Cultural identity and language: a proposed framework for cultural globalisation and glocalisation

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This paper attempts to define cultural globalisation and cultural glocalisation in terms of cultural identity (CI) and language. Homogenisation, heterogenisation and glocalisation are three possible ways to face the challenge of cultural globalisation but glocalisation may be the most realistic solution as it seems to be the way to a better quality of life. The process of exporting CIs to other nations is cultural globalisation while adaptation of incoming foreign CIs to suit local needs is cultural glocalisation. Language is a CI in the domain of lifestyles as well as carrier of CIs of institutional systems and spiritual values. Incoming foreign languages and foreign CIs often cause changes in local CIs. This is an interactive process as changes of any CIs may lead to alterations of other CIs. To be an effective communicator in this multilingual world, people have to develop multilingual and multicultural competencies. The experience of Hong Kong and Singapore in glocalisation of Mandarin and the rapid growth in the number of Mandarin learners and speakers all over the world indicate the potential for development of Mandarin into an international language after English.

Keywords: cultural identity; English; Mandarin; globalisation; glocalisation

Background

Steger (2003) believed globalisation to be as old as human civilisation but it is difficult to understand the complex meaning of globalisation. Nowadays, 'for better or worse, we are being propelled into a global order that no one fully understands, but which is making its effects felt upon all of us' (Giddens 2003, 6–7). Lui and Stack (2009) discussed globalisation from economic, political and cultural perspectives and argued that globalisation was a multicausal and multistranded process that brings changes to every country. Tsui and Tollefson (2007) described globalisation as transformation of the world into an interconnected global village where technology and English were two inseparable skills. Weeden (1987) described language as a platform for construction of social and personal identity. Kumaravadivelu (2008) thought globalisation was more applicable to second language education that brought languages and cultures together. Being language specialists, Tsui, Tollefson and Kumaravadivelu consider cultural globalisation a key factor for language learning. This paper attempts to propose a framework of cultural globalisation and glocalisation in terms of cultural identity (CI) and language.

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Responses to cultural globalisation can be categorised into homogenisation, harmony, resistance and discord (Lui and Stack 2009). The 'hyperglobalizers' (Steger 2003) have presented a blushing picture of a rising global culture: 'Globalization = Westernization = Americanization = McDonaldization' (Kumaravadivelu 2008, 39). The western countries with English as the main language have spread their influence to other parts of the world and this process is normally regarded as 'Westernization'. Among these countries, the USA is the most powerful in terms of economic, technological and military resources and hence the term 'Americanization' does reflect strong effects of the American culture, particularly the pop culture, on other countries. The term 'McDonaldization' refers to efficiency, calculability, predictability and control which produce standardisation and homogenised goods and services (Ritzer 1996). Standardisation is one of the key core values of the American culture that has penetrated into many countries through American-English. In addition, American entertainment industries such as movies, music, software and television broadcasting are the key cultural values transmission agents that may impact or even be threats to local CIs of other countries. American films have successfully entered every market in the world (Lui and Stack 2009). The Star Wars series is popular in every country because American-produced sound and pictures pass as knowledge to most people around the world (Barber 1995). One can see Star War toys, musical CDs of Michael Jackson and McDonald's eateries everywhere in the world, giving rise to the question whether all will turn to be Americans?

Kumaravadivelu (2008) calls those who foreground their local characteristics 'localizers' as they assume that the most significant feature of cultural globalisation is heterogenisation, in which a huge number of local CIs are revitalised. Although Kumaravadivelu (2008) insists that globalisation has strengthened the force of fundamentalism which Giddens (2003, 49) described as 'a child of globalization', in reality, fundamentalism normally has greater effect on traditional values than daily life patterns. In Hong Kong and Singapore, one can see people enjoying coffee in Starbucks cafes, eating hamburgers in McDonald's restaurants, watching Hollywood films in cinemas and listening to Michael Jackson's songs, though many are still strongly under the influence of Confucian values. The acceptance of western lifestyles is primarily because of the desire for betterment of life. Citing different forms of English language used in different parts of the world and the American entertainment industry as examples, Lui and Stack (2009) argue that people do not accept foreign cultural forms blindly; they localise them to suit their needs. The 'Hong Kong English', 'Singlish', transcriptions of Hollywood films and American television programmes are examples of how foreign cultural forms are altered and shaped in Hong Kong and Singapore. This kind of response to globalisation is more common than heterogenisation in many countries all over the world.

