

THE HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

Introduction to Global Englishes

In the period between the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I in 1603 and the later years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth II in the early part of the twenty-first century, the number of speakers of English increased from a mere five to seven million to possibly as many as two billion. Whereas the English language was spoken in the mid-sixteenth century only by a relatively small group of mother tongue speakers born and bred within the shores of the British Isles, it is now spoken in almost every country of the world, with its majority speakers being those for whom it is not a first language.

Currently, there are approximately seventy-five territories where English is spoken either as a first language (**L1**), or as an official (i.e. **institutionalised**) second language (**L2**) in fields such as government, law, and education. Crystal (2003a, 2012a) lists these territories, along with their approximate numbers of English speakers, in Table A1.1 (those countries where the variety of English spoken is a pidgin or creole are indicated by an asterisk).

The total numbers of L1 and L2 English speakers amount here to 329,140,800 and 430,614,500 respectively, and together these speakers constitute almost a third of the total population of the above territories (2,236,730,000 in total). However, as Crystal (2003a: 68) points out, the L2 total is conservative:

The total of 430 million . . . does not give the whole picture. For many countries, no estimates are available. And in others (notably India, Pakistan, Nigeria, Ghana, Malaysia, Philippines and Tanzania, which had a combined total of over 1,462 million people in 2002) even a small percentage increase in the number of speakers thought to have a reasonable (rather than a fluent) command of English would considerably expand the L2 grand total.

He goes on to point out that whether or not pidgin and creole languages are included, the total number of L2 speakers in these regions is well above the total number of L1 speakers. And in fact, although all three totals (population, L1, L2) have increased since the first edition of Crystal's *English as a Global Language* (1997), the most substantial increase by far is in the number of L2 speakers, which has almost doubled from 235,351,300 in 1997 to over 430 million in 2003. And we should bear in mind that Crystal's figures are likely to have increased still further in the decade or so since the publication of his second edition in 2003.

The total number of L2 speakers is in fact still more remarkable than Crystal's figures suggest. For, as he explains, they take no account of one further, and increasingly important, group of L2 English speakers: those for whom English was never a colonial language and for whom it may have little or no official function within their own country. This group of English speakers, whose proficiency levels range from reasonable to bilingual competence, were originally described as speakers of **English as a Foreign Language (EFL)** to distinguish them from L2 speakers for whom English serves country-internal functions, that is, speakers of **English as a Second Language (ESL)**. Since the mid-1990s, however, it has become increasingly common to

Table A1.1 English-speaking territories (source: Crystal 2003a: 62–65; 2012a: 62–65)

Territory	Usage estimate		Population (2001)
	L1	L2	
American Samoa	2,000	65,000	67,000
Antigua & Barbuda*	66,000	2,000	68,000
Aruba	9,000	35,000	70,000
Australia	14,987,000	3,500,000	18,972,000
Bahamas*	260,000	28,000	298,000
Bangladesh		3,500,000	131,270,000
Barbados*	262,000	13,000	275,000
Belize*	190,000	56,000	256,000
Bermuda	63,000		63,000
Bhutan		75,000	2,000,000
Botswana		630,000	1,586,000
British Virgin Islands*	20,000		20,800
Brunei	10,000	134,000	344,000
Cameroon*		7,700,000	15,900,000
Canada	20,000,000	7,000,000	31,600,000
Cayman Islands	36,000		36,000
Cook Islands	1,000	3,000	21,000
Dominica	3,000	60,000	70,000
Fiji	6,000	170,000	850,000
Gambia*		40,000	1,411,000
Ghana*		1,400,000	19,894,000
Gibraltar	28,000	2,000	31,000
Grenada*	100,000		100,000
Guam	58,000	100,000	160,000
Guyana*	650,000	30,000	700,000
Hong Kong	150,000	2,200,000	7,210,000
India	350,000	200,000,000	1,029,991,000
Ireland	3,750,000	100,000	3,850,000
Jamaica*	2,600,000	50,000	2,665,000
Kenya		2,700,000	30,766,000
Kiribati		23,000	94,000
Lesotho		500,000	2,177,000
Liberia*	600,000	2,500,000	3,226,000
Malawi		540,000	10,548,000
Malaysia	380,000	7,000,000	22,230,000
Malta	13,000	95,000	395,000
Marshall Islands		60,000	70,000
Mauritius	2,000	200,000	1,190,000
Micronesia	4,000	60,000	135,000
Montserrat*	4,000		4,000

Table A1.1 (cont'd)

Territory	Usage estimate		Population (2001)
	L1	L2	
Namibia	14,000	300,000	1,800,000
Nauru	900	10,700	12,000
Nepal		7,000,000	25,300,000
New Zealand	3,700,000	150,000	3,864,000
Nigeria*		60,000,000	126,636,000
Northern Marianas*	5,000	65,000	75,000
Pakistan		17,000,000	145,000,000
Palau	500	18,000	19,000
Papua New Guinea*	150,000	3,000,000	5,000,000
Philippines	20,000	40,000,000	83,000,000
Puerto Rico	100,000	1,840,000	3,937,000
Rwanda		20,000	7,313,000
St Kitts & Nevis*	43,000		43,000
St Lucia*	31,000	40,000	158,000
St Vincent & Grenadines*	114,000		116,000
Samoa	1,000	93,000	180,000
Seychelles	3,000	30,000	80,000
Sierra Leone*	500,000	4,400,000	5,427,000
Singapore	350,000	2,000,000	4,300,000
Solomon Islands*	10,000	165,000	480,000
South Africa	3,700,000	11,000,000	43,586,000
Sri Lanka	10,000	1,900,000	19,400,000
Suriname*	260,000	150,000	434,000
Swaziland		50,000	1,104,000
Tanzania		4,000,000	36,232,000
Tonga		30,000	104,000
Trinidad & Tobago*	1,145,000		1,170,000
Tuvalu		800	11,000
Uganda		2,500,000	23,986,000
United Kingdom	58,190,000	1,500,000	59,648,000
UK Islands (Channel, Man)	227,000		228,000
United States	215,424,000	25,600,000	278,059,000
US Virgin Islands*	98,000	15,000	122,000
Vanuatu*	60,000	120,000	193,000
Zambia	110,000	1,800,000	9,770,000
Zimbabwe	250,000	5,300,000	11,365,000
Other dependencies	20,000	15,000	35,000

find alongside EFL, the use of the term **English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)** or, less often, **English as an International Language (EIL)**. The new term, ELF, reflects the growing trend for English users from, for example, mainland Europe, China, and Brazil, to use English more frequently as a contact language among themselves rather than with native English speakers (the EFL situation). It is impossible to capture the current number of EFL/ELF speakers precisely, because the number is increasing all the time as more and more people in these countries learn English (particularly in China, partly as an outcome of its hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, and potentially in Brazil because of its hosting of the 2016 Games in Rio de Janeiro). Current estimates tend to be around one billion, while Crystal (2008a) suggests that there may now be as many as two billion English speakers in the world as a whole. This would imply well over one billion EFL/ELF users, and also, as Crystal (2012b: 155) points out, that “approximately one in three of the world’s population are now capable of communicating to a useful level in English”.

