Variations of English Usage across Southeast Asia ความหลากหลายของการใช้ภาษาอังกฤษในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้

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Abstract

This article examines the variations of English usage across Southeast Asia, highlighting how diverse cultures and languages have shaped their linguistic environment. As a global lingua franca, English plays a vital role in facilitating communication among people from different linguistic backgrounds. The article discusses how historical factors, colonial influences, and globalization have contributed to the distinct English varieties found in Brunei, Burma (Myanmar), Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Also, this article explores the implications of these variations for English speakers in Southeast Asia, emphasizing the importance of understanding and embracing linguistic diversity. By acknowledging the rich tapestry of English usage in Southeast Asia, the researcher gains insights into the ways language evolves and adapts within different cultural contexts. This exploration fosters a broader appreciation of English as a dynamic medium that bridges cultural diversity in the region.

Keywords: English varieties in Southeast Asia, English as a lingua franca, Southeast Asian Englishes

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บทคัดย่อ

บทความนี้ศึกษาความหลากหลายของการใช้ภาษาอังกฤษในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ โดยเน้นให้เห็น ถึงอิทธิพลของวัฒนธรรมและภาษาที่แตกต่างกันซึ่งมีส่วนหล่อหลอมสภาพแวดล้อมทางภาษาในภูมิภาคนี้ ภาษาอังกฤษในฐานะภาษากลาง (Lingua Franca) มีบทบาทสำคัญในการอำนวยความสะดวกด้านการสื่อสาร ระหว่างผู้คนที่มีพื้นฐานทางภาษาต่างกัน ในขณะเดียวกันได้มีการกล่าวถึงปัจจัยทางประวัติศาสตร์ อิทธิพลจาก ยุคอาณานิคม และผลกระทบของโลกาภิวัตน์ ซึ่งส่งผลให้เกิดความแตกต่างของรูปแบบภาษาอังกฤษในประเทศ ต่างๆ เช่น บรู่ใน พม่า (เมียนมา) กัมพูชา อินโดนีเซีย ลาว มาเลเซีย ฟิลิปปินส์ สิงคโปร์ ไทย และเวียดนาม นอกจากนี้ บทความยังสำรวจผลกระทบของความหลากหลายดังกล่าวต่อผู้ใช้ภาษาอังกฤษในเอเชียตะวันออก เฉียงใต้ โดยเน้นย้ำถึงความสำคัญของการทำความเข้าใจและยอมรับความหลากหลายทางภาษา การตระหนัก ถึงความแตกต่างของการใช้ภาษาอังกฤษในภูมิภาค อีกทั้งการศึกษานี้ยังช่วยเสริมสร้างความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับ ภาษาอังกฤษในฐานะสื่อกลางที่มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงได้ตลอดเวลา หากแต่สามารถนำมาใช้ในการเชื่อมโยงความ หลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรมในภูมิภาคได้

คำสำคัญ ความหลากหลายของการใช้ภาษาอังกฤษในเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้ ภาษาอังกฤษในฐานะภาษากลาง ภาษาอังกฤษแบบเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้

Introduction

The concept of Global English, alongside the emergence of World Englishes, reflects how English has evolved to become a flexible and adaptable language used across diverse cultural contexts. English is no longer solely "owned" by native speakers in countries like the UK or the US but has grown into multiple varieties—each reflecting the unique cultural, social, and linguistic nuances of its users. World Englishes, or the various localized forms of English around the world, capture how different regions have adopted, adapted, and shaped English to meet their specific communication needs.

In today's globalized world, the English language serves as an essential bridge for communication across different cultures and countries. This article explores the expanding phenomenon of English usage in Southeast Asia, examining how various forms of the language have developed and what this means for the future of communication in the region.

Historical Context and the Rise of English in Southeast Asia

English's roots in Southeast Asia date back to colonial rule, which established it as a language of administration, education, and trade. British colonization introduced English to Singapore, Malaysia, and Brunei, while the Philippines experienced American influence following the Spanish-American War of 1898 (Crystal, 2003). During colonial times, English was mainly the language of the elite and was associated with social mobility and power. However, with the end of colonialism, English's role transformed, becoming increasingly embedded in educational systems and gaining prominence as a neutral lingua franca in multiethnic societies (Bolton & Lim, 2000).