Based on the Japanese word *dochakuka*, Robertson (1995) used the term 'glocalization' for 'global localization' and even thought of substituting 'globalization' with 'glocalization' because of the twin relations between the two processes. According to Kumaravadivelu (2008), cultural transmission is a two-way process in which cultures that interact with each other shape and reshape each other. Appadurai (1990, 1996) stated that tension between cultural homogenisation and cultural heterogenisation was the key problem for global interaction and defined hard and soft cultural forms in terms of linkage with values, meaning and practices. It is difficult to transform hard cultural forms because of their strong links with local

values, meaning and practices but relatively easy for soft cultural forms to be transformed. Even though hard and soft cultural forms are comparative concepts and most cultural forms are to a certain extent linked to some forms of cultural values, Appadurai's view can be a starting point for discussion of glocalisation. Although 'McDonaldization' means standardisation and homogenised goods and services, when McDonald's goes into other countries, its American style fast food and standards have to be glocalised. For example, it serves grilled chicken burgers in Japan and sausage and egg twisty pasta (breakfast) in Hong Kong. The following comment on Japanese McDonald's in an Internet forum is revealing:

> Surprisingly (to us Americans, maybe), McDonald's all over the world has different menus to cater themselves to the locals. Even in Hawaii, you'll find things like ramen, Portuguese Sausage/Eggs/Rice Plates, and taro pies. Japanese McDonald's, of course has it's own quirks, not to mention special choices on the menu. Besides the food, Japanese McDonald's has some other differences as well. Ronald McDonald has a different name: Donald (ドナルド). McDonald's restaurants are generally a lot cleaner, staff seems to be a little friendlier, and everything is a little more upscale (at least as upscale as McDonald's can be). The drinks and fries are considerably smaller, though the hamburgers are only a little smaller. They have most of the staple McDonald's choices on the menu, but I went through and found all the ones you might not see in your country of origin. (Tofugu 2008)

As the above comment is apparently made by an American, it suggests that even Americans do appreciate this kind of glocalisation since it means enhancement of quality and choice. As suggested by Tsui and Tollefson (2007), English is an important mediational tool for the current stage of cultural globalisation. Glocalisation is a way for advancement that brings better quality of life. If one wants to enjoy this kind of quality life and understand the global context better, one must learn the local language and English well. What is the role of language in the process of cultural globalisation and glocalisation? The answer may help understand the complex relationships among CI and language.

Cultural identity (CI) and language

Cultural identity (CI)

The word 'culture' originated from the Latin word 'colere' meaning 'to cultivate'. It encompasses connotations such as worshipping, farming and spiritual cultivation. Since the late nineteenth century, scholars like Edward Tylor, Clyde Kluckhohn, Clark Wissler, Robert Lowie, Edward Sapir, Alfred Kroeber, Allison Davis and John Dollard, John Bennett and Melvin Tumin have defined 'culture' in their own ways (Wei 2003). It is also 'one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language' because it has 'come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought' (Williams 1976, 87). Wade (1999) thought no matter how one defined 'cultures' they were interconnected with each other and in an ever-changing state. Street (1993) argued that 'culture' should be a verb as it refers to a dynamic process of meaning-making. Kumaravadivelu (2008, 12) also suggests that 'cultures thrive in part because of the connections they forge with one another'. Zheng (1996) defined 'culture' in two senses: (1) it refers to all substances including materialistic things, institutional systems and spiritual values created and commonly accepted by a certain group of

people in a broad sense; and (2) it also refers mainly to spiritual values and behaviours which can be acquired through learning and are commonly possessed by a certain group of people in a narrow sense. The dynamic nature of cultures is caused by interactions among various CIs. Wade (1999, 5) stated that people seek CIs 'in what one has in common with others, perceived to be like oneself'. Friedman (1994, 29–30) referred to 'cultural identity' as 'ethnicity' and said:

> If 'cultural identity' is the generic concept, referring to the attribute of a set of qualities to a given population . . . It is not practiced but inherent, not achieved but ascribed. In a weaker sense this is expressed as heritage, or as cultural descent, learned by each and every individual and distinctive precisely at the level of individual behavior.

Friedman's view on 'cultural identity' is quite similar to Zheng's definition of culture. According to Kramsch (1998), language expresses, embodies and symbolises cultural reality and members of the group draw personal pride, social importance and historical continuity from using the same group languages. Kramsch focused on the role of language in CIs while Zheng defined culture in domains of lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values. In this paper, CIs refer to special features of lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values.

Cultural identities (CIs) of lifestyles, institutional systems, spiritual values and languages

Based on Hall (1996), Tsui and Tollefson (2007) outlined four intertwined common elements in the discursive construction of national identities: (1) a national spirit in cultural forms of life; (2) a shared historical memory; (3) an anticipation of future development; and (4) an emphasis on the origin, continuity, tradition and time-lessness of the nation. These four elements are in accord with Zheng's and Wade's definitions of culture but with special emphasis on continuity of traditional uniqueness of a nation. If we synthesise all the above views, the following framework of cultural globalisation and glocalisation in terms of CIs can be developed.

