Shondel Nero

Changing Englishes in the US and Caribbean Paradoxes and Possibilities*

Introduction

It is 2009. I'm sitting in Beth's 11th grade English class in a public high school located in a neighborhood in Brooklyn, a borough in New York City (NYC), heavily populated by Afro-Caribbean immigrants.[1] Beth is a 26-year-old enthusiastic White American teacher who is in her fourth year of teaching and prides herself on giving her class creative writing assignments. Her class is made up entirely of students who were born in the Caribbean or whose parents were born there. In Beth's class is Theresa, a feisty 17-year-old young woman born in Jamaica, an island in the Caribbean where English is the official language, but where the mass vernacular is an English-based Creole, known as Jamaican Creole/Patois. Theresa migrated to the United States at age 5 but has regularly returned to the Caribbean during the summers. Her language is a mix of Jamaican Creole, Jamaican English, Standardized American English, and African American Vernacular English (AAVE) that she has picked up from interacting with her African American friends in New York; she is not shy about being creative with language. Beth gave an assignment to students for homework and she asked students to read aloud their responses in class.

> *Assignment*
> Rewrite Iago's soliloquy [from Shakespeare's *Othello*] in modern English.
> Do not do a direct translation. Make the soliloquy sound real.

Theresa's response begins as follows:

> Yo this nigga is so dum yo. I betta watch how I hang out with him before I be dum. Roderigo dum son, but hey it's kind of fun son; dhis nigga does put a lot of cake in my pocket. And Othello think he some god around here. I hate dhis nigga, he get me so tight. I swear he sleeping with my wifey, but I don't know yo shit really got me bussin my head, but dhis what I think so dhat's what I'm going by.[2]

The most obvious comment to make about Theresa's rendering of the assignment is that it is written in AAVE. By drawing on her own multidialectal repertoire of Englishes, which includes AAVE, Theresa has defied the classroom expectation that 'modern English' (quoting directly from the assignment) might only mean *standardized* modern English. But my focus here is less about the specific features of AAVE in the text, and more about the ensuing exchange between Theresa and Beth about the piece after Theresa volunteered to read it aloud in class.

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[1] The names of the teacher and student are pseudonyms.

[2] Shondel Nero, "Language, Literacy, and Pedagogy of Caribbean Creole English Speakers", in Marcia Farr, Lisya Seloni, and Juyoung Song, eds., *Ethnolinguistic Diversity and Education: Language, Literacy, and Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 224.

Below is the beginning of Beth (B) and Theresa's (T) exchange:

1 B: Nice reading. Why did you choose to write your piece in dialect?
2 T: Cause you said, 'make it sound real.' So, I write it, like, real.
3 B: True. What makes it real? Would Iago talk like that?
4 T: Yeah! (emphatically). He was pissed off…the guy was sleeping with his wifey… Hey. I be bussin my head, too. He's NOT gonna say, "Oh, I-am-so-angry-at you" (stating each word slowly and deliberately while shaking her head from side to side). Cho! (Several students laugh; the Caribbean students in the class know that "Cho" is a Jamaican expression of mild dismissiveness)
5 B: Whadda you guys think? (turning to the class)
Students shout out various responses simultaneously: "Cool"; "we like it"; "it's real."
6 B: Yes, Theresa did a good job. And she showed how you can play with the English language.
7 T: Thank you! (making a playful face).

