, to achieve critical exposure to World Englishes, teachers might help students by providing a repertoire of English texts from diverse world contexts. The emerging body of writing associated with World Englishes will "make available a semiotic space for the articulation of the global imaginary and its formation within the phenomenology of the local" (Dissanayake, 2006, p. 556). This practice will open up alternative meanings and possibilities. Also, it will provide students repertoires of narratives, images, and conceptualities that enable them to make greatest sense of the "interanimation of the local and the global" (Dissanayake, 2006, p. 557). In particular, the literary works whose writers participated in this study are meaningful and localized texts that will allow Thai learners to better understand cultural content and language usage.

Therefore, the study hints that teachers develop "the democratization of attitude to English everywhere on the globe" (McArthur, 1987, p. 334) in English classrooms. Finally and most importantly, to nurture the World Englishes concept in a sustainable manner, teachers who have the opportunity to become aware of these issues might consider building up the concept from students' inner needs (an inside-out direction) rather than from external ones (an outside-in direction). Simply put, if students, like teachers, do not allow themselves an opportunity to emancipate from their self-marginalization, the sense of agency, in this regard, seems far from easy to cultivate.

Within this construct, students will be able to recognize that English classrooms, any language classrooms, are part of a much wider social world. After all, to learn English is not just to learn a language but to critically embrace and appreciate stories of life outside the classroom's wall.

Future Research

Two major subsequent issues grow out of this research study. First of all, to better and deeper understand discourse of Thai English, the impact of neo-colonialism, and the notion of World Englishes in Thai sociopolitical contexts, the researcher can continue to examine the same notion of Thai English from other domains of language usage. This research inquiry can be conducted the same way that this project did by interviewing Thai insiders from domains of business, home (international marriage), and school. By this way, the researcher can compare and contrast the content analysis and examine how Thai people from these domains conceive of the notion of Thai English.

In addition to this project, it will be intriguing to follow up related issues unexplored in this current study. This research centered on how the participants conceived of the notion of Thai English. Its goal was an examination of how these 20 Thai insiders conceptualized their English and Thai English. In other words, the projected described "what these writers said about their understanding about the notion of Thai English." The methodological approach rested on "what the particiapants said," not on "what they did" in relation to Thai English discourse. Grounded in this content analysis approach, the study found that the majority of the participants did not believe that the notion of Thai English existed. Only one writer endorsed this concept.

Thus, to counter the research finding on this issue, data analysis for this new project should be grounded in critical discourse analysis approach. That is, an analysis of the participants' oral discourse and English work will add a new layer of knowledge and understanding about the concept of Thai English. By this way, this study might allow us to explore a type of discourse these professional writers use in their spoken language and written work. This critical discourse analysis might also permit us to better understand how the participants really do with their discourse. This inquiry might answer questiones namely: 1) Are these Thai writers really resistant to Thai English? ; 2) Do they employ Thai English to deny the existence of Thai English? ; or 3) Do they really use Standard English to project their Thainess? In other words, this study will focus on what the participants actually do with their English discourse, not what they say they do in relation to the concept of Thai English. In short, this textual analysis might allow us to see a layered description of "the perspective or conceptualization of Thai English" versus "the real language use related to this discourse."

CHAPTER VIII

POSTSCRIPTS

(NOW AND) THEN: WHERE SHOULD I GO FROM HERE?

"Colonialization runs deep in the land of smiles" is perhaps my best summary of the most salient research findings and the aftermath of this current project. This personal remark seems broad and vague as it goes beyond the context of this dissertation. Yet its hidden meaning is undeniably profound. In this statement, the grand narrative of Thailand is challenged; this comforting narrative turned out sour. The land of freedom cannot be literally consumed without a second thought anymore.

On Taking Sides

The agenda that I have been promoting here is Thai English. Central to this inquiry is my belief or bias that Thai English exists. However, the present study opens up the grave reality of the colonial construct of English in Thailand. Although English in Thailand lacks a strong population base and actually does not have an official status, its presence and hegemonic status in Thai society are increasingly uncontested, celebrated, and entrenched. Although Thailand has escaped a physical occupation by the West, her people seem to have difficulty emancipating themselves from a new form of cultural and intellectual colonization—neo-colonialism. These writers, the highly educated group of Thai people, reflect the worldview of imperialism; many long to speak in *farang* tongues. Sadly, some of these writers were Thai "in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect" (Bamgbose, 1991, p. 4).

