World Englishes

SUSAN BARDUHN

Intellectual and Social Context

"World Englishes" is an umbrella term for a wide range of differing approaches to the description and analysis of English(es) worldwide. Various World Englishes (WE) models seek to explain, describe, and address the ways in which the usage of English is changing as a result of contact with other languages and communities. Some scholars confuse the term "World English" with "English as an International Language"; the latter considers the development and consequences of having one single internationalized form of English. The field of World Englishes, in contrast, seeks to describe the different national and regional varieties of English that are spoken around the world, although even the phrase "varieties of English" suggests that there is a common core of English to which such varieties are subservient, whereas the current lens for looking at World Englishes is more focused on the autonomy and plurality of these Englishes. The Bakhtinian distinction between centripetal and centrifugal forces in language change addresses whether language change is circling the center (centripetal) or pulling away from the center (centrifugal), the center being British and American English. A model of English correctness and appropriacy is emerging which derives its norms from its own usage (endonormative) rather than from any "native-speaker" country.

The total number of Englishes in the world at any point in time is difficult to establish, as new varieties of English are constantly developing and being discovered, but there are thought to be approximately 75 territories where English is spoken either as a first language; an institutionalized national language in such fields as government, law, and education; or as an unofficial second language.

There are at present at least three well-recognized international academic journals devoted to this branch of linguistics primarily: *English Today, English World-Wide* and *World Englishes.* The John Benjamins publishing company publishes a series of books called *Varieties of English Around the World* (VEAW). Since 1982 it has released 61 different volumes, each one dedicated to describing individual or contrasting different varieties of English.

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Major Dimensions

The issue of something called World Englishes was first raised in 1978 in an attempt to examine regional Englishes globally for factors such as appropriateness, comprehensibility, and interpretability. A paradigm shift occurred when B. Kachru and L. Smith took over the editorship of the journal *World Language English* in 1985 and retitled it *World Englishes* in order that this pluralization would embody a new idea, a new credo. At the 1988 TESOL conference in Honolulu, Hawaii, the International Committee of the Study of World Englishes (ICWE) was formed. In 1992 the ICWE formally launched the International Association for World Englishes (IAWE). The acronym for World Englishes—WE—is also meant to emphasize "WE-ness," as opposed to the dichotomy between *us* and *them* (the native and non-native users).

Kachru first published his three circles of English model in 1985 in a book chapter that came out of a conference held to mark the 50th anniversary of the British Council. Two adaptations of this model are to be found in Figure 1 and Figure 2. His intention was to elucidate the sociolinguistics of English in its international context with particular reference to postcolonial societies.

The inner circle of the model refers to those societies where English is the predominant language, such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. This group is sometimes labeled BANA (British, Australian, and North American). The speakers in the inner circle were formally referred to as the English as a Native Language (ENL) users, but this term has become confusing and unclear, because millions of people in the outer circle use English as their mother tongue/first language (e.g., Malaysia, South Africa, Ghana, India, Sri Lanka.). The outer-circle contexts tend to be former colonies of Anglophonic societies, where the localized (endocentric) norm has a well-established linguistic and cultural identity, including such countries as Kenya, Singapore, and India. In the outer circle, English is typically only one of a number of languages used by a multilingual society, and may have some degree of official recognition as an official, co-official, legal, or educational language. Here the term is English as a second language (ESL). The expanding circle is comprised of those areas where it is English as a foreign language (EFL), such as China and Japan. Here the norms are external (exocentric, i.e., originating from American or British English).

In both Asia and Europe, where there are both outer circle and expanding circle countries, and therefore where English can be spoken either as a second or foreign language, change in English language use is taking place fast, but differently. One similarity is that English is evolving as a *lingua franca* in not just business and commerce, but also as a language of socialization. Young people are using English to express social identities, and making use of code-switching and code-mixing in ways that are very unlike their parents' proficient use of English, which also means that each linguistic region is developing a unique variety of English. In the Philippines, for example, this patterned code-mixing is known as "Mix-mix."