A theme which recurs throughout this book, and which will therefore be useful to highlight from the start, is that of value judgements of these different Englishes. The negative **attitudes** which persist today towards certain varieties of English have their roots in the past and, especially, in the two dispersals of English (see next section). The British establishment still harbours the view of the superiority of British over American English. For example, in launching the British Council’s English 2000 project in March 1995, Prince Charles was famously reported in the British press as follows:

The Prince of Wales highlighted the threat to “proper” English from the spread of American vernacular yesterday as he launched a campaign to preserve the language as world leader. He described American English as “very corrupting” and emphasised the need to maintain the quality of language, after giving his backing to the British Council’s English 2000 project . . . Speaking after the launch, Prince Charles elaborated on his view of the American influence. “People tend to invent all sorts of nouns and verbs, and make words that shouldn’t be. I think we have to be a bit careful, otherwise the whole thing can get rather a mess.”

(*The Times*, 24 March 1995)

And while the younger members of the UK royal family, like many other young people, may not share Prince Charles’s perspective on American English, negative attitudes towards it undoubtedly persist in the UK, e.g. among some university faculty (see Jenkins 2014).

It should already be clear that there is scope for substantial disagreement as to whether the metamorphosis of *English* into *Global Englishes* is a positive or negative phenomenon. And as can be seen in the reference to attitudes above, the use of English around the world has not proved uncontroversial or even, necessarily, beneficial. One of the purposes of this book, then, is to approach the controversies surrounding Global Englishes from a wide range of perspectives in order to enable readers to draw their own conclusions.

The two dispersals of English

We can speak of the two dispersals, or **diasporas**, of English. The **first diaspora**, initially involving the migration of around 25,000 people from the south and east of England primarily to North America and Australia, resulted in new mother tongue varieties of English. The **second diaspora**, involving the colonisation of Asia and Africa, led, on the other hand, to the development of a number of second language varieties, often referred to as 'New Englishes'. This is to some extent a simplification for it is not always an easy matter to categorise the world's Englishes so neatly (see A3). And, as was noted above, the whole issue has been further complicated since the twentieth century by the dramatic increase in the use of English first as a foreign language and subsequently as an international lingua franca (respectively EFL and ELF).

The first dispersal: English is transported to the 'New World'

The first diaspora involved relatively large-scale migrations of mother tongue English speakers from England, Scotland, and Ireland predominantly to North America, Australia, and New Zealand. The English dialects that travelled with them gradually developed into the American and Antipodean Englishes we know today. The varieties of English spoken in modern North America and Australasia are not identical with the English of their early colonisers, but have altered in response to the changed and changing sociolinguistic contexts in which the migrants found themselves. For example, their vocabulary rapidly expanded through contact with the indigenous Indian, Aboriginal, or Maori populations in the lands which they colonised, to incorporate words such as Amerindian *papoose*, *moccasin*, and *igloo*.

Walter Raleigh's expedition of 1584 to **America** was the earliest from the British Isles to the New World, though it did not result in a permanent settlement. The voyagers landed on the coast of North Carolina near Roanoke Island, but fell into conflict with the native Indian population and then mysteriously disappeared altogether, leaving behind only a palisade and the letters CRO carved on a tree. In 1607, the first permanent colonists arrived and settled in Jamestown, Virginia (named respectively after James I and Elizabeth I, the Virgin Queen), to be followed in 1620 by a group of Puritans and others on the *Mayflower*. The latter group landed further north, settling at what is now Plymouth, Massachusetts in New England. Both settlements spread rapidly and attracted further migrants during the years that followed. Because of their different linguistic backgrounds, there were immediately certain differences in the accents of the two groups of settlers. Those in Virginia came mainly from the west of England and brought with them their characteristic rhotic /r/ and voiced /s/ sounds. On the other hand, those who settled in New England were mainly from the east of England, where these features were not a part of the local accent.

During the seventeenth century, English spread to southern parts of America and the Caribbean as a result of the slave trade. Slaves were transported from West Africa and exchanged, on the American coast and in the Caribbean, for sugar and rum. The Englishes that developed among the slaves and between them and their captors were initially contact pidgin languages, but with their use as mother tongues following the birth of the next generation, they developed into creoles. Then, in the eighteenth century, there was large-scale immigration from Northern Ireland, initially to the

Table A1.2 Summary of the two dispersals of English

The first diaspora*Migrations to N.America, Australia, New Zealand → L1 varieties of English.*

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- | | |
|----------------|--|
| ❑ USA/Canada: | From early 17th century (English), 18th century (North Irish) to USA.
From 17th century, African slaves to South American states and Caribbean Islands.
From 1776 (American Independence) some British settlers to Canada. |
| ❑ Australia: | From 1770 |
| ❑ New Zealand: | From 1790s (official colony in 1840) |
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The second diaspora*Migrations to Africa and Asia → L2 varieties of English.*

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- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| ❑ South Africa: | From 1795. 3 groups of L2 English speakers (Afrikaans/Blacks/from 1860s Indians). |
| ❑ South Asia: | India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bhutan, from 1600 (British East India Company). 1765–1947 British sovereignty in India. |
| ❑ SE Asia and S Pacific: | Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Philippines from late 18th century (Raffles founded Singapore 1819). |
| ❑ Colonial Africa: | West: Sierra Leone, Ghana, Gambia, Nigeria, Cameroon, Liberia, from late 15th century (but no major English emigrant settlements → pidgins/creoles).
East: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, from c. 1850. |
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coastal area around Philadelphia, but quickly moving south and west. After the Declaration of American Independence in 1776, many Loyalists (the British settlers who had supported the British government) left for Canada.

Meanwhile, comparable events were soon to take place in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa (see Gordon & Sudbury 2002 on all three). James Cook ‘discovered’ **Australia** in 1770, landing in modern-day Queensland, and the First Fleet landed in New South Wales in 1788. From then until the ending of transportation in 1852, around 160,000 convicts were transported to Australia from Britain and Ireland, and from the 1820s large numbers of free settlers also began to arrive. The largest proportion of settlers came from London and the south-east, although in the case of the convicts, they were not necessarily born there. Others originated in regions as widely dispersed as, for example, south-west England, Lancashire, Scotland, and Ireland. The result was a situation of **dialect mixing** which was further influenced by the indigenous aboriginal languages.