Ironically, it was more interesting for me to assume others' bitter experiences than to taste them by myself. That is, taking the researcher's role allowed me to listen to the

repertoire of stories of how these writers marginalized themselves and/or were marginalized by others. Yet such a role as a momentary outsider and an observer prevented me from seeing myself as colonialized. Hence, after taking off my researcher's hat, I asked myself the same series of interview questions to determine whether my English position in the past reflected self-marginalization. When the time came for me to face reality outside the researcher's role, it was far from easy to arrive at the conclusion that I was not different from those writers. With low self-esteem in terms of English usage, I was also trapped deeper and deeper in my own crack of internal colonialization. In effect, nobody else but me devalued myself throughout those years of learning English. My fainted memory of Ghandhi's notion that it is we, the English-knowing men, who have enslaved India turned to be alive, and for the first time, to be crystal clear to me.

Looking back at my past life through my journal entries, I could see how each episode of the colonial marginalization constructed in relation to English discourse took place in me. No matter how hard I tried to contest it, deeply, such unequal feelings were with me over the course of my life.

1987: 'Exempted' English, Bangkok, Thailand

In high school, I was a bookworm; I ate less in order to save my allowance to buy books. One of the books I hated to read but needed to buy was a TOEFL vocabulary pocket book. Day and night, I memorized words and words. Because of that effort, I passed a national entrance examination to enter a renowned university located in Bangkok. In those days (and even now), all freshmen were required to take an English placement test. Based on that test, I was exempted from taking two introductory English

classes. Ironically, I did not even know what “exempted” meant until a friend, who got much lower English scores than me, brought the term to light. At any rate, I was proud of my English; drilling TOEFL vocabulary into my head everyday paid off.

For decades, I did not realize that I carried such a naïve view of English with me. I did not realize that trying to fit into Bangkokian cultures had blinded me from seeing the real body of the city.

Like the United States, Bangkok is a dream land for both short-term and long-term immigrants from Thailand’s villages. It is the hub where social classes crash into one another softly; social inequality functions leisurely, in a shadow. Here, Thai people marginalize one another every single minute by the cars they drive, the watches they wear, the countries they visit, the dialect they own, the English language they know, etc. Discriminatory practices seem to prevail everywhere.

1988: A Linguistic Intern

On an oven-like afternoon, I walked into one of the most thrilling-like-television episodes: an intermediate English Grammar course. In that class, we students were introduced to an analysis of sentence structure. Day in and day out, we peeled a sentence into bits and pieces as if we were on a mission in searching for a new kind of disease in that sentential skeleton; we were not different from medical students eager to diagnose our first artificial patient. As part of that investigation unit, I thought that the teacher must be crazy. Bored and bored, I did not pay much attention to what the teacher taught but questioned her English accent. Among classmates, we traded gossips: “Is this the kind of an English teacher we have here? Dear!?”

I did not realize that such forensic grammatical analysis would be rewarding in a later period of my life.

Never did I realize that the episode of this teacher's life and our gossip about her accent was going to be repeated, not about her, but about me, in decades to come.

1988: The Same Oven

On another steamy day in the middle of the same semester, I dropped out of my first writing English course for fear of getting an F. The first three returned essays were painted with the teacher's red pen—a discriminatory device. I was lost in an English academy; I did not know who I could turn to. Frightened, I silently announced a cold war with that writing teacher. From that moment on, every English writing course turned into an academic jail for me; writing teachers paralyzed me even before they showed up in classrooms.

I did not realize that the magic of the TOFEL words that I drilled in those days had turned pale; the English placement test had fooled me. I did not realize that the memorization trick failed me; I could not write.

1989: The Same Old Oven

I hated myself when I could not speak fluent English like my classmates who came from international high schools, who were raised abroad, and who were someone we students wanted to be. I found a language laboratory to be my sanctuary; repeating a dialogue with a tape recorder took me to another world and made me forget my realities outside the lab for awhile.