Analysis of Beth and Theresa's Interaction

Beth begins by complimenting Theresa on her reading – "Nice reading" (line 1), but immediately follows by asking her to give a reason for writing her piece in dialect. One might view the intent of Beth's question as her inviting Theresa into a dialogue about her writing, but Beth's question also implied that Theresa has violated an unstated norm, i.e., writing in class is expected to be in standardized American English, and therefore Theresa must give a rationale for not adhering to that norm. This puts Theresa in a kind of one-down position, as she must publicly justify her flouting of the rules to her teacher, the authority figure. Theresa then cleverly references Beth's own instructions as her rationale: "Cause you said, 'make it sound real.' So, I write it like real" (line 2), suggesting that the use of AAVE makes the piece real. This response quickly puts Theresa back on foot, as she deftly uses a quote from the teacher's assignment to show herself to be the good student following the teacher's instructions while simultaneously defending her use of AAVE as an appropriate rendering of the task at hand. Beth is forced to accept the bald truth in Theresa's statement – "True", she says. After all, she did ask students to make the soliloquy "sound real". But she probed further – "What makes it real? Would Iago talk like that?" (line 3), which pushed Theresa to further explain her writing. In a series of short utterances expressed with a mix of emphasis, emotion, facial expression, and body movement – in colloquial English ("Yeah! He was pissed off"), AAVE ("I be bussin my head too"), standardized English ("Oh, I am so angry at you"), and punctuated in Jamaican patois ("Cho!"), Theresa languaged her understanding of the text. What to make of the ensuing laughter by the students? Was it a reaction to the humor in, and performance of, Theresa's statement, including the mild dismissal at the end? (Note that the understanding of "Cho" as dismissive is cultural; it is a Caribbean, specifically Jamaican, reference.) Or, was it to Theresa's seeming one-upping of the teacher by showing off her understanding of the piece through languaging in an unsanctioned register? (The

more likely case.) This is evident when (in line 6) Beth quickly took charge of the exchange again by making an egalitarian move – she solicited the opinion of the class using the informal, everyday language of adolescents ("Whadda you guys think?"). With the class back on her side ("Cool. We like it"), she now had the interactional support to reframe the discussion by refocusing on the text and on agency with language, i.e., she states that Theresa's piece is an example of how we can play with the English language (line 8), while reiterating that Theresa did a good job. In one move, Beth skillfully reasserted her teacher authority, focusing on language, while validating Theresa's efforts. This gives Theresa the space to say a lighthearted "thank you" (using the cue of the playful face), signaling a closure to this exchange, but also having the effect of letting the teacher and other students know that she accepts the validation of her work written and read in *her* language.

The text and subsequent interaction produced as a result of this assignment illustrates how Theresa, a Jamaican-born transnational, who migrated to the United States (US) at an early age, but regularly traveled back and forth to Jamaica, was able to draw on the multidialectal linguistic repertoire and discursive practices she is afforded by her simultaneous participation in several overlapping speech communities – Jamaican, African American, and Public School English Class – to produce a piece of writing that defied unstated rules of classroom written discourse by inserting what Suresh Canagarajah calls "oppositional codes"[3] existing conventions. But this scenario goes beyond testing the boundaries of classroom language conventions; in a larger sense, the exchange between Beth and Theresa brings into bold relief the dynamism of the English language in use today. It is transnationals like Theresa, who, through their participation in multiple English-using communities (real and virtual), geographically distant and not, are propelling rapid changes in the definition and use of, and attitudes and responses towards, English.

[3] A. Suresh Canagarajah, "The Place of World Englishes in Composition: Pluralization Continued", *College Composition and Communication*, 57.4 (2006), 599.

Caribbean Migration and Transnationalism

Theresa is one among hundreds of thousands of Caribbean natives who have migrated to the US since the passage of the 1965 Hart-Cellar Immigration Act, which opened up legal migration to the US from countries in the Western Hemisphere. That Act is singularly responsible for the phenomenal increase in legal migration of Caribbean and Latin American natives to the US over the past 50 years. In the case of the Anglophone Caribbean, it is no accident that the significant rise in migration to the US coincided with the postcolonial years, as the number of skilled people seeking social and economic advancement following independence from the UK far outnumbered available jobs.