From the late 20th century into the early 21st century, English gained further traction in Southeast Asia as countries recognized its value for economic development and international trade. Today, English functions as a second language (ESL) or foreign language (EFL) for millions in Southeast Asia, serving as a vital tool for cross-cultural communication and a symbol of global opportunity (Simpson, 2021).

English as a Lingua Franca in Southeast Asia

English has established itself as the de facto lingua franca of Southeast Asia, a phenomenon shaped by a mix of colonial history, international trade, and global education. Baker and Ishikawa (2021) highlighted that English proficiency in education and business plays a crucial role in boosting career opportunities and strengthening the regional economy. English functions as a lingua franca within ASEAN, accommodating diverse linguistic backgrounds while maintaining communicative efficiency (Kirkpatrick, 2018). Today, English operates as a functional language for business, government, and education, facilitating both regional and global communication. In a region with a linguistic mosaic of over a thousand languages, English offers a practical bridge, allowing for clearer interaction between diverse language communities

For many countries in Southeast Asia, English is not merely a language but a vital key to economic opportunity and social mobility. Governments across the region recognize the value of English and integrate it early within educational systems, promoting it as a second language (ESL) or foreign language (EFL) that students can build upon throughout their schooling (Bolton, 2008). However, English as it is spoken in Southeast Asia has adapted and evolved to fit the region's unique linguistic and cultural landscape, which has led to the rise of distinctive varieties—such as Singlish in Singapore, Philippine English, and Malaysian

English—each with its own syntax, vocabulary, and pronunciation that reflect local identities and cultural practices

The use of English as a lingua franca in the region also highlights certain sociolinguistic dynamics, including the pragmatic approach to language learning and the variety of Englishes spoken. These variations often reflect localized accents, grammar, and vocabulary but maintain intelligibility across borders. As a result, English as Lingua Franca or ELF in Southeast Asia is not about conforming to native-speaker norms but rather about mutual understanding in communication (Kirkpatrick, 2010).

The variety of Englishes present a compelling challenge to the notion of "Standard English." The concept of Standard English often refers to forms that adhere to British or American grammatical and lexical norms. While the globalization of English has diversified the language. Seidlhofer (2011) argued that maintaining a standard form is essential for clarity in formal and international settings. Standard English plays a critical role in ensuring mutual understanding, especially in academic and professional contexts where clear communication is essential. Moreover, Standard English also provides a reference point that can prevent misunderstandings and ensure that language does not become a barrier to participation in global conversations.

The contrast between standardization and linguistic diversity underscores the dynamic evolution of English in a globalized world. While Standard English provides a common framework for international communication, the emergence of localized varieties in Southeast Asia demonstrates how English adapts to different linguistic and cultural contexts. Rather than undermining clarity, these varieties enrich the language, reflecting the identities and communicative needs of their speakers. As Kirkpatrick (2010) argues, embracing World Englishes fosters a more inclusive perspective, allowing non-native speakers to engage confidently in global discourse while maintaining their cultural and linguistic identities.

Characteristics of Southeast Asian English Varieties

The varieties of English in Southeast Asia share certain common features, yet each remains distinct, shaped by the region's diverse languages, cultures, and societal norms. These varieties possess unique phonological, lexical, and syntactic characteristics that set them apart from British or American English, establishing them as independent forms rather than mere deviations from a standardized model.

1. Bruneian English

English was introduced to Brunei during British colonial rule in the late 19th century. Following Brunei's independence in 1984, English remained an official language alongside Malay (the national language). The Bruneian government continues to promote English as a vital tool for communication, education, and international relations (Siti Zubaidah, 2009). English proficiency is especially emphasized in higher education and professional settings, where it is essential for accessing global opportunities.

Bruneian English is shaped by Malay and a small population of native English speakers in Brunei, characterized by its unique linguistic features and influenced by the country's cultural context and historical ties to British colonialism. Additionally, Bruneian English incorporates elements from Standard Malay and local dialects, reflecting the nation's linguistic and cultural environment. Terms such as *saya* (I), *kita* (we), and *ramai* (many) are frequently used among bilingual speakers in Brunei (Deterding & Salbrina, 2018). In summary, Bruneian English often includes references to local customs, traditions, and societal norms, making it a culturally rich variety of English.