Other distinctions between the three circles are meant to question the models, norms, and standards for English, considering whether the inner circle is indeed *norm-providing*, with the outer circle containing *norm-developing* varieties, while the

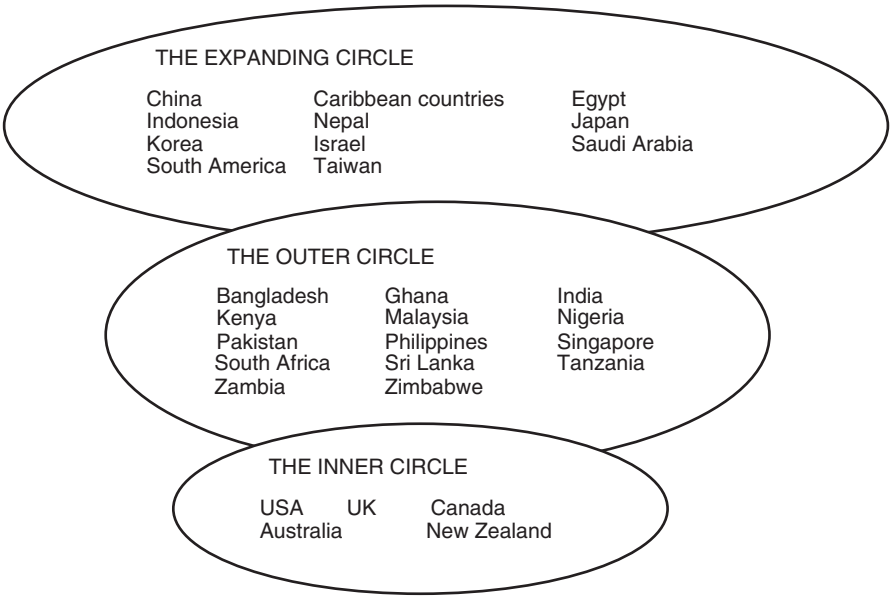

Figure 1 Examples of countries in the Three Circles Model, after Kachru (1985).

Expanding circle	• EFL users • Countries with no UK colonial past • Over a billion users • Norm-dependent?
Outer circle	• ESL users • Former UK colonial dependencies • Over half a billion users • Norm-developing?
Inner circle	• ENL users • England and former settler colonies • Less than half a billion users • Norm-providing?

Figure 2 English uses and users, following the Kachru model.

expanding circle is *norm-dependent*. The inner-circle countries were once considered the "owners" of the language, and it is their norms that are treated as having spread to other countries. Because the outer-circle countries have developed their own norms over time, this circle is called *norm developing.* Kachru's circle has helped to establish the legitimacy of these postcolonial varieties of English. Some examples are Singapore, Nigeria, and India, where English is institutionalized, although each of these has also developed its own variety of English. In Singapore, in fact, English has always had the status of a dominant language. Now English is gradually being elevated to the status of *first* language by the younger generation. They do not hesitate to consider English their "mother tongue."

The expanding circle consists of those countries that did not come under British colonization, and as they are not assumed to have internal uses of the language, they are expected to adopt the norms of the inner circle. Examples of those countries are Korea, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. Evidence, however, shows that multilingual speakers in the expanding circle instead negotiate their differences in communication with others in the expanding circle by adopting strategies for co-construction of norms that prioritize communication.

A criticism of the Kachru model is that it does not go far enough in reflecting the dynamic changes in communicative practices. Within each nation-state, there are subcultural and social varieties in flux. Even within the United Kingdom there are new varieties of English evolving as a result of different communities coming together. London multicultural English, for example, is a koiné, an intermixing between two (largely) mutually-intelligible dialects, in this case London (Estuary) English and Afro-Caribbean English. WE scholars are also unclear about the place of pidgins and creoles. Discussion has been going on for the last 20 years about the relationship between New Englishes and English-based pidgins and creoles. Opinions vary, but there is general agreement that pidgins and creoles are independent languages, and that there are also varieties which should be classified as only marginally English.