1990: The Same Old, Old Oven

Over the course of a rainy semester, speaking English with a Thai accent was one of the most delightful topics that we students used to lampoon Thai teachers. We questioned their qualifications for being an English teacher on this basis. We graded good English teachers based on their pronunciation. Most strikingly, we equated quality English teachers with the ability to speak with a *farang*'s accent. In that generation of the 1990s, the popular English teachers among us were those who spoke English "Britishly" or "Americanly," but not "Thaily".

I did not realize how much such an attitude hurt the teachers' feelings and their self-esteem. Intentionally, we devalued our local teachers; we marginalized ourselves.

1991-1999: Business English—Money Making Machine

Right after graduation, I started my first job at a Japanese manufacturing firm. I earned a monthly salary 20% higher than those new graduates whose English was not considered 'good' enough. Here, I saw that English put me in a better, if not best, position when compared with others. I thought my business English skills deserved the pay I was granted; I did not realize that I was in a vicious cycle of linguistic discriminatory practice.

I used a survival English at work most of the time with co-workers who were Japanese, Malaysians, Taiwanese, Singaporeans, etc. Every time I was on a business trip to Singapore, I wished I could speak in Thai to articulate my thoughts. I hated it when those local business partners equated my broken English with my business ability; I hated it when those who were once colonized by others turned to colonize others themselves.

At home, I unintentionally marginalized other Thais who did not know English.

Abroad, I was intentionally marginalized by others who thought they spoke "better" English than me.

2002: A Frog in a Freezer, USA

A decade later, by chance, I joined the TESOL enterprise in an American-dream land, where I stepped outside my culture and saw myself, for the first time, from a different outlook. Here, my English accent stood out. I struggled, yet I allowed myself to project my accent and to make sense out of my differences. Academic writing, in particular, reinforced my decision to take my background seriously. Exploring myself, I made use of my Thai values hidden in me to work against dominant English and mainstream thinking. I did not know much about the TESOL discipline, but it was the first time that I did not want to surrender my voices to the conformity that was forced on me.

I wanted to be free.

2004: A Summer Breeze, Indiana, PA

Starting my doctoral coursework in the same program, I gradually learned to validate the raw materials of my childhood, turning episodes of my struggles and poverty into meaningful writing pieces of differences. I recognized that cooking writing from such materials made me unique. In retrospect, I started thinking seriously about what I had missed in those of my English writing classrooms back home. At the end of the semester, I was truly into a personal writing approach.

Creative writing was on my waiting list for me to teach when I returned home.

2004: Autumn, Falling Leaves, Falling Self

My confidence in expressive writing as an empowerment tool for individuals was challenged at the beginning of the semester. Resistance in order to have my own way of writing could not be applied in every class. In this semester, I was totally rejected by one of my composition professors, who never taught me a single word about how to write academically. Not knowing how to write Americanly, I had no room to survive except by serving the professor's needs. Writing in the conventions that I had barely learned, I mimicked a writing style from a journal article word for word, paragraph by paragraph; I was a copy machine made in Thailand. A writing pain from the college class in Bangkok hit me back. I hated being in that class; a gigantic butterfly drummed in my stomach before I stepped into the classroom. I left that jail with a B grade, feeling ideologically naked.

It took me years to kill that butterfly.

2006: A Dawn of Understanding

In my last coursework, I was introduced to a World Englishes concept. Retrospectively, I recalled my English learning experience back home. I was in my Thai teachers' shoes; I valued their endeavor in teaching; I felt guilty for my prejudice over them on the issue of the Thai accent. In particular, I thought of the teacher of that 1998 grammar class. In my teacher's shoes, I felt her burden; I touched her pain; I regretted. Here, I came to deeply understand how patient those of my English teachers had to be with their students; and how much pride they had to swallow for being non-native English teachers.