2. Burmese English (Myanmar)

Myanmar's relationship with English has been shaped by its colonial history, political isolation, and gradual reintegration into the global economy. The use of English in Myanmar dates back to British colonial rule (1824–1948). Under British administration, English was the language of government, education, and the legal system, and it played a crucial role in shaping the country's elite class (Bolton & Bacon-Shone, 2020). Many Burmese intellectuals and political leaders of the early 20th century were educated in English, and fluency in the language was a mark of prestige.

After gaining independence in 1948, Myanmar underwent a period of political and cultural nationalism. In 1962, General Ne Win's military-led socialist government initiated a policy of "Burmanization," which sought to promote Burmese as the national language while reducing the influence of English and other foreign languages. Myanmar reintroduced English as a key subject in schools in 2012, and it is now taught from primary school onward. Nevertheless, the quality of English education remains inconsistent, particularly in rural areas where resources are limited. According to linguistic structure, Burmese primarily follows a subject-object-verb (SOV) order, whereas English adopts a subject-verb-object (SVO) pattern. This fundamental difference often results in word-order errors when Burmese speakers construct sentences in English. Even though English is widely used in business, particularly in

major cities like Yangon and Mandalay, where international companies and NGOs operate. (Low & Hashim, 2012). Despite this resurgence, Myanmar's English proficiency continues to lag behind that of its Southeast Asian neighbors.

Therefore, this trend is reflected in global English proficiency rankings, which highlight the country's struggles with widespread English usage and education. Various historical, political, and socioeconomic factors contribute to this lower proficiency level, including past policies that limited English education and ongoing challenges in access to quality language instruction (Bolton & Bacon-Shone, 2020). The future of English in Myanmar will likely follow the pattern seen in other Southeast Asian nations, where localized features emerge alongside standard forms used in formal communication. While a distinct variety of Myanmar English is still in its early stages of recognition, its continued development will depend on social, economic, and educational policies in the coming years.

3. English in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam

English has become increasingly prominent in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, reflecting the socio-political changes and economic globalization that have characterized the region over the past few decades. While each country has its unique historical context and relationship with the English language, there are common threads in how English is perceived and utilized in these societies.

English was implied to Cambodia during the French colonial period but gained significant traction after the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime in the late 1970s. In the years following the civil war, the government recognized English as an important language for education and development, leading to its increased presence in schools and media (McGowan, 2017). English has become an essential part of the education system in Cambodia, with many schools and universities offering English-language instruction. The government has actively promoted English as a means of facilitating economic development and integration into the global community. Moreover, English is particularly important in urban areas, where it is often used in business and tourism.

In Laos, the influence of English has grown significantly since the 1990s, following the country's economic reforms and opening to foreign investment. English is seen as a vital skill for accessing educational and economic opportunities, particularly as Laos integrates into the ASEAN community (Panyathong, 2017). English is also increasingly recognized as an important skill in Laos, especially in urban centers and among the youth. The government promotes English language education in schools and universities to enhance

communication skills and economic opportunities. However, English proficiency varies significantly, particularly between urban and rural areas.

Meanwhile, English was introduced to Vietnam during French colonial rule in the late 19th century, but its prominence increased significantly after the Vietnam War and the country's economic reforms in the late 1980s. Today, English is viewed as an essential skill for personal and professional development, particularly in business, tourism, and international relations (Nguyen, 2015). English is widely taught in schools and universities across Vietnam, with increasing emphasis on developing proficiency for international communication. The growth of the tourism sector and foreign investment has further reinforced the importance of English in various domains of society. English proficiency is often seen as a key asset in the job market, and private language schools have proliferated to meet the demand for English language education.

4. Indonesian English

English was introduced to Indonesia during the colonial era, particularly under British and Dutch colonial rule in the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, it gained prominence in the mid-20th century, particularly after Indonesia's independence in 1945. The Indonesian government recognized the importance of English for international communication and development, leading to its inclusion in the national education system (Rahman, 2015).