In this framework, the process of exporting CIs to other nations from dominant cultures (English) is cultural globalisation while assimilation of CIs of dominant cultures to suit local needs is cultural glocalisation. Lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values are three key domains of CIs in a culture. The dominant English culture and non-English cultures do have their own CIs. In Appadurai's terms, lifestyles such as food, clothes and houses can be classified as soft cultural forms which do not have strong links with specific values. However, institutional systems like legal and political systems, as well as spiritual values (philosophies, religions and moral standards), are hard cultural forms which do have strong links with specific and relatively less flexible values that are very difficult to change. Lifestyles of a specific culture normally evolve around certain institutional structures like political and legal systems, and root support of these systems are spiritual values of the culture. Among these CIs, language is special since it is also a carrier of CIs of the culture. By learning their mother tongues and accumulating real life experiences, people develop and transmit their local CIs. People can also absorb specific CIs of foreign cultures into their own CIs by learning foreign languages. In this framework, dominant CIs (English) can interchange with non-English CIs through foreign language learning. The process of learning a foreign language normally starts from

linguistic skills for daily life communication, and then goes into institutional systems and finally spiritual values. People of non-English can learn English CIs through learning English while people of English culture can know about non-English CIs through learning languages other than English. Learning a language also means learning its CIs of lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values as language is a carrier of culture. In this framework, a second way for interchange of national CIs through real life practice of foreign CIs is also proposed. For example, people of non-English cultures like the Chinese can familiarise themselves with English CIs by enjoying fish and chips, by getting involved in western systems of political elections and practicing gender equality. People of English culture can also acquire Chinese CIs by enjoying 'dimsum' (delicatessen), wearing 'chongsam' (a long lady's dress with slit sides) and consulting 'fengshui' (geomancy). The most effective way to learn a foreign culture is to learn its language and live in the culture. However, in reality, comparatively speaking, learning a foreign language is a more practical way to understand foreign cultures for many people.

The incoming CIs of foreign languages often merge with or shape local lifestyles. For example, one can see many people in Hong Kong and Singapore enjoying coffee and cakes in Starbucks, wearing western suits or jeans and living in flats with western furniture and electronic products. When people accept foreign lifestyles, impact of incoming CIs at institutional systems level deepens because the changed preferences in eating and clothing, as well as housing, impact institutional thinking and operations also. If the CIs come from countries with higher living standards, merging or shaping of local CIs means enhancement of the quality of life. For daily necessities, English-speaking countries do have specific systems to control the safety of the people. There are clear sets of laws and policies regulating production and marketing of food, clothes and houses. Although Hong Kong has become a special administrative region of China and Singapore is an independent country, their legal and political systems are, to a great extent, a continuation of glocalised British practices which preserve their living standards and stability.

Although Appadurai argues that hard cultural forms (strongly linked with values, meaning and practices) are more difficult to be glocalised, if the values are really good to the people, they can still be glocalised, one example being the case of gender equality in Hong Kong and Singapore. The Confucian Singapore has given way to a society with more gender rights since 1999, as evidenced by awarding of equal medical benefits to both men and women in the civil service (Chew 2007). Hong Kong had accepted gender equality before Singapore. However, as Chew has observed, adaptation of western CIs has already changed gender-related values in these two cities despite the majority of population being ethnic Chinese. Medical treatment is a daily necessity and when people know that western men and women enjoy equal benefits, they will ask for that. The first step, of course, is to change the laws and policies on gender rights. Attitude of senior officials of the government is crucial to policy changes. At that time, senior officials of Hong Kong and Singapore were either British or local people educated overseas whose ways of thinking were shaped by western lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values. They had the necessary experience and knowledge to compare pros and cons of changing hard cultural forms of traditional values and to make suitable modifications.

The two aims, 'science' and 'democracy' of the May Fourth Movement (1917) in China, were essentially incoming CIs from the western world which awakened many youths and intellectuals who felt that China really needed new institutional systems

and spiritual values. However, actualisation of 'democracy' is not an easy task as it involves changes in systems and values as well as issues of resources and power. Coming back to Hong Kong and Singapore, people in these two societies have changed their values in respect of gender equality and revised their policies accordingly. In the old days of Hong Kong and Singapore, restaurants were places mainly for men but now many women and children go to restaurants even without being accompanied by their husbands and fathers. This is how change of values affects daily life.

The three domains of CIs are interrelated as lifestyles are protected by certain institutional structures like political and legal systems and the core of these institutional systems normally lies in spiritual values of the cultures. This is an interactive route as changes in one CI in any one domain may lead to alterations of other CIs, as happened in the case of gender rights in Hong Kong and Singapore.