There is a call for the WE field to move away from a binary native/non-native model, as they treat certain languages as owned by certain communities, when diverse communities are in fact adopting and adapting languages to their own purposes. This call favors a *translingual* model, which even takes into consideration features of modern communication that includes symbols and modalities (graphics, video) (Canagarajah, 2013). Another view favors *bidialectalism* and *multidialectalism*, in which English language users will have at least two varieties of English at their disposal: one for international forums and one for local purposes. With linguistic diversity at the center of this discussion, it is asserted that *accommodation* will dominate ELT ideologies, and that it will be the job of pedagogical policies to prepare its future citizens to function appropriately in different varieties of English and to make appropriate choices about which variety to use when (Crystal, 2001). Different Englishes fulfill different functions in individuals' daily lives. The chief task facing ELT is how to devise pedagogical policies and practices in which the need to maintain an international standard of intelligibility can be made to comfortably exist alongside the need to recognize the importance of international and local diversity, as a reflection of identity.

Changes Over Time in the Development of World Englishes

The earliest growth patterns of English that led to its becoming the lingua franca of the world can be divided into four diasporas. The first diaspora began in the 1400s with Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, in which one language replaced the others as a result of military action. The second diaspora came with the colonialization in the 1600s of North America, then Australia, and New Zealand. The third diaspora

involved teaching English in multilingual situations at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Africa and Asia in which the new language became essential for governance and education, but did not replace native languages. In many cases a New English was created, depending on the education and social position of the speakers, and that New English may itself have developed subvarieties. A characteristic feature of New Englishes is that they are not transmitted directly through native-speaker settlers, and are shaped mainly through use as the medium of instruction in school, and reinforced in different ways outside of school. For example, East African English is used "native-like" as the primary language in the home only by highly educated people in mixed marriages, and can be described as a socio-educational continuum, since the type of English spoken by Africans depends largely on two factors: (a) their education, that is, the length and degree of formal education in English; and (b) their social position, that is, the necessity for and amount of English used in everyday life. Today, of course, English as the international language of science, technology, international development, and communication is also a learner language, but "broken" English or "school English" is usually looked down upon and ridiculed, especially in Kenya, for instance in literature or political campaigns (Schmied, 2009).

Southeast Asia exemplifies the third diaspora, in which English rapidly became the language of power, following the East India Company settlement in what are today Singapore and Malaysia. The British educational system was introduced very early on, and English soon became the language of professional advancement and the chief literary language. After the turn of the century, higher education courses were taught in English, leading to English becoming a prestige lingua franca. Immigrants from China and India entered the area, impacting the development of a regional variety of English, particularly as many teachers were from India and spoke a variety of English that was already diverging from the British standard.

This brings us to the fourth diaspora, which finds us in the current situation of World Englishes. Seven approaches to the study of WE have been identified: (a) English studies; (b) sociolinguistic (sociology of language, feature-based, pidgin and creole studies); (c) applied linguistics; (d) lexicographical; (e) the popularizers; (f) critical linguistics; and (g) the futurology approach (Bolton, 2009). These are each discussed in the next section. A lexicography view sees two major forces operating at the moment: (a) the sweep of American English synonymous with World English (cable TV, cyberpunk, high five, political correctness); and (b) the wellspring of local culture and a sense of identity (safari, sushi, outstation).

In addition to a geographical spread of English, economics and politics have played significant roles. Starting in the 1400s, the old feudal society was in decline, profoundly impacted by the rise of a middle class. Trade and commerce came to play a greater role than the Church or sovereign in language determination. The language of trade was English.

In literature, dating back to the colonial era, there is a body of creative writing that came out of Asian countries such as India, Singapore, and the Philippines. Since the 1980s, Commonwealth and postcolonial writers from various developing societies

have been winning acclaim from the international world. Booker nominees and prize-winners have included Salman Rushdie and Vikram Seth (both of Indian parentage), Kazuo Ishiguro (of Japanese descent), Timothy Mo (Anglo-Chinese), Michael Ondaatje (Sri Lankan), Ben Okri (Nigerian), and Nobel Prize-winner Derek Walcott (Caribbean). Such writers can be described as "transcultural," because they are addressing an audience as mixed up and eclectic and uprooted as themselves. These "new literatures," overlapping with "New Englishes," have resulted in what some see as a very special literature which, because it does not feel unoppressed by the immensely influential literary tradition in English, is somehow freer.