In Indonesia, English is primarily used as a foreign or second language, but its presence is growing. Indonesian English often reflects the influence of Bahasa Indonesia while Indonesian English, also known as "Indo-English," is a distinct variety of English that has evolved within Indonesia's diverse linguistic landscape. With over 700 languages spoken across the archipelago, the development of Indonesian English reflects the unique sociolinguistic environment of the country, influenced by local languages, culture, and history.

Meanwhile, Indonesian English frequently incorporates loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia, especially terms related to culture, cuisine, and traditions, such as nasi goreng (fried rice), sate (skewered meat), and batik (a traditional textile art), reflecting Indonesia's cultural influence on its localized English variety (Septianasari, 2023). The adoption of such loanwords highlights the dynamic nature of language and its ability to adapt to diverse cultural contexts. This phenomenon underscores how languages evolve by absorbing elements from different cultures, thereby enhancing linguistic diversity and cultural

understanding. Hence, English is now a compulsory subject in schools, and proficiency is increasingly seen as a valuable skill in various professional fields, particularly in business, tourism, and technology.

5. Malaysian English

Malaysian English, often colloquially called Manglish, is a unique variety of English that has evolved in Malaysia, influenced by Malay, Chinese, Tamil, and indigenous languages. While a standardized form of Malaysian English is used in formal contexts such as education, government and business, the colloquial form or Manglish is more common in informal settings and incorporates local linguistic features. This linguistic diversity in Malaysia reflects the country's multicultural heritage and the role of English as both a unifying language and a medium for cultural expression.

English arrived in Malaysia through British colonial rule, which lasted from the early 19th century until Malaysia's independence in 1957. During the colonial period, English was the language of administration, education, and the upper class, providing access to higher education and government jobs (Platt, 1980). Following independence, Malaysia retained English in key areas, recognizing its importance for economic and global connectivity while emphasizing Malay as the national language (Asmah, 1992).

Today, English remains an important language in Malaysia, used widely in education, business, and media. The Malaysian government has adopted bilingual education policies that promote English as a second language alongside Malay, aiming to ensure that Malaysians are proficient in both. English proficiency is thus seen as a gateway to global opportunities, while Malay represents national identity and unity.

Malaysian English is typically classified into three levels: acrolect, mesolect, and basilect, reflecting a range from more formal Standard Malaysian English to informal Manglish (Baskaran, 2005). The variation depends on the context, the speaker's proficiency, and the extent of local linguistic influences. Many expressions in Malaysian English reflect local cultural references or idiomatic phrases derived from Malay. For instance, the phrase "How can?" is used to express disbelief, as in "How can he do that?" This distinct phrasing resonates with Malaysian speakers and embodies cultural nuances unique to the region (Ting & Tham, 2014).

Despite its popularity, the Malaysian government has sometimes discouraged the use of Manglish in favor of Standard English, believing that a proficiency in Standard English is critical for international communication and economic opportunities. However, Manglish persists as a beloved form of everyday speech and a marker of Malaysian identity, providing a balance between adhering to standard norms and embracing linguistic diversity.

Malaysian English, like other World Englishes, reflects the adaptability of English in local contexts. This variety is a powerful example of how English can serve dual roles: as a standardized language that connects Malaysians to the global community and as a localized form that strengthens cultural identity. Pillai (2023) examines Malaysia's language policy, highlighting how globalization and ethnic nationalism have influenced the status and use of both Malay and English in the country.

6. Philippine English

Philippine English (PhilE) has developed into a distinct variety shaped by the Philippines' colonial history, indigenous languages, and cultural diversity. As a legacy of American colonial rule in the early 20th century, English became an official language and remains one of the primary languages in government, education, and media in the Philippines. Over time, however, English in the Philippines has evolved into a unique variety with its own phonological, syntactic, and lexical characteristics, distinguishing it from American or British English while reflecting the country's rich linguistic landscape.

English penetrated to the Philippines in 1898 following the Spanish-American War, when the United States gained control over the Philippine archipelago. American colonial authorities established English as the medium of instruction in schools, replacing Spanish and promoting English to unify a linguistically diverse population (Gonzalez, 1998). This early emphasis on English in the education system laid the foundation for its widespread use and proficiency among Filipinos today. After gaining independence in 1946, the Philippines retained English as an official language alongside Filipino, recognizing its importance for international communication and access to global opportunities (Bautista, 1997).