Although most of the literature on migration to the US in recent decades has focused on the Spanish-speaking populations from Latin America due to their overwhelming numbers in the US, an equally compelling story can be told about immigrants from officially English-speaking countries in the Caribbean (such

as Jamaica, Trinidad, and Barbados) and the mainland South American country of Guyana (where I am from). What makes migration from the Anglophone Caribbean so remarkable is the fact that compared to Spanish-speaking Latin American countries, these are very small nation states in terms of geography and population, yet they have a disproportionately high level of migration to the US, New York City being one of the prime destinations, as shown in the chart below:

But something else is remarkable about these post-1965 migrants – they are

Foreign-born Population by Country of Birth
New York City, 2000 and 2011

	2011			2000			% Change 2000-2011
	Rank	Number	Percent	Rank	Number	Percent	
Total foreign born		**3,066,599**	**100.0**		**2,871,032**	**100.0**	**6.8**
Dominican Republic	**1**	**380,160**	**12.4**	**1**	**369,186**	**12.9**	**3.0**
China*	**2**	**350,231**	**11.4**	**2**	**261,551**	**9.1**	**33.9**
Mexico	**3**	**186,298**	**6.1**	**5**	**122,550**	**4.3**	**52.0**
Jamaica	**4**	**169,235**	**5.5**	**3**	**178,922**	**6.2**	**-5.4**
Guyana	**5**	**139,947**	**4.6**	**4**	**130,647**	**4.6**	**7.1**
Ecuador	**6**	**137,791**	**4.5**	**6**	**114,944**	**4.0**	**19.9**
Haiti	**7**	**94,171**	**3.1**	**7**	**95,580**	**3.3**	**-1.5**
Trinidad and Tobago	**8**	**87,635**	**2.9**	**8**	**88,794**	**3.1**	**-1.3**
India	**9**	**76,493**	**2.5**	**14**	**68,263**	**2.4**	**12.1**
Russia	**10**	**76,264**	**2.5**	**10**	**81,408**	**2.8**	**-6.3**

***Includes the mainland, Hong Kong, and Taiwan**

Sources:
U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Census-Summary file; 2011 American Community Survey Summary File; Population Division-New York City Department of City Planning.

quintessential transnationals. The proximity of the Caribbean to the US (a nonstop flight from the East Coast of the US where most Caribbean immigrants live to the Caribbean is no more than 3-5 hours) makes air travel and communication in general between the Caribbean and the US relatively easy. Thus Caribbean natives are able to participate in life and language in these two places without much difficulty. Vertovec notes correctly that transnationalism has made global patterns of sustained communication commonplace.[4] It must be emphasized, though, that transnational lifestyles do not depend entirely on being born in, or even having visited, the home/heritage country. Rather, as Sánchez theorizes, "transnationalism embodies various systems or relationships that span two or more nations, including sustained and meaningful flows of people, money, labor, goods, information, advice, care, and love".[5] In regard to the Anglophone Caribbean and the US, these transnational relationships are mediated through the contact of varieties of Caribbean English and American English, which simultaneously influence

[4] Steven Vertovec, "Super-diversity and Its Implications", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30.6 (2007), 1024-1054.

[5] Patricia Sanchez, "Urban Immigrant Students: How Transnationalism Shapes their World Learning", *The Urban Review*, 39.5 (2007), 493.

each other and create new translanguaged varieties as in Theresa's exchange with Beth. Each time a Caribbean native migrates to New York City or elsewhere in the US through the system of family sponsorship, s/he brings fresh varieties of Caribbean English into the immigrant household, and each time s/he returns, new varieties of US-based English are taken to the Caribbean. But as noted above, the transnational's language does not have to be physically transported. It is engaged on the telephone, on Facebook, Twitter, emails, and so forth, in virtual contact zones. It is in these contact zones, in these transnational spaces, real and virtual, where Englishes are being changed, redefined, appropriated, and resisted. Classrooms are, of course, contact zones – social spaces where, according to Mary Louise Pratt, "cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power",[6] the greater power and authority almost always granted to the teacher. Yet, Theresa negotiated that power dynamic through her writing and verbal exchange with her teacher; she used one of the varieties of English in her repertoire, AAVE, to take ownership of a classroom assignment that presumed only a particular standardized variety of American English was legitimate for the task at hand. Furthermore, she mounted an oral defense of her choice of written language to her teacher by drawing on her multiplicity of Englishes, an act that in itself was creatively redefining or changing what is permissible English in the classroom context, thereby reclaiming authority in a linguistic sense.