Changes Over Time in the Variation of World Englishes

World Englishes differ from each other in the areas of grammar, vocabulary/idiom, phonology, and discourse style. The most noticeable differences tend to be in terms of vocabulary and pronunciation, particularly as the newer Englishes are most often used in spoken rather than written form. However, it is not difficult to identify some categories for grammatical differences. Agreement is one category: subject-verb ("he go"), quantifier-noun ("much rabbits"), non-marking of plural forms ("eighteen year"). With verbs, there is less use of third-person singular present-tense marking ("she believe"), limited use of the past tense ("I see him yesterday"), using the -ing form with stative verbs ("I am knowing him"), and a reduction of question tags ("no?" "is it?"). These variations are sometimes an extension of features in the regional language, and at other times they exist because mis-using the original form in English will not get in the way of meaning, as in omitting the "s" in the third-person singular.

Vocabulary use varies widely from one postcolonial English to another. The creative capacity of speakers of New Englishes tends to be overlooked by speakers of inner-circle varieties, with creativity often being classified as error. Three possible categories for looking at vocabulary differences are: locally coined words/expressions, borrowings from indigenous languages, and idioms. These are referred to as *coinages*. Examples of the first type of coinage, which can involve the addition of a prefix or suffix to an existing (British or indigenous) word, include: "heaty"—Singaporean/Malaysian English for foods which make the body hot; "spacy"—Indian English for spacious; and "enstool"—Ghanaian English for to install a chief. In the second category of coinage (compounding), some examples are "peelhead" = Jamaican English for a bald-headed person; "key-bunch"—Indian English for a bunch of keys; and "high hat"—Philippine English for a snob.

Borrowings from local languages abound, either in the original form, or by creating new words through the addition of affixes to local or English words ("oftenly"). In East African English, the words "chai" and "duka" are widely used in English instead of the words tea and shop. Many idioms are direct translations from indigenous idioms, and there is a need to distinguish between learners' unsuccessful attempts to use the idioms of native speakers with their stabilized

New English idioms. In Singaporean English, "in lips and bounce" (for "in leaps and bounds") is an example in which the variation from the native-speaker version is regular on account of pronunciation differences. Other New English idioms are direct translations from indigenous idioms, such as the East African idiom "to be on the tarmac" means "to be in the process of seeking a new job." Others combine elements from native-speaker English and indigenous forms, such as the Nigerian "to put sand in someone's gari," which means "to threaten someone's livelihood" ("gari" being a type of flour). Another example from Singaporean English is "to be in hot soup," which has the same meaning as, and is a combination of, two British English idioms, "to be in hot water" and "to be in the soup" (i.e., to be in trouble). This highlights the difficulty in distinguishing between New English creativity and incorrectness (Jenkins, 2003).

In terms of phonology, one feature common to many New Englishes is the lack of distinction between short and long vowels, such as "fit" and "feet." African Englishes, for example, avoid /ə/ (the schwa), and instead use the full vowel /a/, including when the last syllable of a word is the letter R, which disappears: mother = /maða/. In many New Englishes diphthongs tend to be shortened, and may even become monophthongs. In Indian, Sri Lankan, Malaysian, and African Englishes, for example, the word "take" would sound more like "tek". Changes to consonants tend to be particular to each first language and are less generalizable. Regarding stress and connected speech, many New Englishes give equal stress to all syllables, whereas English is a stress-timed language, in which unstressed syllables tend to be voiced as schwas; the majority of New English varieties are syllable-timed, with all syllables voiced at regular intervals of time.