English remains highly valued in the Philippines, serving as a medium of instruction from primary education through university and being prominently used in official government functions. English proficiency is regarded as an asset that provides Filipinos with access to global job markets, especially in industries like Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) and overseas employment, where English is essential for communication (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). Meanwhile, Philippine English is a symbol of the Philippines' unique cultural identity within the English-speaking world. While English proficiency opens doors to international

opportunities, Philippine English serves as a marker of Filipino identity, capturing the blend of local and Western influences that characterize Philippine society.

Borlongan (2022) discussed the development and structure of Philippine English within the World Englishes framework. Philippine English, as a recognized variety within the World Englishes framework, exemplifies the adaptability of English, reflecting the Philippines' colonial history, multilingual society, and global interactions. This localized expression of English contributes to the linguistic richness of the language, affirming the importance of diverse, localized expressions within a global context.

7. Singapore English and Singlish

In Singapore, the development of English has led to two distinct forms: Standard Singapore English and the colloquial variant known as Singlish. While Standard Singapore English (SSE) aligns closely with British norms in grammar and vocabulary, Singlish has evolved into a distinctive, localized version of English that integrates linguistic elements from Singapore's multicultural environment, including Chinese dialects, Malay, and Tamil (Low & Brown, 2005).

Standard Singapore English (SSE)

Standard Singapore English is used in formal settings such as education, government, and business, where clear communication is essential. It conforms to British English in grammar, vocabulary, and spelling, reflecting Singapore's colonial history as part of the British Empire. English was introduced to Singapore primarily through British rule and became the medium of instruction in schools by the mid-20th century (Gupta, 1994).

The Singaporean government has consistently promoted SSE over Singlish through campaigns like the Speak Good English Movement (SGEM), which was launched in 2000 to encourage Singaporeans to use grammatically correct English. This initiative aims to emphasize that SSE facilitates effective communication in the global marketplace, ensuring that Singaporeans are equipped to interact successfully on international platforms (Wee, 2010).

Singlish: A Marker of Singaporean Identity

Singlish, a colloquial form of English unique to Singapore, serves as a significant marker of national identity, reflecting the country's multicultural heritage. Despite governmental efforts to promote Standard English, Singlish remains widely used among Singaporeans, cutting across racial differences and functioning as a distinct expression of a multiethnic Singaporean identity. Singlish is known for its use of discourse particles such as *lah*, *leh*, and *lor*, each adding nuance to a statement. For example, *lah* can add emphasis, as

in "Come on, lah!" while *meh* can indicate a question or skepticism, as in "Can do it, meh?" (Gupta, 1994).

The Tension Between Singlish and Standard English

The coexistence of Standard Singapore English and Singlish reflects a broader linguistic debate: the tension between language as a functional tool and as a cultural expression. While Standard English provides Singaporeans with opportunities in international business and education, Singlish offers a way to express uniquely Singaporean experiences, humor, and emotions. The government's Speak Good English Movement reflects an effort to standardize English usage and promote it as a skill beneficial to the global economy, while Singlish continues to thrive as a vernacular expression in everyday life (Wee, 2010). According to linguists, this linguistic duality demonstrates the adaptability of English, showing how a global language can be shaped by local influences to create a hybrid form that serves both international and local functions (Low & Brown, 2005). While Standard Singapore English serves practical purposes, Singlish is cherished for its cultural resonance, symbolizing a unique Singaporean identity within the framework of an increasingly globalized world.

8. Thai English

Thai English is a developing variety of English influenced by the linguistic structures and cultural context of Thailand. English is widely used in Thailand for international business, tourism, and education, yet its adaptation within Thai society has given rise to unique phonological, syntactic, and lexical characteristics. While English proficiency varies across Thailand, the influence of Thai language and culture has created a recognizable variety that reflects both the challenges and creativity of English use in a predominantly Thai-speaking environment.

Unlike many other Southeast Asian nations, Thailand was never colonized by a Western power. English arrived in Thailand in the 19th century through trade, diplomacy, and missionary work rather than through colonial rule (Foley, 2005). Since then, English has gained importance as Thailand integrated into the global economy. The Thai government promoted English in education to increase international competitiveness, and today, English is a compulsory subject from primary school through higher education (Baker, 2012). However, English remains a foreign language rather than an official language, and its use is often limited to formal or professional settings.