[6] Mary Louise Pratt, "The Arts of the Contact Zone", *Professions*, 91 (1991), 34.

Englishes in US Classrooms

My research over the past 20 years has taken me into US classrooms with many students like Theresa – classrooms populated with not only immigrant students from the Anglophone Caribbean, but also students who hail from a plethora of linguistic and cultural backgrounds and who claim, identify with, and use English in their own fashion, thereby redefining what counts as English in general, but specifically what we mean by American English. In NYC, for example, of its 8.3 million residents, 40% of the population is foreign-born (The Newest New Yorkers, 2013),[7] and within that population we find a wide range of linguistic, cultural, socioeconomic, religious, and educational backgrounds, characterized by Vertovec as "super-diversity",[8] which translates to high levels of linguistic diversity among children in the city's public schools, including diverse and hybrid varieties of English. But lest we get carried away by a kind of celebratory linguistic euphoria, it should be noted that changes in the use of English in the US have been mired in a set of paradoxes that are at once self-reinforcing and transformative, and are palpably manifested in schools.

[7] New York City Department of City Planning, *The Newest New Yorkers Characteristics of the City's Foreign-born Population* (2013).

[8] Vertovec, "Superdiversity and Its Implications".

Paradoxes Surrounding English

The first paradox – that English is both monolithic and pluralistic – has been noted by scholars like Tom McArthur.[9] There is an intuitive sense that there is a 'thing' called and understood to be English that is different from a thing called 'Spanish'. After all, we have an international organization called TESOL

[9] Thomas McArthur, *The English Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

dedicated to the teaching of something called 'English'. But, as this thing called English, or specifically American English, is practiced in pluralistic ways, as we see all around us, including in classrooms, it seems to call up an urgency to circle the wagons around a supposed monolithic English to save it from its putative decline. This is old news, of course – the perpetual worry that the English language is in decline because of a general loosening up (or creativity, depending on how you see it) of how it is used in public and formal domains.[10] And it is a futile worry – for transnationalism, social media, and the entire virtual world have ensured that the thing called English will be kept alive, precisely because of its dynamic, pluralistic use among people in real and virtual interactions.

In classrooms in the US, Matsuda has challenged what he calls "the myth of linguistic homogeneity", the notion that linguistic homogeneity is both normal and desirable. Classrooms,[11] being as they are microcosms of the society at large, are exhibit A for debunking this myth. You'd be hard pressed to find a classroom anywhere in the US today where English is the primary language of all the students. In fact, in large metropolitan areas like New York or Los Angeles, and increasingly in suburban and pockets of rural areas, English is not the primary language of the majority of students. Yet, English is very much in use in classrooms by speakers who selectively use combinations of varieties of English (eg. Midwest US English, AAVE, Caribbean Creole English) as a primary language, as an additional language, or hybrid varieties such as Tex Mex, a mixture of Texan English and Texan and Mexican Spanish heavily used along the Texas-Mexican border.

Matsuda laments the attempt to "contain"[12] this linguistic diversity by rejecting the Englishes used by various subgroups in classrooms (e.g., African Americans, immigrants, international students) as marked or not legitimate for the academy. The most obvious culprit of this "linguistic containment policy"[13] in schools is the widespread use of standardized testing as a major form of assessment. The last fifteen years have witnessed a plethora of education policies in the US aimed at raising standards and enforcing accountability – e.g. No Child Left Behind (Bush administration), Race to the Top (Obama administration), and most recently The Common Core State Standards (state governors' initiative) – but which have all had the unintended consequence of becoming de facto language education policy, as they are all premised on high stakes testing based on a narrowly defined standardized American English. As these policies have taken root in curriculum and instructional practices in US schools and colleges, instructors find themselves feeling pressured to teach to the test, which is to say teaching to the 'language' of the test. This is particularly the case in written assignments, as the majority of high stakes assessment whether in the classroom or large-scale tests are written. Consequently, a second paradox has emerged – English in schools is hybridized and standardized at the same time. It seems as though the more diverse English becomes, the more we try to contain it or standardize it. I don't mean to suggest that the culture of standardized testing is unique to the US. Far from it; standardized testing is a fact of life around the world. What is striking in the US