On the one hand, discourse style tends to be more formal in the New Englishes, less tentative. and more polite. In particular, their vocabulary and grammatical structure are more complex. Certain aspects of Indian culture, for example, lead to expressions of thanks, deferential vocabulary, and the use of blessings which would seem redundant or overdone to a speaker of an inner-circle English: "I am bubbling with zeal and enthusiasm to serve as a research assistant," or "I offer myself as a candidate for the post of Research Assistant. Thanking you" (Platt et al., 1984, pp. 150–1). On the other hand, particularly among younger generations, the New Englishes tend to be more creative, as code-mixing (blending English with another language, e.g., "Spanglish" in the United States) and code-switching (switching back and forth between English and another language) introduce new coinages (Jenkins, 2003).

Current Emphases in Research and Theory

The last three decades have seen a rapid growth of interest in the study of World Englishes. Current thinking and study can be grouped into two large categories: A. Describing and differentiating between the different varieties of English, including the New Englishes; and B. Examining issues of intelligibility and inclusivity. A third category is included: C. Approaches to research.

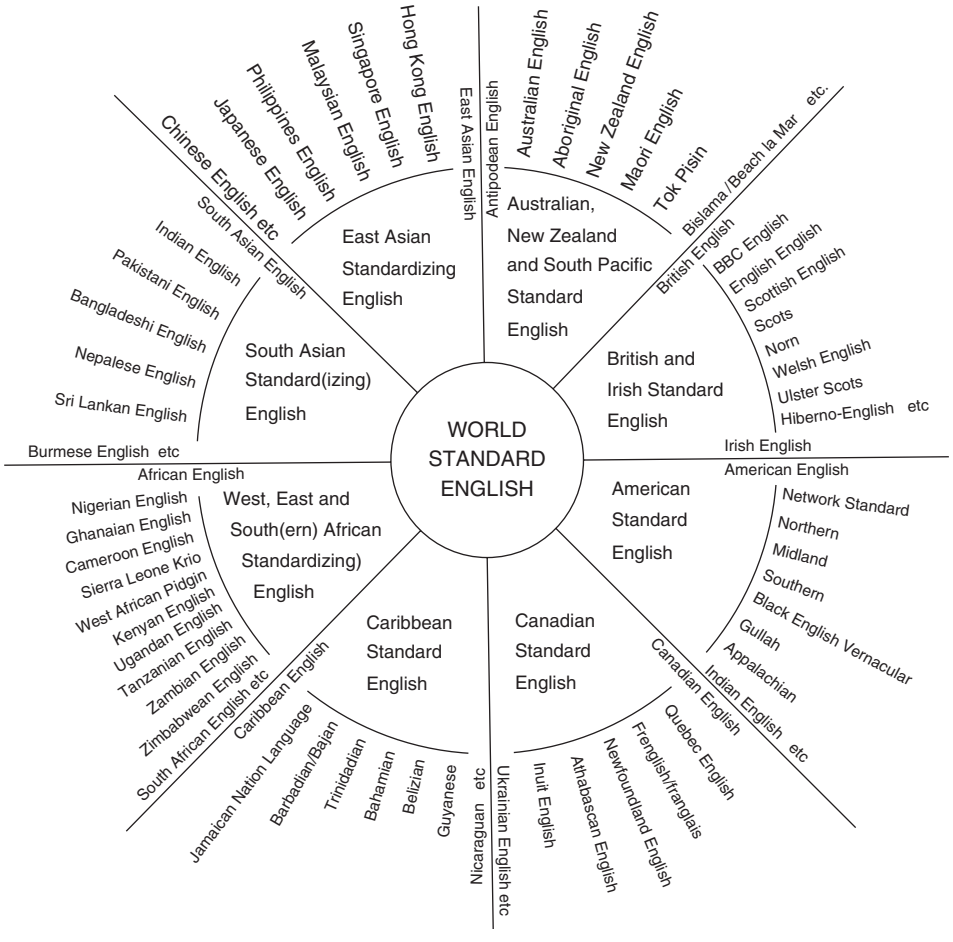

Figure 3 McArthur's Circle of World English (source: McArthur, 1998, p. 97).