New Zealand was first settled by European traders in the 1790s, though there was no official colony until after the British-Maori Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. Immigrants arrived in three stages: in the 1840s and 1850s from Britain, in the 1860s from Australia and Ireland, and from 1870 to 1885 from the UK, when their number included a considerable proportion of Scots. As in Australia, there was a mixture of dialects, this time subject to a strong Maori influence especially in terms of vocabulary.

Although **South Africa** was colonised by the Dutch from the 1650s, the British did not arrive until 1795 when they annexed the Cape, and did not begin to settle in large numbers until 1820. The majority of Cape settlers originated in southern England, though there were also sizeable groups from Ireland and Scotland. Further settlement occurred in the 1850s in the Natal region, this time from the Midlands, Yorkshire, and Lancashire. From 1822, when English was declared the official language, it was also learnt as a second language by blacks and Afrikaans speakers (many of whom were mixed race) and, from the 1860s, by Indian immigrants to the territory.

The second dispersal: English is transported to Asia and Africa

The second diaspora took place at various points during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in very different ways and with very different results from those of the first diaspora.

The history of English in Colonial Africa has two distinct patterns depending on whether we are talking about West or East Africa. English in **West Africa** is linked to the slave trade and the development of pidgin and creole languages. From the late fifteenth century onwards, British traders travelled at different times to and from the various coastal territories of West Africa, primarily Gambia, Sierra Leone, Ghana, Nigeria, and Cameroon. However, there was no major British settlement in the area and, instead, English was employed as a lingua franca both among the indigenous population (there being hundreds of local languages), and between these people and the British traders. English has subsequently gained official status in the above five countries, and some of the pidgins and creoles which developed from English contact, such as Krio (Sierra Leone) and Cameroon Pidgin English, are now spoken by large numbers of people, especially as a second language.

East Africa's relationship with English followed a different path. The countries of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe were extensively settled by British colonists from the 1850s on, following the expeditions of a number of explorers, most famously, those of David Livingstone. These six countries became British protectorates or colonies at various points between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with English playing an important role in their major institutions such as government, education, and the law. From the early 1960s, the six countries one after another achieved independence. English remains the official language in Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and (along with Chewa) Malawi and has large numbers of second language speakers in these places, although Swahili is more likely than English to be used as a lingua franca in Uganda, as it is in Kenya and Tanzania.

English was introduced to the sub-continent of **South Asia** (India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and Bhutan) during the second half of the eighteenth century although, as McCrum et al. (2002/2011: 356) point out, “[t]he English have

had a toehold on the Indian subcontinent since the early 1600s, when the newly formed East India Company established settlements in Madras, Calcutta, and later Bombay". The company's influence increased during the eighteenth century and culminated in a period of British sovereignty (known as 'the Raj') in India lasting from 1765 to 1947. A key development was the Macaulay Minute of 1835, which proposed the introduction in India of an English educational system. From that time, English became the language of the Indian education system. Even today, when Hindi is the official language of India, English is an 'associate official language' used alongside Hindi as a neutral lingua franca, and has undergone a process of Indianisation in which it has developed a distinctive national character comparable to that of American and Australian English (see unit C7).

British influence in **Southeast Asia**, **East Asia**, and the **South Pacific** began in the late eighteenth century as a result of the seafaring expeditions of James Cook and others. The main territories involved were Singapore, Malaysia, Hong Kong, and the Philippines. Papua New Guinea was also, for a short time, a British protectorate (1884 to 1920), and provides one of the world's best examples of an English-based pidgin, **Tok Pisin**.

Stamford Raffles is the name most closely associated with British colonialism in Southeast Asia. An administrator of the British East India Company, he played an important role in the founding of Singapore as part of the British colonial empire in 1819. Other major British centres were founded around the same time in Malaysia (e.g. Penang and Malacca), and Hong Kong was added in 1842. After the Spanish-American War at the end of the nineteenth century, the US was granted sovereignty over the **Philippines**, which, although gaining independence in 1946, has retained a strong American-English influence.

In recent years, the use of English has increased in Singapore and a local variety has begun to emerge. On the other hand, the use of English has declined in **Malaysia** as a result of the adoption of the local language **Malaysian Bahasa** as the national language and medium of education when Malaysia gained independence in 1957. While still obligatory as a subject of study at school, English was regarded as useful only for international communication. Subsequently there was a change of policy, with English-medium education being reintroduced from 2003. And even before this development, the situation was complex with, for example, radio stations using English and Bahasa together for a local audience (Sebba, personal communication). However, since 2013 the Malaysian government has again reverted to Malaysian Bahasa as the medium of instruction (Gill 2012). Nowadays English is also learnt in other countries in neighbouring areas, most notably China, Taiwan, Japan, and Korea, the latter three having even considered the possibility of making English their official second language.

Between 1750 and 1900 the English-speaking settlements of the first and second diasporas all underwent three similar major changes. Up until 1750, as Strevens (1992: 29) has pointed out, the British settlers thought of themselves as "English speakers from Britain who happened to be living overseas". After this time, Strevens continues:

First, the populations of the overseas NS [native speaker] English-speaking settlements greatly increased in size and became states with governments – albeit colonial governments – and with a growing sense of separate identity, which soon

extended to the flavour of the English they used. Second, in the United States first of all, but later in Australia and elsewhere, the colonies began to take their independence from Britain, which greatly reinforced the degree of linguistic difference . . . And third, as the possessions stabilized and prospered, so quite large numbers of people, being non-native speakers of English, had to learn to use the language in order to survive, or to find employment with the governing class.

These Englishes have much in common, through their shared history and their affinity with either British or American English. But there is also much that is unique to each variety, particularly in terms of their accents, but also in their idiomatic uses of vocabulary, their grammars, and their discourse strategies.

Since 1945, most of the remaining colonies have become independent states, with English often being retained in order to provide various internal functions and/or to serve as a *lingua franca*.

A2

WHO SPEAKS ENGLISH TODAY?**ENL, ESL, EFL and ELF**

The spread of English around the world is often discussed in terms of three distinct groups of users, those who speak English respectively as:

- a native language (ENL)
- a second language (ESL)
- a foreign language (EFL).