[10] John H. McWhorter, *Doing Our Own Thing: The Degradation of Language and Music, and Why We Should, Like, Care* (New York: Gotham Books, 2003).

[11] Paul Kei Matsuda, "The Myth of Linguistic Homogeneity in US College Composition", *College English*, 68.6 (2006), 637-651.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

is the rapidly increasing super-diversity of English in classrooms (which mirrors the same in the population) that is paralleled by a fiercely intentional privileging of a particular type of standardized English in school. Here are a few examples of words/phrases reflecting transnationalism and super-diversity that are changing English in the US:

1. Cho! – a term of mild dismissal of someone or of a situation (source: Jamaican English)
2. Jerk – a way of preparing and cooking meat native to Jamaica using a hot spicy mixture (source: Jamaican English).
3. Taco – a tortilla folded around a filling of meat, vegetable and or cheese (source: Mexican Spanish)
4. Selfie – a picture taken of oneself usually on an iPhone (source: international/social media English)

These words come from a range of sources, but have all been incorporated into the fabric of US English. They can be heard and understood broadly ('selfie') or narrowly ('Cho!'). It is noteworthy, however, that there is a kind of superficial, celebratory attitude towards linguistic diversity in the US (call it twenty-first century political correctness), as it makes one appear tolerant or even 'cool'. It is 'cool' to be able to take a 'selfie' while ordering 'jerk chicken and waffles' at a local restaurant. It shows one has a kind of urbane sophistication. But this positive attitude towards linguistic diversity seems to stop at the school door, and this leads to a third paradox – we celebrate linguistic diversity in theory but require English homogeneity in schools. This is why Theresa's writing was questioned by her teacher. She was writing in a variety of English (AAVE) that is widely used in American popular culture, but frowned upon in schools, and certainly in writing. Such is the politics of language. Theresa's writing, then, held up a mirror to the paradox, but became a transformative moment, as both she and Beth were drawn into a discursive dance, as they grappled with how to define English, or specifically modern English.

Changing English in the Anglophone Caribbean

The paradoxes surrounding the changing nature of English are not confined to the US. In the Anglophone Caribbean, where Caribbean Creole English (CCE) is the mass vernacular, but English is the official language, attitudes towards both CCE and standard English are ambivalent at best, paradoxical at worst. Although in actuality there is no pure separation of CCE and standardized English in day-to-day language use (the reality is a seamless integration of the two), the colonial legacy in the Caribbean has historically stigmatized CCE, framing it as the language that indexes low socioeconomic status and poor education. Standardized English, by contrast, is linked to the middle and upper classes, a marker of good education and upbringing, and most Anglophone Caribbean natives self-identify as native

speakers of English, even if they are predominantly Creole speakers. Traditionally, the framework for describing Caribbean language has been the *creole continuum*, a continuous bidirectional spectrum of speech varieties ranging from the basilect (the most conservative creole) to the mesolect (a mixture of Creole and English) to the acrolect (standardized Caribbean English). See diagram below:

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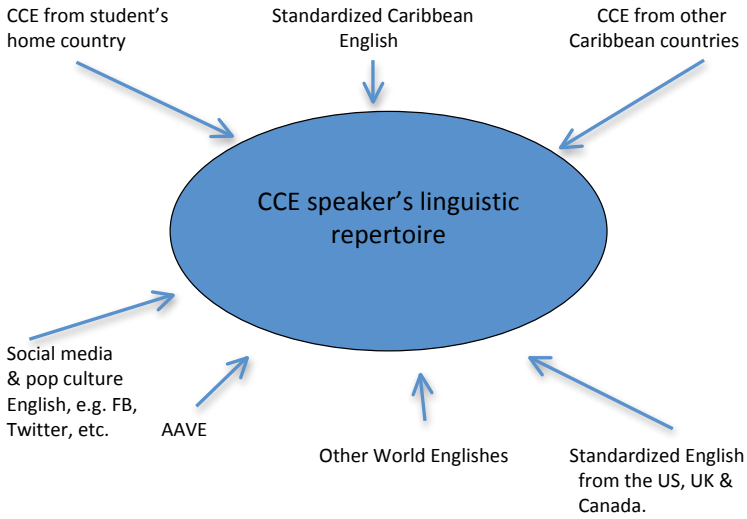
Basilect	**Mesolect**	**Acrolect**
Creole (Patois)	Creole English	Standard English
Im bruk im foot	E bruk he foot	He broke his leg

Today, however, the dynamic language repertoire of someone from the Caribbean, influenced by transnational flows of language might be better captured as follows:

So, an expansive definition and understanding of English takes place in the



Caribbean and is selectively validated. Despite the changing and wider use of CCE in the public sphere and in formal domains as a mark of true Caribbean identity in the post-colonial era, particularly in Jamaica,[14] Anglophone Caribbean natives continue to decry the use of Creole, especially in schools, and often do so, paradoxically, in Creole! An example from Jamaica – Di picknee dem chat bad (The children are speaking badly, meaning speaking in Creole). So there is a simultaneous celebration and denigration of Creole. Kachru and Nelson characterize this contradictory stance as "attitudinal schizophrenia".[15]

During my recent Fulbright fellowship to research language education policy implementation in Jamaica, I witnessed this paradoxical attitude towards Jamaican Creole on full display in the classrooms I observed. All of the six English teachers that I studied claimed in interviews that their language of instruction is English; many of them lamented the widespread use of Creole, yet there were four

[14] Jamaican Language Unit, University of the West Indies, *Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica* (Mona, Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies, 2005).

[15] Braj B. Kachru and Cecil L. Nelson, "World Englishes", in Anne Burns and Caroline Coffin, eds., *Analysing English in a Global Context* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 14.

situations when the teachers consistently used Creole in interactions with students: (1) to scold/discipline a student; (2) to mock a student; (3) to be affectionate with the student; (4) to explain a difficult concept. The students, on the other hand, particularly in the schools with predominantly Creole speakers, would claim an identity as English speakers but would only use English in class to respond to the teacher and to discuss academic content. Whenever they spoke standardized English they would routinely perform it with what they perceived to be an American (Yankee) accent, peppered with popular American phrases (like 'awesome' or 'what a jerk') and cultural references that they picked up from the steady stream of American shows on Jamaican TV, the internet, social media, and relatives who live in the US but travel back and forth to the Caribbean. English was thus intuitively claimed and familiar as a linguistic identity (because to claim Creole is to self-denigrate) but publicly performed as a foreign communicative mode (another paradox – English is familiar and foreign at the same time). These performances in English by Jamaican students were representative of the changing nature of English in Jamaica and the Anglophone Caribbean generally, as they seamlessly integrated Jamaican Creole English and aspects of American English readily available through the transnational flow of people and language between the US and the Caribbean.