Glocalisation of foreign languages in local languages

Lui and Stack (2009, 93) state: 'Today, an enormous number of people are not only learning English in so many places, but are also modifying, "localizing", the language in ways barely recognisable to an American or Briton'. Learning a foreign language such as English can be seen as the first stage of cultural glocalisation. As language is a CI, and a carrier of other CIs, learning a foreign language is not only studying its language systems, but also adopting its CIs. The first stage of learning a foreign language is to know its phonetic, lexical and grammatical features. After acquiring a basic competence in the foreign language, the second stage is to learn about its CIs in terms of lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values. In this learning process, it is common for learners to compare CIs of the foreign language with their local languages and then glocalisation of foreign language takes place.

For example, in case of Hong Kong and Singapore (non-English cultures), Britain (the dominant culture) exports many English CIs to these two regions and even after her leaving, the high economic and political values of English still make English a dominant language (Figure 1). According to Chew (2007, 76), 'English was seen as the language that would attract foreign investment and give the society the leading edge in education, academic achievement, international trade and business'. The use of this dominant language is also taken as a form of linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991) which can easily be converted into other forms of capital such as educational qualifications and higher income (Chew 2007). For small cities and countries with very limited resources like Hong Kong and Singapore, making English the dominant language is a practical way for survival and betterment of life in this competitive world. When English CIs were assimilated into non-English cultures like Hong Kong and Singapore, the English CIs underwent a process of globalisation. However, once the English CIs entered Hong Kong and Singapore, localisation of English CIs of the two cultures took place immediately and that is glocalisation of English CIs. In Hong Kong and Singapore, British English has been glocalised to be 'Hong Kong English' and 'Singapore English'. Following the rapid growth of China in recent years, the export of Mandarin to Hong Kong (Putonghua) and Singapore is a process of Mandarin's globalisation that may also go through a glocalisation process and result in local varieties of Mandarin evolving because of these (Hong Kong and Singapore) cultures absorbing the incoming Mandarin CIs. The impact of
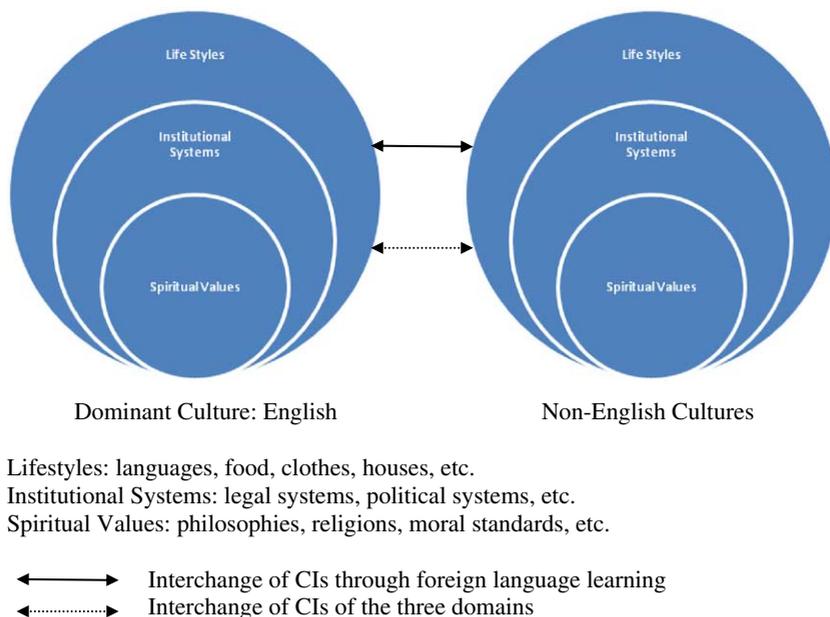
Dominant Culture: English Non-English Cultures

Lifestyles: languages, food, clothes, houses, etc.
Institutional Systems: legal systems, political systems, etc.
Spiritual Values: philosophies, religions, moral standards, etc.

Interchange of CIs through foreign language learning
Interchange of CIs of the three domains

Figure 1. Globalisation and glocalisation of cultural identities.

Mandarin's globalisation on CIs of Hong Kong and Singapore is significant because of cultural and political factors.

The case of Hong Kong

Hong Kong, a city of China, became a colony of Great Britain after the First Opium War (1839–1842) and was returned to China in 1997. Before 1997, English was the legal and official language although Cantonese was spoken by most people in Hong Kong. The Official Languages Ordinance of 1974 added Chinese to English as one of the two official languages, restoring the status of the Chinese language in Hong Kong. Since then, Hong Kong has become a real bilingual city and most Hong Kong people have mastered Chinese well while they communicate functionally in English. Currently English is still the dominant language in political, economic and academic sectors though Cantonese or Putonghua can be used in Legco and the courts. In real life situations, very few Chinese (who can master English) enjoy living in English style; most people in Hong Kong live in a 'Hong Kong English' environment.