When we come to look more closely at the traditional three-way categorisation and, especially when we consider the most influential models and descriptions of English use, we will find that the categories have become fuzzy at the edges and that it is increasingly difficult to classify speakers of English as belonging purely to one of the three. The categorisation also ignores a fourth group of users, namely those who speak English as:

- a *lingua franca* (ELF).

Speakers of **English as a Lingua Franca**, who use English for intercultural communication, are now arguably the world's largest English-using group (see e.g. Seidlhofer 2011 as well as strand 6 below, where we explore ELF in detail).

The traditional tripartite model nevertheless provides a useful starting point from which we can then move on to the present, more complicated situation.

English as a Native Language (ENL), or **English as a mother tongue** as it is sometimes called, is the language of those born and raised in one of the countries where English is historically the first language to be spoken. Kachru (1992a: 356) refers to these countries (mainly the UK, USA, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand)

as “the traditional cultural and linguistic bases of English”. Their English speakers are thought to number around 360 million. English as a Second Language refers to the language spoken in a large number of territories such as India, Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Singapore, which were once colonised by the English (see A1). These speakers are also thought to number around 360 million, although higher if English-based pidgins and creoles are included.

English as a Foreign Language is the English of those whose countries were never colonised by the British, and for whom English serves little or no purpose within their own borders. Historically, they typically learned the language in order to use it with its native speakers in the US and UK, though this is no longer necessarily the case. The current number of EFL speakers is difficult to assess, and much depends on the level of competence that is used to define such a speaker. If we use a criterion of ‘reasonable competence’, then the number is likely to be around one billion. However, it should be noted that this figure is not uncontroversial, and also that it includes some who could more accurately be described as ELF users (those who use English primarily as a lingua franca with non-native English speakers from other L1s than their own rather than primarily with ENL speakers). On the other hand, if we conflate EFL speakers with all ELF speakers the total may be as many as two billion.

Even before we complicate the issue with the changes that have occurred in the most recent decades, there are already a number of difficulties with the traditional three-way categorisation. McArthur (1998: 43–46) lists six provisos, which I summarise as follows:

1. ENL is not a single variety of English, but differs markedly from one territory to another (e.g. the US and UK), and even from one region to another within a given territory. In addition, the version of English accepted as ‘standard’ differs from one ENL territory to another.
2. Pidgins and creoles do not fit neatly into any one of the three categories. They are spoken in ENL settings, e.g. in parts of the Caribbean, in ESL settings, e.g. in many territories in West Africa, and in EFL settings, e.g. in Nicaragua, Panama, and Surinam in the Americas. And some creoles in the Caribbean are so distinct from standard varieties of English that they are considered by a number of scholars to be different languages altogether.
3. There have always been large groups of ENL speakers living in certain ESL territories, e.g. India and Hong Kong as a result of colonialism.
4. There are also large numbers of ESL speakers living in ENL settings, particularly the US and, to a lesser extent, the UK as a result of immigration.
5. The three categories do not take account of the fact that much of the world is bi- or multilingual, and that English is often spoken within a framework of code-mixing and code-switching. (Note that a distinction used to be made between these two terms, whereas more recently they have tended to be used synonymously and interchangeably, see e.g. Y. Kachru and Nelson 2006: chapter 18).
6. The basic division is between **native speakers** and **non-native speakers** of English, that is, those born to the language and those who learned it through education. The first group has always been considered superior to the second regardless of the quality of the language its members speak. This is becoming an ever more controversial issue and will be taken up in Unit B6.

To the above points can be added three more. Firstly, in a number of so-called ESL countries such as Singapore and Nigeria, some English speakers learn the language either as their L1 or as one of two or more equivalent languages within their bi- or multilingual repertoires. Secondly, there are so-called EFL/ELF countries such as The Netherlands and Scandinavian countries where English is increasingly being used for *intranational* (i.e. country internal) purposes rather than purely as a foreign or international language. For example, in such places, English is fast becoming the medium of instruction in tertiary education, while in secondary and even primary education, school subjects are increasingly being taught through English as a means of learning both (see C6). And thirdly, the focus on *users* of English and the linguistic features that identify them as members of specific nation states, whether ENL, ESL, or EFL, has resulted in a neglect of the *uses* of English (Mahboob and Szenes 2010). In other words, similar linguistic resources may be used by speakers of different named varieties of World Englishes within and across the three traditional groupings because of the influence of shared context of use and genre factors as well as the role of intercultural communication more broadly. This third point has particular relevance to ELF communication.

Models and descriptions of the spread of English

The oldest model of the spread of English is that of Stevrens. His world map of English (see Figure A2.1), first published in 1980, shows a map of the world on which is superimposed an upside-down tree diagram demonstrating the way in which, since American English became a separate variety from British English, all subsequent Englishes have had affinities with either one or the other.

Later in the 1980s, Kachru, McArthur, and Görlach all proposed circle models of English: Kachru's 'Three circle model of World Englishes' (1985/1988), McArthur's (1987) 'Circle of World English', and Görlach's (1988) 'Circle model of English'. McArthur's and Görlach's models are similar in a number of ways. Görlach's circle (not shown here) places 'International English' at the centre, followed by (moving outwards):

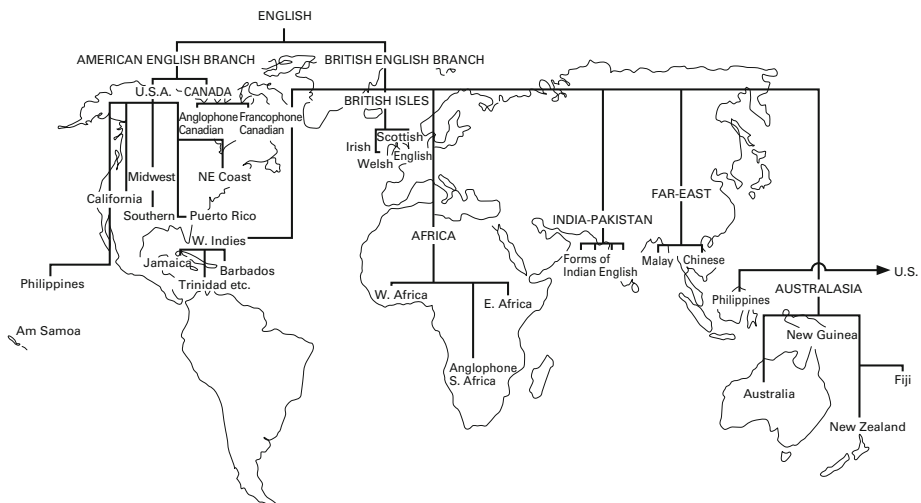


Figure A2.1 Stevrens's world map of English (source: Stevrens 1992: 33)

regional standard Englishes (African, Antipodean, British Canadian, Caribbean, S. Asian, US), then semi-/sub-regional standard Englishes such as Indian, Irish, Kenyan, Papua New Guinean, then non-standard Englishes such as Aboriginal English, Jamaican English, Yorkshire dialect, and, finally, beyond the outer rim, pidgins and creoles such as Cameroon pidgin English, Kamtok, and the Papua New Guinean Tok Pisin.