Challenges around Changing Englishes

The foregoing paradoxes around the changing nature of English present both challenges and possibilities for research and pedagogy. For most of the twentieth century, we were locked into a monolingualist (one person-one language) paradigm of language, or even if someone were bi/multilingual or bi/multidialectal, which is the case in most of the world, s/he was framed as a kind of two monolinguals in one, i.e., each language/dialect was treated separately as its own entity. But what we've come to understand is that language use in our current century is much more integrated and fluid; one is not simply researching a particular variety of English (US or Caribbean – the World Englishes paradigm), but rather a set of language practices in which multiple dialects and/or varieties of English and even other languages are integrated, owing to high levels of contact. So we are challenged to rethink or expand our units of analysis. We are now challenged to research English language use and development with an English that is much more pluralistic, an English in motion, an English that long ago stopped belonging to the Brits or to Americans, but an English that is transnational. This forces us to break the nation-state-language-paradigm on how we imagine English or any language for that matter. A few years ago, I gave a plenary address at the TESOL Convention in New York City entitled "Languages without Borders: TESOL in a Transient World" in which I discussed the deterritorialization of languages on account of globalization, transnationalism, and social media and the consequences for TESOL both as a field and as an organization. I argued that while varieties of English may predominate in certain geographic spaces (e.g., Jamaican English in Jamaica), they are

not absolute, and never really were. Varieties of English are changing and emerging with remarkable speed and fluidity as language users engage in complex discursive practices across physical and virtual space. So, we might find fruitful research in examining the nature of changing Englishes in actual language practice.This bodes well for corpus linguistics.

The paradox of hybridized and standardized English in schools speaks to a powerful ideology about language, which Rosina Lippi-Green refers to as standard language ideology (SLI), defined as "the pervasive belief in the superiority of an abstracted and idealized form of language, based on the spoken language of the upper middle classes – the 'standard language'".[16] Schools are the primary custodians of this ideology, especially in the form of standardized assessment, but the hybrid language practices by super-diverse populations in schools today is steadily testing this ideology. We saw in the examples of Theresa's writing and her exchange with Beth how she challenged standard language ideology, which forced Beth to rethink her conception of modern English or more to the point what kind of English is acceptable in classrooms. Thus the paradox of a hybridized and standardized English; of an English that is heterogeneous in practice but homogenous in schooling (at least in intent) is challenging us to consider different approaches to language pedagogy, approaches that reframe language in less static and more dynamic ways. It calls for a new classroom aesthetic.

[16] Rosina Lippi-Green, *English with an Accent* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 64.

But this requires an attitude shift, and we know that attitudes are the hardest and slowest to change. In fact, it is SLI that is one of the contributing factors to the denigration of Creole in the Caribbean (the others are colonization and racism). The same attitude obtains with respect to AAVE in the US. Thus the attitude shift that is required to address changing English is one that rejects the monolingualist paradigm and SLI, that starts with English diversity and hybridity as the norm, that confronts the paradoxes around English as starting points for critical engagement with language.

Possibilities for Research and Pedagogy

These challenges can be turned around and reframed as rich possibilities for research and informed pedagogy. In language research, we might consider different units of analysis. For example, what if we examined the variables in transnationalism and super-diversity that might have the greatest impact on English language change? What about conducting more critical ethnographies of language practices in schools? How are these practices evolving in a global world? To what degree do practices shape and are shaped by ideologies? What is the effect of technology on language attitudes, especially with respect to English? How can we design appropriate assessments to align with current language practices? How might we encourage and even reward linguistic creativity of the kind displayed by Theresa? And there is still a lot of unfinished business in language and identity work.

Changing Englishes can also be used to enhance language teacher training. A pluralistic rather than monolingualist paradigm in language teacher training is likely to better prepare teachers for the realities of language practices in the twenty-first century. This is a matter of changing dispositions. Teachers' own language attitudes and socialization should be critically examined as part of training. Linguistic autobiographies are a good starting point for this. Teachers can be introduced to more corpora of English in use as preparation for pedagogy and appropriate assessment. Finally, teachers in their own classrooms can encourage their students to research changing Englishes in the latter's communities and others' communities.

In short, changing Englishes offer fertile ground for research and pedagogy. Going back to our example with Theresa, we see how a simple classroom scenario centered around language can give us a great deal to examine about the changing nature of Englishes in the US and Caribbean, about language teaching and learning, about standard language ideology, about transnationalism, about participation in multiple linguistic communities, about language practices in real time. If Theresa's defense of her version of modern English is our starting point, then we are well on our way to a critical and fruitful engagement with language.