The growth of Putonghua in the 1990s brought another challenge to the CIs of Hong Kong. The 'biliterate trilingual' language education policy announced by HKSAR Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa in his first policy address in 1997 speeded up the coming of Putonghua CIs to Hong Kong. According to figures released by the Hong Kong Census & Statistics Department, in 2006 Hong Kong had a population of 6.86 million, of which 95% were Chinese, 1.6% were Filipinos and 3.4% were other nationalities. There are three major groups of common CIs in Hong Kong, among which Cantonese represents local CIs while English and Putonghua CIs are imported from English countries and the Mainland, respectively (Figure 2).

As shown in Figure 2, the 'Hong Kong English' is the glocalised form of English and Cantonese and the 'Hong Kong Putonghua' is the glocalised form of Cantonese
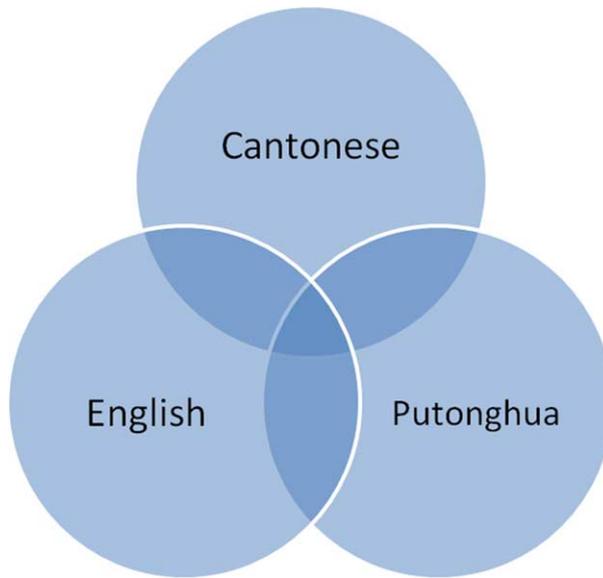
Figure 2.   Glocalisation of English and Putonghua in local languages of Hong Kong.

and Putonghua. The 'Hong Kong English' is a form of English with significant elements of Cantonese. Bolton (2002) outlined the development of 'Hong Kong English' from stages of 'Chinese pidgin English', missionary school English and mass education English, to post-colonial English in his book 'Hong Kong English: Autonomy and Creativity'. In this book, linguistic features of 'Hong Kong English' in terms of phonology, relative clauses and words are discussed by Tony Hung, Nikolas Gishorne and Phil Benson, respectively. The 'biliterate trilingual' language education policy announced by HKSAR Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa in his first policy address in 1997 speeded up the coming of Putonghua CIs to Hong Kong. Pupils in Hong Kong have to study Cantonese (mother tongue or L1 for majority of Hong Kong people), English (foreign language for most Hong Kong people) and Putonghua (L2 for all school pupils currently). It is anticipated that the role of Putonghua will become more and more important due to economic and political reasons while English will maintain its international language status. In response to the incoming Putonghua CIs, the 'Hong Kong Putonghua', a mixture of Putonghua and Cantonese, has evolved. The 'biliterate trilingual' language education policy and mass migrations from the Mainland provide the opportunity for English to integrate with Putonghua to form 'Chinese English' (glocalisation of English and Putonghua) that is 'used by the Chinese people in China, being based on standard English and having Chinese characteristics' (Wang 1994, 7). The overlapping area between Cantonese, English and Putonghua in Figure 2 represents integration of the three languages. For example, 'taxi' is translated from English into Cantonese as 'diksi' in Hong Kong and then this noun is absorbed by Mandarin to form a Mandarin phrase 'dade'. The verb 'da' means 'call' while the noun 'de' is the short form of 'diksi' in Cantonese. The Mandarin phrase 'dade' is popular in Mainland but more and more young people in Hong Kong also use the word 'dadik' in Cantonese when they need to call a taxi. Although this kind of integration is not common at this stage, one can

hear the trilingual mode of daily conversations in Hong Kong in addition to the mixed-mode communication of English and Cantonese.

The case of Hong Kong illustrates the glocalisation of English and Putonghua in Cantonese and possible development of the three languages. Since language is a carrier of CIs, learning and using English and Putonghua also mean glocalisation of CIs of lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values of the two languages.