McArthur's circle (see Figure A2.2) has at its centre 'World Standard English' which, like Görlach's 'International English', does not exist in an identifiable form at present (if it ever will do, which is questionable). Moving outwards comes next a band of regional varieties including both standard and standardising forms. Beyond these, divided by spokes separating the world into eight regions, is what McArthur (1998: 95) describes as "a crowded (even riotous) fringe of subvarieties such as *Aboriginal English*, *Black English Vernacular* [now known as 'African-American Vernacular English' or 'Ebonics'], *Gullah*, *Jamaican Nation Language*, *Singapore English* and *Ulster Scots*".

However, the most useful and influential model of the spread of English has undoubtedly been that of Kachru (1992a: 356) (see Figure A2.3). In accordance with

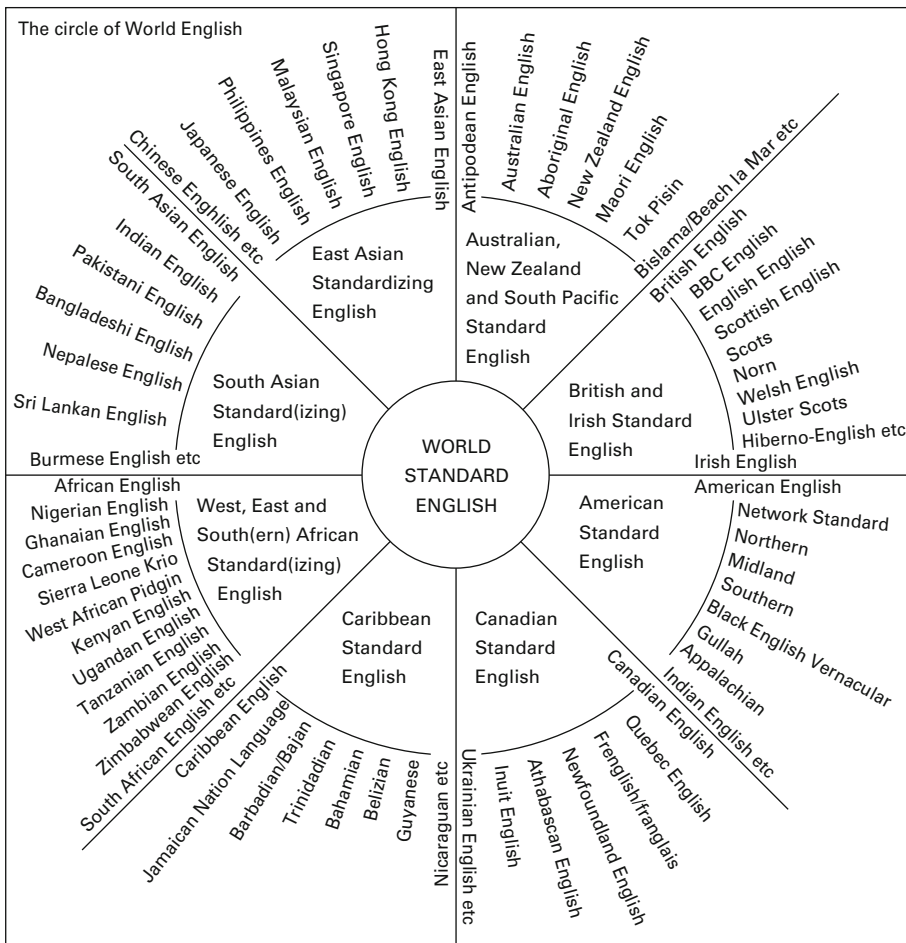


Figure A2.2 McArthur's Circle of World English (source: McArthur 1998: 97)

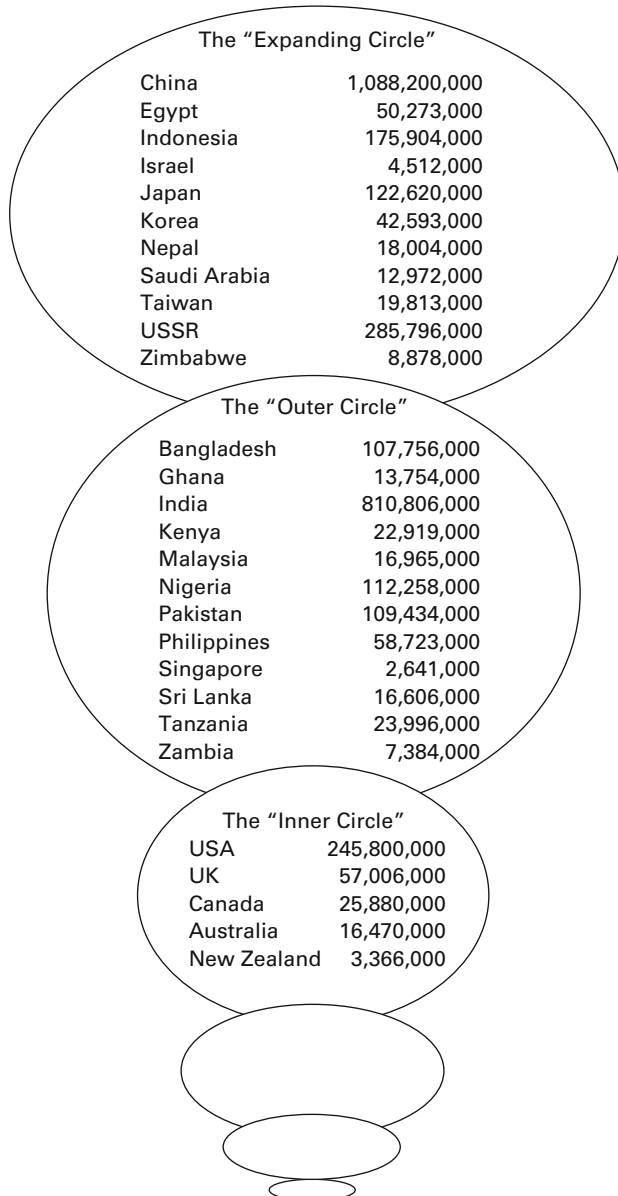


Figure A2.3 Kachru's three-circle model of World Englishes (source: Kachru 1992a: 356)