The characteristics of Thai English emerge largely from the phonological and syntactic influence of the Thai language. Thai English includes features that make it both unique and challenging for native English speakers to understand as Thai speakers face distinctive challenges with English pronunciation due to differences in the sound systems of English and Thai. For example, expressions like "same same" (meaning similar or identical) and "eat rice" (referring to having a meal, as rice is central to Thai cuisine) are common in Thai English. Direct translations from Thai idioms also appear in informal English, capturing culturally specific meanings.

Also, Thai English often includes Thai words that have no direct English equivalent, especially terms related to Thai culture, food, and traditions, such as *farang* (a foreigner), *wai* (a traditional Thai greeting), and *kreng jai* (consideration for others) (Foley, 2005).

Thai English sometimes retains the use of polite particles from Thai, such as *ka* or *krub*, even though they don't have a direct English equivalent. This is especially common in informal contexts or when interacting with other Thai speakers.

Thai English has found a place in Thai society, particularly in urban areas and among younger generations. Thai media, advertising, and pop culture often incorporate English phrases or blend English with Thai, creating a "Tinglish" hybrid that appeals to bilingual audiences. Thai English has unique phonological features, influenced by Thai phonetic patterns, which shape its pronunciation and distinct rhythm. For instance, Thai speakers often omit final consonants in words like "desk" (pronounced as "dek"), reflecting Thai phonology's tendency to simplify final consonant clusters. Additionally, vowel length variations in Thai influence English pronunciation, leading to differences such as pronouncing "bit" and "beat" similarly. These phonological adaptations highlight how Thai English evolves within its linguistic context while still facilitating communication in global settings (Peerachachayanee, 2022). Thai English speakers tend to apply equal stress to each syllable without vowel reduction, a pattern shaped by the tonal structure of the Thai language; therefore, Thai English demonstrates the adaptability of English in new cultural contexts, evolving into a distinct variety while remaining a global language. As part of the World Englishes framework, it reflects the linguistic and social dynamics of its speakers.

The Global Implications of Southeast Asian English Varieties

The rise of Southeast Asian English varieties reflects the global expansion and adaptation of English. Their growing recognition supports the concept of "World Englishes", which acknowledges the legitimacy of localized forms and the diversity within English (Kachru, 1992). To clearly explain how English functions in different parts of the world, linguist Braj Kachru introduced the Three Concentric Circles Model as follows:

- Inner Circle: Countries where English is the native language (e.g., the UK, the USA, Australia).
- Outer Circle: Former colonies where English has an institutional role and is used as a second language (e.g., Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines).
- Expanding Circle: Countries where English is a foreign language but widely studied and used for international communication (e.g., Thailand, China, Japan).

This model is essential for understanding how English has evolved into localized varieties within different sociolinguistic contexts, and Southeast Asian English varieties exemplify how English has adapted to local cultures while remaining a functional tool for international communication.

"Standard English" remains important in formal contexts, especially in global business and academia. However, Southeast Asian English varieties demonstrate that English can serve both as a unifying language and as a medium for expressing local identity (Jenkins, 2007). As these varieties gain recognition, they contribute to a more inclusive view of English that values linguistic diversity while upholding communicative effectiveness.

Conclusion

The development of Southeast Asian English varieties illustrates how English adapts to diverse cultural and linguistic landscapes, reflecting the distinct histories and identities of its speakers. From Singlish in Singapore to Philippine English, these localized forms have become essential for regional communication and cultural expression. Rather than diminishing English's role as a global language, these varieties highlight its flexibility, demonstrating that English can take on unique regional characteristics while remaining an effective means of international communication.

Beyond their linguistic distinctiveness, Southeast Asian English varieties have significant implications for global communication and linguistic diversity. While standardized English remains dominant in formal settings such as business and academia, colloquial forms

like Manglish and Thai English reflect the innovative ways speakers integrate English into their daily lives. Recognizing these varieties not only broadens our understanding of English as an evolving global language but also promotes a more inclusive view of linguistic diversity, valuing the richness of localized expressions within the broader framework of World Englishes.

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