The case of Singapore

Singapore, a territory originally controlled by Malaysia, officially became a British colony in 1824 and it became an independent country in 1965. In 2009, the total population of Singapore was appropriately 4.99 million with 1.25 million non-residents (Singapore Statistical Department 2009). Currently, there are three major ethnic groups of citizens and permanent residents in Singapore: Chinese (74.2%), Malays (13.4%) and Indians (9.2%), according to 2009 figures of the Singapore Statistical Department. English, as one of the four official languages, is used for communication among various ethnic groups while Mandarin, Malay and Tamil are used within the ethnic groups. The above official figures do not include overseas workers such as domestic helpers from the Philippines, professionals from Japan, Europe and the USA. All these make the language situation of Singapore more complicated than the case of Hong Kong. The language profile of Singapore can be simplified in Figure 3.

In Figure 3, as there are four official languages in Singapore, there can be eight possible mixtures of the four languages: (1) English and Mandarin; (2) English and Malay; (3) Malay and Tamil; (4) Mandarin and Tamil; (5) English, Mandarin and Malay; (6) English, Malay and Tamil; (7) Tamil, Mandarin and English; and (8) English, Malay, Tamil and Mandarin. Since English and Mandarin are used for
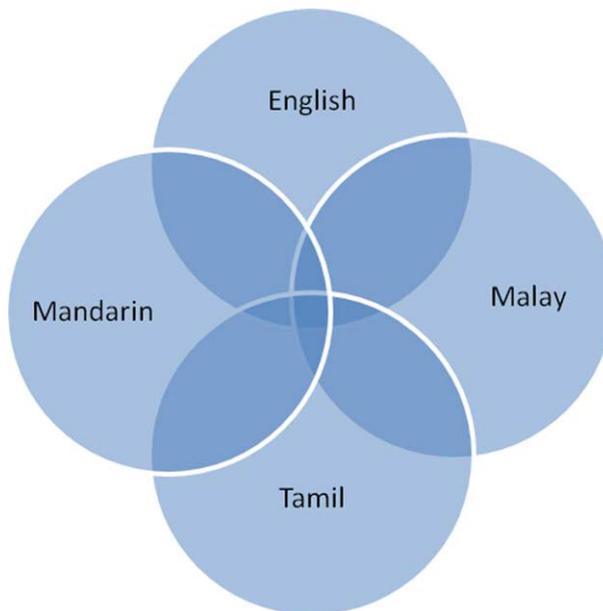

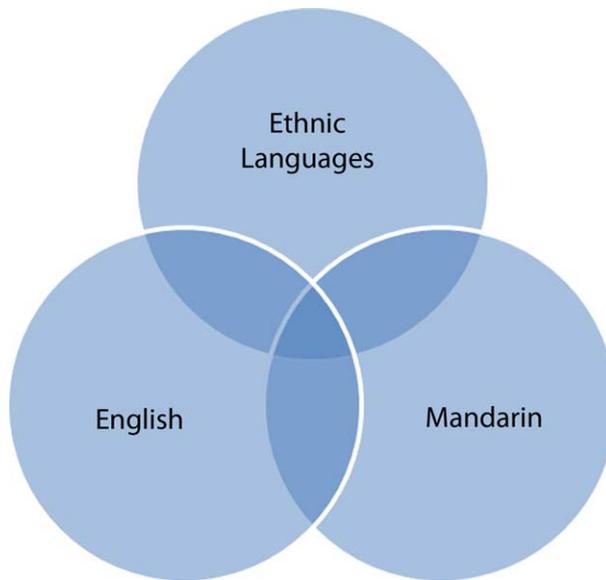Figure 3.   Language profile of Singapore.

Figure 4.   Glocalisation of English and Mandarin to local languages of Singapore.

communication among various ethnic groups and within Chinese ethnic groups (74.2% of the total population in 2009), respectively, these two imported languages are major variables of language profile in Singapore. The glocalisation of English and Mandarin in local languages of Singapore is represented in Figure 4.

In Singapore dialects of ethnic groups are often mother tongue or L1 for many aged persons although more and more parents are adopting English as their family language. Mother tongue of most ethnic Chinese in Singapore aged 50 or above is either Cantonese, Teochew, Hockchew, Hainanese or Hakka. Glocalisation of Mandarin (the overlap of Ethnic Languages and Mandarin in Figure 4 has resulted in evolution of the unique 'Singapore Mandarin' with strong dialectal elements (Chew 2002, 2009; Woon 2002). In 1979, the Singapore Government launched the Speak Mandarin Campaign (SMC) to 'persuade the dialect-speaking Chinese to switch from low-value dialects to high-value Mandarin' (Chew 2007, 77). It was very successful in a communicational sense since the percentage of households using Mandarin as the dominant language rose from 13% in 1980 to 30% in 1990 and 45% in 2000 while the figures for Chinese dialects fell from 76% in 1980 to 49% in 1990 and 30% in 2000 (Department of Statistics, Singapore 2001). However, since Chinese is only taught as L2 but with L1 methods in schools, reading and writing standards of Chinese in Singapore are far below other Chinese-speaking regions like Hong Kong and Taiwan. In addition, different dialects of Chinese also contribute their own accents, vocabularies and discourse patterns to the formation of 'Singapore Mandarin' that is different from other regional Mandarins. Chew (2002) claimed that Singaporean Chinese language had already developed her own phonetic features, vocabularies and grammar to form 'Singaporean Mandarin'. The youth in Singapore can master 'Singlish' or 'Singapore Standard English' very well, but not 'Singapore Mandarin', particularly reading and writing. In order to enhance Mandarin proficiency of young Singaporeans, the government is reforming pedagogies and curriculums of Chinese language in schools. In a speech made at the official opening of the Singapore Centre