the three-way categorisation described in the previous section, Kachru divides World Englishes into three concentric circles, the **Inner Circle**, the **Outer Circle**, and the **Expanding Circle**. The three circles “represent the types of spread, the patterns of acquisition, and the functional allocation of English in diverse cultural contexts”, as the language travelled from Britain, in the first diaspora to the other ENL countries (together with the UK these constitute the Inner Circle), in the second diaspora to the ESL countries (the Outer Circle), and more recently, in what is sometimes called ‘the

third diaspora, to the EFL countries (the Expanding Circle). The English spoken in the Inner Circle is said to be ‘norm-providing’, that in the Outer Circle ‘norm-developing’, and that in the Expanding Circle ‘norm-dependent’. Thus, according to this model, the ESL varieties of English have become **institutionalised**, serve country-internal functions, and are developing their own standards. By contrast, the EFL varieties are regarded as ‘performance’ varieties without any official status and therefore dependent on the standards set by native speakers in the Inner Circle, although Kachru later (2005) suggested that they could be modelled on Outer rather than Inner Circle varieties.

Kachru argues that the implications of this sociolinguistic reality of English use around the world have gone unrecognised, and that attitudes, power, and economics have instead been allowed to dictate English language policy. This situation, he considers, has been facilitated by a number of “fallacies” about the users and uses of English in different cultures around the world. In B2 we will look further at this issue, which developed in the early 1990s into a major debate carried out in the pages of the journal *English Today*.

The three-circle model has been highly influential and contributed greatly to our understanding of the sociolinguistic realities of the spread of English. And many scholars, myself included, use it to this day because it still offers the most convenient framework we have for thinking about different kinds of English use. However, over the past few years a number of World Englishes scholars have identified limitations with the model in its current form. Some of these limitations relate to subsequent changes in the use of English, while others concern any attempt at a three-way categorisation of English uses and users. The main points that have been raised by various scholars (some of which overlap with those raised in respect of the tripartite ENL-ESL-EFL model described above) are the following:

- ❑ The model is based on geography and history rather than on the way speakers currently identify with and use English. Yet some English users in the Outer Circle speak it as their first language (occasionally as their *only* language). Meanwhile an increasing number of speakers in the Expanding Circle use English for a very wide range of purposes including social with native speakers, and even more frequently with other non-native speakers from both their own and different L1s, and both in their home country and abroad. As Mesthrie points out, “[t]he German graduate students I taught in the cold Bavarian winter of 2005 seemed to be *thoroughly at home in English*” (2008: 32, emphasis added). In addition to this, English is increasingly being used as the medium of instruction in both schools and universities in many continental European countries, and more recently in Expanding Circle Asian countries such as China.
- ❑ There is often a grey area between the Inner and Outer Circles: in some Outer Circle countries, English may be the first language learnt for many people, and may be spoken in the home rather than used purely for institutional purposes such as education, law, and government.
- ❑ There is also an increasingly grey area between the Outer and Expanding Circles. Approximately twenty countries are said to be in transition from EFL to ESL status, including Argentina, Belgium, Costa Rica, Denmark, Sudan, Switzerland (Graddol 1997: 11).

- Many World English speakers grow up bilingual or multilingual, using different languages to fulfil different functions in their daily lives. This makes it difficult to describe any language in their repertoire as L1, L2, L3, and so on.
- There is a difficulty in using the model to define speakers in terms of their proficiency in English. A native speaker may have limited vocabulary and low grammatical competence while the reverse may be true of a non-native speaker. The fact that English is somebody's second or subsequent language does not mean that their competence is, by definition, lower than that of a native speaker. And while the model does not actually imply this, it often seems to be inferred, in part perhaps from the description of Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes as, respectively, 'norm-developing' and 'norm-dependent'.
- The model implies that the situation is uniform for all countries within a particular circle whereas this is not so. Even within the Inner Circle, countries differ in the amount of **linguistic diversity** they contain (e.g. there is far more diversity in the US than in the UK). In the Outer Circle, countries differ in a number of respects such as whether English is spoken mainly by an élite, as in India, or is more widespread, as in Singapore; or whether it is spoken by a single L1 group leading to one variety of English as in Bangladesh, or by several different L1 groups leading to several varieties of English as in India. Because of this, Bruthiaux argues that the model "conceals more than it reveals and runs the risk of being interpreted as a license to dispense with analytical rigour" (2003: 161).
- The term 'Inner Circle' implies that speakers from the ENL countries are central to the effort, whereas their worldwide influence is in fact in decline. Note, though, that Kachru did not intend the term 'Inner' to be taken to imply any sense of superiority.

For more details concerning these issues see, for example, Bruthiaux (2003), Canagarajah (1999), Graddol (1997, 2006), Holborow (1999), Kandiah (1998), Kirkpatrick (2007a), Mesthrie (2008), Modiano (1999a), Pennycook (2006, 2007), Seidlhofer (2002), Saraceni (2010), Toolan (1997), Tripathi (1998), and Yano (2001, 2009). Kachru, however, believes that his model has been misinterpreted, and has defended it robustly point by point against the problems listed in the first edition of this book (Jenkins 2003: 17–18), arguing that the model has the capacity to encompass the kinds of sociolinguistic changes observed by his critics (Kachru 2005: 211–220). He concludes that the concerns raised in Jenkins (2003) "are constructed primarily on misrepresentations of the model's characteristics, interpretations and implications" (Kachru 2005: 220). If you have access to Kachru (2005) and to some of the above sources, you may find it useful to read their authors' comments on the three-circle model, then Kachru's (2005) response, in order to help you decide on your own position.

Several scholars have since proposed alternative models and descriptions of the spread of English, sometimes in an attempt to improve on Kachru's model by incorporating more recent developments. Tripathi (1998: 55), for example, argues that the 'third world nations' should be considered as "an independent category that supersedes the distinction of ESL and EFL". Yano's Cylindrical model (2001: 122–124) modifies Kachru's model in order to take account of the fact that many varieties of English in the Outer Circle have become established varieties spoken by people who regard themselves as native speakers with native speaker intuition. He therefore suggests

glossing the Inner Circle as “genetic ENL” and the Outer as “functional ENL”. His model also takes account of the social dialectal concept of **acrolect** (standard) and **basilect** (colloquial) use of English, with the acrolect being used for international communication and for formal and public intranational interaction, and the basilect for informal intranational communication. This is problematic in that it does not allow for the possibility of basilect use in international communication, whereas such use is becoming increasingly common. On the other hand, the attempt to remove any suggestion of a genetic element from the definition of ‘native speaker’ is very welcome. Yano subsequently produced another version of his model, the ‘Three-dimensional cylindrical model’ (see Yano 2009). This incorporates proficiency in four kinds of English: English for General Purposes (EGP), English for Special Purposes (ESP), Intra-regional Standard English (Intra-RSE), and English as an International Language (EIL), with the latter kind described as “the ultimate level of proficiency for cross-regional or international communication” (2009: 216).