This World Englishes concept was reminiscent of my undergraduate classmates who spoke fluent English like *farangs.* To this point, it was the first time in my life that I did not hate myself for not being able to speak fluent English like they did. Most importantly, it was the first time when I learned to appreciate my accent, seeing myself beyond an accent boundary. In this regard, I saw the value of being a Thai woman who knew how to converse about her standpoints in English with others. It was the first time I felt empowered, being able to defend myself as a capable "Other" and altering an image of "Thai women" from the sexual entertainment business.

From that semester on, I wished that the teacher knew how much I appreciated her episodes of the grammatical forensic analysis technique; they saved me, paper by paper. They helped me get over my writing phobia. Semester in and semester out, I realized that the forensic background knowledge helped me write. Understanding sentence structure, I knew how to seam one sentence into another.

Although writing was never anything else but a site of struggle, my attitude toward it shifted a great deal. Entirely, I came to realize that I could never avoid it eventually. The best way for me to move on was learning to negotiate and locate my English within a particular writing genre. In the end, in addition to obtaining a doctoral degree, I needed to sharpen my academic English skills to be able to belong to a professional community.

2007: Research in the Heat Wave, Bangkok

Trying not to draw a beautiful picture of the study's results in my mind, I returned to the same oven-like metropolis to conduct my first qualitative research study. Twenty professional Thai writers with diverse English writing experiences had rendered me a

once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to learn from them. Some writers were those whose work I had been exposed to when I was a high school girl.

In the interviews, I recorded interactions of battles, frustrations and happiness while these writers made sense of their English. Strikingly, I heard a marginal voice talking back to a mainstream power; I saw a crash of dreams, attitudes, and realities in relation to language use.

I embarked on the first interview with high hope; I left the research field with contradictory emotions: frustration; disappointment; and faith. My confidence in being a World Englishes speaker was challenged from time to time. Over the course of the interview, I sometimes saw myself as a loner, wondering if my attempt to explore Thai English would bear fruit. I questioned myself about whether I should be an honest researcher or should save face for the participants and the nation. At any rate, my researcher self told me not to involve my emotions in reporting the true research situation.

August 16, 2008: Then, Here I Am

After all, it was interesting to uncover that most of the Thai writers colonialized themselves in response to Western discourse and ideological power. This was the answer that I attempted to probe in this research project.

To cope with reality and to be able to move forward in a professional direction as a literacy teacher, I revisited my past experiences. Undertaking this critical self-confession allowed me to trace how my self marginalization was formed and how it developed. Looking back, I remade the meaning of each episode; then I understood how deep the self-marginalization running in me was. This self-reflection permitted me to see

that my self-marginalization was historically embedded in my past experiences inside and outside English classrooms; at workplaces and sidewalks along the road of my life. This type of colonial construct was subtle yet dreadfully powerful. These episodes of self-reflection were of paramount importance to me. They opened up a space for me to reclaim my agency. Central to this reflection was an opportunity to see that at least I had not surrendered my voices to the West entirely; I tried to contest the colonization of my mind.

Unfortunately, in most cases, I did not succeed.

And Now, Where Should I Go From Here?

Soon, I am going back home to stand in front of Thai college students, who might equate my accent with my English knowledge (and might exchange the same episodes of gossip that I did). I do understand now that such attitudes are not created overnight. They are however deeply invested in the way we Thais learn and teach English. Indeed, the perception toward English is the root of the concept of the imperial English construct.

To not teach colonial English and to stay in the game of power of discourse, I myself have to address the issue of self-marginalization. In this personal agenda, I have to carve out a corner for myself where I can do what I believe needs to be done not only as an English teacher but also as a poststructuralist.

Within this frame, the better, if not best, place to start is by not self-marginalizing myself but instead uplifting my pride as an English user. As an agent of constituted discourse, I need to redeem a sense of human AGENCY that has been surrendered to the discursive colonial control for a long time. Then, in my power, I will take another step to instill a belief in SELF into my individual students' hearts.

At the end of the day, I do hope that my students will leave English classrooms with the simple concept that they can learn English; they can appreciate it; they can appropriate it; but they do not have to be enslaved by it. English is not a master but an additional communicative tool to enhance their possibility of being someone equally important as others.

Where should I go from here?

The answer lies in a twin political, ideological, and pedagogical question:

How to teach and learn English to serve as an anticolonial weapon?