A. Describing and Differentiating Between the Different Varieties of English

Following on from Kachru's development of his three circles model, Tom McArthur (1998) proposed his own circle. See Figure 3. His circle places World Standard English (WSE) at its center, although it is arguable as to whether a language such as WSE exists in an identifiable form at present. Canagarajah has since argued that the WSE center is problematic and might be replaced with "pragmatics"—strategies of communication—or even left blank. The next ring in the McArthur Circle includes eight categories of regional standard Englishes, such as Caribbean Standard English and American Standard English. Each of those eight categories then has examples of subvarieties of those varieties.

New varieties of English are too often given as lists of assorted departures from either British or American Standard English, with little attempt at determining whether and in what ways the local linguistic features function as part of an autonomous system. An important area for sociolinguistic analysis of second-language varieties of English is determining where errors stop and legitimate local varietal features start.

One problem in describing the different varieties of English is in the term "variety" itself, the word most often used, as it is generally accepted in sociolinguistics as a neutral concept, while "dialect," "register," "pidgin," "creole" and even "language" have borders that are often blurred. As mentioned above, discussion has been going on for the last 20 years about the relationship between New Englishes and English-based pidgins and creoles.

Another issue considers the level of transition occurring at any one point in time. In Nigeria, for example, it is extremely challenging, if even possible, to separate Nigerian English Pidgin from pidginized Nigerian English or anglicized Nigerian Pidgin. Creoles develop by *basilecting* away either from the base language, or from the *acrolect* (the variety of the upper class), while *mesolects* combine features of both. Mufwene argues that "the naming practice of New Englishes has to do more with the racial identity of those who speak them than with how these varieties developed and the extent of their structural deviations" (Mufwene, 2001, p. 107).

Dialects are broadly divided into three types. In the *continuum dialect* concept, although there are linguistic differences, they are recognized from one region to another, while a *relational dialect* is considered a particular subvariety of a language. An *aggregate dialect* is one that envisages a dialect as constituted out of the sum total of the linguistic practice of a certain group of individuals, so that you start off with individuals, and aggregate their linguistic behavior into dialects.

No dialect has received more attention than African American English (AAE or AAVE: African American Vernacular English). Studies in the last several decades indicate that AAE is actually diverging from rather than converging with the speech of whites in the same communities. Its speech patterning is developing in its own direction and it is a distinct, robust, and stable socio-ethnic dialect of English that is not only maintaining itself, but even intensifying in some cases.

American English itself, as an "inner-circle" variety, is not a prominent topic in the field of World Englishes, although as a former colony of Britain, it went through the same process that has shaped other postcolonial varieties. The vast majority of outer-circle World Englishes are also products of British colonialism, the exception being the Philippines and Liberia, whose varieties are American-derived. For reasons related to fashion, prestige, politics, and economics, it can be observed today that American English has an impact on practically all varieties of English around the globe.

Dictionaries are profoundly important for the recognition of World Englishes. It is only through codification that a variety can be considered "institutionalized."

The first dictionary of American English appeared in 1828. The perhaps surprising chronology which followed included: *An Anglo-Indian Dictionary* in 1885, South Africa 1913, Jamaica 1967, *The Macquarie Dictionary* 1981, *Dictionary of Caribbean English* Usage 1996, *The Dictionary of New Zealand* in 1997. The existence of a dictionary shifts attitudes, so that rather than a New English being seen as an alien language, and a conduit of Western culture, it becomes evident that New Englishes can also express different cultures.

B. Examining Issues of Intelligibility and Inclusivity

There are strong opinions about the need to maintain one international intelligibility, that without it, speakers of different varieties of English will soon become unintelligible to one another. It is helpful to consider three subcategories of intelligibility: intelligibility itself, comprehensibility, and interpretability. The first is the general term, referring to word/utterance recognition. Comprehensibility looks at word/utterance meaning (locutionary force). Interpretability looks at the meaning and intention behind word/utterance (illocutionary force). The discussions around international intelligibility do not always include all three categories.