Another attempt to adapt Kachru’s model to take account of later developments is that of Modiano (1999a, 1999b). He breaks completely with historical and geographical concerns and bases the first of his two models, ‘The centripetal circles of international English’, on what is mutually comprehensible to the majority of proficient speakers of English, be they native or non-native. The centre is made up of those who are proficient in international English (corresponding to Yano’s EIL). That is, these speakers function well in cross-cultural communication where English is the lingua franca. They are just as likely to be non-native as native speakers of English. The main criterion, other than proficiency itself, is that they have no strong regional accent or dialect. Modiano’s next band consists of those who have proficiency in English as either a first or second language rather than as an international language. In other words, they function well in English with, respectively, other native speakers (with whom they share English as an L1) or other non-native speakers from the same L1 background as themselves. The third circle is made up of learners of English, i.e. those who are not yet proficient in English. Outside this circle is a final band to represent those people who do not know English at all (see Figure A2.4).

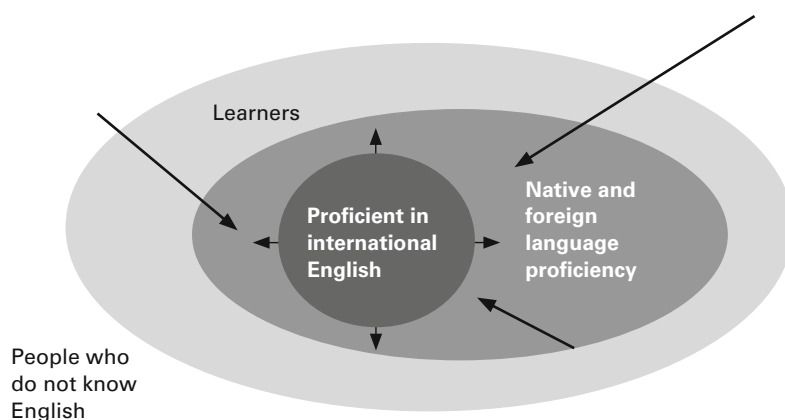


Figure A2.4 Modiano’s centripetal circles of international English (source: Modiano 1999a: 25)

Although it makes good sense to base a modern description of users of English on proficiency and to prioritise the use of English as an international or world language (as McArthur and Görlach had done earlier, and Yano was to do later), there are certain problems with Modiano's model. In particular, where do we draw the line between a strong and non-strong regional accent? Presumably a strong regional accent places its owner in the second circle, thus categorising them as not proficient in international English. But we currently have no sound basis on which to make the decision. And who decides? Again, given that international English is not defined, what does it mean to be proficient in 'international English' other than the rather vague notion of communicating well? Where do we draw the line between proficient and not proficient in international English in the absence of such a definition?

A few months later, Modiano redrafted his idea in response to comments that he had received in reaction to his first model. This time he moves away from intelligibility per se to present a model based on features common to all varieties of English. At the centre is EIL (English as an International Language), a core of features that is comprehensible to the majority of native and competent non-native speakers of English (see Figure A2.5). His second circle consists of features that may become internationally common or may fall into obscurity. Modiano's outer area consists of five groups (American English, British English, other major (native) varieties, other (local) varieties, and foreign varieties – which he, however, labels “foreign language speakers”), each with features peculiar to their own speech community that are unlikely to be understood by most members of the other four groups.

There are still problems. For example, the difficulty of determining what goes into his central category remains. In addition, some will find unpalatable the fact that Modiano equates native speakers with “competent” non-natives, implying that all native speakers of English are competent users of English, which is patently untrue. There may also be objections to the designation of the main native varieties as “major” but established Outer Circle varieties such as Indian English (spoken by a larger number than the native English populations of the US and UK combined) as “local”.

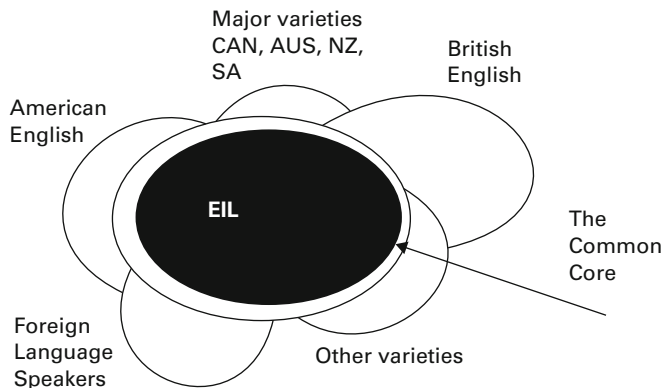


Figure A2.5 Modiano's English as an international language (EIL) illustrated as those features of English which are common to all native and non-native varieties (source: Modiano 1999b: 10)

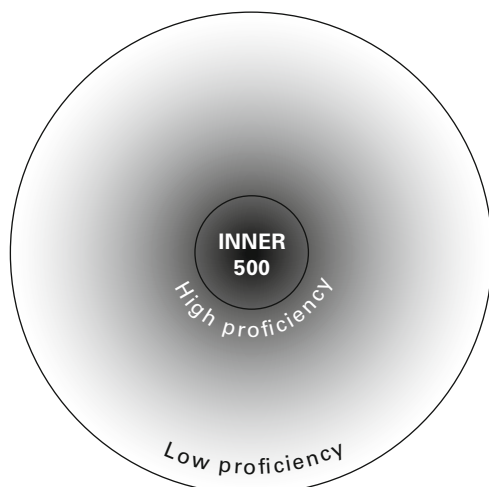


Figure A2.6 Representing the community of English speakers as including a wide range of proficiencies (source: Graddol 2006: 110)

Returning to Kachru’s model, Graddol (2006: 110) points out that “Kachru himself has recently proposed that the ‘inner circle’ is now better conceived of as the group of highly proficient speakers of English – those who have ‘functional nativeness’ regardless of how they learned or use the language”. Graddol demonstrates this in Figure A2.6, which he devised according to his interpretation of Kachru’s words.