for Chinese Language, Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew said, 'We started the wrong way. We insisted on *ting xie* (listening), *mo xie* (dictation) – madness! We had teachers who were teaching in completely-Chinese schools. And they did not want to use any English to teach English-speaking children Chinese and that turned them off completely' (Temasek Review 2009). Lee condemned the wrong direction that caused generations of students to be put off the Chinese language. One of the missions of the newly established Singapore Centre for Chinese Language is to enhance the learning of Chinese language and culture. The opening of the Centre was high profile and Lee strongly advised that promotion of Chinese language and culture is now a national plan of Singapore. Under this political direction, it is anticipated that Mandarin standard of young Singaporeans will improve rapidly in the coming 10 years and the 'Singapore Mandarin' will share the current status of 'Singlish' and 'Singapore Standard English' by that time. In addition, more and more Malay and Indian pupils are learning Mandarin for career reasons and eventually the content of 'Singapore Mandarin' will be enriched by features of Malay, Tamil and other dialects of Malays and Indians.

In Singapore, under the Bilingual Language Education Policy (1987), English is taught as L1 and the other three official languages are taught as L2 in schools. In order to provide more opportunity for pupils to develop high competency, English is used as the medium of instruction (MoI) in other non-language subjects. Since then, English CIs have gone into Singapore. When English entered Singapore, it was glocalised to be 'Singlish', a mixture of English and Singapore Ethnic Languages (overlap of English and Ethnic Languages in Figure 4). Although most Singaporeans can immediately guess the ethnic background of a Singaporean speaker (Deterding and Poedjosoedarmo 2000), many features of the language are shared by the different ethnic groups. For pronunciation, Deterding (2005) showed that 'egg' rhymes with 'vague' but not with 'peg' for nearly everyone; for syntax, both Chinese and Malay Singaporeans frequently use 'will' to refer to regular event and 'would' to express tentativeness; and for lexicon, all races use borrowed words such as *kiasu* ('afraid to lose out' from Hokkien) and *makan* ('eat' from Malay). Deterding (2007, 5) even concludes that:

> It appears that a distinct brand of Singapore English is emerging, common to all the ethnic groups living in the country and quite unlike the varieties of English found in most other parts of the world, though it is true that many of its features are shared with the English spoken in Malaysia.

In the 1980s, the government introduced the Speak British English Campaign to eliminate 'Singlish' but it was not as successful as expected. To face the reality, the Speak Good English Movement was introduced in 2000 to promote a local variety of standard English, which according to Chew (2007), is a variety that is internationally intelligible. Even so, the Singapore standard English is also a product of glocalisation of English that is commonly spoken by well-educated classes in Singapore. The then Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong said: 'We cannot be a first-world economy or go global with Singlish...Poor English reflects badly on us and makes us seem less intelligent' (Goh 1999). Consequently, substantial resources were put into the campaign though 'Singlish' can still be heard in communities and even schools. The 'Singapore Mandarin' and 'Singapore Standard English' are basic competencies of elites in Singapore though not many can master both languages well. Currently,

Singapore admits a number of students from China at various levels and if these students choose to stay in Singapore after graduation, merging of Mandarin and English (overlap of English and Mandarin) may occur on lines similar to the case of Putonghua and English in Hong Kong; Figure 4 shows the overlapping area of English, Mandarin and Ethnic Languages. It does happen that those who are proficient in all the three languages communicate with others in such trilingual mode in non-formal contexts.