Liberation-linguistics (Kachru) argues that a "standard" which applies to grammar, syntax, and other language features is not desirable everywhere that English is taught, and that different places should develop in their own ways. This approach has an underlying philosophy that has argued for the importance of inclusivity and pluricentricity in approaches to the linguistics of English worldwide, and involves not merely the description of national and regional varieties but many other related topics as well, including contact linguistics, creative writing, critical linguistics, discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, lexicography, pedagogy, pidgin and creole studies, and the sociology of language (Bolton, 2009). Van Horn prefers a functionally polymodel approach as opposed to a nativist monomodel. While claiming the importance of recognizing a standard variety of English, Crystal argues that it is still necessary to maintain the recognition of local varieties of English.

The contrasting view, that the canon of English literature or correct grammar or of Englishness is relatively fixed, a starting point from which to measure, has led to "culture wars." These have arisen from territorial allegiances to one or another version of what "English" is and how it should work.

C. Approaches to Research

There are seven approaches to research (Bolton, 2009). These are: the English studies approach, sociolinguistic approaches, the applied linguistic approach, the lexicographical approach, the popularizer approach, the critical linguists' approach, and the futurology approach.

The first is *The English studies approach*, which dates back at least to the late nineteenth century, with aims to establish what was common core in one standard English.

Sociolinguistic approaches include the sociology of language, "feature-based" approaches, Kachruvian studies, and pidgin and creole studies. In the 1970s it was recognized that the international sociolinguistic balance rested on three factors: the spread of English, the control of English, and the fostering of vernacular languages. The trend to view English as a form of imperialism has moved on since then, with a current belief that the growth of English and Englishes may not be at the expense of local languages. In contrast to this sociological approach, the "feature-based" approach has the linguist involved in identifying distinctive features of varieties in terms of phonology, lexis, morphology and syntax. A different approach, called the Labovian paradigm, rather than studying linguistic features, is concerned with "variation studies," as it considers how to analyze languages that are in transition. The Kachruvian approach extends across a range of subdisciplines including applied linguistics, critical linguistics, descriptive linguistics, discourse analysis, and educational linguistics. The final sociolinguistic approach here is pidgin and creole studies, previously mentioned.

The applied linguistic approach to research in World Languages began in the 1960s. Applied linguistics was a newly-emergent field which in Britain and the United States was concerned with theories of language learning, language teaching, and language pedagogy. It was becoming obvious that English was no longer the possession of the British or even the Americans. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s issues relating to World Englishes began to be communicated through publications such as *The Annual Review of Applied Linguistics, Applied Linguistics, English Language Teaching Journal (ELTJ),* and *TESOL Quarterly.*

The lexicographical approach began with the first dictionaries of World Englishes, which were glossaries. A chronological list is given in the section on describing and differentiating between the different varieties of English, including the New Englishes. Once a world variety of English is supported by codification, it is possible to make a strong claim that such a variety is legitimate.

The popularizers have been able to communicate to a wide audience interested in the story of English. In 1986 a nine-part BBC documentary on the history of the English language was a popular success in both Europe and North America. One eminent popularizer from the late 1980s to the present is David Crystal. He is a linguist, editor, lecturer, broadcaster, and prolific writer, able to reach a wide audience on a wide range of topics relating to the English language, as just a few of his titles will attest: *The Language Revolution, How Language Works, English as a Global Language, Internet Linguistics.* Among his accolades, Crystal is the patron of the International Association of Teachers of English as a Foreign Language (IATEFL).

Critical linguists have been leaders in establishing the agenda for the critical discussion of World Englishes. With the publication of Phillipson's book *Linguistic*

Imperialism in 1992 the debate began about the relationship between the core English-speaking countries and the periphery-English countries where English has either the status of a second or foreign language. Pennycook's 1994 *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language* argues that Britain and America have promoted English throughout the world to protect and promote capitalist interests. His 2007 *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows* looks at the vehicle of hip-hop culture as a means to debate the relationship between local and global cultural practices. The *futurology approach* is discussed below.