Graddol argues that “[i]n a globalised world [. . .] there is an increasing need to distinguish between proficiencies in English rather than a speaker’s bilingual status” (p. 110). This is similar to Rampton’s (1990) notion of ‘expertise’, which, Rampton argues, is a more appropriate concept for English than that of nativeness (see unit B6 below). Degree of proficiency or expertise is an eminently (and possibly the most) useful way to approach the English of its entirety of speakers nowadays, regardless of where they come from and what other language(s) they speak.

The source for Graddol’s presentation of functional nativeness in diagrammatic form was Kachru (2005) (Graddol, personal communication). However, it seems that Graddol’s interpretation of the phenomenon of ‘functional nativeness’ may not be precisely the same as Kachru’s. For when Kachru himself discusses functional nativeness (2005: 12, and see also Kachru 1997: 217), he explains it in terms of two variables: “the RANGE and DEPTH of a language in a society” (his capital letters), i.e. the “domains” in which a language is used and “the degree of social penetration of the language”. In other words, Kachru seems to be referring to the use of English in a society, and Graddol to the proficiency level of speakers of English within the entire ‘community’ of English speakers. The two overlap, but are not necessarily identical.

More recently, Canagarajah (in a lecture, ‘Developing a model for plurilingual competence’, given at Southampton University, England in July 2008) looks afresh at McArthur’s circle model and argues that its ‘World Standard English’ centre is problematic. Canagarajah suggests replacing it with ‘**Pragmatics**’ – strategies of communication (see Canagarajah 2005: xxvi) – leaving the grammar to take care of itself. Still more controversially, as an alternative, he suggests leaving the centre completely

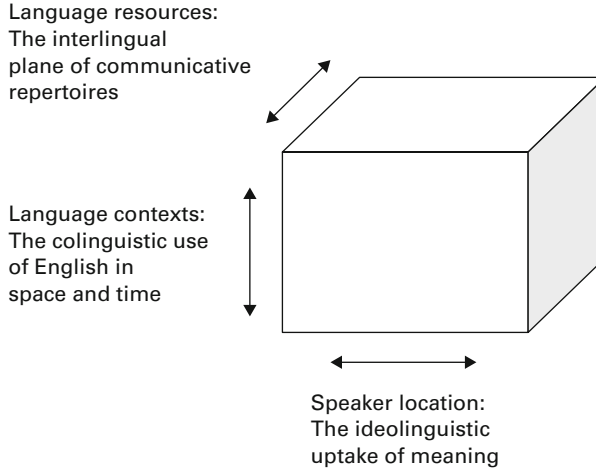


Figure A2.7 Pennycook's 3D transtextual model of English use (source: Pennycook 2009: 204)

empty. Either way, the implication is that it is impossible to capture the variability of English forms used in context around the world within a single term, a conclusion that is particularly consistent with the notion of English as a *Lingua Franca* (see strand 6).

Like Canagarajah's model, other more recent models of the spread of English move away from a narrower focus on geography, history, nativeness, proficiency, and the like to take greater account of the role of the communication context. Pennycook's (2009) 3D transtextual model of English use (see Figure A2.7) consists of three planes: a higher horizontal plane for "inter/linguistic resources", a vertical one for "who says what to whom where", and a lower horizontal one for "what gets taken from what language use with what investments, ideologies, discourses and beliefs" (2009: 203). His higher surface, which he equates with ELF, includes all uses of English, not only national bounded varieties. His vertical plane is concerned with registers in relation to "actual contextual use" rather than assuming (as Yano's model does) that only the *acrolect* is available to the *Expanding Circle*, while the full *acrolect-to-basilect* range is available to others. Finally, the model's lower surface takes account of the fact that "listeners come with language histories and means of interpretation" (p. 205).

The most recent model we will consider, and which is in press as I write, is Mahboob's Language variation framework (see Figure A2.8). This again comprises three parts, though this time they are continuums rather than planes. The first relates to users of English and concerns the social/geographic distance (global or local) between interlocutors. The second concerns uses of English, i.e. the purpose for which it is being used, with specialised discourse and casual conversation being at opposite ends of the continuum. The third refers to the mode of communication, i.e. spoken, written, and combinations of the two in various forms of virtual interaction. As Mahboob points out, while each is an independent continuum, the three are not mutually exclusive, and provide eight different possible kinds of language variation: local, written, everyday; local oral everyday; local, written, specialised; local, oral, specialised; global, written, everyday, and so on.

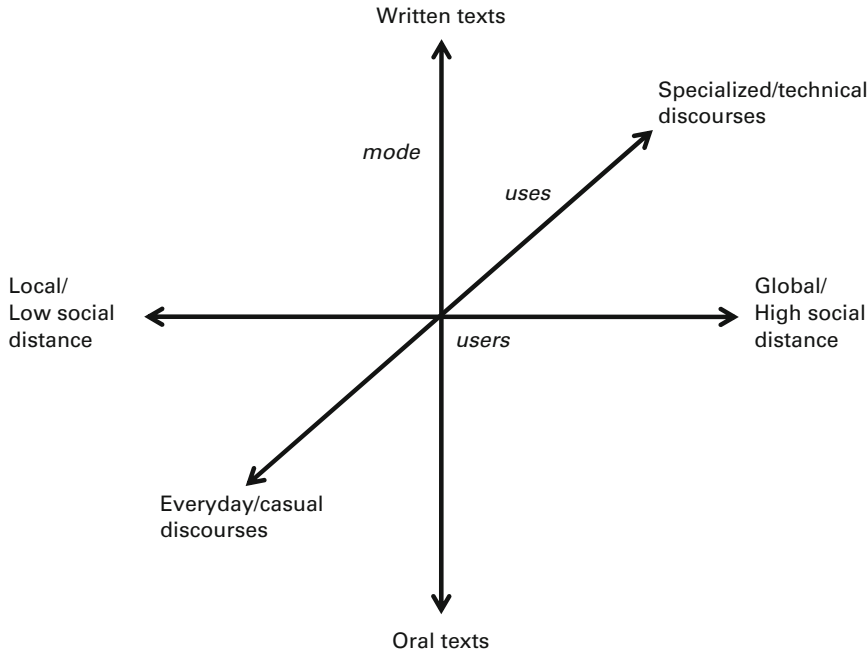


Figure A2.8 Mahboob's language variation framework (source: Mahboob in press)

Before moving on to either B2 or A3 (depending on how you are using this book), you may find it useful to look back over the various models of the spread of English that have been described in A2, rank/evaluate them, and decide which (if any) you find entirely satisfactory. If you don't think any of them is sufficiently comprehensive, you may even want to have a go at designing your own model!