Implications of English and Mandarin glocalisation in Hong Kong and Singapore

Generally speaking, 'Hong Kong English', 'Singlish' and 'Standard English' are products of glocalisation of English that occurs because of adaptation of lexical features, grammatical rules and accents of local languages to English. Hung (2004) pointed out three lexical features of Hong Kong English: (1) borrowing from Cantonese such as *dimsum* (delicatessen), *chongsam* (a long lady's dress with slit sides), *fengshui* (geomancy) and *kwailo* (foreigner, especially Caucasian); (2) standard English words with meanings or collocations peculiar to Hong Kong English such as 'astronaut' (a Hong Kong person who has emigrated overseas with his/her family, but returns to work in Hong Kong, and frequently flies between the two places) and 'abode seeker' (a person from Mainland China with family ties in Hong Kong seeking permanent residence there); and (3) rare English words currently used in Hong Kong such as 'shroff' (a payment counter) and 'nullah' (a monsoon drain). The Singapore English has words borrowed from Malay, Chinese dialects and Mandarin such as *kiasu* (Hokkien, afraid to lose out), *angmob* (Hokkien, foreigner and literally 'red hair') and *makan* (Malay, to eat) (Deterding 2007). The words 'send'' (accompany someone to a place) and 'borrow' (lend) are examples of words borrowed from Mandarin and standard English but with meanings or collocations peculiar to Singapore English. This kind of glocalised version of English is used for expression of local culture, history and politics (Lui and Stack 2009) and English speakers without multilingual and cultural awareness may not be able to understand it well.

Putonghua has become the third-important language after the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997. Putonghua is expected to follow into the footsteps of English and generate another process of glocalisation in Hong Kong. Singapore has gone through the process of glocalisation of Mandarin and by launching the SMC in 1979, Mandarin has been glocalised and has become the main language for communication and culture transmission within Chinese ethnic groups. Goh (2010) cites examples of borrowed words such as *pa sian* (per cent, from English and Hokkien), *pa sat* (market, from Malay and Hokkien) and *pa ui* (occupy a place, from Hokkien) to illustrate the phenomenon of borrowed words among local languages and Mandarin in Singapore. In Hong Kong, some Cantonese words such as *dagong* (working labour), *lipu* (far away from what is normal) and *choubin* (give favoured treatment to customers) have become common words in Putonghua used in Hong Kong and China.

From the above discussion, outward movements of CIs from English countries and Mandarin from China can be taken as processes of cultural globalisation in Hong Kong and Singapore. Currently, English is the most common language in the

world though more and more people are learning Mandarin for economic reasons. In the 2010s, there could be around 2 billion people, nearly one-third of the world population, learning English (Graddol 2006). This prediction shows the strong effects of English on many nations' CIs as described above. As more and more Mandarin speakers emerge, Mandarin may develop into an international language after English (Goh 2010). Just like the British Council, the Confucius Institutes all over the world will definitely help promote Mandarin and Chinese culture.

Conclusions

In response to cultural globalisation, societies often respond with homogenisation, heterogenisation and glocalisation but in reality, glocalisation is the most common way to face the challenge.

A framework of CIs is proposed in this paper to redefine the concepts of cultural globalisation and glocalisation in relation to language. Foreign CIs of lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values can go into a country through real life interaction and learning of foreign languages. In this framework, language is a CI as well as a carrier of CIs. People develop their respective local CIs by learning local languages since language is a carrier of CIs. Learning foreign language is not just a matter of proficiency, but also an adoption of foreign CIs. Changes of soft cultural forms such as lifestyles will lead to modifications of hard cultural forms like institutional systems and spiritual values. In addition, any changes of spiritual values will also modify institutional values and lifestyles. This is an interactive process as changes of any CIs in one domain may lead to alterations of CIs in all domains.

The process of exporting CIs to other nations from dominant cultures is cultural globalisation while adaptation of dominant foreign CIs to suit local cultural needs is cultural glocalisation. When local CIs integrate with, or are replaced by, incoming foreign CIs, cultural shocks occur. Proficiency in dominant languages is important for internationalisation but preservation of local CIs is also vital for stability and existence of nations. Policymakers should safeguard core CIs that are vital for stability of their nations and selectively allow CIs which can enhance their living standards to come in. Learning foreign languages is an intercultural communication issue because cultural assumptions and linguistic expectations are important elements in the process of foreign language learning.

Although English is the lingua franca in this globalised world, Mandarin speakers are increasing rapidly in numbers. In the academic field, there are a number of models explaining development of World Englishes such as Kachru's Inner-Outer-Expanding Circle Model (Kachru 1992); Moag's Five Phases Model: transportation, indigenisation, expansion in use and function, institutionalisation, and restriction of use and function or becoming a native language (Moag 1992); and Schneider's Five Phases Model: foundation, exonormative stabilisation, nativisation, endonormative stabilisation and differentiation (Schneider 2003, 2007). The experiences of Hong Kong and Singapore in glocalisation of English and Mandarin raise interesting research questions: (1) Will Mandarin develop to be an international language after English? and (2) If yes, can the models of World Englishes explain possible development of World Mandarins?

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