D. Pedagogical Implications

There is a need for a new approach to teaching English (Canagarajah), in which the focus is less on propositional knowledge (knowledge of *what*, norms and conventions of a language) and more on procedural knowledge (knowledge of *how*, or negotiating strategies). As English is no longer a homogeneous language with a single norm, and speakers of different varieties need to communicate with each other, it is more practical to learn strategies for ensuring accurate communication, rather than memorizing accurate forms. This is called a *translingual* orientation, comprised of language awareness (how grammars generally work in all languages), rhetorical sensitivity (awareness of genres, conventions, and contexts that influence what form of English will be appropriate in a given situation), and negotiation strategies that will enable the speakers to comprehend actual meaning, intention, and nuance.

Future Directions in Understanding World Englishes

The seventh category in approaches to research, *the futurology approach,* considers the future prospects of English in the world. A current trend is to distinguish between International English, which has expanded to become World Englishes; and Global English, which includes the new information technology, such as email, texting, and mass media advertising. In *The Future of English? A Guide to Forecasting the Popularity of the English Language in the 21st century* (1997), Graddol (along with David Crystal) became one of the predominant scholars to make predictions about the role of English in the world. This was followed by *English Next* (subtitle Why global English may mean the end of "English as a foreign language") in 2006. Both of these publications largely looked upon English as a standardized language that the world was adopting, and yet only four years later Graddol's next publication in this series was *English Next in India* (2010), with the intention to publish more on individual World Englishes. Whereas Crystal in his publication *English as a Global Language* (2012) advocates for a World Standard Spoken English (WSSE), Graddol predicts a "polycentric" future for English standards.

A useful model that captures the distinctions and intersections being examined in current and future research is that of Modiano, in Figure 4, which is based on features of English common to all varieties of English. He put English as an

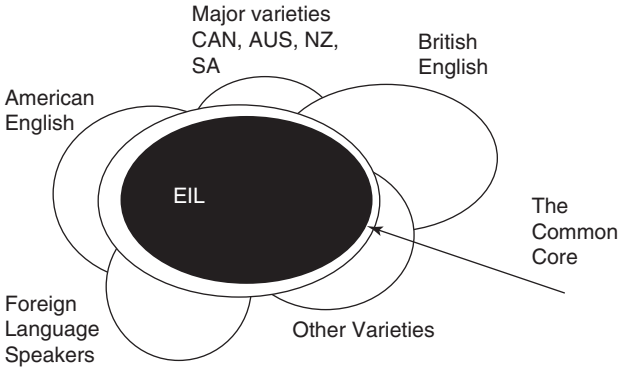

Figure 4 Modiano's English as an international language (EIL) model illustrates those features of English which are common to all varieties (source: Modiano, 1999, p. 10).

International Language at its center, to indicate that there is a core of features that is common to all native and non-native varieties. This core is encircled by a ring of features which may or may not become internationally common. The outer ring consists of five groups (American English, British English, other major varieties, local varieties, foreign varieties), each with features peculiar to their own speech community that most members of the other four groups are unlikely to understand.

English is now less an imperialist tool and more a multinational tool, and a new order in the growth of English has resulted in a greater interest in both English and local vernaculars in order to communicate with different constituencies (Fishman, Conrad, & Rubal-Lopez, 1996). Linguists use the terms H (for high) and L (for low) to distinguish between two different kinds of language functions: H for formal, official, legal and religious matters; and L for every day, family, informal settings. H and L can refer to different languages: one may be English and the other a vernacular language—or they might be two Englishes.

In view of the global presence English has, in most countries English now has a major part in language education policies. There is a strong case for extending this scope of language planning to look beyond language in order to ensure that it is inclusive, equitable, and ultimately designed to promote the overall cultural and economic development of a country and its citizens (Bamgboşe, 2009).

The field of English Language Teaching (ELT) is big business for publishers, with American and British English in strong competition. Crystal argues that British English will eventually have less influence in ELT, and that *accommodation* will come to dominate ELT ideologies. The chief task will thus be to devise pedagogical policies and practices so that the need to maintain an international standard of intelligibility is allowed to co-exist with international diversity and identity.

SEE ALSO: Critical Language Awareness; English as a Lingua Franca; Future of English; Glocalization of English; World English Literatures

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