And

How not to teach and learn English blindly?

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APPENDIX A

Participant Consent Form

Document of Informed Consent

Dear Khun……..

My name is Adcharawan Buripakdi, and I am a PhD student in Composition and TESOL program at Indiana University of Pennsylvania.

You are invited to participate in my research study. The following information is provided in order to help you to make an informed decision whether or not to participate. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask. You are eligible to participate in this project because 1) you are a writer of short stories, poems, novels, textbooks, columns, editorials or articles in English, and/ or 2) you are a translator of short stories, poems, novels, textbooks, columns, editorials or articles from Thai to English and vice versa.

The purpose of this study is to characterize a particular section of Thai-English based on a World Englishes framework and to address the actual English language usage in literary and non-literary contexts in contrast with a national language policy in Thailand. Participation in this study will require approximately 2 hours of your time. During this time you will be interviewed about your experiences, beliefs, and your voices as a Thai English writer. In so doing, you will be asked to exemplify rhetorical and textual strategies in your work.

Your responses to the interview questions are very important. Therefore, I ask your permission to tape the interview. This tape will only be used by me and my project director, and will not be shared with anyone else.

You may find the reflecting experience meaningful and the information may be helpful to you when you try to conceptualize and analyze your experiences of writing literary works in English and how different or similar they are from literacy practices in Thai. The information gained from this study may help me to better understand characteristics of Thai English particularly in writing.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to decide not to participate in this study or to withdraw at any time. If you choose to participate, you may withdraw at any time by notifying me. Upon your request to withdraw, all information pertaining to you will be destroyed. If you choose to participate, all information will be held in strict confidence and will have no bearing on your academic standing or services you receive from the University. Your response will be considered only in combination with those from other participants. The information obtained in the study may be published in scientific journals or presented at scientific meetings but your identity will be kept strictly

confidential. A pseudonym will be used in every process to protect your information and identity.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign the statement. If you choose not to participate, do not respond to this letter.

If you have any questions please contact the researcher or the project director:

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This project has been approved by the Indiana University of Pennsylvania Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (Phone: 724/357-7730).

VOLUNTARY CONSENT FORM

I have read and understand the information on the form and I consent to volunteer to be a subject in this study. I understand that my responses are completely confidential and that I have the right to withdraw at any time. I have received an unsigned copy of this informed Consent Form to keep in my possession.

Name (PLEASE PRINT)

Signature

Date

Phone number or location where you can be reached

Best days and times to reach you

I certify that I have explained to the above individual the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research study, have answered any questions that have been raised, and have witnessed the above signature.

_____

Date Investigator's Signature

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions

Set 1: English literacy background

1. Please describe your English educational background.
2. Please describe your English writing learning background.
3. Please describe your working experiences as an English writer.

Set 2: Writing Reflections

1. Is there anything special about each? What makes you proud of each work?
2. What does each piece say about your understanding of writing in English?
3. Have you ever written about this issue in Thai?
4. What would be different if you wrote it in Thai?
5. Why did you choose to write about this issue in English?
6. Would your voice change if you wrote this piece in Thai? If so, how would it sound?
7. Generally speaking, what does it mean to you to compose in English?

Set 3: Thai English Evaluation

1. Do you think you have a Thai voice in English?
2. If yes, what does it mean to you?
3. If no, what voices do you have, then?
4. How would you describe your English?
5. Do you think your English is an example of Thai English? Have you considered your English Thai English?
6. If yes, what does it mean to you?
8. If no, how do you consider it?

Set 4: Strategies about the discourse of Thai English

1. Some research in English has claimed that there is a Thai form of English that is unique. What is your opinion about this statement?
2. How much are you concerned about constructing Thainess in your writing?
3. Have you actively promoted Thai English? If so, how? Please provide examples.
4. If yes, what does it mean to you to promote Thai English?
5. If yes, what are your rhetorical and compositional strategies in promoting Thai English or pushing Thai English forward?
6. If no, why do you disagree with the statement? Why do you reject the term Thai English?
7. In other words, if no, what does it mean to not promote Thai English?